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# PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

## *Professional Ethics and Codes of Conduct for Diplomats*

BY SUSAN R. JOHNSON

Do the Department of State and its fellow foreign affairs agencies have clearly articulated professional ethics and a related code of professