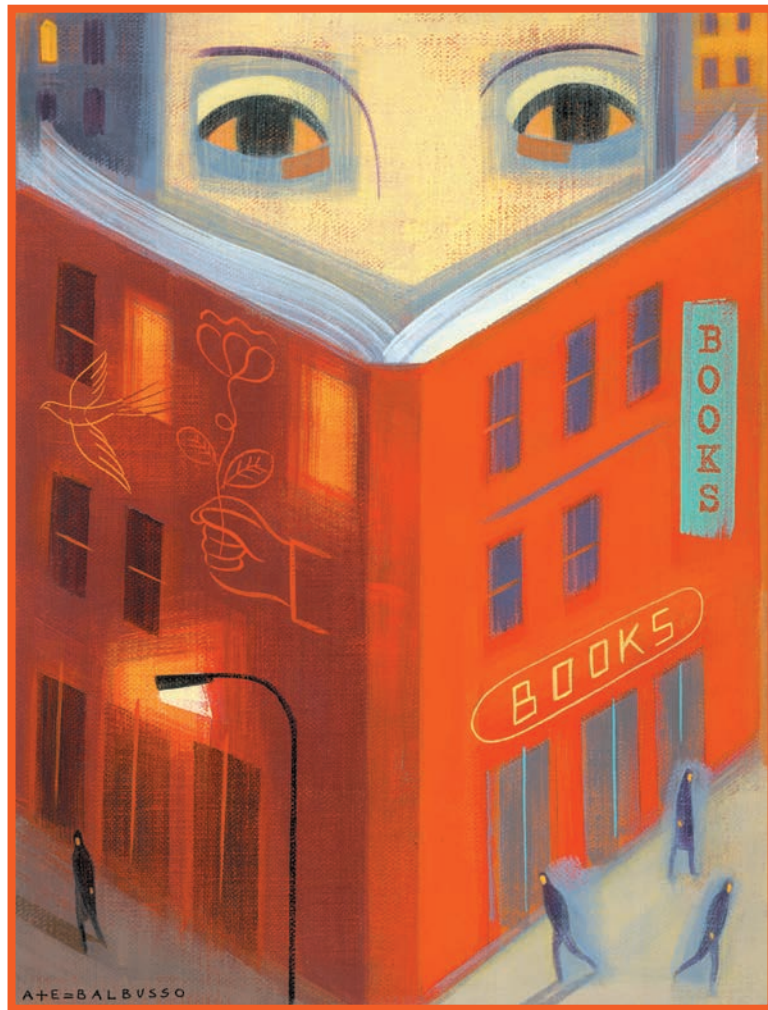


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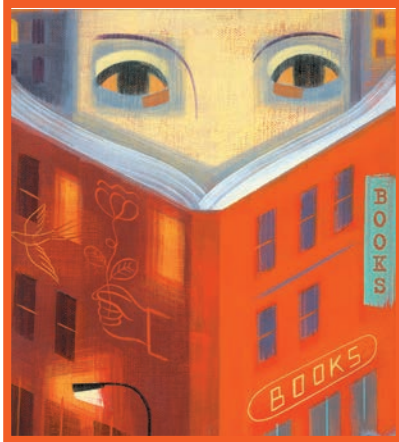
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Anna & Elena Balbusso

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# PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

## *Taking AFSA's Efforts to the Next Level*

BY SUSAN R. JOHNSON

In my July-August column, "Moving Forward Together," I described the unprecedented challenges that AFSA and the entire Foreign Service currently face. Chief among these is the urgent need for more effective advocacy for diplomacy and development and for the diplomatic profession, making clear the harmful consequences of deep cuts to the international affairs budget. This agenda calls for a strong, collective response from members of the Foreign Service.

I also reviewed actions that AFSA has taken to strengthen its institutional capacity to serve our members, promote professional excellence and be a more effective voice for the Foreign Service. And I identified three areas where, as a professional association, AFSA has a lead role: raising the profile and credibility of diplomacy, enhancing the professionalism and quality of American diplomacy, and promoting the effectiveness of our member agencies.

The Congressional Joint Select Committee on Deficit Reduction (aka the Supercommittee) has formally convened to begin tackling the task of finding ways to reduce the federal deficit by \$1.5 trillion over the next decade. The choices this committee makes could lead to further deep cuts in the international affairs budget for Fiscal Year 2013, on top of serious cuts to the FY 2011 and 2012 budget requests.



Where cuts are necessary, they should come from the large program component of the 150 Account rather than from the people side. Programs can be restarted easily; reductions in people cannot be easily reversed, and they undermine our ability to conduct diplomacy.

All AFSA members should have received the annual fundraising letter from AFSA-PAC, our political action committee. As that letter stresses, the fiscal and political environment has perhaps never been more threatening for the Foreign Service, even as the global challenges and competition we face demand more, rather than less, "diplomatic readiness." We need to take our efforts to the next level, and we need your support and engagement to do it.

Here are some of the specific actions AFSA and AFSA members can take in that regard:

*Contribute to AFSA's nonpartisan PAC.* If you have given before, please give again. If not, now is the time to start.

*Grow our retiree membership.* "Once a member of the Foreign Service, always a member" should be our motto. Yet only 25 percent of Foreign Service retirees currently support AFSA. If you are not one of these, please join (or rejoin) our ranks.

*Organize a domestic AFSA rep net-*

*work.* We will be reaching out to retiree members in each state for ideas. The goal is to generate maximum synergy around our advocacy for diplomacy and support for the Foreign Service.

*Secure a seat for AFSA on the Board of the Museum of American Diplomacy.* This entails raising \$500,000 from our members so that we can contribute to the concept and execution of this long-overdue, important enterprise, which has huge potential as an excellent educational tool for diplomacy. Your contributions and support will be vital.

*Develop AFSA seminars and courses on professional issues, coordinating with the Foreign Service Institute.* These courses would be run by master practitioners of diplomacy and professional educators, on topics ranging from professional ethics for diplomats to high-quality seminar discussions on the politics and culture of key countries and regions, to enhance the effectiveness of our diplomats. We welcome your suggestions on what is most needed in this regard.

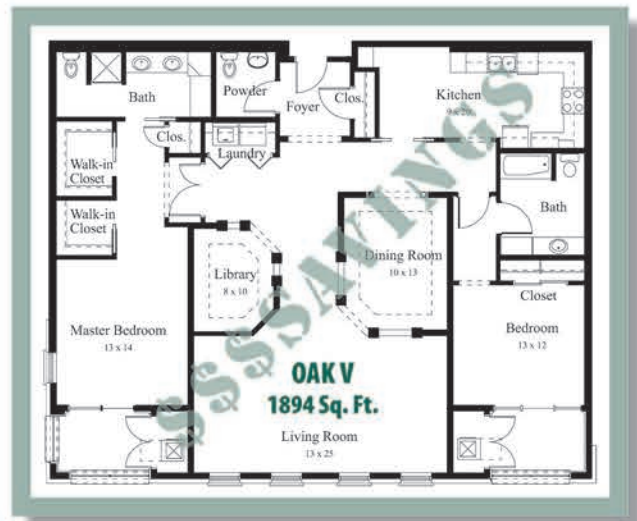
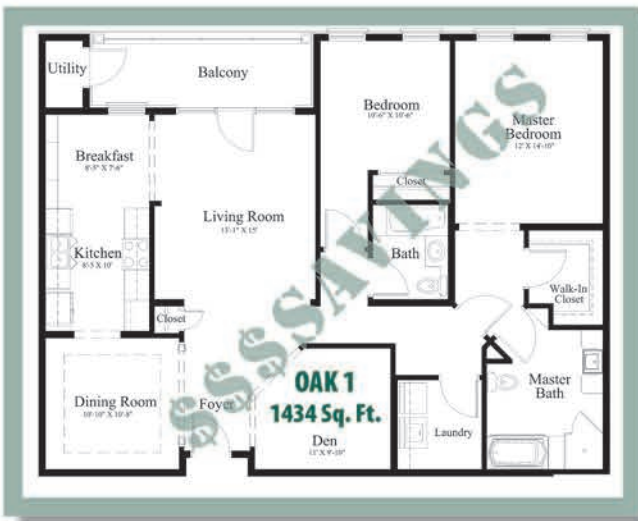
I hope that this short, illustrative list will inspire you both to join our efforts and to offer feedback and suggestions. Remember that AFSA is the only institution that represents *all* Foreign Service members, and that "diplomatic readiness" is more than a slogan — it is an imperative.

I look forward to hearing your thoughts; please send them to [Johnson@afsa.org](mailto:Johnson@afsa.org). ■



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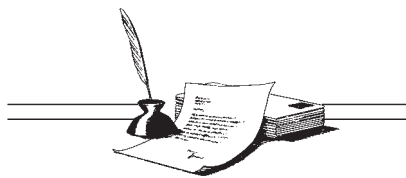
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# LETTERS

## Courageous Diplomats

Thank you for publishing Michael M. Uyehara's excellent article on courageous diplomats ("Savior Diplomats: Finally Receiving Their Due," July-August). Each of those mentioned, and others not included, deserve our gratitude, even if belated, for standing on principle and doing the right thing, often at great personal cost.

Harry Bingham, as previously recognized by AFSA, was one of the bravest and most self-effacing of those diplomats. His career took a nosedive as a consequence of his dissent, and he died in poverty, without ever revealing his role in saving more than 2,000 lives from the Nazis, many of them, but not all, Jews. Among those he saved was Heinrich Mann, misidentified in the article as a Jew.

*Joel J. Levy*  
*Senior FSO, retired*  
*New York, N.Y.*

## Worthwhile Dissent

The *Journal* is to be commended for its accounts of the State Department Dissent Channel in the July-August issue. Dissent is not only part of the American tradition, but has figured importantly in world history, as in Martin Luther's "Here I stand; I cannot do otherwise," which helped launch the Protestant Reformation. The apparently unique institutionalization of dis-

sent in the State Department merits wider attention and utilization.

Ambassador Tom Boyatt's dissent, while serving as Cyprus desk officer, from official policy toward the ruling Greek junta did not seem to have a great effect on the policy, but also did not damage his career. The Dissent Channel is available to lower-level officers, as well, and even without discernible policy impact, it can be worthwhile.

My dissent memo of February 1977 concerning U.S. policy toward postwar Vietnam is a case in point. As an economic officer I had served in Vietnam three times: from 1952 to 1953, when the French were still there; in 1955, when the French had largely left but we had not yet come in; and from 1965 to 1967, during the height of our buildup.

Back in Washington in the mid-1970s, serving in the U.S. Agency for International Development's Asia Bureau, I continued to follow developments in Vietnam. Before the 1975 collapse of South Vietnam, I was in contact with the chief of the International Monetary Fund's Southeast Asia Division. I was struck by his continuing to lead IMF missions to Vietnam, much as before. Moreover, he reported to me that the Vietnamese officials he dealt with, while communists, were pragmatic, open to outside contacts and eager to avoid dependence on either

side.

It seemed to me that regardless of our post-defeat feelings about Vietnam, the U.S. interest lay in encouraging these liberalizing tendencies. After 20 years or so we were bound to establish relations with Vietnam anyway, as we had done with the People's Republic of China.

But a different view prevailed in the State Department. The U.S. voted against assistance to Vietnam by the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank. I had argued *for* it in the bureau and my dissent memo spoke against the decision.

In due course I received a response from the director of the Policy Planning Staff upholding the existing policy. Still, I had the satisfaction of having done what I could to rectify an error. And my prediction of the re-establishment of U.S.-Vietnam diplomatic relations 20 years after the war's end turned out to be right on the money: that decision was announced in July 1995.

*Theodore L. Lewis*  
*FSO and FSR, retired*  
*Germantown, Md.*

## Pumping for the Future

I would like to congratulate the *FSJ* for its May focus on work-life balance, and particularly for Elizabeth Power's article on government agencies em-



powering breastfeeding mothers (“Work-Milk Balance: The State of Pumping”). Inspired by her account, I would like to share my own thoughts and experiences on returning to work after having a baby, pumping challenges, work flexibility and the social perception of a breastfeeding mother in the expatriate/Foreign Service world.

In a best-case work scenario, mothers will have a supportive manager who offers break times, private accommodation and a place to store expressed milk at work. A non-supportive manager can mean inconvenience and awkwardness for nursing mothers.

For most of the past six years, I’ve been a nursing, bottle-feeding mom. With my first child, still living in Washington, I knew very little about alternative feeding techniques and did not work in a supportive environment for a nursing mom. I was forced to switch entirely to baby formula by the time the baby was three months old. But, as the saying goes, we learn from our mistakes.

By the time baby number two came along, while we were posted to Mozambique, I had done my research. Armed with a modern electric breast pump, replacement parts, batteries, storage bags, and a backup shipment of pediatricians’ most-recommended baby formula (just in case), I found that breastfeeding was a breeze, and it kept both mom and baby as happy as they could be.

A supportive boss at my USAID contractor employer allowed me to use one of her offices, as well as the office’s kitchenette fridge for storage. Flexibility allowed me to attend meetings with U.S. government partners and travel to provinces, always carrying my pumping gear, bottles and cooler.

Probably the most difficult part was the skeptical looks I got from my local co-workers, who were not used to the practice of expressing milk at work. But this experience brought me much closer to a work-life balance.

With the arrival of baby number three, this time while posted to Brazil, I feel like a seasoned veteran. Pumping milk has enabled me to get back to work as a part-timer. I spend more time with my baby, but can also continue my career. Once more, we seem to be achieving the balance between work and family life.

*Raquel L. Miranda*  
FSO spouse  
Consulate Recife

### A One-Sided View of Venezuela

I appreciated the nuanced and balanced Latin America overview by Cynthia Armon, and the articles on Mexico and Brazil by Ted Wilkinson and Peter Hakim, respectively, in the June issue of the *Journal*. But I was disappointed by Robert Bottome’s piece on Venezuela, which I feel is not up to the standard of “The Magazine for Foreign Affairs Professionals.”

Bottome’s article struck me as essentially an anti-Chavez polemic. Yes, Chavez’s rhetoric, “enthusiasm for attention” and failure to make a dent in the country’s extraordinarily high murder rate, along with some of his foreign and domestic policies, all provide ample basis for criticism.

But Venezuela continues to sustain an aggressive opposition media and a sizable foreign press corps. Poverty has declined significantly, the public health system has been expanded, and literacy has edged up from its already very high level.

Though Bottome leaves out a lot,

including the fact that Chavez’s popularity remains high, his recommendations for U.S. policy toward Venezuela are quite reasonable. They stand in good contrast to the rest of the piece.

*Benjamin Tua*  
FSO, retired  
McLean, Va.

### Cross-Cultural Communicators

In his June Speaking Out column (“Is the Foreign Service Still a Profession?”), George Lambrakis reports that he and former Assistant Secretary Hank Cohen argued in the *Journal* back in 1980 that the up-or-out promotion system was a mistake, and Lambrakis contends it still is. Speaking as a former Senior FSO who felt sure he was fated for selection-out after 13 years in grade, I agree.

The authors of the 1980 article gave as their main reason the tendency of Foreign Service promotion boards to “confuse military priorities such as the management of large groups of men and huge resources with the traditional priorities of diplomacy.”

It is understandable that in today’s post-9/11 security environment, many of our embassies (and even some large consulates general) in the Middle East, South Asia and elsewhere have become virtual “Fortress Americas,” some with battalion-size staffs. The officers responsible for managing these operations well in this climate fully deserve to receive strong consideration for promotion.

But for other officers doing the traditional substantive reporting and public diplomacy work, who supervise at most one or two employees, and for whom being proficient in the language of their country of assignment is indispensable to their effectiveness, the competition with their colleagues on the



management side of the house seems to make for less than a level playing field. Moreover, it is these officers who must get out of these embassy strongholds in order to establish the kind of personal contacts with host-country nationals that can be built into relationships of respect and trust aimed at gaining understanding and respect for our policies.

I retired from the U.S. Information Agency in 1984 as an FE-OC. During my 28-year Foreign Service career, I focused on building a network of personal contacts in order to feel the pulse of each country and culture and to report accurately on the psychological climates of these countries for Washington end-users. My virtually bilingual German and 4+/4+ French were central to what I saw as my success.

Attaining fluency in a foreign language is a labor of love. Promotion boards certainly ought to cut officers who have achieved high levels of proficiency, whether in easy or hard languages, to the point of becoming truly effective cross-cultural communicators, as much slack as they do officers whose main achievements have been as managers. Selecting these officers out, thereby losing the skills, knowledge and experience they have accumulated over many years, is clearly a loss to the national interest.

*Dean Claussen  
FSO (USIA), retired  
Bellevue, Wash.*

### Training Is Required

In considering the recommendations presented in Bob Beecroft's article, "Taking Diplomatic Professional Education Seriously" (July-August), it is worth recalling that Section 703 of the Foreign Service Act of 1980 requires that the Secretary of State "establish a professional development

program to assure that members of the Service obtain the skills and knowledge ... relevant to clearly established professional standards of expected performance ... required at the various stages of their careers."

More specifically, Sec. 703 states: "Junior Foreign Service officer training shall be directed primarily toward providing expert knowledge in the basic functions of analysis and reporting as well as in consular, administrative and linguistic skills relevant to the full range of future job assignments. Mid-career training shall be directed primarily toward development and perfection of management, functional, negotiating and policy development skills to prepare the officers progressively for more senior levels of responsibility."

Further, "career candidates should satisfactorily complete candidate training prior to attainment of career status" while "[m]embers of the Service should satisfactorily complete mid-career training before appointment to the Senior Foreign Service."

*Todd Stewart  
Ambassador, retired  
Sun Valley, Idaho.*

### Reform from Within

Congratulations to the authors of the American Academy of Diplomacy report on professional training for diplomats, with its extensive and thorough recommendations for a Foreign Service worthy of the United States of America ("Taking Diplomatic Professional Education Seriously," July-August *FSJ*).

Having in my day spent a couple of years in the career development division, sending officers for training and helping to fashion the Foreign Service Institute, I applaud the emphasis on training and the call for such changes



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as setting training requirements before promotion to senior rank, relying on a training float of 15 percent and getting selection boards to give more attention to promoting those in training. The Foreign Service has been trying to get such changes through Congress and various administrations for more than 50 years!

A section of the report deals with the mid-level gap in today's Foreign Service, a subject I addressed in my June Speaking Out column. AAD's analysis suggests that the gap will last only five to seven years, presumably to be overcome by a series of recommended steps, notably (a) "limited career extensions to keep qualified officers for a few additional years, when their time in service would otherwise force retirement," and (b) faster promotion of junior officers — perhaps assisted by a system of floating counselors to educate the beginners.

It is certainly reasonable to mourn the inexperience of junior officers who are not performing as well as they might in challenging positions, attributing the situation to a shortage of more experienced, mid-career officers. But it then seems strange to recommend promoting those very same junior officers even faster! In any case, it seems that in recent years, officers are being promoted faster than in the past anyway.

Then there is the hopeful assumption that the mid-career gap will last just five to seven years. I wonder how this was calculated and how realistic it is, along with other recommendations that include personnel growth on a sustained basis over 13 years. When did the U.S. Congress — or for that matter any series of presidential administrations — ever carry out a 13-year plan dealing with anything, much less the

impoverished Foreign Service? It seems more likely that the gap will persist.

With that in mind, I believe the Foreign Service would be wiser to carry out plans that lie within its own control. First, extend the careers of mid-level and Senior Foreign Service officers who have not been promoted according to current time-in-class rules, and change the rules accordingly.

Second, enforce appropriate instructions to better train the selection boards, which are made up mainly of FSOs who ought to be persuadable (and educable). And finally, why not renew the old practice of allowing limited mid-career entry beyond the narrow limits that I gather are currently in place?

The AAD report is a far-ranging prescription of what ought to be done. But isn't it smarter to start with what the Foreign Service can do for itself?

*George B. Lambrakis*  
FSO, retired  
London

### **On the Green**

The July-August issue profile of Ambassador Roz Ridgway ("A Consummate Negotiator") called to mind her years as a first-tour FSO at Embassy Manila in the early 1960s. There she regularly outplayed diplomatic couriers, Marine security guards and other embassy golfers on local courses.

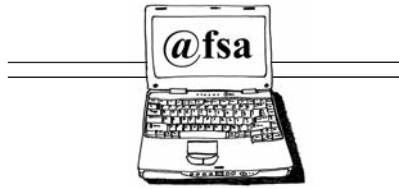
Despite such treatment, I believe I can speak for most of us when I say we're not surprised by Ambassador Ridgway's stellar rise through the Foreign Service.

What a good interview!  
Best wishes, Roz!

*Wayne Hoshal*  
FSO, retired  
Grand Rapids, Minn. ■

## LETTERS





# CYBERNOTES

## State: A Pretty Good Place to Work

The Partnership for Public Service ([www.ourpublicservice.org](http://www.ourpublicservice.org)), in collaboration with the Hay Group ([www.haygroup.com](http://www.haygroup.com)), recently identified the “Best Places to Work in the Federal Government 2010.” The list draws on the PPS’s own survey and data from the Office of Personnel Management 2010 Employee Viewpoint Survey.

The Department of State came in seventh among the large agencies with a 70.8 percent employee satisfaction rating, up from 69.1 percent in 2009. The Nuclear Regulatory Commission and Government Accountability Office head the list, followed by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, Smith-

sonian Institution, National Aeronautics and Space Administration and Social Security Administration.

After State come the General Services Administration, Department of Justice and the intelligence community (considered a single entity for purposes of the survey). On the small agencies list, the Peace Corps came in fifth at 82.8 percent.

To view complete results for all participating agencies and departments, visit [www.wapo.st/innovate-federal](http://www.wapo.st/innovate-federal).

Less encouragingly, the findings indicate a real disconnect between the desire of federal employees to innovate and the degree to which their workplaces encourage such creativity. While 91 percent of respondents agreed with

the statement, “I am constantly looking for ways to do my job better,” just 39 percent of them said, “I feel encouraged to come up with new and better ways to do things.”

The overall governmentwide innovation score of 63 percent favorable shows considerable opportunity for improvement. As the report says, “This suggests federal workers are motivated to drive change through creativity, but need stronger support from their organizations and leaders to do so.”

Six workplace conditions have a high effect on innovation, according to the report, and federal leaders can improve innovation within their agencies by creating an environment in which each of the following conditions thrives:

The days when the debt-ridden Uncle Sam could leisurely squander unlimited overseas borrowing appeared to be numbered as its triple-A credit rating was slashed by Standard & Poor’s for the first time [on Aug. 5]. Though the U.S. Treasury promptly challenged the unprecedented downgrade, many outside the United States believe the credit rating cut is an overdue bill that America has to pay for its own debt addition and the short-sighted political wrangling in Washington.

China, the largest creditor of the world’s sole superpower, has every right now to demand the United States to address its structural debt problems and ensure the safety of China’s dollar assets. To cure its addiction to debts, the United States has to re-establish the common-sense principle that one should live within its means.

For centuries, it was the exuberant energy and innovation that has sustained America’s role in the world and maintained investors’ confidence in dollar assets. But now, mounting debts and ridiculous political wrestling in Washington have damaged America’s image abroad.

All Americans, both Beltway politicians and those on Main Street, have to do some serious soul-searching to bring their country back from a potential financial abyss.

— From an Aug. 6 Xinhua News Agency editorial,

[http://news.xinhuanet.com/english2010/indepth/2011-08/06/c\\_131032986.htm](http://news.xinhuanet.com/english2010/indepth/2011-08/06/c_131032986.htm).



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Max Stier, president and chief executive of the Partnership, comments: "If we're going to get the job of government done, it's not going to be done by cutting the government and cutting the work force. It's going to be by doing things in a smarter way, and innovation is what's going to be required."

### Life and Love in the Modern Foreign Service

**Salon.com** advice columnist Cary Tennis devoted his July 19 column to the following letter from a Foreign Service officer that we believe will

### Site of the Month: [www.peacecorpsconnect.org](http://www.peacecorpsconnect.org)

As we reported in the February edition of *Cybernotes*, and have noted elsewhere in recent issues of the *Foreign Service Journal*, this year the United States Peace Corps is celebrating its 50th anniversary in a host of locations and ways. The Peace Corps was established by Executive Order 10924 on March 1, 1961, and authorized by Congress on Sept. 22, 1961, with passage of the Peace Corps Act (Public Law 87-293). Over the past half-century, more than 200,000 Americans have joined the Peace Corps, and volunteers have served in 139 countries

Whether you're a current or former Peace Corps Volunteer wanting to take part in one of the many celebrations of the organization's golden jubilee going on all over the United States (and overseas), or are simply interested in the organization's mission, a great place to find information is the Web site of the National Peace Corps Association ([www.peacecorpsconnect.org](http://www.peacecorpsconnect.org)).

Founded in 1979 and headquartered in Washington, D.C., the NPCA is the nation's leading 501 (c) (3) nonprofit organization supporting Returned Peace Corps Volunteers and the Peace Corps community through networking and mentoring to help guide former volunteers through their continued service back home. It is also the longest-standing advocate for an independent and robust Peace Corps and its values.

Although coverage of the 50th-anniversary celebrations is a prominent element on the site's homepage, it offers many other noteworthy features under the rubrics Community, News, Resources, Advocacy, About Us and Contacts.

A highlight of [www.peacecorpsconnect.org](http://www.peacecorpsconnect.org) is the link to *Worldview*, a 24-year-old quarterly magazine of news and commentary about the Peace Corps world that brings the events and people of less developed countries to U.S. readers. In each issue, the editors provide a unique perspective on global issues through articles by and about Peace Corps Volunteers, both current and returned, and people who share the global values of the Peace Corps experience.

— Steven Alan Honley, Editor



strike a chord with many AFSA members — as will his response. (We have left out a few personal details, both for the sake of brevity and to protect the writer's privacy, although the full text is available online.)

*I am a 31-year-old woman. I am a Foreign Service officer (read: diplomat) with the Department of State [now on] my second assignment, in Mexico. I have experienced profound professional development in this unorthodox career, for which I am unequivocally grateful. ...*

*In the past nearly four years, I've exited an engagement (by my choice, months after entering the Foreign Service, to a wonderful man not enthused by the Service and the complications his life would have undergone) and have had a series of at best minor relationships with people of equal transience and of otherwise committed situations. These are dating compromises I would not have otherwise made had my situation not been circumscribed (by regulation and a limited dating pool).*

*Being a typical generalist diplomat whose life is dictated by "the needs of the Service," my life is mostly governed by external forces. Admittedly, the work is rewarding. But the personal sacrifices are proving unbearable.*

*I am quintessentially American. As much as I revel in and love foreign cultures, I identify essentially as American. And in as much, I want an American male companion. I have no interest in having children and am honest enough to not expect — of myself or a companion — a lifelong relationship. What I want is a viable, nurturing, fun, loving and intellectual relationship with a like-minded adult. Thus far, this has been somewhat elusive since I entered into this weird, transient world of the Foreign Service. ...*

*Anyway, I am somewhat terrified to leave the Foreign Service as it is all I have professionally known (several internships with the Department of State before entering as an officer), but I want a personal life and a career I have more control over than as a generalist with worldwide availability subject to the needs of the Service.*

*So, my question is: How do I transit into life as a civilian? I have skills (government program coordinator of a \$37 million portfolio, grants warrant officer, government contracts representative, diplomat, bilingualist, M.A. in international policy and nonproliferation, etc.), but I do not know the path ahead and it scares me to leave government employment without a strategy.*

*I do not know what I would be useful at or how to go about marketing myself. Though being gainfully employed is my preoccupying concern, I am motivated to make changes so that I can have a personal life with a companion.*

*Ideally, I want to be in the San Francisco Bay area or New York, as those are my formative homes.*

*So where do I start and how do I make the transition? And how do I start making myself ready for a substantive relationship?*

*Thank you,  
Diplomat Adrift*

Here is the advice Mr. Tennis gave her:

Dear Diplomat Adrift,

This is not just a question but the beginning of a story. A story begins when somebody decides, I don't want to live this way anymore. I'm going to change my life.

We like to meet a protagonist on the brink of change. We like to enter the story when a character is packing a suitcase. Where are you going in such a



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## 50 Years Ago...

If we really care about our “image” before the world, the best way to improve that image is not to blame all our troubles on [the U.S. Information Agency] but to give USIA better material with which to work. We simply will not persuade humanity that we believe deeply in equality against the backdrop of Montgomery and Birmingham, New Orleans and Little Rock, any more than we could persuade humanity that we believed deeply in freedom in the high noon of Senator McCarthy. ...



Sometimes the actualities in our own land are worse than our representation of them. In this case, since ours is an open society, all our “propaganda” does is to lose us credibility. Sometimes the actualities are better than our representation of them. In this case we do ourselves and our prospects unnecessary injustice. ...

In a world of change, our foreign policy will be effective only as it expresses an America which shows it understands the imperatives of change. And this suggests again that foreign policy has meaning only as an extension, a projection, of what we are at home.

— Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., “Foreign Policy and National Morality,” adapted from his remarks at an AFSA luncheon; *FSJ*, October 1961.

hurry, we wonder. What has led up to this point and what comes next?

The beginnings are clear. You made a bargain. You held up your end. But it’s been tough. Now it’s time for something new.

If this were a thriller, upon your return to the U.S. you would be approached by a stranger with a proposition. You would begin an epic battle. We’d be on your side.

Somewhere in the novelization of your life, there would be a dramatic flashback to the deal you made, the doubts you had, the sacrifices you endured to have your graduate studies subsidized. It would tell us much about your character — how you think about things, where you come from, what your big dreams are and your big fears, although we get a good sense of you just from the letter.

But this is not a thriller. This is your life. All you want is a job outside the government. We were hoping for a

knife fight in an alley with the trusted official with whom you had worked closely for years, whom you always suspected of double-dealing. We were hoping for coded messages and clandestine liaisons; we want torrid affairs and high-tech gizmos.

Well, OK. I’m just saying, it’s an interesting letter. If you don’t want to write the thriller, let’s at least help you get a job outside the government, a decent boyfriend and a flat in the Bay area or New York.

No problem. What skills does a diplomat have? Well, for starters, you’re very diplomatic. Seriously. Not everybody can think quickly and act with grace under pressure.

Foreign companies that operate in the U.S. and deal closely with the U.S. government need people with experience like yours. So do U.S. companies that do a lot of business overseas.

If you want to stay in the U.S. and just travel on occasion, your knowledge

might be essential in the realm of public relations and public policy. There is a whole world of think-tanks, policy advocates, lobbying, public relations, journalism and all that, out there. You write clearly and concisely. That’s invaluable. You probably also know languages.

As far as straight-ahead business opportunities: well, for starters, the Mexican company Grupo Bimbo is now the biggest baker in the U.S. And any company that names itself Bimbo could use some diplomatic skills, ya think?

There are a whole lot of Mexican companies thriving in the U.S. They might be a good place to start.

We can expect that as the U.S. government cuts consular services, private companies will fill the gap. Depending on how entrepreneurial you are by nature, you might consider starting a company that does just that.

For the sake of the novel that is in our heads, we’re really hoping that someone will emerge from the curtains in your hotel room with a packet of information giving you your next assignment, a very important task that must be performed by you alone, in secret, to save the Western world.

Come to think of it, maybe it does not have to be just fiction. I mean, we all need some greater purpose to motivate us.

You know things other people don’t know. You could help people. Your skills are more valuable than you realize.

Even if you just want a quiet, safe and interesting life in the U.S., I think it’s possible. Readers will think so, too. ■

*This edition of Cybernotes was compiled by FSJ Editor Steven Alan Honley.*





# SPEAKING OUT

## *Not-So-Smart Power*

BY JAMES STEPHENSON

Secretary of State Hillary Clinton released the first Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Report last December. Much of the attention of the international development community was focused on what role the QDDR would articulate for the U.S. Agency for International Development. Yet the study's embrace of the "whole of government" approach to diplomacy and development, in which multiple governmental elements are enlisted, passed almost unnoticed. The same was true of its declaration that ambassadors are now "CEOs of complex interagency missions."

The lack of controversy about these two operating assumptions may stem from the fact that the whole-of-government concept has become integral to the implementation of U.S. foreign assistance programs over the past decade. Beginning with Operation Iraqi Freedom, it has become the modus operandi for U.S. efforts to bring stability to states already experiencing conflict or attempting to recover from it, as well as fragile societies in danger of falling victim to conflict.

Until fairly recently, USAID had almost sole responsibility for foreign assistance. But more than a dozen other agencies and government organizations now have their own mini-foreign aid offices, all ostensibly under the authority of the chief of mission — or at least part of a "unified effort," the term popularized by the military where it is present

*The QDDR's vision for projecting smart power, rooted in the "whole of government" approach, is neither smart nor fiscally sustainable.*

but not under COM authority. In particular, the Defense Department has become ever more deeply engaged in operations that are indistinguishable from civilian stabilization and reconstruction efforts, even in theaters where there is no obvious need for a uniformed presence.

Consequently, U.S. embassies are growing larger, and increasingly disparate agencies are competing for scarce foreign aid dollars and often working at cross-purposes. The proponents of "whole of government" maintain that the application of more human and bureaucratic resources ipso facto leads to the efficient production of a better result, because competition engenders rigor. But does it?

Is there any empirical evidence that the vast bureaucracies we created in Iraq, Afghanistan and Pakistan are any more effective than the far smaller, "flatter" country teams we used in the past? Just how good are domestic agen-

cies at disbursing foreign assistance and operating in foreign environments? Are ambassadors, by training and experience, prepared to be CEOs of "complex interagency missions"? And with the present imperative to cut deficits and shrink the federal work force, does the QDDR, which calls for staff increases at State and USAID, offer a sustainable business model?

These questions are particularly relevant given President Barack Obama's promise to overhaul the federal bureaucracy and consolidate its functions, and the Republican Party's drive to trim the federal work force — with special focus on the size and resources of State and USAID, reversing the recent trend to increase staffing at both.

For instance, the president has spoken of overlapping federal rules, responsibilities and jurisdictions. There are currently about 17 federal departments and agencies engaged in some form of foreign assistance — the poster child for the whole-of-government philosophy — even though the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 established USAID to consolidate all foreign assistance activities under a single federal agency to eliminate the polyglot of competing federal departments and agencies that foreign assistance had by then become. What was seen as a vice 50 years ago some now celebrate as a virtue, positing that the world of diplomacy and development has become so



complex that no single department or agency can meet its challenges.

**“Before, We Were a Team”**

Traditionally, the country team consisted of the ambassador, a handful of State Foreign Service officers, the Defense Department attaché, the USAID mission director (where there was an assistance program), someone from the Central Intelligence Agency, and perhaps a representative from the Commerce Department. In conflict and post-conflict countries, country teams were generally even smaller, to restrict the number of personnel put in harm’s way.

Furthermore, because most civilians preferred not to serve in dangerous post-conflict posts, there existed a small cadre of personnel who, by choice, spent their careers serving in those environments. It was a tight, proficient fraternity that worked very well.

Now, however, more and more ambassadors are expected to manage sprawling interagency missions. When I recently asked a respected career ambassador about this trend, she noted that chiefs of mission have always been CEOs — but now they have to work with individuals whose primary loyalty is to their own agencies and who have no concept of what it means to be under COM authority.

The current push for a whole-of-government approach gives such employees false license to operate independently. And because many agencies have different, less precise reporting standards and requirements, their unapproved reports often get into the decision-making process in Washington.

When I asked if a whole-of-government approach sometimes means that no one is in charge at embassies, the ambassador responded that the real

problem too often is that the *wrong* person is in charge. Representatives from domestic agencies may have little overseas experience and have not been seasoned by a career in the diverse elements of diplomacy and development.

This has led to a distribution of responsibility to inexperienced personnel who have no particular commitment to the mission or their colleagues. The problem is compounded by the presence of powerful combat commands, which often try to operate independently in direct conflict with mission policies and programs, and have to be reined in. As the ambassador lamented, “Before, we knew each other and had vast experience — we were a team.”

Her observations track very closely with my own experiences as a USAID FSO in Grenada, El Salvador, Lebanon, and Serbia and Montenegro. In all those places, we had small missions composed of highly experienced individuals who understood the conventions of being part of an embassy country team.

**More Is Better?**

That dynamic changed in 2003 with Operation Iraqi Freedom and the creation of the Coalition Provisional Authority, which relied mainly on thousands of outsourced individuals, mostly from the private sector, who were temporary hires. Many had never been overseas before, much less worked in the most difficult foreign assistance venues: conflict zones.

This proliferation of inexperienced actors with individual agendas led to chaotic program design and implementation. More an occupier and surrogate than a promoter of Iraqi governance and development, the CPA was the new model. Even when Embassy Baghdad

succeeded the CPA, it continued to practice the philosophy that more is better.

Seven years later, it is the largest embassy in the world, with a staff of about 8,000. Moreover, U.S. Ambassador to Iraq James Jeffrey recently testified to Congress that State plans to more than double that number to 17,000 next year. This expanded work force, made up mostly of contractors, will require operating costs of \$3 billion a year.

The U.S. presence in Afghanistan is not that far behind. It is conventional wisdom that the Bush administration under-resourced both the operational and reconstruction efforts in Afghanistan, effectively enabling the resurgence of the Taliban insurgency. But the failings of the coalition and the Afghan government are far too complex to attribute simply to inadequate resources.

In any case, the response of the Obama administration was a massive increase in troop levels and a concurrent fivefold increase in federal civilians to carry out stabilization and reconstruction, effectively creating a new bureaucracy within State spanning Washington, Kabul and Islamabad.

To meet the resulting demand for personnel, both State and USAID were forced to deplete resources at other missions and hire a very large number of temporary personnel with little relevant experience.

It is too soon to tell if 1,250 civilians, distributed between the embassy fortress in Kabul, four regional centers, forward operating bases and provincial reconstruction teams, will have enough impact on the lives of rural Afghan villagers to turn them away from the Taliban. But the record thus far is not encouraging. On the contrary, the large foreign presence and sheer volume of U.S. assistance may actually fuel cor-



ruption and instability, conditions favorable to the Taliban.

Meanwhile, Embassy Islamabad is undergoing a billion-dollar expansion of its own, notwithstanding the fact that the size of the official American presence in Pakistan — 3,555 visas were issued to U.S. diplomats, military officials and employees of “allied agencies” in 2010 alone — has already fueled popular suspicion there. This was compounded when U.S. “diplomat” Raymond Davis, who turned out to be a CIA contractor, killed two Pakistani nationals earlier this year.

Carrying \$14 trillion in debt and annual budget deficits in excess of \$1 trillion, we cannot afford the whole-of-government, resource-intensive approaches used in Iraq, Afghanistan and Pakistan. Fortunately, a leaner, more streamlined approach to diplomacy and development will not only work, but work more effectively.

### A Better Model for the 21st Century

In 1981, President Ronald Reagan was determined to thwart the expansion of communism in El Salvador, in spite of a deeply skeptical Congress still mindful of the Vietnam War. To win funding from Congress, Reagan agreed to limit military advisers to the El Salvador Armed Forces to just 55 personnel in country at any time. This military group could train and advise, but was strictly forbidden from engaging in combat or accompanying trainees in field operations. USAID was informally limited to 36 FSOs and about an equal number of expatriate personal service contractors. The embassy staff was even smaller.

The Department of Defense initially viewed the limitation as a severe challenge, bordering on mission im-

possible. Even though most of the 55 advisers, called the Milgroup, were highly trained special operations forces, fluent in Spanish, culturally adapted and vastly experienced, they were insufficient to win the war *for* the Salvadorans. But that limitation motivated the Milgroup to focus on turning the El Salvadoran Armed Forces into a professional army, which by itself eventually defeated the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front.

State and USAID made the time-consuming investment to enable the Salvadorans themselves to implement the social, economic and political reforms needed to convert a feudal system into a viable democracy. Again, U.S. civilians were highly experienced, culturally sensitive professionals. For most, it was not their “first rodeo,” and they were there for the long haul. In addition, military training conducted outside El Salvador augmented the milgroup’s efforts, and U.S. intelligence gathering and sharing aided the ESAF in fighting insurgents.

The process took 12 years and cost us about \$4 billion and at least 20 American lives. Even so, congressional restrictions turned out to be a serendipitous driver, leading to a sustainable peace, the transformation of the FMLN into a loyal democratic opposition, and a vibrant economy supported by good governance and the rule of law. The strategy was an example of “smart power” long before that term came into use.

Since 2002, the United States has invested more than \$130 billion in security, economic and governance assistance to Iraq, Afghanistan and Pakistan (not including military operations).

Over the same period, the United States has spent more than \$55 billion for Afghan security, governance and de-

velopment, and more than \$18 billion to assist Pakistan, according to the Government Accountability Office — with no end in sight.

For FY 2012, the administration has requested \$3.2 billion in operating expenses just for the State and USAID contingents in Iraq.

There is no question that State and USAID personnel need to be augmented if they are to meet their responsibilities for diplomacy and development and the projection of “smart power.” Unfortunately, the QDDR’s vision for achieving this, rooted in the whole-of-government approach, is neither smart nor fiscally sustainable.

Instead, let us embrace the premise that diplomacy and development work should both be practiced by a highly trained and experienced cadre of professionals. ■

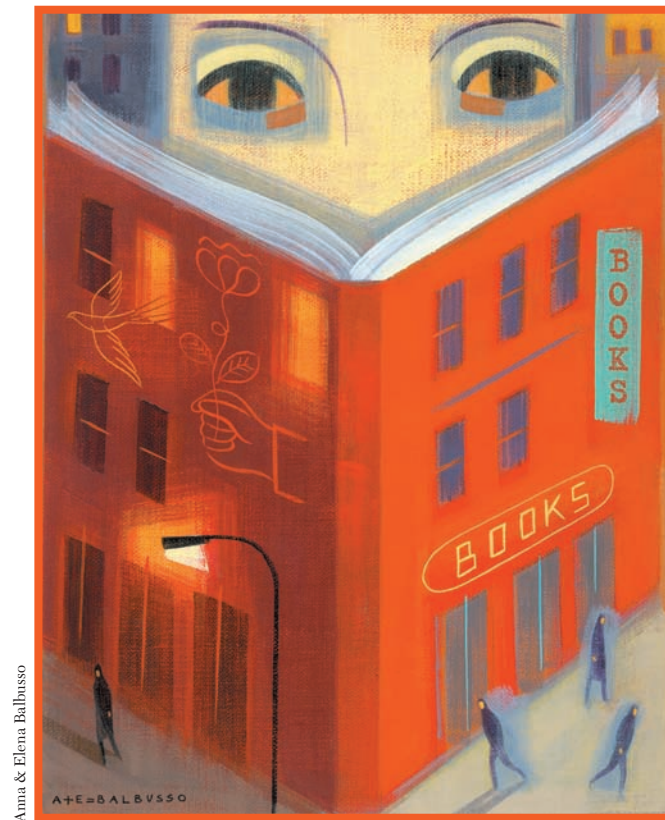
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*James “Spike” Stephenson, a retired USAID Senior Foreign Service officer, has worked for 32 years in the field of development in conflict and post-conflict environments. He spent 13 months as mission director in Iraq (2004-2005) and, until his retirement from the Foreign Service in 2005, was a senior adviser to the State Department’s Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization. He also served as a USAID mission director in Serbia and Montenegro and in Lebanon, and in a variety of positions in Egypt, Barbados, Grenada, El Salvador, the Philippines and Washington, D.C.*

*He is now the senior adviser for stabilization and development at Creative Associates International, and a frequent lecturer and guest speaker on the changing nature of conflict and post-conflict engagement and civilian/military cooperation.*

COVER STORY

# IN THEIR OWN WRITE



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HERE IS OUR 2011 COMPILATION  
OF RECENTLY PUBLISHED BOOKS BY  
FOREIGN SERVICE-AFFILIATED AUTHORS.

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The *Foreign Service Journal* is pleased to present our annual Foreign Service authors roundup in plenty of time for holiday orders. Whether you read the listing in print or online, we urge you to visit our online bookstore when a title strikes your fancy. There you will find all the books in this edition, as well as the volumes that have been featured in previous years — and more ([www.afsa.org/PublicationsResources/OnlineFSResources/AFSAMarketplace.aspx](http://www.afsa.org/PublicationsResources/OnlineFSResources/AFSAMarketplace.aspx)).

## COVER STORY

Below is the annotated list of some of the volumes written or edited by Foreign Service personnel and family members in 2010 and 2011. The roundup was assembled with the vital assistance of editorial interns Asa Maclay Horner and Danielle Derbes.

This year's selection contains very strong history and memoir sections, a weighty and wide-ranging policy and issues section, eight works of fiction and poetry, and five titles geared for young readers. As in the past several years, many of the titles are self-published.

Our primary purpose in compiling this list is to celebrate the wealth of literary talent within the Foreign Service community, and to give our readers the opportunity to support colleagues by sampling their wares. Each entry contains full publication data along with a short commentary.

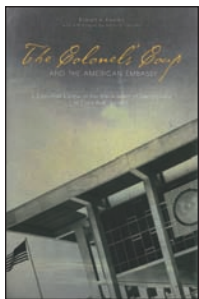
As has become our custom, we also include a list of books "of related interest" to diplomats that were not written by FS authors.

Once again, although many of these books are available elsewhere, we encourage our readers to use the AFSA Web site's online bookstore to place your orders. The AFSA Bookstore has links to [www.Amazon.com](http://www.Amazon.com) and, at no extra cost to you, each book sold there generates a small royalty for AFSA (see p. 43).

For the few books that cannot be ordered through Amazon, we have provided alternative links or, when the book is not available online, the necessary contact information.

But enough crass commercialism. On to the books!  
— Susan Maitra, Senior Editor

### HISTORY



**The Colonels' Coup and the American Embassy: A Diplomat's View of the Breakdown of Democracy in Cold War Greece**

Robert V. Keeley, Penn State University Press, 2011, \$74.95, hardcover, 304 pages.

In *The Colonels' Coup*, retired FSO Robert Keeley gives his readers a first-hand account from the political section of Embassy Athens during the April 21, 1967, coup that overthrew the Greek government and ushered in seven years of military rule. A significant event in the Cold War, the coup resulted in the roundup of approximately 8,000 people associated

with the Communist Party by the new, right-wing military government.

Keeley sheds light on how U.S. policy toward Greece was formulated and implemented from 1966 to 1969. By contrast with its involvement in several other coups during the Cold War, the United States was caught unaware as the so-called colonels' coup unfolded. Keeley had wanted to become more familiar with the group of officers behind it, but was discouraged by his superiors.

Robert V. Keeley spent extensive periods in Greece — first, with his father, FSO James Keeley, who served as counselor at Embassy Athens when Robert was a child. Robert himself served as a political officer at the same post from 1966 to 1969, and returned to finish off his 33-year Foreign Service career as U.S. ambassador to Greece from 1985 to 1989. From 1990 to 1995, he was president of the Middle East Institute. He is currently chairman of the Council for the National Interest Foundation.

*The Colonels' Coup* is part of the ADST-DACOR Diplomats and Diplomacy Series. (See the June *FSJ* for a full review.)



**The Wars of Afghanistan: Messianic Terrorism, Tribal Conflicts and the Failures of Great Powers**

Peter Tomsen, Public Affairs, 2011, \$39.99, hardcover, 912 pages.

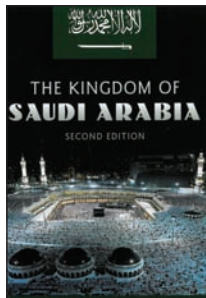
In this timely and exhaustively researched work, Peter Tomsen sheds new light on the troubled history of Afghanistan and the countries that have tried to impose order on that remote and deadly region. Drawing on two decades of experience developing relationships with Afghan leaders, warlords, Taliban members and influential religious figures, with special emphasis on his tenure as U.S. special envoy to the Afghan resistance from 1989 to 1992, Tomsen offers invaluable perspectives on hundreds of recently declassified documents relating to the Afghanistan engagement.

This book presents crucial insights into Afghanistan's history as a "shatter zone" for foreign invaders, and how that experience and the tribal nature of Afghan society have shaped the narrative of a continual cycle of warfare, into which the United States has been ever more deeply drawn. Tomsen also discusses the misinformed operations conducted there by the foreign intelligence services of Russia, Pakistan and the U.S.

## COVER STORY

Through failure to understand past mistakes and a dangerous misreading of the nature of the tribal environment, Tomsen argues, American strategists have facilitated the Taliban's resurgence. *The Wars of Afghanistan* offers fresh, provocative solutions to shoring up the Afghan state, dealing with Pakistani intrigue and duplicity, and returning a measure of stability and peace to this persistently chaotic region. This truly epic insider's account of modern Afghanistan is indispensable reading for anyone wanting to understand one of America's toughest foreign policy conundrums.

Peter Tomsen joined the Foreign Service in 1967 and, in addition to serving as George H.W. Bush's special envoy to the Afghan resistance, has served in Thailand, Vietnam, India, China and the Soviet Union. He was deputy assistant secretary for East Asian affairs from 1992 to 1995.



### **The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia**

David Long & Sebastian Maisel,  
*University Press of Florida*, 2010  
(second edition), \$21.95,  
paperback, 176 pages.

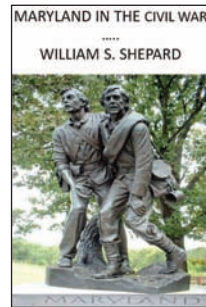
In this second edition of *The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia* (originally published in 1997), David E. Long and Sebastian Maisel offer a rare insight into a country that is often considered to be one of the most significant, but least understood, in the world. Drawing on his research and experience as an FSO in the region, David Long's work has come to be regarded as an excellent reference on the people, culture, geography and political dynamics of Saudi Arabia.

In the few decades since the beginning of its oil boom, Saudi Arabia has undergone a rapid transformation from an isolated society consisting of desert tribes into a wealthy state with a new taste for opulence that often seems at odds with its strict religious foundations. Taking into account this rapid modernization is an essential element in understanding the desert kingdom, and that theme is thoroughly explored in this second edition.

*The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia* is more a "glimpse behind the curtain" than a critical account or indictment of the Saudi system. It seeks to understand the Saudi perspective on the country's own history and place in the world. The second edition includes new chapters on tradition and modernity, and on Islam and society.

David E. Long, a retired Foreign Service officer, is an

international consultant on the Middle East and international terrorism. He has written several books on the region, particularly on Saudi Arabia. Co-author Sebastian Maisel is assistant professor of Arabic and Middle East studies at Grand Valley State University in Allendale, Mich.



### **Maryland in the Civil War**

William S. Shepard, *Uncle Seth Cutler Press*, 2011, \$2.99, Kindle Edition.

In *Maryland in the Civil War*, William Shepard has written a thorough but compact account of Maryland's struggle during the Civil War. Released in time for the 150th anniversary of the Civil War, Shepard's collection of four essays is an essential read for Civil War buffs.

The first essay, "The Setting, 1859-1860," explores Maryland's conflicting allegiances to the North and to the rebel South, as well as the institution of slavery in the state. The second essay examines the efforts of Governor Thomas H. Hicks to keep Maryland in the Union in spite of growing support for secession among state assemblymen. In his third essay, Shepard provides detailed accounts of the Civil War battles and battle units in Maryland.

"Last Rolls of the Dice, 1864-1865," the final essay, focuses on the desperate gamble of General Jubal Early, Confederate States of America, to capture Washington, as well as the stories of two important figures: John Wilkes Booth and Dr. Samuel Mudd, who treated the injured Booth after Lincoln's assassination. Shepard follows the twisty path of the deluded actor, along with that of Dr. Mudd, who was convicted of conspiring with Booth but pardoned by President Andrew Johnson in 1869.

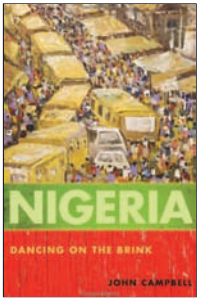
Retired FSO William Shepard is the author of nearly a dozen books, on topics ranging from French wines and his life as a consular officer to American history. He has also pioneered a new genre, the "diplomatic mystery." There are now four novels in this series, with career diplomat Robbie Cutler as the protagonist (see Fiction).

### **Nigeria: Dancing on the Brink**

John Campbell, *Rowman & Littlefield*, 2010, \$29.95, hardcover, 216 pages; \$15.94, Kindle Edition.

"Part history and part memoir," is how *Publishers Weekly* describes this chronicle of Nigeria since the 1960s

## COVER STORY

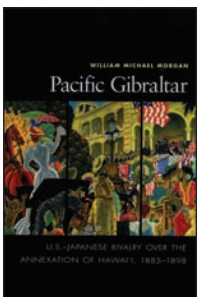


civil war that is “fleshed out with first-hand profiles of its leaders and observations on recent political turmoil, along with a shrewd insider’s analysis of Washington’s policy toward the country, which he feels is too aloof.”

John Campbell, a career diplomat who served as U.S. ambassador to Nigeria from 2004 to 2007, explores Nigeria’s postcolonial history and presents a nuanced explanation of the events and conditions that have carried this complex, dynamic and very troubled giant to the edge. He focuses on the oil wealth, endemic corruption and elite competition that have undermined the country’s nascent democratic institutions and alienated an increasingly impoverished population that is also subject to bloody sectarian violence. While Nigerians often claim they are masters of “dancing on the brink” without falling off, state failure is a real possibility. Campbell suggests concrete policy options to help avoid such an outcome and promote genuine political, social and economic development.

*Nigeria: Dancing on the Brink* is a “tour de force in every sense of the word” and “demands the attention of every Nigerian and every American interested in Nigerian politics and Nigeria’s place in African and global affairs” writes Stan Cho Ilo in a review featured on Nigeriaworld.com. “The idea of Nigeria being on the brink is a warning rather than a prediction of an ineluctable path to perdition. ... This book will no doubt provide a good reference point for political discourse about Nigeria for many years to come.”

John Campbell, a retired member of the Senior Foreign Service, is the Ralph Bunche Senior Fellow for Africa Policy Studies at the Council on Foreign Relations.



### **Pacific Gibraltar: U.S.-Japanese Rivalry over the Annexation of Hawaii, 1885-1898**

*William Michael Morgan,*  
*Naval Institute Press, 2011, \$34.95,*  
*hardcover, 352 pages.*

As William Morgan points out in his introduction to *Pacific Gibraltar*, while any mention of Hawaii instantly evokes images of an iconic island paradise or shattered warships at Pearl Harbor, the history of U.S. involvement in this strategically vital archipelago is far less well under-

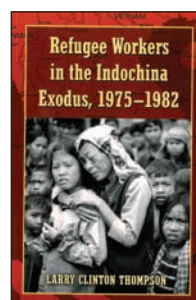
stood by Americans than most would care to admit.

Although its invaluable commanding position as the shield and gateway to the west coast of the United States was recognized by the mid-19th century, for most Americans, Hawaii before World War II remains a mystery. For both the avid student of history and those whose knowledge of Hawaii extends no further than episodes of “Hawaii Five-O,” Morgan offers a fresh and thorough re-evaluation of America’s first adventure of overseas imperialism.

*Pacific Gibraltar*, an ADST-DACOR Diplomats and Diplomacy book, charts the course of American involvement in Hawaii from the early whaling and sugar enterprises in the 1850s and 1860s to the eventual annexation of the archipelago in 1898. Morgan follows the complex interplay of commercial assets, long-term strategic concerns and ethno-political tensions among native Hawaiians, white oligarchs and the burgeoning population of immigrants, largely Japanese, from Asia that led the U.S. ultimately to annex it.

An engrossing account of a vital early step in America’s maturation into a global power, *Pacific Gibraltar* will be of great value both to serious scholars and the casually curious alike.

A 30-year veteran of the Foreign Service, William Morgan is a professor of strategic studies at the Marine Corps War College. He lives in Fairfax, Va.



### **Refugee Workers in the Indochina Exodus, 1975-1982**

*Larry Clinton Thompson,*  
*McFarland, 2010, \$45, paperback,*  
*283 pages; \$16.19, Kindle Edition.*

On the heels of the U.S. withdrawal from Southeast Asia, the governments of South Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos fell in rapid succession to advancing communist armies, resulting in a sudden deluge of refugees from all three countries. These included political asylum-seekers, people displaced by conflict and, especially, members of ethnic minorities that had aligned themselves with the Americans during the war. Many of these people found themselves persecuted by the new regimes and seemingly abandoned by their erstwhile allies.

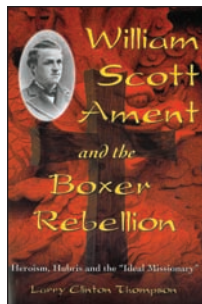
Thompson’s book chronicles the efforts of American aid workers — dissenters and idealists from State, the military, USAID and other agencies — to help those hit worst by the war and its immediate aftermath. Over the next quar-

## COVER STORY

ter-century, 1.3 million Indochinese would be admitted to the U.S. as new residents, half of them during the seven years covered by this book.

*Refugee Workers* is also the story of the rebirth of faith and idealism in the psyche of a jaded America doubting its government and the value of its principles. After the humiliating failures of the Vietnam conflict and painful revelations of Watergate, writes Thompson, the rescue of Indochinese refugees helped to reignite the country's sense of purpose.

Larry Thompson, an FSO with the State Department from 1965 to 1991, served in Mexico, Thailand, Afghanistan, Peru, Guatemala and Washington, D.C., ending his career as consul general in Thessaloniki. With Refugees International from 1996 to 2005, he has worked in more than 30 countries affected by humanitarian emergencies. At present, he is primarily engaged in vegetable gardening and writing Wikipedia articles at his home in North Carolina.



### **William Scott Ament and the Boxer Rebellion: Heroism, Hubris and the "Ideal Missionary"**

Larry Clinton Thompson,  
*McFarland, 2009, \$45,*  
*paperback, 252 pages.*

In the prologue to *William Scott Ament and the Boxer Rebellion*, Larry Thompson writes: "The defeat of China and the Boxers by the West was perhaps the last war of imperialism embarked on with enthusiasm and moral surety. A few people now began to ask a question: Did the Christian nations have the right to impose their culture and religion on China?"

This departure from traditional histories of the 1900 Boxer Rebellion focuses on the role of American missionaries, and, in particular, William Scott Ament.

Among other things, Thompson looks at how Ament and the others reacted to the extreme stress and physical danger they faced during the 55-day siege of Western legations in Beijing by a horde of brightly dressed, acrobatic, anti-Western and anti-Christian Boxers at the height of the rebellion. Ament, he acknowledges, lost his bearings — while he bravely saved the lives of many, his heroism was tarnished by hubris and looting. Nevertheless, Thompson argues, he remains a sympathetic and admirable man of great accomplishment.

Although Ament is the main character, the supporting

cast includes a young mining engineer and future president, Herbert Hoover, and a future Marine Corps general, Smedley Butler, among others. Some of the most interesting characters are women: the Empress Dowager of China; a novice missionary doctor, Emma Martin; and a sharp-shooting adventuress, Annie Chamot.

The author drew from what he describes as "mostly old, hard-to-find books, magazine articles and dusty archives" for this unusual perspective on a pivotal historical event.



### **Place Names of Namibia: A Historical Dictionary**

Joseph Cassidy, *Macmillan Education Namibia, 2009,*  
*paperback, 125 pages.*

Namibia, Joseph Cassidy writes, is a country filled with the most magical and stirring place names, which range from the phonetically bewildering "Omumborombongapan" to the arrestingly unexpected "Roastbeef Island."

While traveling in the country, he became fascinated with the strange and compelling names of the places he visited but discovered that there was no book in English to explain them. He began assembling his own historical dictionary, initially as a series of entries in Embassy Windhoek's biweekly newsletter, which eventually evolved into this volume.

Many locations in Namibia have one or more African names in addition to their European designation. For each, Cassidy provides pronunciation, translation and a description of its history and significance. Intended to improve upon the incomplete or less than useful works on Namibian place names he found in his research, this book offers a guide for both English-speaking tourists and for residents of Namibia.

Joseph Cassidy has lived and worked on five continents and travelled to dozens of countries in a 20-year Foreign Service career with the State Department. He wrote this book while posted in Namibia from 1998 to 2002 and regards those four years as the highlight of his career. He is currently director of multilateral and global affairs in the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor.

*Place Names of Namibia* is available from Gamsberg Macmillan Publishers Ltd. in Windhoek ([gamsberg@afrika.com.na](mailto:gamsberg@afrika.com.na)).



## COVER STORY



### **America, Britain, and Swaraj: Anglo-American Relations and Indian Independence, 1939-1945 (monograph)**

*Eric S. Rubin, India Review, 10:1,  
40-80, 2011, \$34, paperback, 41 pages.*

Having the British Empire as its closest ally in the Second World War complicated America's foreign policy in a number of ways, perhaps most especially with regard to colonial policy and national self-determination.

As Eric Rubin writes in this outstanding monograph from the February issue of *India Review*, "Franklin D. Roosevelt was torn by the need to reconcile ideological and moral sentiments with the practical exigencies of war."

As long as the war raged on, the United States could not afford a break with the British. Likewise Britain, even more than America, could ill afford a deterioration of relations with its principal ally. But as it became increasingly clear that the conflict over decolonization would

outlast the fight with the Axis powers, Roosevelt was wary of placing himself and his country on what he, in the American anticolonial tradition, considered to be the wrong side of history.

As the struggle against fascism settled into the Cold War, the shifting wartime interests of the two powers with respect to India, and by extension colonies and soon-to-be-independent states worldwide, would lay the foundation for American foreign policy. Rubin demonstrates with analytic precision how this interplay of interests contributed to Indian "Swaraj," or self-rule.

Eric S. Rubin is a career FSO whose most recent posting was as deputy chief of mission in Moscow. He is currently a deputy assistant secretary of State in the Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs. *India Review*, an academic peer-review journal based in Philadelphia, Pa., publishes social science research on Indian politics, economics and society.

To purchase this monograph, go to [www.tandfonline.com/toc/find20/current](http://www.tandfonline.com/toc/find20/current).

### *Lessons from the Past to Secure the Future*

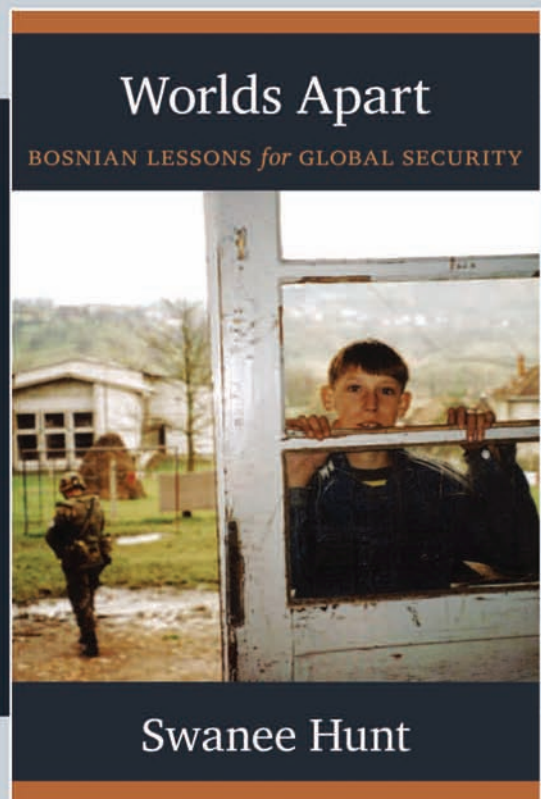
"An intelligent, insightful, and highly readable account of the Bosnia conflict and America's response to it."

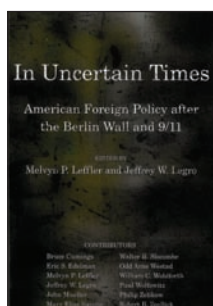
—AMBASSADOR ROBERT GALLUCCI,  
former Dean, Georgetown School of Foreign Service

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**In Uncertain Times:  
American Foreign Policy  
after the Berlin Wall and 9/11**  
*Melvyn P. Leffler & Jeffrey W.  
Lango, eds., Cornell University  
Press, 2011, \$15.95, paperback,  
243 pages.*

Often the most momentous changes in the international system are precipitated by events that appear to be unexpected and unplanned. Few people, for example, anticipated the dramatic fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 or the devastating attacks of 9/11, events that provide the context for this volume tracing the evolution of American foreign policy during the presidencies of George H.W. Bush, Bill Clinton and George W. Bush.

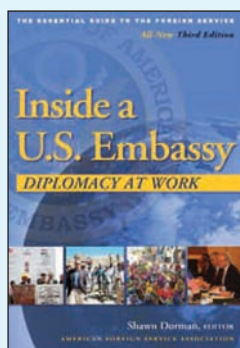
The editors have assembled an impressive list of contributors to this collection, including career FSOs Eric S. Edelman and Philip Zelikow, former Deputy Secretary of State Robert B. Zoellick and other high officials from the

policymaking side, as well as a complementary roster of eminent scholars and academics.

The policymakers describe how they went about making strategy in a world characterized by peril and flux, offering reinterpretations of economic policy under the first Bush administration and describing policy clashes in the wake of the Soviet collapse, the expansion of NATO and the 2003 invasion of Iraq. The scholars, too, address these topics, probing the unstated assumptions, cultural values and psychological makeup of the policymakers.

Between the two, we are compelled to rethink how our world has changed and how strategic planning and policymaking can be improved in the future. In a world still reeling from the surprises and still-unfolding effects of the Arab Spring, where the centrality of uncertainty has once more been made abundantly clear, the ideas presented here take on special importance.

Melvyn P. Leffler is a professor of American history at the University of Virginia. Jeffrey W. Lango is also a professor at U.Va., in the Department of Politics.



**Inside a U.S. Embassy:  
Diplomacy at Work**  
*Shawn Dorman, editor,  
FS Books/American Foreign  
Service Association, 2011,  
\$22.95, paperback, 265 pages.*

The all-new third edition of AFSA's popular introduction to the Foreign Service, *Inside a U.S. Embassy: Diplomacy at Work*, was released in April by Foreign Service Books, the book-publishing division of AFSA. The book draws on the experiences and expertise of the more than 80 Foreign Service contributors in 44 countries, giving the reader expansive insight into the challenges and opportunities of representing America abroad. FSBooks takes an innovative approach to foreign affairs publishing, seeking to introduce readers to the world of diplomatic practice through the practitioners themselves.

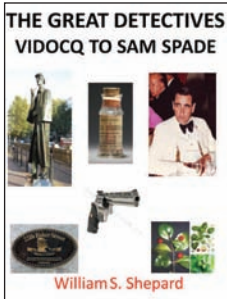
The first section (Profiles) introduces readers to Foreign Service professionals in 24 different positions, while the second section (Work and Life) puts these positions into the larger context of the role of the embassy and the Foreign Service career and life. The short journal entries of Part III

(A Day in the Life) provide readers with a sense of the everyday work of American diplomacy, while Part IV (Tales from the Field) gives a sense of the extraordinary times, from revolutions to natural disasters. Part V (So You Want to Join the Foreign Service?) is a primer on the hiring process, with reflections and guidance from Foreign Service officers and specialists from not only the State Department but also the U.S. Agency for International Development, the Foreign Agricultural Service and the Foreign Commercial Service.

The book's second edition, *Inside a U.S. Embassy: How the Foreign Service Works for America*, sold more than 75,000 copies. It was adopted by more than 40 universities for courses on diplomacy and purchased by more than 150 university career centers. It is used by embassies and the military as a guide to the work of U.S. embassies. The State Department continues to use the book to help educate Foreign Service candidates about the career.

Shawn Dorman is associate editor of the *Foreign Service Journal* and directs the book program for the American Foreign Service Association. A former Foreign Service political officer, Dorman served in Kyrgyzstan, Indonesia and Russia, and in the State Department Operations Center in Washington, D.C. She has written extensively on issues related to the diplomatic career.

## COVER STORY



### **The Great Detectives: from Vidocq to Sam Spade**

William S. Shepard,  
*Uncle Seth Cutler Press, 2011,*  
\$3.50, Kindle Edition.

*The Great Detectives* is a fascinating and highly readable introduction to the genre of the mystery. In a series of essays

William Shepard traces the birth and evolution of the detective story from its origins in the early 19th century to the great American masters, Raymond Chandler and Dashiell Hammett.

In the first essay, the reader meets Eugène-François Vidocq, the picaresque French criminal who became, by degrees, a police spy and then, the originator and chief of the first modern police intelligence bureau, the Brigade de Sûreté. His life was the stuff of great literature, from Victor Hugo to Dostoyevsky. Then there is the tormented Edgar Allan Poe, who created the first detective story, “Murders In The Rue Morgue,” alluding to the writings of Vidocq as he did so.

The second essay treats three eminent Victorian writers who created memorable sleuths: Charles Dickens, Wilkie Collins and, of course, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle. A Sherlockian, the author tackles the vexing question: Why didn't Holmes solve the Jack the Ripper Whitechapel murders of 1888?

Next come a trio of great mystery writers, Agatha Christie, Dorothy Sayers, and Georges Simenon, whose works are examined in detail. Dashiell Hammett's Sam Spade and Raymond Chandler's Philip Marlowe, representing the American hard-boiled school, complete the list.

Retired FSO William S. Shepard creator of the “diplomatic mystery” genre (see Fiction), has also written about wine, diplomacy and Maryland's history. *The Great Detectives* is based on the author's lecture course by the same name at Chesapeake College in Wye Mills, Md.

### **Of Summits and Sacrifice: An Ethnohistoric Study of Inka Religious Practices**

Thomas Besom, *University of Texas Press, 2010,*  
\$25, paperback, 244 pages.

In the middle of the 15th century, a small kingdom in the highlands of southern Peru began to expand. Within 100 years, it had become the largest state ever formed by



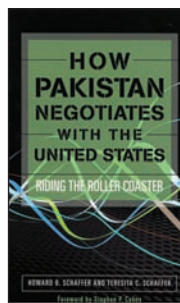
an indigenous people anywhere in the Americas. At the height of its power, the Inka Empire stretched some 4,000 kilometers from the present border between Ecuador and Colombia to the Mapocho River in central Chile. However, though its culture continued to flourish, this empire did not long survive the arrival of Spanish conquistadors in the early 1500s.

Because the Inkas had no system of writing, it was left to Spanish and semi-indigenous authors to record the details of the religious rituals the Inkas believed had been instrumental in consolidating their conquests. Synthesizing arresting accounts that span three decades, Thomas Besom presents a wealth of descriptive data on the practices of human sacrifice and mountain worship, supplemented by evidence from the rich archaeological record the Inkas left behind.

*Of Summits and Sacrifice* offers insight into the symbolic connections between landscape and life that underlay Inka religious beliefs. In vivid prose, Besom links significant details, ranging from the timing of cyclical sacrificial rites to the varieties and roles of mountain deities, to produce a compelling cultural history.

Dr. Besom is a research associate in the Department of Anthropology at Binghamton University in New York. He is the son of retired FSO Donald Besom.

## POLICY AND ISSUES



### **How Pakistan Negotiates with the United States: Riding the Roller Coaster**

Howard Schaffer and Teresita  
Schaffer, *United States Institute  
of Peace Press, 2011,* \$13.50,  
paperback, 210 pages.

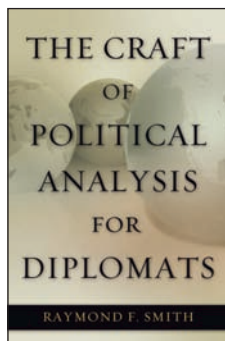
Retired career FSOs and tandem couple, former ambassadors and South Asia experts Howard and Teresita Schaffer provide a thorough analysis of the relationship between Pakistan and the United States in *How Pakistan Negotiates with the United States*. Meticulously analyzing all major aspects of the relationship, including ties between the countries' intelligence communities, their positions on

## COVER STORY

India and Afghanistan and the thorny issue of Pakistan's nuclear program, the authors identify three main factors that influence the country's approach to its negotiations with the U.S.: Islamabad's perception of its own place in the world; its culture; and the structure of its government, particularly its divided authority and the outsized role that the military has historically played.

The book offers insights not only into Pakistan's negotiating style and methods, but also the reasons behind the foreign policy objectives it pursues with the U.S. The authors interviewed U.S. and Pakistani officials to document their understanding of the factors that have influenced both and to gain perspectives from both sides of the table.

Teresita Schaffer served as U.S. ambassador to Sri Lanka (1992-1995) and as an economic officer in Pakistan, as well as at posts in Israel and India. From 1998 to 2010, she directed the South Asia program at the Center for Strategic and International Studies. Howard Schaffer served as U.S. ambassador to Bangladesh (1984-1987), and as political counselor in New Delhi (1977-1979) and Islamabad (1974-1977). He is now a professor at Georgetown University's Institute for the Study of Diplomacy. Both Schaffers served as deputy assistant secretary of State for South Asian affairs at different times.



### **The Craft of Political Analysis for Diplomats**

Raymond F. Smith,  
Potomac Books, 2011, \$30,  
paperback, 176 pages.

Most existing literature on the practice of diplomacy is either confined to the memoirs of retired diplomats or presented through the macro-lens of international relations theory. With notable exceptions, like George Kennan's famous Long Telegram and subsequent "X Article" or, more recently, the release of thousands of previously classified cables on Wikileaks, the often remarkably astute political analysis done by American diplomats abroad rarely receives attention from the public at large.

In *The Craft of Political Analysis for Diplomats*, Raymond F. Smith takes a fresh approach, explaining the context in which embassy reportage is produced and of-

fering a guide to the behind-the-scenes work that makes it possible. Drawing on a practitioner's understanding of the elements of good political analysis, Smith details what the Foreign Service professional or candidate or the interested layman should understand about crafting political analysis, including assessing the intended audience and making best use of intellectual and analytical tools of the trade. Smith cites cautionary tales about what can happen when analysis deviates from official policy, and the danger of political analysis becoming irrelevant.

Selected for the ASDST DACOR Diplomats and Diplomacy Series, *The Craft of Political Analysis for Diplomats* is a much-needed contribution to a body of literature that has largely neglected the practical aspects of the trade.

Raymond F. Smith is a retired Senior Foreign Service officer. Among many positions overseas and in Washington, D.C., he served as minister counselor for political affairs in Moscow and as director of the Office of Russian, Central Asian, Caucasus and Eastern European Affairs and the Bureau of Intelligence and Research at the State Department. He lives in Dallas, Texas.



### **High-Value Target: Countering Al Qaeda in Yemen**

Edmund Hull, Potomac Books,  
2011, \$18.15, hardcover, 162 pages.

*High-Value Target* tells the story of counterterrorism in Yemen through the eyes of FSO Edmund Hull, who was sent as U.S. ambassador to the Republic of Yemen shortly after the 9/11 attacks. Ambassador Hull chronologically recounts the story of the troubles — and triumphs — of U.S. counterterrorism policy there.

During a Book Notes event at AFSA on May 16, Amb. Hull said he had written the book hoping that, in part, readers would take away how much his team in Sanaa accomplished from late 2001 to 2004 despite having few resources at their disposal. One theme that runs through the book concerns the new roles that the State Department has taken on in the wake of the 9/11 attacks and the resources (or lack thereof) State has been provided to meet these new challenges.

Another important takeaway from *High-Value Target*, a book in the ADST-DACOR Diplomats and Diplomacy Series, is the way in which Amb. Hull and his team

## COVER STORY

worked with the Yemeni government and the local population. Under the motto “no security without development,” Hull successfully melded the security agenda important to Washington with the development agenda vital in the streets of Sanaa, thereby gaining buy-in from the Yemeni people, as well as from the government.

Edmund Hull was U.S. ambassador to Yemen from 2001 to 2004. His other Foreign Service postings included Israel, Tunisia and Egypt. He earned the CIA’s George H.W. Bush Award for Excellence in Counterterrorism for service in Washington, D.C. (1999-2001) and a Presidential Meritorious Service Award for his service in Sanaa. He currently consults for the U.S. military. (See p. 72 for a full review.)

### Excursions in Language While Looking for Today’s World “Lingua Franca”

John R. Campbell, Campbell Publishing, Inc., 2011, \$4.95, paperback, 73 pages.

In this compact, highly comprehensible book, John R.



Campbell uses a social science approach rather than a structured linguistic analysis to determine the likeliest candidate for the “lingua franca” of the future. Having declared that “language is the bridge to international understanding,” Campbell sets about establishing criteria by which to judge the suitability of languages for broad or universal adoption.

These include number of speakers, grammatical simplicity, precision of vocabulary, phonetic consistency and the language’s efficiency of script or “legibility.” He goes on to discuss the origin of writing in the ancient graphic languages of the Middle East, South and East Asia, and Mesoamerica and their transition (with the exception of Chinese) into phonetic scripts.

This is followed by a brief comparative analysis of the five prime candidates for a lingua franca, the world’s five most widely spoken languages: Chinese, English, Span-

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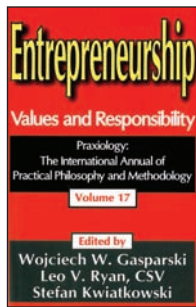
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## COVER STORY

ish, Arabic and Hindi. Campbell concludes with a chapter on the psychological factors influencing the use of shared language across cultures.

A quick and enjoyable, if sometimes disjointed, read, the book is an excellent start for the layman looking for a primer on comparative language without having to delve into complex linguistics.

Campbell served for 13 years as a Foreign Service officer, with postings to Ecuador, France, Vietnam and Spain, as well as Washington, D.C. Prior to that, he spent six years in academia as an instructor and administrator. His other works include *Are We Winning? Are They Winning?: A Civilian Adviser's Reflections on Wartime Vietnam* (AuthorHouse, 2004). *Excursions in Language* may be purchased at [www.blurb.com/bookstore/detail/2117011](http://www.blurb.com/bookstore/detail/2117011).



### **Entrepreneurship: Values and Responsibility**

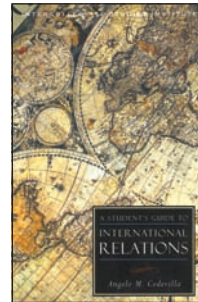
Leo V. Ryan, Wojciech W. Gasparski and Stefan Kwiatkowski, eds., *Transaction Publishers*, 2011, \$29.99, paperback, 317 pages.

This timely contribution to the field of business studies explores the relationship of ethics and accountability to success as an entrepreneur. Starting from the proposition that a person's actions as a business owner can lead to industrial growth or technological advancement, the authors declare that resourcefulness is a prerequisite for effective action — and that effectiveness, in turn, depends on sound ethical intentions.

The introduction states that “In [this] period of financial crisis caused by [the] irresponsible behavior [of] eminent would-be ‘entrepreneurs’ ... the very concept of entrepreneurship calls for values and responsibility.” From this premise the contributors examine entrepreneurship from a variety of perspectives, including the philosophical, sociological, religious and practical. The result is a thorough and sophisticated study of the intersection of social responsibility and good business.

Leo V. Ryan is a retired Foreign Service officer who served as deputy director and, later, director of the Peace Corps in Nigeria. He is a professor of management and dean emeritus of the College of Commerce and Kellstadt Graduate School of Business at DePaul University, and a longstanding member of the Clerics of St. Viator. Woj-

ciech W. Gasparski is the director of the Business Ethics Center at the Leon Kozminski Academy of Entrepreneurship and Management in Warsaw, Poland. Stefan Kwiatkowski is a consultant and lecturer at the Leon Kozminski Academy.



### **A Student's Guide to International Relations**

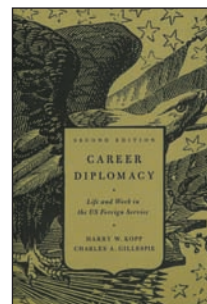
Angelo M. Codevilla, *ISI Books*, 2010, \$8, paperback, 99 pages.

The number of students majoring in international relations today dwarfs that of a generation ago, states Angelo Codevilla at the outset of this volume. At the same time, the programs and curricula learners follow vary immensely by institution and by professor. The result is a graduate pool of widely uneven exposure and specialization.

*A Student's Guide to International Relations*, the latest in the Intercollegiate Studies Institute's Guide to the Major Disciplines series, offers a brief and accessible overview of the international system and its history, dominant strains of thought in American statecraft, the instruments of power and contemporary geopolitical challenges. Codevilla also discusses the differences in geography, religious tradition, culture and the interpretation of history that affect the behavior of nations.

Though it does not purport to be a comprehensive survey of international relations, this smart, witty guide will be invaluable to students deciding on a course of study. Heavily interspersed with citations and suggestions for further reading, it can serve as the backbone of a self-directed curriculum in its own right.

Angelo M. Codevilla is a former Foreign Service officer who has taught international relations at Boston University, Princeton and Georgetown, in addition to writing several books on the subject.



### **Career Diplomacy: Life and Work in the Foreign Service, Second Edition**

Harry Kopp and Charles Gillespie, *Georgetown University Press*, 2011, \$29.95, paperback, 320 pages.

*Career Diplomacy* — first published in 2008, and now in its second

## COVER STORY

edition — is an informative, in-depth overview of the Foreign Service as an institution, a profession and a career. The authors, both of whom had long, distinguished careers as FSOs, are well qualified to provide a full and well-rounded picture of the organization, its place in history, its strengths and weaknesses, and its role in American foreign affairs.

New in this second edition are discussion and analysis of major changes that have occurred since 2007: the controversial effort to build an expeditionary Foreign Service to lead the work of stabilization and reconstruction in fragile states; deepening cooperation with the U.S. military and the changing role of the Service in Iraq and Afghanistan; the recent surge in FS recruitment and hiring at the Department of State and U.S. Agency for International Development; and the growing integration of USAID's budget and mission with those of the Department of State.

"Current, dispassionate and accurate, *Career Diplomacy* is the must-read book for those seeking understanding of today's Foreign Service," states Ronald E. Neumann, for-

mer ambassador and president of the American Academy of Diplomacy.

Harry W. Kopp is a retired FSO and consultant in international trade. He was deputy assistant secretary of State for international trade policy in the Carter and Reagan administrations and is the author of *Commercial Diplomacy and the National Interest* (Academy of Diplomacy/BCIU, 2004). The late Charles A. Gillespie served as deputy assistant secretary of State for inter-American affairs and as ambassador to Grenada, Colombia and Chile during his FS career. He also served as special assistant to the president on the National Security Council staff.

### **Managing Children in Disasters: Planning for Their Unique Needs**

*Damon P. Coppola, George D. Haddow and Jane A. Bullock, CRC Press, 2011, \$79.95, hardcover, 246 pages.*

Every year, millions of people around the globe are affected by natural and human-caused disasters, but none

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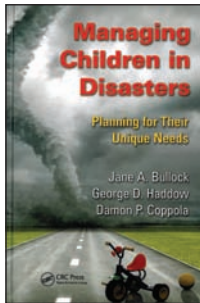
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## COVER STORY

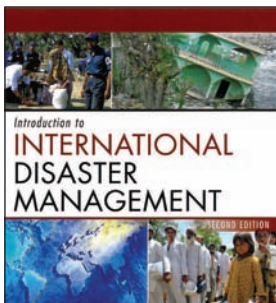


feel the effects of these more acutely than children. Both physically and psychologically, children are far more vulnerable than adults and suffer disproportionately in disaster zones, yet emergency planners have by and large failed to address their special needs.

*Managing Children in Disasters* begins by listing these needs and identifying the infrastructure necessary to support children's physical security, emotional stability, family unity and education. It then outlines the many steps that parents, emergency planners, school officials and other care providers can take to mitigate the effects of potential disasters on that supporting infrastructure.

Using a cross-disciplinary approach and in consultation with Federal Emergency Management Agency professionals, the authors analyze the design of evacuation plans, emergency shelters and rebuilding processes from the standpoint of ensuring that children receive care commensurate with their particular vulnerabilities. The book includes examples of existing programs, reports, sample plans and guides that offer instruction for families, agencies and communities in all phases of emergency management, from preparation to recovery.

Damon P. Coppola, the husband of career FSO Mary Gardner-Coppola, is an emergency management systems engineer who has worked on planning, management and policy projects with FEMA, the World Bank, the United Nations and the National Disaster Preparedness Training Center.



### **Introduction to International Disaster Management, 2nd edition**

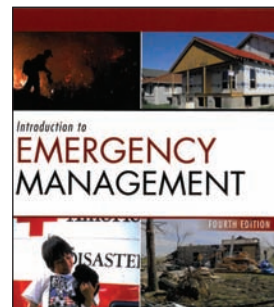
*Damon P. Coppola,*  
*Butterworth-Heinemann,*  
*2011, \$79.95, hardcover,*  
*696 pages.*

The possibility of sudden and unexpected catastrophe being an inescapable fact of human existence, individuals and societies alike have made many attempts to minimize their vulnerability and develop mechanisms to address the initial impact and plan for recovery. The principles behind these measures — the preservation of life, property and

the environment — are the same worldwide, but the capacity to implement successful disaster management varies widely among countries.

Despite the best efforts of national administrations, disastrous events can overwhelm local capabilities, necessitating intervention by a full range of international organizations and agencies. This definitive text addresses the formidable task of coordinating such efforts.

Updated to reflect the latest data in global disaster trends, this second edition offers a comprehensive overview of the complex issues surrounding preparedness, response and relief during international disasters. It will be a useful reference for students, practitioners and anyone interested in international humanitarian response and recovery.



### **Introduction to Emergency Management, 4th edition**

*Damon P. Coppola,*  
*George D. Haddow*  
*and Jane A. Bullock;*  
*Butterworth-Heinemann,*  
*2011, \$59.95, hardcover,*  
*424 pages.*

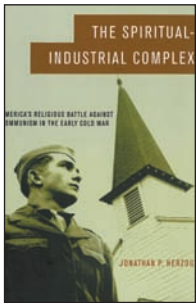
Emergency management as a profession and an academic discipline has never been more relevant than it is today. In *Introduction to Emergency Management*, Coppola and his co-authors aim both to provide the reader with a working knowledge of how the functions of emergency management operate and to document the current status of the discipline.

As the authors state in the introduction, the attacks of Sept. 11, 2001, set in motion a series of changes in the way governments at all levels, as well as businesses, non-governmental organizations and the general public, approach the possibility of disaster — in concert with or independent of official agencies. The popular opinion that ad hoc reactions would prove ineffective was confirmed by the inept response to Hurricane Katrina in 2005, which prompted extensive rethinking among risk assessment and emergency management practitioners.

Drawing heavily on recent case studies, this book examines emergency management as practiced in the United States at the federal level and by state and local agencies. The most recent disasters are covered, and up-to-date information on the role of emergency management agencies under the Obama administration is provided.



## COVER STORY



### **The Spiritual-Industrial Complex: America's Religious Battle Against Communism in the Early Cold War**

Jonathan P. Herzog, Oxford University Press, 2011, \$34.95, hardcover, 288 pages.

Dwight Eisenhower's 1961 farewell address famously warned of the pernicious influence of America's military-industrial complex, but less well known is the president's contribution to another Cold War collaboration: the spiritual-industrial complex. This fascinating volume argues that American leaders during the early Cold War were profoundly influenced by religion in their approach to the Soviet Union, viewing communism not as godless but rather a twisted and sinister form of religion.

Jonathan Herzog offers an illuminating account of the rhetoric, programs and policies that became the spiritual-industrial complex, and shows how these efforts played out across every facet of American life in a nationwide promotion of faith as a weapon against Soviet communism.

In schools, where "under God" was added to the Pledge of Allegiance in 1953; in the military, where soldiers were taught that the states of the world were divided into "demonic," "secular" and "covenant" nations; to a Hollywood that turned out religiously themed blockbusters like "The Ten Commandments" and "Ben-Hur," Americans were bombarded with the message that those who were truly religious could not be communists — and the thinly veiled implication that those who were not religious could not be true Americans.

Thoughtfully researched and vividly written, Herzog's book offers a fresh and compelling contribution to the study of religion in American politics and foreign policy. A must-read for those interested in modern history and U.S. policy, it offers readers further insight into the debates over secularism that still rage across the United States today.

Jonathan Herzog is a recently hired FSO, who begins his first tour in November. Previously in academia, he has held positions at Stanford University, the University of Oregon and the Hoover Institution.

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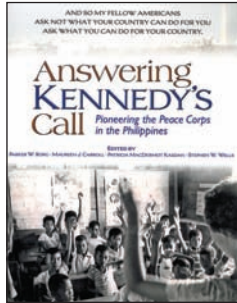
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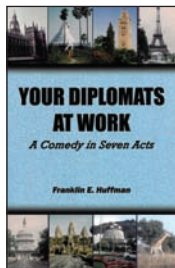
### **Answering Kennedy's Call: Pioneering the Peace Corps in the Philippines**

*Parker Borg, et al., Peace Corps Writers Worldwide, 2011, \$25, paperback, 498 pages.*

On the 50th anniversary of the executive order that established the Peace Corps, this book showcases the dedication and spirit of volunteerism in which Americans take pride in the form of a collection of short memoirs by nearly 100 of the volunteers who ventured to the Philippines in the agency's first years.

In *Answering Kennedy's Call*, early Peace Corps Volunteers recount their struggles to find the tools necessary to achieve the impact they desired and the challenges they faced in implementing the new program. With the benefit of five decades of perspective, they reflect on the impact that those years had on their lives.

The book is co-edited by former FSO Parker Borg, and contains essays from former FS employees Richard Gilbert ("The World's Worst Peace Corps Volunteer") and Brenda Brown Schoonover ("On Being an American"). Before joining the Foreign Service, all three served together as Peace Corps Volunteers in the Philippines.



### **Your Diplomats At Work: A Comedy in Seven Acts**

*Franklin E. Huffman, Vellum, 2011, \$26, paperback, 280 pages.*

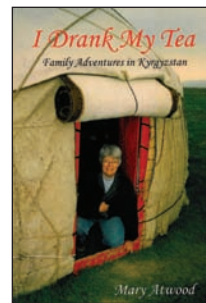
In *Your Diplomats at Work*, a new release in ADST's Memoirs and Occasional Papers series, Frank Huffman describes his experiences as a Foreign Service officer and the frustrations, delights and insights that accompanied them.

A prologue recounts Huffman's roundabout journey from Virginia farm boy to academic to diplomat, establishing his credentials and background as a world traveler even before joining the Service. Seven chapters focus on his postings in Great Britain, Burma (Myanmar), Morocco, France, Cambodia, New Zealand and Chad, as well as a brief interlude in Washington, D.C. He concludes the book with further reflections on life in the Foreign Service.

Often quite funny and always thoughtful, Huffman's experiences shed light on the inner workings of the Foreign Service and the travails and opportunities of a career with State. They also touch on the difficulties of being a two-career family, finding education for one's children abroad and dealing with nonsensical travel restrictions.

Though he writes with a delicate touch, Huffman renders a stern assessment of State's "stifling bureaucracy" and inefficiency in carrying out its goals, then offers pragmatic suggestions for future improvement.

Franklin Huffman joined the Foreign Service in 1985, at the age of 51, after teaching Thai, Cambodian, Vietnamese and Southeast Asian linguistics at Yale and Cornell University. He retired from active duty in 1999.



### **I Drank My Tea: Family Adventures in Kyrgyzstan**

*Mary Atwood, CreateSpace, 2011, \$9.95, paperback, 170 pages.*

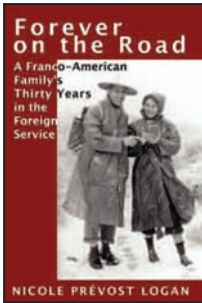
In 1999, the author and her husband, USAID FSO Tracy Atwood, relocated to Kyrgyzstan with their three teenage children. Mrs. Atwood's memoir of four years in Central Asia contains stories of everyday life mixed with accounts of adventurous travel.

She makes a home in Bishkek, copes with the challenges of independent study, discovers a Baptist church on a snowy winter morning and makes trips into the mountains to visit local people. In their yurts she is served vodka and fermented mare's milk and is presented with a freshly slaughtered sheep's head.

Though she found the Russian language to be her biggest challenge, Mrs. Atwood and her family made many Russian and Kyrgyz friends. Her children, John, Joseph and Catherine, successfully completed their independent studies and went on to college. The time in Kyrgyzstan was a wonderful experience for the whole family, she avers, and the ties they made there have been lasting.

After growing up on a dairy farm near Quincy, Ill., Mary Atwood graduated from the University of Illinois and then studied Waldorf Education at the Waldorf Institute for Liberal Education. Before Bishkek, her Foreign Service postings included Sanaa and Bamako. She now lives at the couple's permanent home in Falls Village, Conn.

## COVER STORY



### **Forever on the Road: A Franco-American Family's Thirty Years in the Foreign Service**

Nicole Prévost Logan, *Scarith*,  
2011, \$26, paperback, 262 pages.

This memoir offers an overview of the life and work of an American diplomatic family over 30 years in 10 countries on three continents. But in contrast to the typical Foreign Service memoir, author Nicole Logan backs up the report of her experiences and observations with thorough research.

“Nicole Logan gives us insights into the political situation in many of the countries in which she lived,” writes Ambassador Roger Kirk in his foreword to the book. “She is particularly effective in describing the social crosscurrents underlying political developments, something we see all too rarely in analyses of world events.”

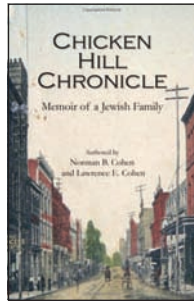
The wife of FSO Alan Logan, the author took great pride in a career spent mostly in the field. She approaches each posting with great curiosity, learning about each country’s history, its political system and its culture, clearly enjoying the constant discoveries. Against an exciting backdrop of civil war and overthrown governments, the story reads like an adventure that touches on U.S. foreign policy in the Far East, turmoil in the Middle East, the “thaw” in the Soviet Union, U.S. economic assistance in Africa and the end of apartheid. Logan spices up her story with personal, often humorous commentary.

Nicole Prévost Logan grew up in Paris, where she earned a law degree from the Sorbonne. She has master’s degrees in political science from Stanford University and in Russian studies from American University. After retirement from diplomatic life, she concentrated on archaeological expeditions and published articles on digs in Tunisia, Israel and Russia. She has four grown children and now divides her time between Connecticut and Paris. *Forever on the Road* is part of the ADST-DACOR Memoirs and Occasional Papers series.

### **Chicken Hill Chronicle: Memoir of a Jewish Family**

Lawrence Cohen, *Xlibris Corp.*, 2011, \$19.99,  
paperback, 322 pages.

*Chicken Hill Chronicle* is the narrative of three generations of a Jewish family who settle down in the low-end Chicken Hill neighborhood of a small Pennsylvania

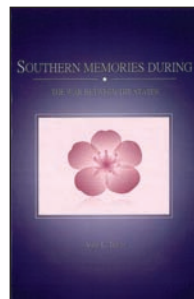


town in the 19th century. Lawrence Cohen recounts his rich family history as passed on to him by his 80-year-old father, Norman Cohen.

The first generation of the Cohen family are immigrants who find themselves in a strange new world, far removed from the Galician shtetl they have known throughout their lives. Led by the family patriarch, they embark on their new lives in America in a Christian town devoid of the Jewish institutions and traditions of their homeland.

With the exception of the eldest daughter and her hapless husband, the second generation fares well in Chicken Hill, putting down roots and opening businesses. Norman Cohen, a member of the third generation, gives up his college ambitions to help the family run their shoe business during the Great Depression.

Lawrence Cohen is a retired State Department Foreign Service officer. He has written for the *Foreign Service Journal*, as well as the *American Philatelist* and the National Speleological Society’s *NSS News*. He lives in Herndon, Va., with his wife and two dogs.



### **Southern Memories During the War Between the States**

Anne L. Terio, *Xlibris*, 2011,  
\$15.99, paperback, 63 pages.

*Southern Memories* tells the story of the Park family of Georgia and their experience during the “War of the Federal Aggression” — the War Between the States, or the Civil War as it is more commonly known today.

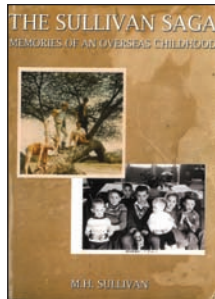
The book is based on the papers of Anita Pressley, a great-great-granddaughter of Joseph Park, the author’s ancestor. Among Ms. Pressley’s papers are notes from family Bibles and oral accounts from descendants who still resided in Green County, Ga., in the early 1920s and 1930s. The material provides part of the story of the Parks family and also chronicles a number of events during the unforgettable period in the history of the American South from February 1861 to May 1865.

“Even though there were struggles and a war, the Park family had a good life through hard work and a lot of family love. This continues to be true for the subsequent generations,” writes Anne Terio. “The purpose of this

## COVER STORY

book is to share some of the stories of our ancestors' memories."

A retired Foreign Service officer, Anne Terio was born in Lafayette, Ga., and grew up in Burlington, N.C. She is a member of the Daughters of the American Revolution and the Colonial Dames XVII Century. She has a passion for history and writing, and has published several books. She resides in Alexandria, Va.



### **The Sullivan Saga: Memories of an Overseas Childhood**

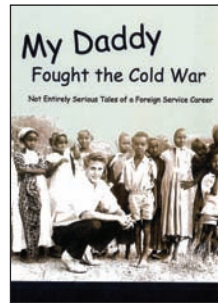
*M.H. Sullivan, Romagnoli Publications, 2010, \$14.99, paperback, 290 pages.*

This is a lively and insightful story of the exotic, funny and sometimes bittersweet overseas childhood of an FS daughter and her six brothers. It begins in 1957, when author Maureen Sullivan is 6 years old and, with her mother and four brothers, sets out to join her father, Eugene F. Sullivan, an FSO with USAID, in Korea. The family was among the first American dependents allowed to live in the country after the Korean War.

After more than five years in Seoul, they move on to Taiwan, and then on to postings in the Philippines and Thailand. The saga ends in Ethiopia, where, in 1972, Mr. Sullivan died an untimely death of Blackwater fever, a virulent form of malaria. (In May Eugene Sullivan's name was added to the AFSA Memorial Plaques, which honor FS members who have lost their lives in the line of duty overseas.)

Ms. Sullivan's detailed memories are recorded thoughtfully and with the benefit of hindsight, forming a kind of prism through which the reader comes to reflect on the process of growing up and appreciate the adaptability of children to cultures other than their own — as well as the fortitude and courage of diplomat parents trying to raise their children to be citizens of the world as well as good Americans.

Maureen Sullivan lives with her husband in New Hampshire, where she is a technical writer for an international software company by day and a novelist by night. *The Sullivan Saga* is her second book. Her first, *Trail Magic: Lost in Crawford Notch* (Romagnoli Publications, 2009), a novel about a 14-year-old girl, was the 2010 Mom's Choice Award gold medal winner.



### **My Daddy Fought the Cold War**

*C. Robert Dickerman, Augusta Free Press, 2011, \$15.95, paperback, 212 pages.*

In the spring of 1991, Bob Dickerman took his two young daughters to visit the Brandenburg Gate, for decades one of the few crossings of the Berlin Wall that divided West Germany from the communist East. He had last seen the Wall, newly built, in 1963, one year into a Foreign Service career that would span four decades. Standing before it again, less than two years after its dramatic fall, there was much to reflect on in the stark contrast between the world in which he had moved and worked for 30 years and the one that his girls would grow up in.

This lively, vaguely tongue-in-cheek memoir consists of episodic tales from Dickerman's long career as a self-described "working-stiff diplomat" in Africa, Asia, Europe and the Caribbean. Ranging from the harrowing (the death of locally engaged reporters in the course of service) to the hilarious (a marriage proposal via short-wave radio out of Mogadishu), the tales both inform and entertain with minute and deeply personal details that are often neglected in memoirs. Dickerman paints a compelling portrait of what it was really like to work on the diplomatic front lines of the Cold War.

Bob Dickerman joined the United States Information Agency in 1962. He served in that capacity all over the world and, in addition, as deputy chief of mission in Trinidad & Tobago. He now lives near the George Washington National Forest, west of Staunton, Va.



### **Sad Specimens for Tea**

*Jonathan Chase, ed., CreateSpace, 2011, \$30.48, paperback, 636 pages.*

*Sad Specimens for Tea* is a collection of letters written by Caroline "Nan" Chase, the wife of FSO Peter Chase, to her mother between 1928 and 1969. It is the heartwarming and life-affirming story of one woman's international journey from childhood up to her fiftieth year, organized and published posthumously by her son. The vibrant letters offer a firsthand account of growing up in America between two world wars

## COVER STORY

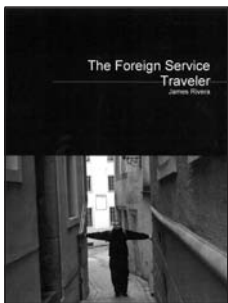
and then trying to raise a family overseas amid dramatic events in Morocco, South Africa, Egypt, Libya, Sudan and Algeria.

Nan Chase was born in Brussels and grew up in Cambridge, where she was introduced to watercolors as a student at the Shady Hill School. An art major, she graduated from Wellesley College and spent a graduate year at Harvard studying fine arts. When World War II intervened, she went to Washington, D.C., to work for the Navy Department and the Office of Strategic Services. In 1943, she married Peter R. Chase.

During nearly 30 years as a Foreign Service spouse, she raised five children and taught art and elementary grades in the American Schools in Cairo, Khartoum and Algiers. She returned to the United States in 1970 and taught third grade for 10 years in Tarrytown, N.Y., spending summers in Rockport, Mass., at artist workshops. In 1986 she retired and moved to her mother's house in Rockport, where she was able to study painting more seriously.

Jonathan Chase was born in Washington, D.C., and raised in Sudan, Algeria and Libya before returning to the United States in 1969. He worked in the travel and telecommunications industries and then in health-care advocacy for 30 years. He has written several plays and is currently working on "The Passionate Pilgrim," a review of political play-making during the Tudor-Stuart transition period in England.

### FICTION, POETRY AND ART



#### **The Foreign Service Traveler**

*James Rivera, River Investment R.I.C.O. LLC, 2011, \$25.95, paperback, 54 pages.*

This collection of black-and-white photographs from around the world was shot and assembled by James Rivera, a Foreign Service computer and telephone specialist with the Department of State.

A passionate self-taught photographer, Rivera chronicled his impressions of the places his work has taken him in his two years with State, including Bangkok, Bandar Seri Begawan, Addis Ababa, Luxemburg and Manama. Highlighting the variety of experiences and exotic locales that await a Foreign Service employee abroad, this charming collection also reflects Rivera's own enthusiasm for the ca-

reer that has given him the opportunity to see and do so much.

A Miami native, Rivera intends to donate 25 percent of all profits from the book to the Shriners Hospital for Children, where his eldest daughter has received orthopedic treatment.



#### **Farishta**

*Patricia McArdle, Penguin Books, 2011, \$25.95 hardcover, 368 pages.*

Patricia McArdle's debut novel *Farishta*, which means "angel" in Dari, ably weds emotional profundity to literary realism in this gripping tale set in northern Afghanistan. Some two decades after losing her husband in the 1983 Beirut Embassy bombing, FSO Angela Morgan leaves a stagnant position in Washington, D.C., where she had cloistered after the tragedy, to take up a post with a Provincial Reconstruction Team in Mazar-i-Sharif.

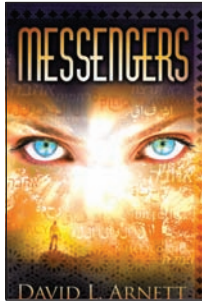
There, although the region is physically so safe that the soldiers she encounters eschew helmets and armor, she repeatedly experiences hostility and suspicion on all fronts: from the soldiers and other all-male colleagues in her unit and from provincial officials and local men. Frustrated by her inability to effect meaningful change through her post, she begins sneaking off base, clad in a burka, to bring aid to refugees at a nearby camp.

As she becomes their "farishta," she finds new purpose and a means of cleansing herself of her trauma, earning the usually grudging respect of those around her, the story charts the deterioration of security and crumbling of formerly cordial relations with Afghans in the leadup to a violent conclusion.

*Farishta* was featured at AFSA's Sept. 27 Book Notes event, where the author discussed its origins in her own experience.

Patricia McArdle, the daughter of a U.S. Marine, grew up on military bases. Before joining the Foreign Service in 1979, she was an officer in the U.S. Navy and, before that, a Peace Corps Volunteer in rural Paraguay. Toward the end of a nearly 30-year diplomatic career, she served as a member of a PRT in northern Afghanistan. This rich background shines through in the realism of her material and the poignancy of her prose. She is now retired and lives in Arlington, Va.

## COVER STORY



### Messengers

David L. Arnett, *Unity Books*, 2011, \$24.95, paperback, 313 pages.

By all accounts, Jake Daniels should have died when his vehicle collided head-on with a moving truck. Now his vision of a woman at the accident scene is consuming his every thought. Convinced that she was a guardian angel who saved his life, he becomes obsessed with angels, good and evil, and the meaning of human existence. His search for answers begins a thrilling international journey filled with intrigue, politics and discovery.

Seeking out those with similar experiences, Jake's quest leads to encounters with actual angels, who share with him their cosmic insights about mankind, spirituality and the fundamental nature of all things. These other-worldly experiences lead to confrontations with demons and the stunning revelation of Satan as a projection of human consciousness.

As Jake discovers the truths that underlie all religious traditions, he is led to take a bold and public stand on a deeply controversial political issue. Challenging his audience to live up to the ultimate values of love, mercy and compassion, he leaves it to them to determine whether humanity rises to a new and greater level of existence or succumbs to its own destruction.

David L. Arnett spent more than 30 years in the Foreign Service, most recently as principal officer in Istanbul. He has been an English teacher and an army officer and is fluent in Danish, German, Norwegian and Turkish. *Messengers* is his first novel.



### Moondogs

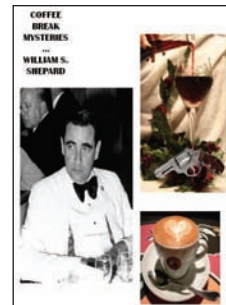
Alexander Yates, *Doubleday*, 2011, \$25.95, paperback, 352 pages.

This fantastically weird, profoundly affecting story follows a son's quest to reconnect with his estranged father against the lush and complicated backdrop of the Philippines, where the author lived in his youth and again after college. Arriving in Manila to heal his relationship with his jet-setting, womanizing father, protagonist Benicio is shocked to discover that his father has been kidnapped by a meth-addicted cabdriver and his

villainous rooster.

Further populating the surreal narrative are a local policeman and his motley team of wizardry-infused soldiers, a novice officer from the American embassy, a troubled soldier who can shoot to kill from anywhere — but only if he knows his target's name — and a slew of crooked politicians, harried diplomats and many more. Fast-paced and wonderfully bizarre, the novel offers glimpses into both Filipino and expatriate culture and challenges conventional ideas about family and identity.

The son of an FSO, Alexander Yates grew up in Haiti, Mexico, Bolivia and the Philippines, where he later returned to work in the political section of Embassy Manila. His wife has recently joined USAID, making him a Foreign Service family member once again. He holds an MFA from Syracuse University and has traveled or lived in 43 countries to date. *Moondogs* is his first novel.



### Coffee Break Mysteries

William S. Shepard, *Uncle Seth Cutler Press*, 2011, \$2.99, Kindle Edition.

A collection of 20 short stories, *Coffee Break Mysteries* gives the reader a wide variety of whodunits to solve. Some are rooted in history, like "Who Poisoned George Washington?" The reader must figure out which of the four suspects poisoned the president on a trip to New York. In "The Pilgrim Thanksgiving," a school holiday pageant challenges its audience to determine which of its scenes was not historically accurate. Others are themed for the holidays, like "What the Dickens — A Christmas Eve Mystery."

Shepard's stories are engaging but quick reads, ideal for (as the title suggests) coffee breaks, but also great for the waiting room or the morning bus ride. He presents his readers with all the clues and suspects necessary to solve the mystery, and challenges them to solve it on their own before flipping the page to see the narrator's explanation of events.

Retired FSO William Shepard, who pioneered the "diplomatic mystery" genre, has written four novels in this series featuring career diplomat Robbie Cutler as the protagonist. The first, *Vintage Murder* (iUniverse, 2002), is now available in a Kindle edition. For more information go to [www.diplomaticmysteries.com](http://www.diplomaticmysteries.com).

## COVER STORY



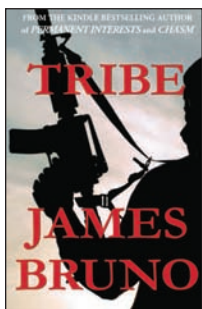
### **Singing in Babylon**

Ann Gaylia O'Barr; OakTara Publishers, 2010, \$19.95, paperback, 296 pages.

*Singing in Babylon* is a love story featuring a strong-willed young teacher and an equally stubborn journalist, both struggling with past tragedies, who are thrown together in a foreign land. Kate McCormack, a recent graduate saddled with college debt and limited options, decides to accept an offer to teach English in Saudi Arabia. Journalist Philip Tangvald is on the trail of a story about illegal immigration routes through the Middle East and North Africa. A unique and compelling romance, their romance is also a fascinating journey through a foreign culture.

This book is the first in a series of novels in which Ann O'Barr focuses on the years from World War II through 9/11, narrating the journeys of Americans struggling with personal challenges against a background of global upheaval and cultural conflict. *Quiet Deception* and *Searching for Home* are due to be released by OakTara Publishers later in the year.

Ann Gaylia O'Barr is a retired FSO whose assignments during a 14-year career starting in 1990 took her to Saudi Arabia (twice), Algeria, Canada and Tunisia. In Washington, she served in the Bureau of Population, Refugees and Migration and in the Bureau of Intelligence and Research. She has published several articles and a previous novel, *First Light* (B&H Publishing Group, 1984). Originally from Nashville, Tenn., Ann O'Barr lives in Langley, Wash.



### **Tribe**

James Bruno, Bittersweet House Press, 2011, \$13.99, paperback, 366 pages; \$2.99, Kindle Edition.

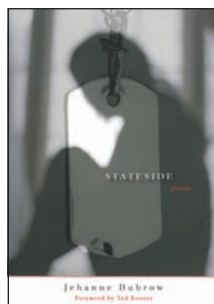
A secret peace with the Taliban and complete U.S. troop withdrawal is to be secured with a huge Central Asian oil deal. Backers will garner enormous wealth, and the re-election of a president is virtually guaranteed. CIA officer Harry Brennan's moral conscience compels him to get in the way of this plot.

In doing so, he faces political enemies at home more dangerous than the terrorists who have kidnapped his daughter, whose fate is in turn tied to that of Russian spy Sergei Nem-

sky's daughter. The action takes the reader from Afghanistan to Georgetown and to Yemen, as the adversaries form a risky pact to save their daughters, and Brennan confronts layers of intrigue within the U.S. government.

"Bruno adds his own mordant wit and deeply professional cynicism to the mix to create a potboiler that has everything — action, suspense, sex, humor and an American take on John Le Carré's gray world of espionage," writes one reviewer. "It is a meditation on the bigger issues of trust and betrayal and how to find room for patriotism or integrity in a world of runaway egos and ambition."

In a 23-year career as a State Department FSO, James Bruno served in Cuba, Guantanamo (as liaison with the Cuban military), Pakistan/Afghanistan, Vietnam, Cambodia and Washington, D.C. Earlier, he worked as a military intelligence officer and as a journalist. He is a member of the Diplomatic Readiness Reserve and the author of two previous novels, *Permanent Interests* (lulu.com, 2011) and *CHASM* (lulu.com, 2007).



### **Stateside**

Jehanne Dubrow, TriQuarterly Books, 2010, \$16.95, paperback, 72 pages.

In this moving, graceful collection of poems, Jehanne Dubrow explores her experience as a military wife through three stages of her husband's tours: preparation, deployment and return. The poems touch on many aspects of a marriage strained by separation: the mundane domesticity before departure; the aching loneliness during the deployment, wherein she invokes Penelope's long wait for Odysseus; and, finally, the awkward tensions of his eventual return.

Dubrow displays a mastery of lyrical forms. The elegance of the structure is such that when form is dropped or shifted the subtle changes effortlessly complement the gentle sensuality of the material. Equally impressive for the refinement of its style and the poignancy of its subject, *Stateside* will be relished by anyone with a love of poetry or a familiarity with the travails of professional separation. (See the April *FSJ* for a full review.)

Jehanne Dubrow is the wife of a naval officer and the daughter of career diplomats. She holds a Ph.D. in English and teaches creative writing at Washington College in Chestertown, Md.

*Continued on page 43*

## OF RELATED INTEREST

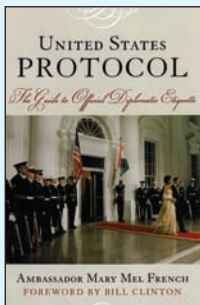
**A Covert Affair: Julia Child and Paul Child in the OSS**

Jennet Conant, Simon & Schuster, 2011, \$28, hardcover, 416 pages.

Julia Child is best known for her finesse in the kitchen. But in *A Covert Affair*, author Jennet Conant explores Julia's life before her famed television show, from the time she joined the Office of Strategic Services as a clerk through her marriage to fellow OSS employee Paul Child, who later joined the Foreign Service.

The McCarthy era provides a dramatic backdrop for the book, which opens with Paul traveling to Washington for what he expects is a promotion, only to discover that he is being investigated for communist ties.

Jennet Conant is also the author of *The Irregulars: Roald Dahl and the British Spy Ring in Wartime Washington* (Simon & Schuster, 2008) and *Tuxedo Park: A Wall Street Tycoon and the Secret Palace of Science That Changed the Course of World War II* (Simon & Schuster, 2002).

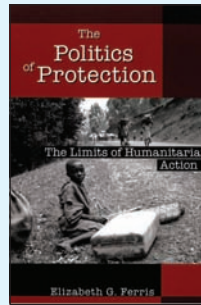
**United States Protocol: The Guide to Official Diplomatic Etiquette**

Mary Mel French, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2010, \$44.95, hardcover, 472 pages.

In *United States Protocol*, former Chief of Protocol Mary French has written a thorough, easy-to-use guide to diplomatic etiquette.

The book provides both formal and candid advice for everyone from advance team members to ambassadors, and covers a wide variety of situations. Practical examples are given to help demonstrate successful practices and to offer inspiration.

Mary French was chief of protocol for President Bill Clinton. She entered the U.S. protocol office in 1993 as assistant chief of protocol for visits. Before that she was administrative director of the Clinton for President Campaign.

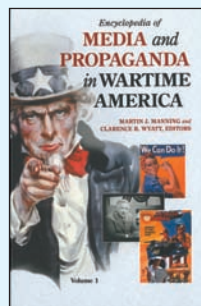
**The Politics of Protection: The Limits of Humanitarian Action**

Elizabeth G. Ferris, Brookings Institution Press, 2011, \$32.95, paperback, 380 pages.

In recent years the practice of humanitarian action has evolved beyond assisting those endangered by conflict or disaster to protecting them from further danger and loss in the aftermath. In *The Politics of Protection*, Elizabeth Ferris has produced a detailed and absorbing analysis of the increasing dangers and emerging inconsistencies in humanitarian work, its limitations and their implications for the future.

Her compelling narrative demonstrates the inadequacies of current protection models to meet the looming crises of climate change, mass displacement, and changes in the scale and practice of conflict.

Now a senior fellow in the Foreign Policy Studies program at the Brookings Institution and co-director of the Brookings-LSE Project on Internal Displacement, Ms. Ferris spent more than two decades working in humanitarian assistance. She is also an adjunct associate professor at Georgetown's Walsh School of Foreign Service and is a prolific contributor to academic and policy journals.

**Encyclopedia of Media and Propaganda in Wartime America**

Martin J. Manning & Clarence R. Wyatt, eds., ABC-CLIO, LLC, 2010, \$180, hardcover, 860 pages (in two volumes).

Comprising the contributions of at least 14 scholars, this two-volume set offers a detailed and very accessible overview of American wartime reportage and propaganda. *Encyclopedia of Media and Propaganda in Wartime America* details media responses, public opinion and official policy regarding wartime events from the North American colonial wars and the American Revolution through our present conflicts in the Middle East. (See the September *FSJ* for a full review.)

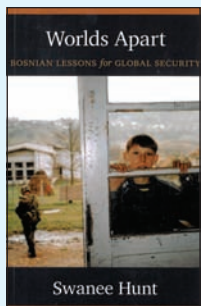
The books are organized in chronological chapters highlighting specific wars or designated periods of conflict and the people, events and publications relevant to



## COVER STORY

each. A must-have for anyone interested in wartime journalism or the complicated intersection of government policy, public opinion and media bias, readers should not be deterred by this tome's heft or price tag.

Martin Manning is a librarian at the Bureau of Diplomacy and Public Affairs, U.S. Department of State, where he curates the U.S. Information Agency archives. Clarence Wyatt the Pottinger Professor of History at Centre College.



### **Worlds Apart: Bosnian Lessons for Global Security**

*Swanee Hunt, Duke University Press, 2011, \$32.95, paperback, 304 pages.*

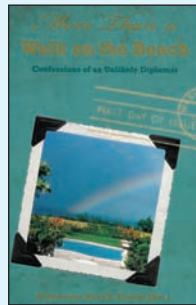
In *Worlds Apart*, Ambassador Swanee Hunt highlights the sometimes disastrous disconnect between those who make and implement policy and those who witness or experience the results. Set during the Bosnian War of 1992-1995, during which period Hunt served as U.S. ambassador to neighboring Austria, the narrative unfolds in a series of 80 brief vignettes. These alternate between the experiences of those “inside” — the aid and human rights workers, journalists and others who watched the conflict firsthand — and those “outside” — the policymakers who had to make the decisions, often from oceans away, that played out on the ground. In the concluding chapter, the author sets forth six lessons she derived from her experiences.

Swanee Hunt is the founder and current chair of Women Waging Peace, a global initiative to integrate women into peace processes. She is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and director of the Women and Public Policy Program at the Kennedy School of Government.

### **More Than a Walk on the Beach: Confessions of an Unlikely Diplomat**

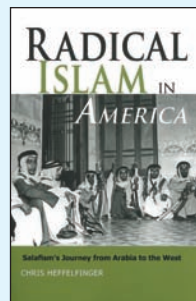
*Mary E. Kramer, Sigler Companies, 2010, \$24.95, paperback, 179 pages.*

The last thing that Mary Kramer, then president of the Iowa Senate, expected on receiving an emergency phone call from her administrative assistant was to be redirected to the office of the president of the United States.



But in the spring of 2003, while on vacation in South Carolina, that is exactly what happened, as she was informed that President G. W. Bush had nominated her as U.S. ambassador to Barbados and the Eastern Caribbean.

This frank and lighthearted memoir follows Amb. Kramer's evolution from a novice into a seasoned diplomat during her time in Bridgetown (2004-2006). It concludes with sober reflections on the future conduct of diplomacy and U.S. foreign policy.



### **Radical Islam in America: Salafism's Journey from Arabia to the West**

*Chris Heffelfinger, Potomac Books, 2011, \$29.95, hardcover, 182 pages.*

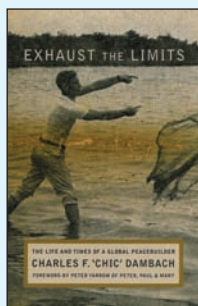
With punditry and public opinion in the United States long and understandably focused on the ongoing conflicts in the Middle East, comparatively little attention has been paid to the potential sources of radicalism made at home. In this new study, Chris Heffelfinger describes the growth of Islamist influence within Muslim institutions in the West since the 1960s, drawing careful distinctions between the Islamic faith and the minority of radical ideologies that comprise the threat. Heffelfinger argues that the West's misunderstanding of Islamist movements like Salafism has led to ineffective counterterrorism strategies and the proliferation of radical sympathizers.

Chris Heffelfinger is an FBI fellow who instructs FBI agents and Joint Terrorism Task Force members at the Combating Terror Center at West Point.

### **Exhaust the Limits: The Life and Times of a Global Peacebuilder**

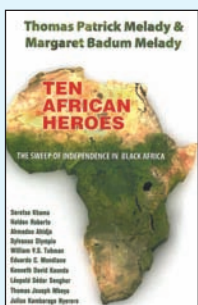
*Charles F. 'Chic' Dambach, Apprentice House, 2010, \$18.95, paperback, 346 pages.*

*Exhaust the Limits* recounts the experiences of a lifetime spent working to protect the most vulnerable and advance the human condition in a book that is both an adventure story and a stirring call to the idealist in all of us.



Inspired by the leaders of his time, particularly President John F. Kennedy's call to public service, Charles Dambach left college determined to change the world for the better. Starting with service as a Peace Corps Volunteer and continuing with peacemaking efforts in Africa, Dambach worked in some 57 countries around the globe. His efforts ranged from ending the practice of dynamite fishing in a remote Colombian village to instrumental roles in bringing an end to the Eritrean-Ethiopian War of 1998-2000 and the Second Congo War of 1998-2003, sometimes described as the deadliest conflict since World War II.

Charles 'Chic' Dambach is currently president and CEO of the Alliance for Peacebuilding and is a former president of the National Peace Corps Association.



### Ten African Heroes: The Sweep of Independence in Black Africa

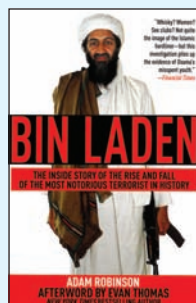
Thomas Patrick Melady & Margaret Badum Melady, *Orbis*, 2011, \$25, hardcover, 240 pages.

The 1960s were a decade of widespread change across sub-Saharan Africa, as emergent independence movements swept away many of the 19th-century colonial structures that had dominated life on the continent. The Meladys' book chronicles the lives and efforts of 10 African leaders whose widely different backgrounds, creeds and goals embodied the spirit of these movements and the experiences of the authors, as they navigated the turbulent changes under way around them.

Remarkable especially for its emphasis on the role of faith in the shaping of the leaders and ideologies that breathed life into newborn nations, *Ten African Heroes* is a powerful account of a fascinating chapter in the evolution of the modern world.

Patrick Melady, who served as U.S. ambassador to Burundi (1969) and Uganda (1972-1973), is president emeritus and professor emeritus of political science at Sacred Heart University. Margaret Melady is president of Melady Associates, a public affairs and educational con-

sulting firm, and a former president of the American University of Rome.



### Bin Laden: The Inside Story of the Rise and Fall of the Most Notorious Terrorist in History or Bin Laden: Behind the Mask of a Terrorist

Adam Robinson, *Arcade Publishing*, 2011, \$14.95, paperback, 320 pages.

Ten years after the 9/11 attacks, Osama bin Laden is dead. But the terrorist mastermind is still an enigma in the minds of most Americans. For more than a decade the most-wanted man and our highest-profile enemy in the world, the character and personal history of the Saudi renegade remain shrouded in hearsay, media hyperbole and his deliberately cultivated personal mythology.

Adam Robinson shows readers an unfamiliar picture of bin Laden. Drawing on extensive research and confidential interviews with family members, he traces the terrorist's his early life as a family outcast and his shockingly hedonistic youth to his eventual religious awakening, painting portrait of "a lost, sad boy who became a fearfully dangerous man."

Adam Robinson is a writer and journalist who has worked in the Middle East for more than 10 years. He began researching this biography a year before the attacks of Sept. 11, 2001.



### Foreign Direct Investment and Development: Launching a Second Generation of Policy Research, Avoiding the Mistakes of the First, Re-evaluating Policies for Developed and Developing Countries

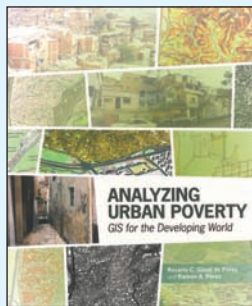
Theodore H. Moran, *Peterson Institute for International Economics*, 2011, \$27.95, paperback, 170 pages.

Today foreign direct investment and the operations of multinational corporations are central to the world economy and more important than ever for developing countries. In this important new study from the Peterson Institute, Theodore Moran examines the role

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of FDI in extractive industries, in infrastructure, in manufacturing and assembly, and in services. He identifies the benefits and concerns in each sector and offers sector-based policy recommendations to enhance its contribution to building and improving the production and export base in developing countries.

A Peterson Institute senior fellow, Mr. Moran holds the Marcus Wallenberg Chair at the School of Foreign Service in Georgetown University, where he founded the Landegger Program in International Business Diplomacy and serves as its director. He was senior adviser for economics on the State Department Policy Planning Staff from 1993 to 1994.



### **Analyzing Urban Poverty: GIS for the Developing World**

Rosario C. Giusti de Pérez  
and Ramón A. Pérez, *ESRI  
Press, 2008, \$29.95,  
paperback, 132 pages.*

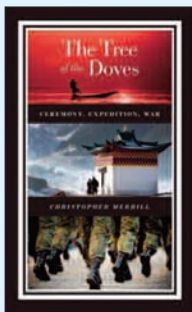
After decades of rapid urbanization, more than one third of the urban population of developing countries now lives in dense, sprawling squatter settlements that lack infrastructure and property titles and are constructed from whatever materials may be at hand.

*Analyzing Urban Poverty* describes how geographic information systems technology can be an effective tool in the effort to improve the quality of life in these areas.

The authors are director and president, respectively, of the Venezuelan branch of Environmental Systems Research Institute, Inc., a California-based company that offers a database called ArcGIS (available at [www.arcgis.com](http://www.arcgis.com)).

An open data platform for maps, geographical and statistical information, ArcGIS allows users to compile, upload and access strategic data in the form of simple maps and information feeds. Cartographic or topographic data can be integrated with thematic overlays, analytic data and other graphics tailored to a particular project.

Trained as architects and urban designers in Venezuela and the U.S., Rosario C. Giusti de Pérez and Ramón A. Pérez live and work in Maracaibo.



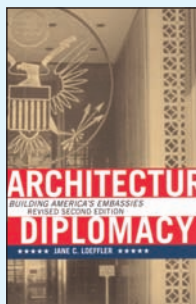
### **The Tree of Doves: Ceremony, Expedition, War**

Christopher Merrill, *Milkweed  
Editions, 2011, \$22, paperback,  
224 pages.*

Taking several ageless questions — Where do we come from? Where are we going? What shall we do? — as points of departure, award-winning author and poet Christopher Merrill explores the fabric of what he calls our “Age of Terror.”

In three extended essays, he observes the performance of a banned ritual in the Malaysian province of Kelatan, traces French poet and diplomat Saint-John Perse’s epic journey from Beijing to Ulan Bator in 1921, and embarks on a trip across the Levant in 2007 in the wake of American wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. He asserts that it is in this trinity of human actions — ceremony, expedition and war — that history is formed. Merrill approaches his subject as only a poet can, with an eye for beauty and a keen sense of the complex interconnectedness of things that defies conventional observation.

For years a book critic for Public Radio International and the author of four volumes of poetry, Christopher Merrill is also the author of four nonfiction works. He currently serves on the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO and directs the International Writing Program at the University of Iowa, Iowa City.



### **The Architecture of Diplomacy: Building America's Embassies, Revised Second Edition**

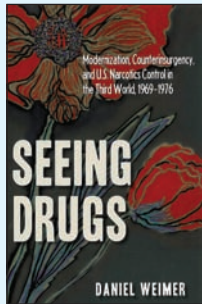
Jane C. Loeffler, *Princeton  
Architectural Press, 2010, \$24.95,  
paperback, 424 pages.*

For this new edition of her acclaimed work, architecture historian Jane Loeffler revised what had been the last chapter and wrote an entirely new conclusion, encompassing the past decade of embassy construction and adding many new photos. Hailed by *Library Journal* as a “fascinating, readable and scholarly chronicle” when it was first published in 1998 in the ADST–DACOR Diplomats and Diplomacy Series, *The Architecture of Diplomacy* continues to offer compelling insight into one of American diplomacy’s central challenges: how to build

embassies that protect against terrorism and still convey the values of American democracy.

Says Ada Louise Huxtable, the dean of American architecture critics, of the new edition: “The addition and appraisal of current designs that update the book’s earlier history of embassy architecture define the dilemma and highlight the need for better solutions.”

Jane Loeffler, who was featured at AFSA’s April 14 Book Notes event, is a graduate of the Harvard School of Design and received her Ph.D. from The George Washington University. She teaches architectural history at the University of Maryland, College Park.



**Seeing Drugs: Modernization, Counterinsurgency, and U.S. Narcotics Control in the Third World, 1969-1976**

*Daniel Weimer, The Kent State University Press, 2011, \$65, hardcover, 328 pages.*

In *Seeing Drugs*, author Daniel Weimer examines the genesis of the U.S. war on narcotics during the Nixon and Ford administrations, when the policies that set the parameters of subsequent American drug control abroad were developing. By highlighting the prevalence of modernization and counterinsurgency discussions within the drug-control policy discourse, he plumbs an unexplored and important facet of the history of U.S.-Third World interaction. The book is one of several offerings in Kent State’s “New Studies in U.S. Foreign Relations” series.

Daniel Weimer is assistant professor of history at Wheeling Jesuit University in Wheeling, W. Va.. His current research explores the theme of the control of nature in American foreign relations.

**Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict**

*Erica Chenoweth & Maria J. Stephan, Columbia University Press, 2011, \$29.50, hardcover, 320 pages.*

This meticulously researched, persuasively argued book combines statistical analysis with country-specific case studies to assert that for more than a century, be-

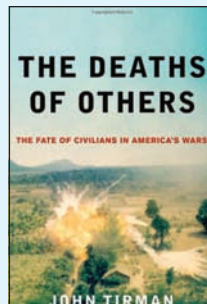


tween 1900 and 2006, nonviolent resistance movements have been more than twice as effective in achieving desired change than their violent counterparts.

The authors describe in detail the factors that have enabled such campaigns to succeed and some-

times caused them to fail. They compare the outcomes of violent and nonviolent resistance in different historical and geographical contexts to make the argument that violent insurgencies are rarely justifiable on strategic grounds, let alone moral.

Erica Chenoweth is an assistant professor of government at Wesleyan University. Maria J. Stephan is a strategic planner with the Department of State. She was previously an adjunct professor at Georgetown and American University.



**The Deaths of Others: The Fate of Civilians in America’s Wars**

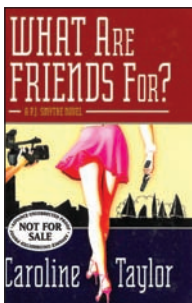
*John Tirman, Oxford University Press, 2011, \$29.95, hardcover, 416 pages.*

Americans are greatly concerned about the number of our troops killed in battle — 100,000 dead in World War I; 300,000 in World War II; 33,000 in the Korean War; 58,000 in Vietnam; 4,500 in Iraq; more than 1,000 in Afghanistan — and rightly so.

But why are we so indifferent, often oblivious, to the far greater number of casualties suffered by those we fight and those we fight for? John Tirman answers this compelling question in *The Deaths of Others*, a critical account of the American way of war that is fascinating reading and sure to be highly controversial.

John Tirman is principal research scientist and executive director of the Center for International Studies at Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He is the author of several books and, most recently, the editor of *Terror, Insurgency, and the State: Ending Protracted Conflicts* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007). His article, “UNSCR 1325: Slow Progress, Uncertain Prospects,” appeared in the April *FSJ*’s focus on women in security and development.

## COVER STORY



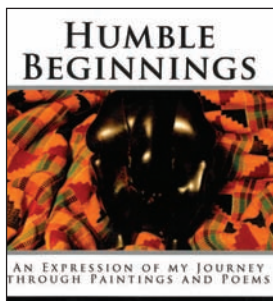
### What Are Friends For?

Caroline Taylor, *Five Star*, 2011, \$25.95, paperback, 282 pages.

The latest of Catherine Taylor's novels to feature the young, spirited heroine P. J. Smythe, *What Are Friends For?* finds the newly single Annapolitan posing in her first starring role as a private investigator in a documentary for a wealthy friend. The act turns into reality following the mysterious death of her first "client," an environmentalist, of a drug overdose. P.J. has to become a genuine sleuth if she is to escape a murder charge and navigate the tricky waters of Washington politics and the illegal wildlife trade.

Written with classic, hard-boiled "whodunit" panache, this novel will delight mystery lovers looking for an outstanding story line, masterful character development, compelling drama and intelligent humor.

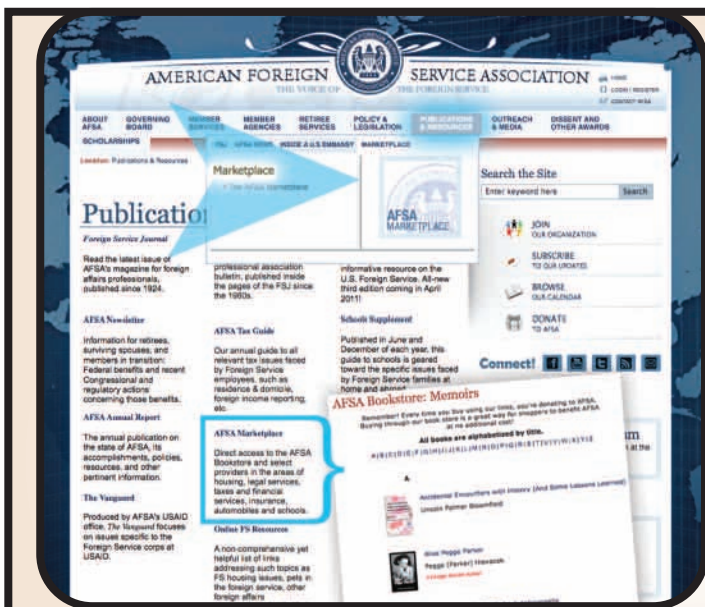
Catherine Taylor is an award-winning writer and editor living in North Carolina. Her short stories have appeared in many publications, and she has also written extensively for *Humanities Magazine* and the Smithsonian's *Torch*. She was a member of the Foreign Service from 1969 to 1972, serving in Tel Aviv and Quito.



### Humble Beginnings: An Expression of My Journey Through Paintings and Poems

Timothy L. Giles, *CreateSpace*, 2011, \$15, paperback, 70 pages.

In this book, Timothy Giles recounts his life experiences through his own art and poetry. The paintings are passionate and colorful, boldly drawn and sometimes angular but with depth and subtle shading. The poetry and com-



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## COVER STORY

mentary are raw and direct, unabashedly personal and often insightful. Altogether, the work is an exuberant celebration of artistic talent.

With no formal training, Giles took advantage while growing up of every opportunity to paint and show his artwork — from church murals and signage and logos on barber shop windows to participation in local art shows. In his travels around the world, he sought out local artists, explored their individual approaches to the craft and was impressed by the many different styles he found.

Timothy Giles is a retired Foreign Service specialist with the Department of State. During a 17-year FS career, he has served as a facility manager in Ukraine, Haiti, Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Angola and Senegal. Even before joining the Foreign Service, he had visited more than 100 countries while on contract to the U.S. government as an electronic engineer for seven years. His

interest in different cultures was sparked during service in the U.S. Marine Corps from 1979 to 1981.

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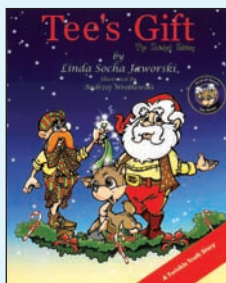


#### **Jessie and the Tooth Fairy**

Linda Socha Jaworski,  
CreateSpace, 2011, \$10,  
paperback, 32 pages.

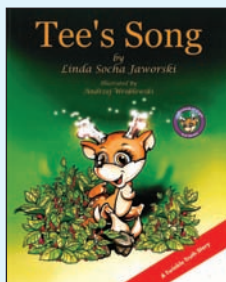
When you're 7 years old, losing a tooth is a momentous occasion. Even though Ava put her tooth safely under her pillow, things didn't turn out the way she had expected. And the only one who knows what happened speaks a different language!

*Jessie and the Tooth Fairy* will rekindle fond memories of losing a tooth, whether you're 8 or 80.



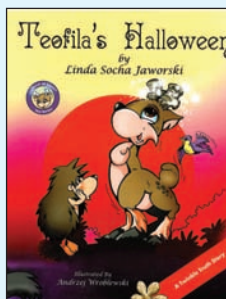
#### **Tee's Gift (Vol. 1)**

Linda Socha Jaworski,  
CreateSpace, 2010, \$10.99,  
paperback, 50 pages, reading  
level: ages 4-8.



#### **Tee's Song (Vol. 2)**

Linda Socha Jaworski,  
CreateSpace, 2011, \$12,  
paperback, 54 pages, reading  
level: ages 9-12.



#### **Teofila's Halloween (Vol. 3)**

Linda Socha Jaworski,  
CreateSpace, 2010, \$11.99,  
paperback, 48 pages, reading  
level: ages 9-12.

The "Tee Series," planned as seven volumes, features an endearing group of Laplandian forest animals. Their problems and adventures teach life lessons in truth, change, growing, caring, clever thinking, taking chances, friendship and trust.

The books are richly illustrated by Andrzej Wroblewski.

The first, *Tee's Gift*, is set way up on the Arctic Circle where Teofila, "Tee," lives in the Laplandian forest of Finland. Tee is a reindeer who loves snow, the forest, the elves, Santa — and most especially, she loves you! This is an enchanting story about a special Christmas when Tee was able to help Santa in the most wonderful way.

In *Tee's Song*, the second in the series, Teofila is confronted with changes that make her feel very worried. But her best friend, Heddie Hedgehog, helps her to understand that change might be normal. Friendship, badger rescues and mother-daughter chats are the elements that lead Teofila to conclude that good comes from everything.

In the third volume, *Teofila's Halloween*, walking ghosts, whirling goblins and strange events make Heddie Hedgehog's spines stand up even straighter than usual. Are they real or not? Heddie thinks so, and Tee is beginning to worry that the forest is haunted. Just as fear is sinking in and things seem to have gone completely crazy, Halloween night's full moon surprises everyone with a memorable treat. This is a Halloween story for every night of the year!

Author Linda Socha Jaworski is currently working on the next four volumes of this series.

## COVER STORY

Author Linda Socha Jaworksi has accompanied her husband, Richard Jaworski, to Foreign Service postings around the world for 28 years. She began writing children's books six years ago. An elementary school teacher for many years, she has gained insight into children's thinking and needs that she believes her stories address. She engages local artists to do the illustrations. *Jessie and the Tooth Fairy* features lively and colorful illustrations by Jacek Caputa.



### Seven Monsters in My Bedroom

R.W. Morris, *UniBook*, 2011,  
\$19.66, paperback, 354 pages.

Are you looking for an exciting book full of adventure, fantasy and humor? *Seven Monsters in My Bedroom* provides all that!

Anne Loraine is a 9-year-old who has never known fear. After the death of her great-grandmother, her family

moves into the old house and Anne discovers seven monsters living in the upstairs bedroom that Great-Granny has left especially for her. Even so, she can't find a reason to scream. She laughs, and a friendship develops that leads to hilarious adventures, including a meeting with the most terrifying monster of all, the Head Boogeyman.

Author R.W. Morris has crafted a tale full of imagination and personal experience. She creates memorable characters through crisp description, lively dialogue and an action-packed narrative. Her story explores the true meaning of bravery, teaching everyone that you can't be brave without being afraid.

R.W. Morris was born in Grand Haven, Mich., and has always dreamed of becoming a writer. She began writing *Seven Monsters in My Bedroom* at the age of 14, following the death of her beloved great-grandmother. For her 10th-grade project, she decided to self-publish the book. R.W. Morris is the daughter of FSO David T. Morris, currently counselor for political affairs in Bucharest. ■



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# FIXING FOREIGN AID

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U.S. FOREIGN ASSISTANCE BADLY NEEDS AN OVERHAUL. SADLY, IT IS PRETTY FAR DOWN THE LIST COMPARED TO OTHER ISSUES ON WASHINGTON'S AGENDA.

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BY BEN BARBER

**F**oreign aid has long been a tripwire in America. Such assistance is widely popular in times of disaster, famine, flood and epidemics — especially when the “CNN effect” places these tragedies on our television screens. But when the U.S. economy turns sour, many Americans ask why we send precious tax dollars overseas.

Polls show many Americans believe foreign aid constitutes 25 percent of the U.S. budget. (In reality, the figure is less than 1 percent.) And some see any assistance as money thrown down a “rathole” (in the words of the late Sen. Jesse Helms, R-N.C.), serving only to curry political favor with dictators and corrupt leaders.

Since 2002 thousands of U.S. aid workers have operated in war zones such as Iraq, Afghanistan, Sudan, Yemen and Pakistan. The American public wonders why they need to risk their lives in countries where they are targeted by militants and terrorists and where the United States is not even very well liked.

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*Ben Barber writes about the developing world for McClatchy Newspapers, and has also contributed to Newsday, the London Observer, the Christian Science Monitor, Foreign Affairs, the Washington Times, USA Today and Salon.com. From 2003 to 2010, he was a senior writer at the U.S. Agency for International Development. His photojournalism book, Ground Truth: Work, Play and Conflict in The Third World, is to be published this fall by Demo.org.*

This is an old story. I recently came across a newspaper cartoon from 1950 showing an impoverished and threadbare Uncle Sam turning out his empty pockets as ships laden with U.S. wheat and machinery headed off to aid European recovery after World War II.

Yet we now recall with pride the \$14 billion in Marshall Plan aid that helped Europe recover from the war and rebuild healthy economies. Indeed, that U.S. aid helped launch the European Union, starting six decades of peace in a region long accustomed to settling differences through war.

In 1961, after Europe had been stabilized and the Marshall Plan ended, President John F. Kennedy sought to help the poor countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America by setting up the U.S. Agency for International Development. Dozens of former European colonies were gaining independence but lacked the skills, tools and resources to grow food, fight disease, build roads and establish productive and peaceful economies.

USAID grew to about 17,000 employees during the Vietnam War and operated in more than 100 countries. After the socialist bloc collapsed in 1989, USAID staff fell to 1,000 Foreign Service and 1,000 Civil Service officers. Yet the budget for foreign aid climbed from \$10 billion in 2000 to \$22 billion a decade later, as cash flowed into reconstruction projects in Iraq and Afghanistan.

## Timely Questions

Today the United States is clawing its way out of the worst recession since the Great Depression. The rationale for con-



tinuing to provide foreign aid is under new attack from political leaders seeking to shrink the deficit by reducing federal spending.

This is a good moment to ask the sharp questions that Capitol Hill budget cutters are already posing:

- Does foreign aid really help poor nations to develop?
- Are aid funds spent on wise and workable programs?
- How can civilian aid workers and programs succeed in combat zones?
- Have aid funds been commandeered by U.S. lobbies, congressional earmarks and rivalries among State, USAID and the Millennium Challenge Corporation?

Certainly some U.S. aid programs have produced huge successes. South Korea is one of more than a dozen countries that have “graduated” from aid recipients to fully functioning economies able to allocate their own foreign aid to those nations still in need. The East Asian miracle saw U.S. aid help “tigers” like South Korea, and cubs such as Thailand and Indonesia, make huge progress during the 1970s and 1980s. Programs promoting family planning, vaccinations, education, scholarships to U.S. universities, roads and agriculture all received assistance.

U.S. aid programs also helped former communist countries like Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary rebuild their free market systems, join the European Union and graduate from aid.

At the same time, India — a beneficiary of the 1960s Green Revolution in hybrid wheat seeds, which tripled yields and ended famine — still has the largest number of malnourished children anywhere in the world. The abandonment of socialist policies in the early 1990s led to more rapid growth and the emergence of a enormous middle class. But because India is so huge (it is expected to surpass China as the most populous nation on earth in a few years), its massive problems cannot be resolved without resources far beyond any donor agency’s budget.

Moreover, even as countries like Egypt, Pakistan and Mozambique continue to receive U.S. assistance, they have not been able to provide basic services to growing populations. Our aid makes possible clinics, schools, small business loans, agricultural training, water management, sewage systems and other benefits. But those gains are overshadowed by growing populations and by the unwillingness of recipient governments to tax their own wealthy and middle class and spend that money on development.

## Helping Other Countries to Help Themselves

Still, such examples are not as straightforward as they might appear. Aid recipients in East Asia and Eastern Europe were relatively easy to help, for those societies had long traditions of valuing education and commerce, enforcing contracts and engaging in international trade. U.S. programs supported the development of banking and credit systems, spurring production and job creation. As a result, small farmers in Thailand made that country the world’s top rice exporter, while Volkswagen built factories in the Czech Republic.

But in other countries, U.S. food aid flooded markets with wheat and corn, driving down local prices and leaving farmers in debt. For this reason, many experts have long opposed the congressional requirement that U.S. food aid be bought from American farmers and shipped on costly, U.S.-owned ships, pointing out that compliance can eat up as much as half the value of the assistance.

On May 5 John Norris and Connie Veillette of the Center for Global Development, a Washington think-tank ([www.cgdev.org](http://www.cgdev.org)), put out a policy brief describing “how the new Congress could save more than \$500 million annually by eliminating unnecessary regulations currently in place that are incredibly wasteful and anticompetitive, and make it harder to carry out effective development programs abroad.”

The CGD brief calls for ending cargo preference for U.S. food aid and eliminating monetized food aid — agricultural products given to nongovernmental organizations, which then sell them abroad and use the proceeds to fund development projects. Norris and Veillette also recommend cutting U.S. agricultural subsidies for exports, which undercut foreign farmers who do not have subsidies. In their view, U.S. lawmakers can save at least \$1.5 billion a year in this way.

U.S. aid experts have for many years asked Republican and Democratic administrations to seek from Congress the right to use about \$250 million of the more than \$1 billion in annual U.S. food aid funds to buy produce in local markets near the sites of famines and hunger. This would stimulate local regions to produce more crops and shorten the time and lower the cost to deliver the food. But only a small percentage of food aid is used this way, due to opposition from the U.S. farm lobby and U.S. shipping companies.

The CGD brief also supports eliminating all earmarks on foreign aid accounts — a recommendation that addresses one

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### *The rationale for U.S. foreign assistance is under new attack from political leaders seeking to reduce federal spending.*

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of the greatest bureaucratic challenges to the U.S. aid program. Foreign affairs professionals who have worked on these issues for decades, managing billions of dollars in aid, are unable to spend funds in what they see as the most effective way.

Instead, lobbies for various American businesses, contractors, consultants, farmers, shippers, charities and nonprofit groups such as CARE and Save the Children persuade members of Congress to place earmarks throughout the foreign aid budget. One recent budget for African aid was so thoroughly earmarked that there was literally no money left for aid officials to use for other projects.

So the answer to the first question is: Yes, sometimes foreign aid really does help poor nations to develop. It has enabled millions of people in more than a dozen countries to achieve improved living standards. But in other countries, aid falls on rocky ground. A lack of security, functioning judicial systems, reliable contracts, honest officials and education deflects the benefits of assistance into the hands of corrupt elites. Further, aid is often hobbled by congressional earmarks before it ever leaves the United States.

### **Spending Money Effectively**

The second question to consider is whether aid funds are being spent on wise, successful programs. This is very difficult to answer, for what works in one region or economic sector may not succeed elsewhere. For instance, building schools was not enough to get families to send girls to school. But once aid experts added girls' latrines to the schools, giving them privacy and clean facilities, attendance rose.

Similarly, when poor children went to school they often failed to learn. Upon investigation, it became clear that many kids' heads were dropping onto their desks around 11 a.m., not out of boredom but because they'd had no food that morning. Adding break-

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*Earmarks are  
one of the greatest  
bureaucratic challenges  
to the U.S. foreign  
assistance program.*

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fasts turned that around.

In other countries, parents did not send kids to school because they needed the chores done — washing clothes, feeding chickens, grazing goats. But when authorities gave each child a bottle of cooking oil to take home each month, families sent their children to school.

These adaptations came about through trial and error — a system that is precluded by congressional earmarks that require all funds to be spent on prearranged plans and leave nothing for experimentation and reaction to changing needs.

Determining whether foreign aid is wise and effective may require spending more money on monitoring and evaluation than the original project cost. Measuring success requires a detailed study of conditions and may also involve setting up a control group that gets no aid. Once the project is under way, more monitoring and evaluation are required.

Andrew Natsios, USAID Administrator from 2001 to 2005, wrote recently that the agency suffers from a system of adversarial inspectors general whose goal is to root out fraud and corruption, but who make aid officials afraid to take any risks.

In a CGD publication last year, Natsios wrote that U.S. foreign aid is sometimes paralyzed by “the counter-

bureaucracy — a set of U.S. government agencies charged with command and control of the federal bureaucracy through a set of budgeting, oversight, accountability and measurement systems.” These agencies, he said, have grown over several decades to a massive degree, with extraordinary layer upon layer of procedural and compliance requirements.

Natsios, who went from the helm of USAID to a professorship at Georgetown University, adds that “undertaking development work in poor countries with weak institutions involves a high degree of uncertainty and risk. Aid agencies are under constant scrutiny by policymakers and bureaucratic regulatory bodies to design systems and measures to reduce that risk.

“In practice, this means compromising good development practices such as local ownership, a focus on institution building, decentralized decision-making and long-term program planning horizons.”

So the answer to the second question is also: Yes, sometimes foreign assistance programs are wise and effective. Some three decades after USAID helped set up fish canneries in Latin America, they still provide work and fish to many people. But in Yemen, the trauma of war and the addiction to qat have wiped away many of the benefits from U.S. scholarships and other aid over the years.

### **Working in War Zones**

The third question we must ask is: How can civilian aid workers and programs succeed in combat zones? This was a huge issue during the Vietnam War, when thousands of USAID experts lived — and quite a few died — carrying out projects, but still failed to prevent a communist victory. The issue resurfaced during the George W. Bush administration when the Pentagon asked for aid teams to win hearts and minds, as well as to furnish jobs and benefits that might undercut the

lure of the Taliban in Afghanistan and militant groups in Iraq.

USAID employees, as well as State Department Foreign Service generalists and specialists, willingly went by the thousands to the conflict areas and shared the risks of U.S. soldiers. Civilians lived and worked on Provincial Reconstruction Team bases and went daily into countrysides riddled with hostile forces. Many still do so.

In some places, building schools and distributing blankets and medicine attracted enemy fighters who each night killed those who accepted aid or burned the schools. In parts of Iraq, Afghanistan and Pakistan, U.S. aid officials were targeted for death and could not leave embassy compounds. Instead, many projects were implemented by Pakistani NGOs and contractors. And even if schools were properly built, teachers often could not be found because the militants threatened to kill them.

Former Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf told me in 2009, a year after he left power, that the only way for U.S. aid to be effective in these areas is to give the funds to local officials and local NGOs. But this risks corrupt use of the funds, and leaves aid officials at the mercy of the “counter-bureaucracy.” This, along with threats of attack, may well explain why, although the Kerry-Lugar bill granted \$7 billion over five years beginning in 2009 to Pakistan, as of August this year only \$500 million had been spent.

So the answer to question three — Can aid be delivered during conflict? — is once again: Yes, sometimes. Where conflict has died down and locals are sympathetic to U.S. assistance, such as in the ethnic Tajik and Hazara areas of northern and central Afghanistan, U.S. aid workers can travel without escorts and set up well-designed and monitored programs, working with local officials and experts. But where

al-Qaida and other militant or terrorist groups are prepared to kill and be killed to halt U.S. aid, such as in southern and eastern Afghanistan, aid can only be delivered half-heartedly through local surrogates, who themselves are subject to attacks.

### Turf Battles

The final question to be answered is the extent to which the role of the U.S. Agency for International Development has been commandeered by rival agencies and lobbies. This has been a problem since at least the mid-1990s. Conservatives, who tend to see aid workers as bleeding-heart lefties and old hippies, have sought to funnel aid to promote more “conservative” values such as free markets and businesses, and use health programs to weaken the focus on women’s reproductive rights and family planning. Yet a recent United Nations report warns that the world population will soar to

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10 billion in a few decades before leveling off — with nearly all of that growth taking place in the poorest countries on earth.

The George W. Bush administration did increase foreign assistance budgets, but most of the supplemental funds went to Iraq and Afghanistan. It also created two new aid agencies: the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief, which has spent \$30 billion since 2004; and the Millennium Challenge Corporation, which has pledged \$7 billion in aid thus far to countries that fight corruption, move toward democracy and allow free markets and a free press.

In 2006, drug company executive Randall Tobias became head of USAID and merged its budget and planning staff with the State Department in the new F Bureau. State's leadership saw this as moving diplomacy and development under one roof, which would help them lobby for more aid funds. But in the process, USAID professionals were relegated to a minority voice in deciding what projects would get funding, and feared that foreign aid would become a political tool to attain short-term gains, such as winning support on U.N. votes.

Since becoming USAID Administrator at the end of 2009, Rajiv Shah has moved to rebuild the agency's budget and planning staff. However, even though USAID is the major U.S. aid agency, and Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton has vowed to restore it to a primary role, U.S. foreign aid remains split among USAID, State, Defense, Treasury and other agencies. In addition, the agency lives in fear that any member of Congress can halt disbursement of funds over sometimes petty local issues or ideological issues such as family planning.

USAID also remains gagged by the Smith-Mundt Act, which prevents the use of tax dollars to lobby the American people. Originally aimed at preventing the use of Voice of America to

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*USAID and State need  
to do a better job of  
explaining what our aid  
does for millions of people  
in impoverished countries.*

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broadcast domestic propaganda, the act keeps USAID from telling the American public about the achievements their tax dollars have brought to millions around the world. In contrast, the Dutch aid agency has shot wonderful videos of women in Africa who benefited from its aid and airs these on Dutch TV. This leads to public support for foreign aid. USAID has no such domestic public affairs program.

Another vital question is whether donor nations should send highly paid experts from America and Europe to carry out the projects, or find and train local people to do it. Natsios notes that T.E. Lawrence (Lawrence of Arabia) responded to that dilemma nearly a century ago as follows: "It is better to let them [the Arabs] do it imperfectly than to do it perfectly yourself. For it is their country, their way and your time is short."

"Why don't we take Lawrence's advice in our aid programs, since it comports well with development theory?" asks Natsios. "The simple answer is that the politics of the regulatory apparatus of the U.S. government will not allow it."

### **Prospects for Reform**

Change is needed, but in Washington today foreign aid reform is pretty far down the list compared to health care, the deficit and the economic

slump. Even President Barack Obama, whose mother worked for USAID in Indonesia for many years, seems unlikely to find the political will to tackle the status quo and rewrite the 1961 Foreign Assistance Act.

So we continue to dole out huge measures of good work in education, health, governance and economic improvement. And countries such as China, India and Brazil have taken over their own development, reaching out to poorer nations as well as their own poor. However, new technology, vaccines, training programs and advice can only go so far.

We continue to hear about the diversion or perversion of assistance: schools without teachers, clinics without doctors and roads that crumble in a year or two. U.S. foreign aid, it seems, will always be a work in progress. It remains a craft rather than a science, producing enormous good as well as quite a few lemons.

It is easy for a journalist to get an article on the front page of a newspaper if it highlights some failure in aid — even if that failure is an anomaly and represents a small fraction of the assistance that went right. Reporters like Celia Dugger of the *New York Times*, who deliver balanced articles on foreign aid, are, unfortunately, the exception.

Aid officials need to get their story out there so the public will understand how much good can be done with less than 1 percent of the U.S. budget. Until then, foreign assistance will be a stepchild to crises such as the latest famine in Somalia or the tsunami in Indonesia — public support will follow TV pictures of tragedies.

As far as building support for carefully planned, long-term economic development is concerned, USAID, State and the foreign aid community need to better explain what that assistance does for the millions of decent people born in impoverished countries, who need a hand up from the depths of hunger and pain. ■

# DICK AND JANE IN UKRAINE

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LEARNING A FOREIGN LANGUAGE PROVES TO BE AN EVEN GREATER  
ADVENTURE THAN ONE FOREIGN SERVICE STUDENT BARGAINS FOR.

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BY MARSHA PHILIPAK-CHAMBERS

All Office Management Specialists must obtain a 2/2 in a language as part of our Career Development Plan. But with so few language-designated positions for OMSs in “difficult language” countries, we rarely get an opportunity to spend lengthy periods at the Foreign Service Institute like our generalist counterparts. That leaves the Post Language Program as our only employer-sponsored option.

It’s tough to learn any language by being taught only two to four hours a week compared to FSI’s full-time program, and particularly a language as complex as the one I chose to pursue: Russian. While that one is not as difficult as some others, it still poses a challenge for someone who, like me, is mediocre at languages.

Why did I choose Russian? First, because I relish a challenge, though it turned out to be even more difficult than I’d anticipated. (Whatever guilt complex factored into the choice, I’ve definitely gotten over it!)

In addition, I wanted to crack the code of a culture that has produced some of the world’s greatest art, literature and music, and whose people have suffered desperately while doing so.

But perhaps most importantly, I had been briefly exposed

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*Marsha Philipak-Chambers, an Office Management Specialist, entered the Foreign Service in 2005. She recently completed a four-year tour as OMS to the deputy chief of mission in Kyiv, and is now serving in Tallinn.*

to Russian as a teenager back in 1979, when my high school offered a trip to Moscow and Leningrad as a mini-course. Under the omnipotent supervision of Sisters Michaeline and DeLourdes (Miss Michaeline and Miss DeLourdes, as we were instructed to call them while there), about 30 of us traipsed around Russia, absorbing its culture and history. We also picked up some useful vocabulary, such as ‘boy,’ ‘I love you’ and ‘ice cream’ — a clear illustration of our priorities as teenage girls.

## And So It Begins

I embarked upon my Russian-language adventure as soon as I arrived in Kyiv in 2007. For the first year, the post would only cover two hours of instruction a week, which in my ignorance I thought would be adequate.

I had high expectations because I already knew the alphabet (things you learn as a youth have a tendency to stick). So I began the torturously slow process of building vocabulary with my teacher, Natasha, a serious young woman with shocking magenta hair.

Two days a week I would receive the ‘Natasha-call’ from the front gate: “Marrsha — eez time for klahss.” I so wanted her to say, “Keel moose and squeeerill,” but, sadly, she never did.

Natasha taught me about jolting Slavic directness: “Marrsha, what you did to your hair. Why you cut it — it lukes terrible.” Questions were statements, not really questions.

I also learned that the Slavic soul can be difficult to reach at first:

Me: So, Natasha, tell me about your family.

Her: Why you want to know 'bout these tinks. They're okay, that's enough.

But once you establish a connection, Russians and Ukrainians are warm, humorous, kind, pensive and eager to offer any help, hospitality or advice you may need.

Me: My cat is keeping me awake at night with her howling. I think she wants ... uh...

Her: A man.

Natasha gave me a chart of the different case endings and personal pronouns. I received it with the confidence of blissful ignorance. I had no idea what this chart meant or how I would ever remember it all, but assumed that someday, after enough time and instruction, it would mean something to me and that I would get it. Someday.

### See Marsha Read

It struck me as odd that there didn't seem to be a textbook that I could plod through. Instead, we seemed to be using a collection of textbooks, all published during the existence of the Soviet Union — which, oddly, I came to think of a bit nostalgically as a time when education was organized and there were probably even lesson plans. We jumped all around from textbook to textbook, pulling tidbits from here and there in no coherent pattern.

This drove me crazy. I need order. I need to have a sense that there is some kind of strategy, but never got the impression that there was one. I tried to explain this to Natasha, but she didn't seem to understand my need for organized, step-by-step instruction. What I was looking for was a Russian version of *Dick and Jane*. I was at "See Spot" and wanted to "See Spot run" immediately thereafter.

Alas, this was not to be. I assumed it was something in her nature that simply resisted order, and I had grown too fond of her to offend. I mused that perhaps this was a reflection of that

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*It struck me as odd that  
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through various textbooks,  
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part of the Russian character that enabled them to create such beauty out of chaos (and might also explain why America isn't famous for its classical music).

Without a book to work through, I thought perhaps reading and translating would do the trick. It was a fairly methodical exercise, and she had found a good book for me for such a purpose — a Russian "stories for beginners" book that had a glossary in the margins. She agreed that reading was good, so we embarked on my new plan. "Okay, you want to read? We read."

I stumbled torturously through the stories like a first-grader while Natasha tried not to yawn. I felt sorry for her and told her this often, but she said she didn't mind; she enjoyed teaching. It sounded like a lot of self-convincing to me, but she was a trouper.

We spent a good amount of our time together talking and laughing in English. Russian lessons absolutely exhausted me mentally, and I needed frequent diversions. I would arrive back in my office after my lessons completely drained and unfit for any further duty until I'd had a cup of tea and had done some serious non-thinking activity — like answering e-mails.

It took another three years for this meltdown effect to go away, but throughout that period I dreaded every single lesson like I was going to the guillotine.

Natasha announced one day that she had gotten a job at a graphics firm, and that this would be our last lesson. She had been my teacher for two years, so I felt as abandoned as a child lost in Wal-Mart. I scrambled to find a new instructor, asking all my colleagues who their teacher was and trying to figure out who might suit me best.

### The Inessa Years

I then called the ABC Language School, our provider, and told them of my need for a teacher — someone experienced ... structured. Could they send someone who understood my need for structure? I must have used that word 10 times in our conversation, for I had learned that repetition helped get a point across.

My contact assured me that the woman she was sending me was indeed structured; I suspect she grabbed a dictionary to look up the word as soon as she hung up the phone.

At about the same time, our mission received a new management officer who immediately increased the language program to four hours a week. I was thrilled! Now I might make some headway. When I started classes with my new teacher, it would be with renewed enthusiasm and commitment. I could do this.

Inessa floated into my disordered language life much as Maria floated into the Von Trapp children's — but without the singing. She was 74 years old, had been teaching Russian to foreign students at the university level since 1961 — longer than I had been alive — and was formidable.

She scared me a little, which was exactly what I needed. At the same time, there is something very comforting about having a person your parents' age as a teacher — especially someone who looks like your great Aunt Helen. I was also excited because this was as close as I would ever come to the Soviet educational system

I had heard so much about.

Inessa agreed that structure was necessary to learn a language and whipped out the four or five textbooks we would draw lessons from, albeit not in any particular order. I fretted. But, bowing to her experience, I went along with her proposal — though it didn't seem like much of a plan. But I soon discovered that she was far more clever than I.

For the next few weeks, Inessa did most of the talking — in Russian. She did all of the talking, as a matter of fact, which I chalked up to an older woman's need to tell rambling stories. Poor thing, I thought; she must be lonely. She told me all about her cat, her dog, her family members and her illnesses, and I listened — for weeks.

Just about the time I was thinking that I was going to have to find a teacher that let me get a word in edgewise, something amazing happened.

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*My second teacher, Inessa,  
floated into my disordered  
language life much as  
Maria floated into the  
Von Trapp children's —  
but without the singing.*

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While attempting to explain one day, in my terrible Russian, to a non-English-speaking driver that I had sent the motor pool the schedule for the day — or thought I had, anyway — I accidentally used the right case ending for a word I didn't realize I knew!

It then dawned on me that perhaps

all that talking she had done had been deliberate; there was a plan, and it was working! She had been giving me the sound of the language and slowly enabling me to hear the individual words used in the right forms. I had been passively learning! When I asked her about it the next day, she just grinned, eyes twinkling.

I still struggled, however, and lessons still exhausted me. I'm sure my colleagues grew tired of me whining "Uggghhh ... time for language," day after day after day. It was a slow torture, akin to having toothpicks shoved under one's fingernails, and every fiber of my being resisted it.

Inessa was as challenging as I had anticipated. Her justifiable frustration with my tragically short memory often left me with a quivering bottom lip. What I lacked in talent, I tried to make up for in resolve, spending countless hours at home and at work reviewing

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the chart — which had now been joined by other charts and tables in an endless stream of stuff I couldn't seem to memorize or use properly.

### **I Love This Book!**

Then one day, Inessa took out a book that she used occasionally for one of her other students — a book I had not seen before. It had a nice yellow cover, pretty pictures and bold print. It looked like a book should — with a table of contents and everything!

What was even more amazing was that each 'yrok' (lesson) was composed of simple text, grammatical explanations and countless exercises to drill into unwilling minds the point of the chapter, each lesson building on what was learned previously. The Russian equivalent of *Dick and Jane*, at last!

I snatched the book out of her hands, told her in no uncertain terms that I was keeping it until I left Kyiv and that I was going to start all over,



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*My new post has plenty  
of dark days and nights,  
perfect for studying charts  
of Russian case endings  
and curling up with  
Russian Stories  
for Beginners.*

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working chapter by chapter until I worked my way through the entire book. My new mantra became "I love this book!" (Spoken in Russian with the correct accusative ending, of course.)

And like the good, if not gifted, student that I am, I diligently did just that. Inessa and I went over the exercises I had done the day before and talked about life in increasingly more fluid streams of Russian.

As the language began coming more easily to me, I could speak without being so paralyzed by fear and anxiety. Rather than dreading my Russian classes, I now looked forward to them.

Still, with the end of my tour rapidly approaching, I anticipated taking my Russian language-qualifying test with the enthusiasm of someone about to board a train to the gulag. But with each lesson, I grew a little more confident, and the grapefruit-sized lump in my stomach shrank to softball size by the time I took the test on April 22.

### **See Dick and What's Her Name?**

If you've ever had a kidney stone, then you have an idea of what it feels like to sit across the table from a language tester who is staring at you, wait-

ing, while you try to dredge words up out of your memory banks that you know you know ... that you remembered this morning, but can't seem to remember now that you need them. I kept thinking, "I really deserve a whole pint of Ben and Jerry's after this," while I tried to keep my eyes from drifting to the clock on the wall.

When it ended, I was shaken, feeling terribly embarrassed and disappointed in myself. I slunk down the hallway hoping no one would see me and ask how it went.

It was then that our kind and sympathetic human resources officer found me. Pulling me into his office, he told me how proud he was of me for having studied for so long and having tested in such a difficult language when I really didn't have to. He calmed me down, helped me regain my dignity and sent me out the door feeling much less beaten-up. This is what a good HR officer, and a good friend, does.

Still, I had no idea how I had done. There was no way of knowing, no bar against which I could measure my performance. I ate my Ben and Jerry's that night feeling slightly sick.

A few weeks later, I learned that I had not done as badly as I had thought. While I didn't achieve the 2/2 I wanted, I came awfully close with a 1+/1+. And I have the satisfaction of knowing that I did it all by myself, with the bonus of having met such colorful characters along the way.

I'm now at my new post, Tallinn, and resumed my Russian lessons again on Sept. 1. Estonia is further north than Ukraine, with longer winters — plenty of dark days and nights for indoor pursuits like studying charts of Russian case endings and curling up in a chair to read *Russian Stories for Beginners*. Who knows? This teacher may even have lesson plans and a book!

But just in case, I have a photocopy of my beloved old Russian book from Kyiv. ■



# LEAVE NO PET BEHIND

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HOW HARD COULD IT TO BE TO TRANSPORT THREE RODENTS FROM WASHINGTON, D.C., TO BUDAPEST? YOU MIGHT BE SURPRISED.

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BY KEITH W. MINES

**M**y wife and I are not really pet people. We grew up with a dog apiece, both mutts who had never seen the inside of a veterinarian's office, along with the occasional guinea pig and semi-tropical fish. But we have tried to accommodate our growing family with a variety of household animals.

We started simply enough with some cats to help sort out the mice in Port-au-Prince. We picked up a few felines from the litter of some friends and put them to work, not anticipating how attached the kids would get to these mouse-eating machines (as long as they didn't think about the mice), and thinking even less about the complications of moving with animals when the time came.

In the end we decided to leave the cats with a combination of household staff and friends when we transferred, convincing ourselves that they would be better off in their warm, native Haiti, than cool, distant Washington, D.C. Still, we wondered what happened to those cats, particularly those that ended up with the household help in protein-starved Haiti. We decided that from then on, we would leave no pet behind.

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*Keith Mines is director of the narcotics affairs section in Mexico City. He has previously served in Tel Aviv, San Salvador, Port-au-Prince, Budapest, Ottawa and Washington, D.C., along with his wife, Cecile, and their children, Jonathan, Joshua, Rachel and Daniel — and, of course, Rascal, Szitza and an unnamed albino corn snake.*

## The Cycle of Life

By the time we left Washington, we had acquired a rabbit and two gerbils. Their transfer seemed simple enough — how hard could it be to get three rodents from Washington to Budapest? We researched airline policy and found there was a \$100 charge for pets traveling with passengers, reasonable enough if calculated per container. The gerbils were placed in a small cage, which then went into the rear of a larger cage for the rabbit. Unfortunately, our airline representative was less creative in interpreting regulations, and impervious to Jedi mind tricks. Upon looking at the policy carefully, she went for the \$100-per-pet option.

We were by this time committed to the leave-no-pet-behind imperative, as we did not want the kids to associate moving with always losing their furry or scaly companions. But we were just as committed to not leaving \$300 behind. We jostled verbally but reached no conclusion as the line of customers grew, something I was convinced would increase our leverage. But we remained at a standstill; even the addition of a manager didn't help.

In the end it was the rabbit that turned the tables. "Kids, bring me the rabbit," I said, "and we'll let them analyze our configuration before they so quickly dismiss it." Up on the counter went the cage, with the nervous rabbit strewing sawdust and rabbit pellets all over papers and computers. The battle was over before it started: "Okay, sir, you can take your pesky rabbit and gerbils for the one-pet fee."

The rabbit and gerbils were happy enough in Budapest but, having a limited lifespan, were not around for long. There was a nice place in the field across the street that we

adopted as our pet cemetery, first for the rabbit, then for the gerbils. By the time we left, it was something right out of a Stephen King novel. Other animals came and went. But as we soon found out, there were additional threats to pets between postings, as well as during transfers.

For example, we acquired some parakeets while I was deployed, a gift for my daughter from a departing family. The birds seemed simple enough to care for: they chirp, they eat, they drink; you change their paper once a week. But by then we had also acquired two cats, one found in the freezing rain during a run, and the second rescued from a bad neighborhood. They were dubbed Rascal and Szitza — an exotic-sounding name to Anglo ears, until we took him in for shots and watched the vet roll his eyes. “Ze cat’s name?” “Szitza,” we proudly answered. “Ah, so clever,” he replied. “Yes, of course, the cat’s name is ‘cat.’”

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*We shipped our two cats  
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I came home for Christmas in 2003 after five months in Iraq and so did not have the proper protective protocols down for this toxic mix of animals. Everyone understood the importance of keeping the door to Rachel’s room closed so that the cats couldn’t get in — everyone, that is, except the new guy.

Sure enough, on the day before I was to return, I left the door open; the

next thing we knew, there was a cat walking the halls with a bird in its mouth. I chased him down, grabbed the parakeet and after various attempts to revive it, was ready to dispose of it quietly. Then my son said, “Dad, the least you can do is give him a proper burial so Rachel can come to closure.” Right he was.

I put the bird in an empty box of checks, surrounded it with cotton balls, and stored it in my dresser, telling Rachel what had happened and promising final rites. But that was before we had the farewell parties to attend, and the final e-mail check at the embassy, and the shopping for gifts for translators and sheiks. Three days later I shot up out of bed in Ramadi, went to the computer, and fired off a message to my eldest son.

“Jon, before you do anything else today, I need you to go to my dresser and take out the box in the second drawer. Without letting anyone know, take Rachel across to the field and bury the bird. Let me know when you have done this. Whatever you do, Mom must not know about the bird in the dresser.” Happily, the secret mission was a complete success.

### **The Best-Laid Plans...**

Toward the end of our tour in Budapest, our youngest son, Daniel, acquired an albino corn snake. We shipped our two cats to Canada without incident, but getting the snake there was more of a challenge.

Since he was non-metallic, we decided it would be best to take him through airport security unannounced. So we prepared a small plastic cage for him to occupy while on the plane, and put him inside a knotted sock, inside a cargo pocket, to get through security.

It was a nearly perfect plan, but it did not take into account the mandatory patdown search in Frankfurt. We were told to empty our pockets, which Daniel took to mean everything but the

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I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete.

(signed) Susan B. Maitra, Senior Editor

sock with the snake. The young guard felt the sock and asked him to take it out. Daniel turned to me for guidance, but all I could do was nod yes, even as I mentally considered the potential penalties for smuggling snakes through Germany. It did not feel career-enhancing.

The guard then asked us what was inside. A toy snake, Daniel replied. (OK, toy snake, pet snake — close enough. Still, between smuggling reptiles and lying to a customs official, the plot was thickening.)

Fortunately, the snake played his part and did not squirm. (He, too, was apparently contemplating life in a German detention center.) The guard was satisfied, and waved us on.

### From Canada to Mexico

The pet count remained stable, at three, throughout our tour in Ottawa. True, Rascal sometimes disappeared for days at a time in 30-below weather and three feet of snow, and we were convinced we would find him only when the spring thaws came. But then he would come prancing up the driveway and into the house. It was only months later, when the neighbors asked us if we knew our cats liked fresh salmon, that we figured out where he spent those days.

We never worried about Rascal again, not in Canada anyway. But we did worry about him, as well as our sanity, on the next transfer — a road trip from Ottawa to Mexico City with five people, two cats and a snake.

It was an excellent adventure, with stops in the White Mountains; New York City; Washington, D.C.; Dublin, Ohio; St. Louis; Denver and Albuquerque. Much of it was lost on the animals, of course, who only wanted to get out of their godforsaken cages — or, in the case of the snake, a large Tupperware container under one of the seats. And escape they did.

Feeling a misguided sense of pity for the snake, we opened his cont-

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*Next year we will again  
do our best to leave no pet  
behind, although I am not  
sure the pets themselves  
share our conviction.*

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ainer and cracked the window in the car while in front of a relative's house, only to find the next morning that he had escaped. We frantically searched nearby drains and woods but to no avail. Then Daniel, tapping into that uncanny bond between kid and pet, walked up to some recently placed mulch and banged on the rock wall. Up came the snake's head, his short-lived Ohio adventure at an end.

Rascal, too, discovered a gap in the defenses and escaped in Albuquerque while we were dropping our eldest son off at college. He enjoyed a longer period of freedom, but within 24 hours was also safely back in his cage and on the way to Mexico City after some intense searching.

Having spent over \$200 on health certificates for the animals, I was put out that the customs officials did not check our documents at the border, and was tempted to go chase down the animal control officers to get my money's worth. But, given the lack of a certificate for the snake, I wisely thought better of it.

All three animals are now safe and sound in Mexico City, the cats aging and the snake now nearly four feet long. Next year, we will again make an effort to leave no pet behind, although I am not entirely convinced the pets themselves share our conviction. The cats, at least, are looking for a ticket back to that fresh salmon in Ottawa — snow or no snow. ■

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Shawn Dorman, EDITOR

AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION

# AFSA NEWS

American Foreign Service Association • October 2011

## Ambassador Nick Burns Gives Adair Lecture: Future Challenges for U.S. Diplomacy

BY ASGEIR SIGFUSSON, AFSA MARKETING AND OUTREACH MANAGER

On Aug. 31, the fifth annual Caroline and Ambassador Charles Adair Memorial Lecture, sponsored by AFSA, kicked off the fall semester at American University's School of International Service. The lecture series is generously endowed by former AFSA President Marshall Adair through a perpetual gift to AFSA's Fund for American Diplomacy. The program is an important part of our national outreach efforts to elevate the profile of diplomacy and development.

This year's distinguished speaker, Ambassador R. Nicholas Burns, spoke on the topic of "Future Challenges to U.S. Diplomacy" before a standing-room-only audience of students and academics at the Kay Spiritual Life Center on the A. U. campus.

Amb. Burns served as under secretary of State for political affairs from 2005 to 2008,

ambassador to NATO from 2001 to 2005, and ambassador to Greece from 1997 to 2001. He is currently the Sultan of Oman Professor of the Practice of International Relations at the Harvard Kennedy School.

### Foreign Policy Issues

Amb. Burns' presentation took on some of the most important foreign policy issues facing Washington today. On the subject of China, he suggested that the two countries were too intertwined for a serious break to occur. (When questioned by a graduate student from Beijing, he discounted the idea of a U.S.-China armed conflict.) Amb. Burns noted that a subtle power shift from West to East seems to be under way, with the Indian subcontinent and East Asia rising in importance. He also ref-

erenced the rise of the so-called BRIC countries — Brazil, Russia, India and China — as new wrinkles in U.S. foreign policy.

The ambassador singled out North Korea and Iran as the most dangerous state actors on the international stage. Calling North Korean leader Kim Jong-Il a "gangster and a thug," he highlighted the radicalism and unpredictability of the two nations, and warned that their governments could cause intractable foreign policy problems for years to come.

While discussing recent events in the Middle East, Amb. Burns discarded the term "Arab Spring" in favor of "Arab Awakening." He views the latter term as a better description for what he hopes is a generation-long evolution away from corrupt, dictatorial governments.



### Other Topics

Other issues raised included cyberwar, human trafficking, global warming, the effects of the global recession on international relations and the emergence of non-state actors. Amb. Burns called Libya a relative success that could serve as a possible model for future interventions. He closed by calling for a return to using diplomacy, rather than resorting to the military, to solve international problems. A lively, wide-ranging question-and-answer period followed.

"These lectures are intended to expose

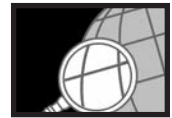
Continued on page 69



Amb. R. Nicholas Burns responds to a student's question at American University on Aug. 31.

DONNA ANERST

# AFSA NEWS BRIEFS



## AAFSW ART & BOOKFAIR IS HERE!

AAFSW Honorary President Lisa Carty will open the association's 51st annual Art & BookFair in the Exhibit Hall of the Harry S Truman building on Friday, Oct. 14. The event will be open from 11 a.m. to 4 p.m. for employees, spouses and escorted guests, and continues Oct. 17-21 from 11 a.m. to 3 p.m. for the same group. The sale will be open to the public from 10 a.m. to 4 p.m. on Oct. 15-16 and Oct. 22-23. Access is through the C Street entrance. VISA, MASTERCARD, DISCOVER and personal checks are accepted. For questions, please contact the AAFSW bookroom at (202) 223-5796, e-mail bookroom@aafsw.org or visit www.aafsw.org.

Proceeds are used to support Foreign Service family scholarships, the FS Youth Foundation and other community projects.

## AFSA Book Notes Focuses on Afghanistan

The next AFSA Book Notes event takes place on Wednesday, Oct. 19, at 3 p.m. Retired Ambassador Peter Tomsen will discuss his new book, *The Wars of Afghanistan: Messianic Terrorism, Tribal Conflicts and the Failures of Great Powers*. The program will take place at AFSA headquarters at 2101 E Street NW. Copies of the book will be available for purchase and signing. We request that all RSVPs be sent to events@afsa.org. All events at AFSA are open to members of the public as well as AFSA members, so feel free to bring a friend or colleague who might be interested in the subject matter.

## Ridgway's Continued Contribution and Emerson's Matching Gift

Ambassador Roz Ridgway has made another gift to the AFSA perpetual financial aid scholarship she established in her name in 2009 and Emerson, the global manufacturing and technology company, has made a matching gift, doubling it. (November 2010 was the first time Emerson matched a contribution made by Amb. Ridgway.) This scholarship, like all AFSA Financial Aid Scholarships, helps cover the cost of college for Foreign Service children. Applications for these awards will be available in November and are due Feb. 6. Please go to [www.afsa.org/scholar](http://www.afsa.org/scholar) for more information about the application process.

Amb. Ridgway was a member of the Foreign Service for 32 years from 1957 to 1989. Her diplomatic career included postings as ambassador to Finland and to the German Democratic Republic (East Germany). She is perhaps best known, however, as the assistant secretary of State for European and Canadian affairs (1985-1989) who was the principal representative of President Ronald Reagan and Secretary of State George Shultz in organizing, managing and documenting the Reagan-Gorbachev summits.

Present "at the table" at all five historic U.S.-Russia summits between the two leaders, she received the Presidential Citizens Medal from Pres. Reagan in recognition of her service. In June, AFSA honored Amb. Ridgway with its Lifetime Contributions to American Diplomacy Award.

In the September issue of *AFSA News*, credit for the photo on page 57 should read: Janice White, MSU. We apologize for the error.

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## Incomparable

By the time this article is published, members of America's Foreign Service serving overseas will have either received the largest salary cut since the creation of the modern Foreign Service, or they will have been spared that calamity for another year. Preventing such a pay cut, and enacting legislation to prevent annual efforts to enact it, has been the primary focus of AFSA's legislative activities.

Contrary to current political legend, employees of the U.S. government are not overpaid. In general, the federal government is a follower, rather than a leader, in establishing salary levels. Historically, the federal government has paid less than private employers for skilled employees. However, this is not necessarily the case for state and municipal governments. Some of the wrath currently directed at federal employee salaries stems from anger at the salaries of some local government employees. When apples are compared to apples and oranges to oranges, skilled federal employees earn less than their private-sector counterparts pretty much across the board.

### Attracting Quality Candidates

Past administrations, concerned more about the quality of federal services than about reducing a civilian payroll that is a small fraction of the total government debt, tried various ways to ensure that federal salaries would not drop so low that government careers would fail to attract quality candidates. The most successful of these attempts was the Federal Employees Pay Comparability Act of 1990. FEPCA established comparability pay, also known as locality pay, to maintain comparability between federal and private-sector pay scales. Under the law (PL 101-509), federal salaries are adjusted annually according to the Department of Labor's Employment Cost Index, which measures salaries paid by private-sector employers for various skills in major U.S. cities.

The drafters of the legislation did not consider the relatively small number of civilian federal employees who serve overseas, and for various reasons they were not included under the law. That did not particularly matter when the salary adjustment was in the low single digits. It has grown, however, to 24 percent in Washington, D.C., 35 percent in San Francisco, and a minimum of 14 percent in cities not individually listed.

Therefore, when FS members are assigned overseas, they receive 24 percent less than their counterparts in Washington and at least 14 percent less than Civil Service employees serv-

ing in the least expensive American cities. Because most non-FS agencies employ temporary-duty mechanisms or other work-arounds for their employees overseas, the Foreign Service is the only significant non-Defense Department group in this situation.

### Far-Reaching Implications

The implications extend beyond current salaries. Because Thrift Savings Plan matching amounts and Social Security contributions are based on salary, employees who do not receive a salary adjustment will receive lower Social Security benefits and, usually, lower TSP matching contributions, resulting in reduced benefits down the road. The "high three" salaries used to determine pension amounts are affected, as well.

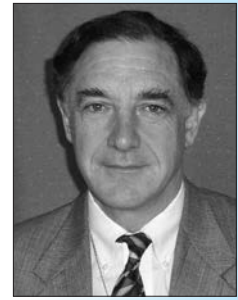
Overseas Comparability Pay is intended to remedy that inequity. In 2009, a supplemental appropriations act authorized State to initiate an equivalent adjustment for FS members overseas, to be implemented in three tranches, two of which have been completed so far. The third was to be implemented in October 2011. This would have brought salaries for FS members overseas into parity with their colleagues in the U.S.

### Uncertain Future

During the past year, OCP has been under attack; and despite AFSA's best efforts, its future is uncertain. We are devoting daily attention to the matter on the Hill, working to educate lawmakers both about the Foreign Service and about the difference between salary (which includes OCP) and allowances and benefits.

Compensation such as cost-of-living allowances and hardship differentials covers special expenses unique to a post. Other benefits, such as government housing, are provided for the benefit of the government itself. None are salary. All are provided equally to those who receive comparability pay and those who do not. Treating these benefits as salary for the FS, when they are not treated as such for any other federal employees, not only perpetuates inequities between the FS and all other civilian employees, but also fails to address the real effects of this inequity on retirement and other benefits.

Information on how you can help our efforts can be found on AFSA's Web site at [www.afsa.org/action\\_center.aspx](http://www.afsa.org/action_center.aspx). I urge you to get involved. Your input and your efforts are necessary if we are to win this battle. □



## What Lies Ahead?

On Aug. 3, the new AFSA Governing Board began its meeting with an appreciation of how fortunate we are at this moment in time, not only in terms of where we could be now, but in terms of where the road ahead may take us. Happily, AFSA is on a strong financial footing.

Last year we helped to put a 16-percent base salary increase into the pockets of our members via Overseas Comparability Pay — but that may well be taken back. There has been a real emphasis — backed by our Defense Department colleagues — on the importance of diplomacy and “smart power.” Unfortunately for those of us in the Foreign Commercial Service, this has not translated into much more than a lot of nice words about the National Export Initiative.

**FCS returns more than \$135 in revenue for every dollar allocated. There is no doubt that in the markets we are closing — which are also key to the larger markets — the return on investment more than justifies funding.**

### Budget

FCS faces enormous interlocking challenges and opportunities. The three major ones are: the budget, trade reorganization and regionalization. The overall budget issues are mostly beyond our control. Just when it looked like the hard work we had done on Capitol Hill over the last two years might pay off with at least another \$10 million increase in FCS funding, the budget cap agreements have likely sidelined it. Nevertheless, the need to increase the FCS budget and extend OCP to the entire Foreign Service are still worth writing your elected representatives about (see [www.afsa.org/PolicyandLegislation/Issues/OCP.aspx](http://www.afsa.org/PolicyandLegislation/Issues/OCP.aspx)). There is no excuse not to do so; just Google for their Web sites and send them an e-mail.

### Regionalization

Regionalization will be our next big internal issue. FCS management is determined to downsize the number of posts and regionalize our coverage. But to be honest, regionalization and post closings are not things we would undertake if we had adequate resources. We would not be closing posts like Switzerland,

with an economy of \$327 billion and a growth rate of 3 percent; or Nagoya, Japan, the industrial heartland of the world's third-largest economy.

FCS returns more than \$135 in revenue for every dollar allocated. There is no doubt that in the markets we are closing — which are also key to the larger markets — the return on investment more than justifies funding. The bottom line is that we should be covering more markets, not fewer (as was planned under the President Barack Obama's National Export Initiative proposal).

FCS post closings will have a spillover effect, increasing client pressure on the State Department. That department's budget will be severely strained by the dangerously nonsensical requirement of maintaining an enormous presence in Iraq — after the real protection of the military is gone — in the midst of an era of automatic budget cutbacks.

My goal on regionalization and closings will be to continue to work with management (who, while agreeing to the same goals, have not always been forthcoming) to keep the process open, transparent and informative. I will keep AFSA members informed on developments.

### Reorganization

Reorganization of the trade agencies is where we must really put our oars in the water for the next two years or more, as it is most likely to be the single most important factor in our future. The next six months will be critical. The conventional wisdom is that nothing will happen on this front until after the election. However, it is possible that the severe budget caps might force the cards to be played even earlier.

A recent *New York Times* article (the first news about this we have seen from an administration source) reported that the administration may merge the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative and State's Bureau of Economic Affairs under a reorganized and renamed Commerce Department. This could be just what the country needs to raise trade to a higher platform. But we must be involved to help it happen in the right way, or we could fall out of the frying pan and into the fire.

As these crucial times confront us, I ask you, my colleagues in FCS, to keep me informed of what is happening on the ground, to work to reach a consensus and to help me get the job done right. Please e-mail your congressional representatives and senators now! □



# AFSA/TLG Intern Makes an Impression

BY ASGEIR SIGFUSSON

Since 1992, AFSA has partnered with the Thursday Luncheon Group to sponsor a minority college student for a summer internship at the Department of State. TLG is an organization whose mission is to increase the participation of black Americans and other minorities in the formulation, articulation and implementation of U.S. foreign policy. Since the inception of this partnership, AFSA/TLG has supported 22 students.



AFSA/TLG intern Matthew Thompkins.

This year's AFSA/TLG intern was Matthew Thompkins, a rising senior at Humboldt State University in California. Originally from Los Angeles, Thompkins is studying Mandarin Chinese and spent a semester abroad at Xi'an International Studies University. He is also an aspiring inventor, who is busy producing a renewable energy-related product.

Thompkins interned this summer in the Department's Office of India, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Bhutan and Maldives Affairs in the Bureau of South and Central Asian Affairs. Reflecting on his experience, he cites his supportive colleagues on the India desk for their willingness to help him learn and use new skills,

Continued on page 66

V.P. VOICE: RETIREE ■ BY ROBERT HOUDEK



## What the Mess Means

I've skipped writing a column or two in recent months, so it was actually nice to find that a few of you noticed and asked what's going on. I also want to assure you that I have not lost interest in our retiree community, but I do not feel compelled to write if I have nothing to say.

The current economic mess and political constipation that is degrading our nation has inspired me to share my personal view on what it all means for retirees.

All Americans — including Wall Street “fat cats” — are being negatively affected. Stock market swoons affect all of us; but from my perspective, we retirees are on the least-severely affected end of the spectrum. My take on the fundamentals follows.

**Retirement Annuity:** Congress is not going to whack our earned retirement, for they would be cutting themselves, as well. Active-duty employees will, however, take a hit, because there will be an increase in employee annuity contributions. What will hurt is a scaling back of the formula for cost-of-living allowance increases; it will be less generous than that which we currently enjoy.

**Health Insurance:** The benefit will persist, but our employee contribution will go up, while the government's goes down. How much? It is hard to predict at this point. But efforts by the more wild-eyed budget-slashers in Congress to radically change the Federal Employees Health Benefit Plan will fail.

**Medicare:** We who already enjoy this benefit will not be affected by a rise in the age requirement for eligibility. The sting will come with means-testing, which will increase costs for higher-income earners.

**Social Security:** It appears highly likely that a means-testing formula will be applied, resulting in lowered payments to higher-income earners. Also, a change in the cost-of-living computation will reduce COLAs, particularly for low-income beneficiaries.

In sum, the current deficit reduction drive in Congress will result in significant cost reduction measures in entitlement programs. That said, I expect that the relative burden of real income cuts will be significantly less for retirees than for active-duty federal employees. □

The current economic mess and political constipation that is degrading our nation has inspired me to share my personal view on what it all means for retirees. All Americans — including Wall Street “fat cats” — are being negatively affected.

Do we capitalize or not?

# Semester at Sea: Changing Lives One Student at a Time

BY DONNA AYERST

The Institute for Shipboard Education's program, Semester at Sea — formerly known as the World Campus Afloat and, even earlier, the University of the Seven Seas — has been providing a shipboard college experience since 1963.

Each semester up to 750 students from the U.S. and around the world travel aboard a 590-foot vessel, *M.V. Explorer*, their floating campus. The rigorous academic program, sponsored by the University of Virginia, includes in-port field assignments. Lifelong learners, many of whom audit courses, are also part of the shipboard population. Between semesters, the program offers enrichment voyages, which can last up to 21 days, are open to all ages and focus on specific geographic areas.

In addition to U. Va.'s high-caliber professors, the academic program benefits from attracting lecturers who are world leaders in their fields. Nobel Peace Prize winner Archbishop Desmond Tutu has sailed on a number of voyages, giving students an unprecedented opportunity to understand not only the nature of apartheid, but the importance of forgiveness and peace. Fellow Nobel Laureates Nelson Mandela and Mother Teresa have met with SAS students. Sir Arthur C. Clarke, the noted British science fiction writer, once played host to SAS students at his home in Sri Lanka.

The list is long, and includes the many Foreign Service employees who have given in-port lectures on host-country politics, environment, economics, history and development, among other topics.

Spending 100 days or more navigating the globe, experiencing foreign cultures, seeing the sights and meeting people, while immersed in a course of study geared to the



Archbishop Desmond Tutu with SAS students in Ghana, 2010.

ports of call, is the first overseas experience for many of the students. It is no wonder that many Semester at Sea alums proclaim that their voyage was a “life-changing experience.”

Nor is it surprising that many of them turn to public service as a way to help change the lives of others, as my interviews with several SAS alums attest.

## Foreign Service Officer

Foreign Service officer and AFSA member Kelly Adams-Smith fully agrees. Kelly hails from a small, rural town in New Jersey. During her freshman year at American University, Kelly saw a poster about Semester at Sea and was instantly hooked. At the time, neither Kelly, nor anyone in her immediate family, had ever been abroad. For Kelly, that changed at the beginning of her sophomore year when she spent the fall of 1988 participating on Semester at Sea.

“My semester on the ship was what led

me to a career in the Foreign Service,” Kelly declares.

When the ship docks, it is frequently met by local authorities, nearby college students, national press and even dance troupes and musicians. Luckily for Kelly, when the ship docked in Odessa, Ukraine, she met up with local college students who had gathered dockside. “There I was, in what was then known as ‘the evil empire,’ striking up a conversation with students my age. Incredibly, the conversation lasted five days, turning into an impromptu homestay with one of their families.”

This serendipitous meeting inspired Kelly to major in international studies; earn a graduate degree in Russian studies at Harvard University; work as a Presidential Management Fellow focused on Russian energy issues at the Department of Commerce; and, ultimately, become a Foreign Service officer and part of a tandem couple, with postings to Moscow, Estonia and Bulgaria.

In the summer of 2009, while serving in Bulgaria, Kelly was reunited with SAS. She jumped at the chance to give an in-port diplomatic briefing to Semester at Sea students. “I was absolutely mobbed after the



The *M.V. Explorer* floating campus.



Kelly Adams-Smith (center) meets with Bulgarian students, spring 2009.

talk. So many students wanted to know about the Foreign Service and how to enter. Women wanted to know how I balanced my career with my FS husband's career, and how we both balanced being parents. We ended up continuing the conversation that evening, and again the next morning," she exclaimed. Kelly ended her conversation with the students by telling them, "I am here as a direct result of my voyage on Semester at Sea! What are you going to do with *your* voyage?"

Kelly, who served on the Foreign Service Journal Editorial Board for the past year, was one of two Foreign Service officers to receive an Una Chapman Cox Sabbatical Fellowship in 2010–2011. She spent her year building ties between the Department of State and the Institute for Shipboard Education. To read more about her year, please see the October 2011 issue of *State* magazine at [www.state.gov/m/dghr/statemag/index.htm](http://www.state.gov/m/dghr/statemag/index.htm).

### International Teacher

As the daughter of Ambassador Niels Marquardt and Judi Marquardt, Kelsey



Kelsey Marquardt teaches world geography in Honduras.

Marquardt had traveled widely. She had been at home in France, Germany, Thailand and Cameroon (where she completed her senior year of high school).

While a freshman at the University of Tampa, Kelsey went to a study abroad fair. She pondered the choices of countries and the advantages

and disadvantages of each, but felt just one country wouldn't do.

"Once you knew about Semester at Sea, it seemed impossible not to do it," she says. "I was really attracted to the number of countries you could visit in one semester. I wanted to see Latin America, so I was particularly intrigued by the number of countries you could visit in one region."

Kelsey set sail in the spring of 2008, her junior year in college. "There is so much negativity in the news. You constantly read how this or that group of people don't like or get along with the other group of people. But when you visit a foreign country and spend some time talking to people, you find that people are welcoming everywhere. A lot of people from different cultures were interested in me because I am American," Kelsey concludes.

Her experience as a Foreign Service child allowed her to gain a sense of place of the countries she lived in. "On the ship, you get a snapshot of a place — just a taste of the culture. But it inspires you to want to know more. I think that's why so many students go on the ship again and look to careers that will take them overseas," she says.

"Before the ship, all of my traveling was done with my parents. When I first got on the ship, being alone was a bit scary; but by the time we got to Asia, I was a pro. My parents did manage to visit me when we docked in Mauritius," she laughed.

Kelsey recently began teaching world geography and language arts to 7th-grade English-speaking students at the Escuela Internacional Sampedrana in San Pedro Sula, Honduras. "The kids really want to know all about the U.S.," she exclaims. "They are

constantly asking me questions about pop culture. The U.S. is happening to them, too, so they can see how we are connected. Globalization even affects 7th-graders in Honduras!"

### Peace Corps Volunteer

Kara Zucker became acquainted with Semester at Sea when she entered the University of Colorado at Boulder. The university was the program's academic sponsor from 1977 to 1981, and SAS continues to attract a large number of students from Boulder.

"Friends of mine had gone on the ship. I really wanted to study abroad, but wanted to go everywhere," Kara recalled. "The main attraction for me was the chance to meet people from all over the world and to see how they live. Secondly, I loved the idea of living on the ocean. So, in spring 2009, when I was a junior, I was lucky enough to go on Semester at Sea."

"I have always tried to approach every-



Kara Zucker (left) making papusas with fellow Peace Corps Volunteer Shawna Jones.

thing I do with a good attitude, a smile on my face and — even though there may be obstacles — hopefully, I will end up making a difference," Kara explains. "On SAS, I became a sponge for everything!" Kara's semester on the ship inspired her to have an open mind about different cultures, be flexible and be more thoughtful, both mentally and physically.

After graduating with a degree in political science, Kara entered the job market without knowing what she really wanted to do. "I applied for a lot of jobs, but kept thinking about the Peace Corps," she says.

Continued on page 66

## Comparative Global Education and Semester at Sea: A New Model for Inspiring Future Diplomats

The recent partnership between the Institute for Shipboard Education's Semester at Sea program and AFSA suggests a new direction for educating and inspiring students to consider a career in the Foreign Service.

Semester at Sea offers students the opportunity to gain a global perspective, one that is cultivated through the course of an academic semester spent voyaging to international destinations. The program allows students to examine and compare the world's peoples, patterns, cultures, economies and traditions. Courses and hands-on field excursions are taught with an orientation directly tied to the itinerary, giving students a broad cross-cultural educational experience, while offering challenges they might never encounter at a land-based campus or in an immersion program.



Semester at Sea students take part in a service visit to a local orphanage in Chennai, India.

Globalization has taken on increased significance as technology, communications and transportation serve as the mechanism for potential social, political and economic collisions, as well as the opportunity for cooperation, between peoples of the world. Gaining a global perspective — that is, a world view that acknowledges a degree of interconnectedness and intercultural awareness within and among societies — is imperative.

Programs such as Semester at Sea provide an opportunity for the type of comparative analysis that contributes to such a perspective. Thus they are uniquely relevant to the education and training of potential future diplomats. Our hope is that the partnership between ISE/SAS and AFSA can highlight the relevance of all international education and study abroad programs, and increase the awareness of the importance of a multicountry, comparative global education. □

— Les McCabe, president of the Institute for Shipboard Education and Semester at Sea

Intern • Continued from page 63

which he expects to apply to his future studies and career.

Thompkins' goal is to enter the Foreign Service, possibly the Foreign Commercial Service, with an emphasis on business, innovation and entrepreneurship. Much of his work this summer was focused on researching the Indian economy as part of an initiative to pair American and Indian companies, with an eye toward collaboration and information sharing.

*I highly recommend this internship to college students, because it allows a person to learn about different paths to reach success.*

"This is the best internship in the world. I don't think there is any other internship that surrounds you with as many successful people as the State Department. Everyone here comes from different backgrounds and professions, and it is truly an exceptional environment to learn from," Thompkins enthused.

"Since I had many interests, the State Department was the perfect place because of the variety of talent. I highly recommend this internship to college students because interning here allows a person to learn about different paths to reach success. The internship also helps to train a person on how to become more of a professional." □

Semester at Sea • Continued from page 65

With a history of working with inner-city, at-risk kids during her summers, the Peace Corps seemed a natural fit. "I liked the idea of serving my country, while helping to improve the lives of others. I also liked meeting people who want to change the world and are willing to do something about it," she concludes.

In August, Kara enthusiastically began her Peace Corps training as a youth development volunteer in El Salvador. She is excited about her two years in the country

and is looking forward to grad school and a degree in international relations, followed by, perhaps, a career in the Foreign Service.

### Changing Lives

A Semester at Sea voyage has the power to change lives, both for the participants and for the places and people they meet. Whether SAS students participate in a project to support a local community in Kenya, spend a day cleaning the shoreline in India, meet a group of students in Russia or stay with a family in Japan, their experiences nurture and facilitate global under-

standing. The program's mission statement promises, in part, to provide "academic excellence, which gives rise to transformative awareness and profound learning experiences."

It also frequently leads to the refrain, "It changed my life forever!"

*AFSA News Editor Donna Ayerst took part in the fall 1966 semester of the University of the Seven Seas program. She served as photographer on the fall 1969 semester of World Campus Afloat and on subsequent inter-term and enrichment voyages. And yes, it changed her life forever, as well.* □

# Secretary Clinton Congratulates AFSA's 2011 Essay Contest Winner

BY REBEKAH YURCO, PUBLIC AFFAIRS INTERN

On Aug. 9, Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton presented Grant Jirka, a rising senior at Columbus High School in Columbus, Neb., with the first-place award in AFSA's 12th-annual National High School Essay Contest. Jirka's parents, Jerry and Susie Jirka, were in attendance. The award includes a \$2,500 prize from the Fund for American Diplomacy.

Grant's winning essay, "United States and China: A Powerful Combination," addressed a number of bilateral issues, including the valuation of the renminbi, intellectual property rights, counterfeiting, human rights, environmental concerns, censorship and the trade deficit.

The essay contest challenged students to write about how employees of the Foreign Service promote U.S. national interests by participating in the resolution of today's major international problems. An AFSA advisory panel of judges selected the first-place winner, as well as 24 finalists who received honorable mention certificates. The 2011 contest attracted more than 300 submissions from high school students nationwide.

One of the goals of AFSA's annual essay contest is to stimulate interest in a Foreign Service career. The contest is open to



Sec. Clinton presents Grant Jirka with the first place award for the 2011 AFSA High School Essay Contest on Aug. 9. Left to right: Susie Jirka, Sec. Clinton, Grant Jirka, and Jerry Jirka.

all high school students attending a public, private, parochial or home school, or participating in a high school correspondence program anywhere in the U.S., as well as U.S. citizen students attending schools overseas. Students whose parents are members of the Foreign Service, or have served on AFSA's advisory panel, are ineligible.

AFSA coordinator for Special Awards and Outreach Perri Green has administered AFSA's National High School Essay Contest since its inception in 1999. For more information about the contest and to read this year's winning essay, please visit AFSA's Web site at [www.afsa.org/essaycontest](http://www.afsa.org/essaycontest). □

## AFSA Announces New Partnerships with Booz Allen Hamilton and the Institute for Shipboard Education

### Booz Allen Hamilton

On Aug. 24, AFSA announced a partnership with Booz Allen Hamilton, one of the world's premier global strategy and technology consulting companies. The new partnership will produce a series of lectures featuring noted leaders and diplomatic experts throughout 2011 and into 2012.

The series, "A New Frontier in Diplomacy and Development: People and Programs," is designed to advance discussion about America's crucial need for "smart" diplomacy and development, and especially the need to provide today's Foreign Service personnel the skills required in the challenging environment in which they work.

AFSA President Susan Johnson commented that "the Foreign Service must be

able to offer more, and better, professional education and training, including on-the-job tradecraft mentoring, to carry out the high-quality diplomatic and development work that our nation's interests require." She added, "This new series will help advance discussion on this important topic."

The first event in this series took place on Friday, Sept. 9, at AFSA headquarters, and looked at "9/11 Ten Years Later: Its Impact on the Conduct of Diplomacy and Development."

Beginning in 2012, Booz Allen Hamilton will also support AFSA's National High School Essay Contest.

### Institute for Shipboard Education

On Aug. 9, AFSA signed an agreement with the Institute for Shipboard Education,

a world leader in shipboard education. ISE's program, Semester at Sea, provides college students with a global, comparative study abroad program that is academically sponsored by the University of Virginia.

The collaboration between AFSA and ISE will focus on several initiatives for the benefit of their respective constituencies. ISE has generously offered a full scholarship on a fall or spring semester voyage to the first-place winner of AFSA's National High School Essay contest. In turn, AFSA will assist ISE in establishing a network of diplomatic speakers from our embassies in the ports of call on voyage itineraries.

AFSA and ISE will explore other mutually beneficial opportunities consistent with each organization's philosophy, mission and interests. □

# Ten Years after 9/11: Diplomacy and Development

BY DONNA AYERST

On Friday, Sept. 9, three veteran diplomats — Ambassador Barbara Bodine, Ambassador W. Robert Pearson and former USAID Administrator Andrew Natsios — came to AFSA headquarters to discuss the implications of Sept. 11, 2001, for diplomacy and development. Before the discussion got under way, the assembly observed a moment of silence to honor those who were lost or injured in the attacks.

Reading from the September issue of the *Foreign Service Journal*, moderator Amb. Bodine cited comments made by the 104th A-100 class, which convened on Sept. 10, 2001. Looking back to that tragic day, many recalled feelings of shock, horror and disbelief, as well as concern for the career they had only just embarked upon. But on Sept. 12, 2001, every member of their class showed up for training, knowing that the world had changed the day before — and most likely, so had their jobs.

In summarizing the changes the foreign affairs agencies have had to grapple with since 9/11, the panel identified several key challenges to diplomacy and development today. First, the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan and other security challenges have made it harder for Foreign Service employees to do their jobs. Second, budget cuts by Congress are having long-term consequences for all agencies. Finally, failure to adequately train new FS personnel is shortsighted and harmful.

Amb. Pearson recalled that at the onset of the Iraq War, the State Department and USAID were being given neither missions nor resources. FS officers were ignored. Since then, former Secretary of Defense Robert Gates pushed hard for civilian partners to have a revitalized role, but much remains to be done in that regard.

Security concerns dating back to the 1988 bombing of our embassies in East Africa and ongoing threats since 9/11 have required the depart-



Amb. Robert Pearson discusses changes in the FS since 9/11.

PHOTOS BY DONNA AYERST



Amb. Barbara Bodine answers a question.



Former USAID Administrator Andrew Natsios makes a point.



(left to right) AFSA President Susan Johnson, Andrew Natsios, AFSA Executive Director Ian Houston, Amb. Barbara Bodine and Amb. Robert Pearson.

ment to “build walls,” literally and figuratively, around our diplomatic missions. The “fortress embassy” approach has changed how diplomacy and development works. Amb. Pearson emphasized that Congress needs to understand that “we cannot do our jobs if we are risk-averse.”

Natsios noted that as a result of security directives, USAID uses more contractors in foreign countries because they have greater access and freedom of movement than FS employees do. During the question-and-answer session, AFSA Governing Board member Matthew Asada asserted that officers should be allowed to assess the risks in order to get their job done.

The 9/11 attacks brought about a number of changes at USAID. Natsios, who was USAID Administrator at the time, recalled the immediate need to improve e-mail security for classified documents.

Similarly, the agency increased the level of vetting and screening of its 1,500 implementing partners, to ensure U.S. assistance goes to organizations with which USAID shares objectives and values. This was a highly controversial idea that initially met much resistance, but remains in place today.

In addition, USAID recognized the value of “branding” its programs, adding the slogan “From the American People” to its logo, and in Palestine alone, recognition of USAID went from 5 percent to 55 percent of people queried.

The panelists concurred on the following points: The department needs to minimize staff in large European embassies and move FS personnel to critical areas, such as fragile states and emerging democracies. Despite hits to public diplomacy, it is important and will grow with the new people coming in. While diplomacy, development and defense have distinct missions, they need to be as complementary as possible, not conflictual. Finally, more

should be done to support family members.

The panelists noted that three-fifths of current Foreign Service employees joined the FS since 9/11, and one-third of them have less than five years on the job. This has resulted in an urgent need for instruction, training and professional development. Yet missions tend to insist on getting newly assigned officers to post as quickly as possible, with little regard to whether or not they have received adequate training. As Amb. Pearson remarked, "The military wouldn't send an untrained officer into the field. Why do we?"

The well-attended event underscored the many challenges U.S. foreign affairs agencies face in a changed world. It was the first event in the AFSA series, "A New Frontier in Diplomacy and Development: People and Programs," sponsored by Booz Allen Hamilton. □

#### Amb. Burns • Continued from page 59

students to individuals who actually practice diplomacy — to add the operational perspective to the academic perspective provided by the university. They are intended to challenge the students to get the most out of their universities' curricula, and to inspire them to future public service, perhaps with the Foreign Service," declared Marshall Adair.

"Nick Burns did all of those things, and did them beautifully. He laid out the challenges we face today. He gave them the background to why we are where we are

now — and very gently and diplomatically — showed them where we may have made mistakes. He was a most eloquent advocate for public service."

Amb. Burns was joined on the dais by AFSA President Susan Johnson, Mr. Adair, School of International Service Dean James Goldgeier and Washington Professional Development Dean Donna Fish.

The next day, Amb. Burns joined the AFSA leadership for a session at the association's headquarters, where they discussed AFSA priorities and policy issues. □



At center, Amb. Nicholas Burns (left) and Marshall Adair join students from the American University School of International Service.

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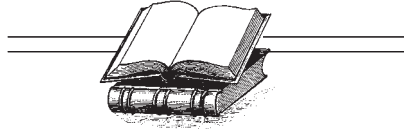
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# BOOKS

## The Struggle Goes On

### High-Value Target: Countering Al Qaeda in Yemen

Edmund J. Hull, *ADST-DACOR Diplomats and Diplomacy Series*, Potomac Books, 2011, \$27.50, hardback, 192 pages.

REVIEWED BY PATRICIA H. KUSHLIS

Ambassador Edmund J. Hull's book, *High-Value Target*, was released in April. This concise, readable work, combining a memoir of his time as U.S. ambassador to Yemen (2001-2004) with contextual analysis and policy prescription, could not be more timely.

A small, poor, fractured coastal country abutting Saudi Arabia, Yemen is a natural home for the organization known as Al-Qaida on the Arabian Peninsula, one of the terrorist network's most virulent nodes.

Hull points out that "all recent al-Qaida successes — the [1998] attacks against our East African embassies, the attack on the [USS] *Cole*, and even 9/11 — were linked to al-Qaida operatives in Yemen." The first al-Qaida cell in Yemen was eradicated by the government of President Ali Abdullah Saleh while Hull was ambassador, but a more virulent version had emerged by 2009.

Meanwhile, anti-regime demonstrations erupted in Sanaa, Yemen's capital, last winter as part of a nonviolent civil

society movement encouraged by the Arab Spring. Saleh fought back with mass arrests and firepower, but on June 4 he was severely wounded and evacuated to Saudi Arabia for treatment. He has yet to return, and the ongoing political turmoil has only strengthened the position of al-Qaida militants in the south.

Because of the country's tribal, religious and social complexities, one might think that this latest conflict is just another round of endemic warfare in a country where such groups traditionally dominate the political scene. But Hull usefully reminds us that Yemen has a vibrant civil society movement, which the congressionally-funded U.S. National Endowment for Democracy, along with other nongovernmental organizations, has helped nurture over the years. These modernizers have learned the West's democracy lessons well.

Hull's primary message in this book is that Washington needs to implement a policy that combines security and development to assist the Yemenis and counter al-Qaida effectively. During his time in Sanaa, the Department of Defense, Central Intelligence Agency and Federal Bureau of Investigation all provided funds for security and training. But assistance for badly needed infrastructure development — schools, hospitals, roads and jobs — remained woefully inadequate.

Without security, development could not proceed. In addition, both

objectives required the presence of American officials who spoke Arabic — but, as Hull points out, the United States lacked fluent Arabic-language speakers. Indeed, key country team slots remained vacant during his first year in Sanaa, and the embassy lacked adequate civilian staff throughout his three-year ambassadorship.

Hull blames intransigence in the State Department's Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs for much of his development funding woes, a problem that persists. Although the George W. Bush White House failed to respond to his increasingly urgent appeals to override the bureaucracy, Hull thanks the administration for its support throughout his tenure as ambassador in Sanaa.

During his May 16 AFSA Book Notes program, Amb. Hull expressed cautious optimism that the Obama administration now has a counterterrorism strategy and is allocating more resources to Yemen. The question now is how effectively it can implement its approach. (See the July-August edition of *AFSA News* for more details on his appearance at AFSA.) ■

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*Patricia H. Kushlis was an FSO with the U.S. Information Agency from 1970 to 1998. A longer version of this review appeared on Whirled View, the world politics, public diplomacy and national security blog she co-writes with former FSO Patricia Lee Sharpe (<http://whirledview.typepad.com/>).*

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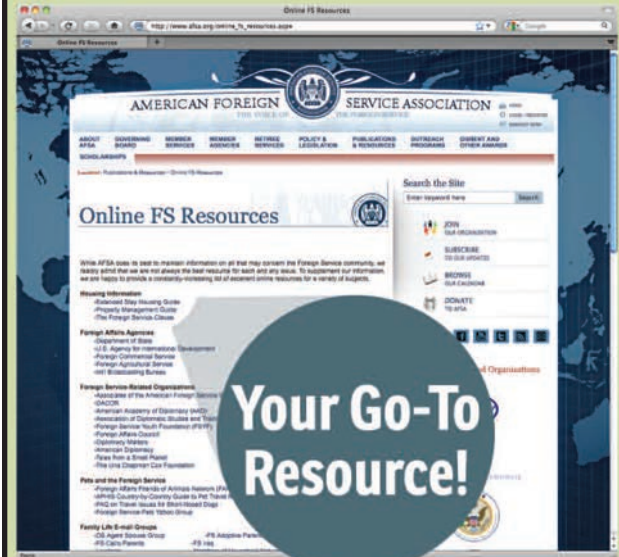
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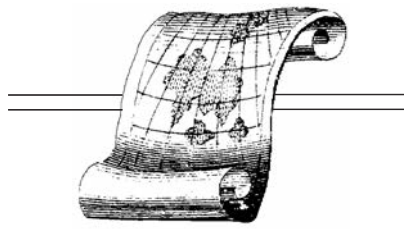


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# REFLECTIONS

## *Bridging the Gap in Mumbai*

BY SANDYA DAS

It was 9 p.m. and I was heading to the red-carpet premiere of a new movie starring legendary Bollywood actor Amitabh Bhachan. I hit the usual bumper-to-bumper traffic in the suburbs of Mumbai (formerly Bombay) and, almost unconsciously, reached for my headphones to tune out the din of construction and incessant honking.

As I started to adjust them, I heard a knock on my car window. It was a young boy, holding his unbuttoned shirt open and flashing his wounded chest, laced with ghastly scars from kerosene oil.

I frantically looked away and shut my eyes, hoping the image would disappear — only to see in my mind's eye the boy staring at me, wishing my reaction this time would bring him some good fortune.

Before pulling away from the busy intersection, I struggled with the impulse to give him my pocket change. I thought back to my recent travels in India and the conversations with activists from various nongovernmental organizations and local Mumbai residents.

They made me wonder whether giving money would be enough to help this young boy escape his dire fate. How could my one gesture relieve him of the daily grind of selling pop magazines or begging at the city's many intersections?

Throughout the movie premiere, my mind kept wandering back to this question. It is impossible to ignore the fact that 60 percent of this city's population lives in slums, scraping by on

*The image of  
a young boy walking  
the streets, begging  
for a living,  
continued to  
haunt me.*

barely one dollar a day. So much money is going into high-rise housing, bridge construction and sprawling multiplex malls; yet innumerable children remain mired in poverty, even as they are tantalized by the sight of that phenomenal wealth.

On my way home at midnight, I turned the corner of my street to see a 27-story building, radiantly lit in every room, towering over me. Built by the fourth-richest man in the world, this huge, cutting-edge structure represents the new money and modernization of a country emerging on the global stage, striving for a place among the major powers.

Mumbai is emblematic not just of India's fast economic growth, but also its burgeoning middle-class population. In 1980, the middle class comprised 65 million people — a large number to be sure, but just 8 percent of the country's total population.

By 2008, when I began learning Hindi for my Foreign Service assignment here, that number had nearly tripled to 300 million, larger than the

entire population of many nations. And it is predicted to double, accounting for 50 percent of the Indian population, by 2020.

These individuals are breaking new ground economically and socially. They work out at fitness centers; commute to work as software engineers, developers and researchers; and fuel the city's surging information technology and financial sectors.

At the same time, they seem to have a deeper connection to the poor. Their forefathers dealt with great hardships, some as farmers in rural villages, living in one-room huts with no electricity or clean water. Those past generations paved the way for their children to climb out of poverty.

Knowing this, the growing middle class appears to be more socially minded. Within another decade, their courage and youthful optimism could transform politics and compel government leaders to address the remaining hurdles of poor infrastructure and sanitation and devastating poverty.

Such activism is not the sole answer to eradicating poverty, but it is a step toward calling leaders and officials to action and holding them accountable.

It is perhaps the only genuine good fortune the young boy begging on the streets of Mumbai can hope for. ■

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*Sandya Das joined the Foreign Service in 2008. She recently completed a consular tour in Mumbai and is currently a political officer and consular officer in Juba, South Sudan.*



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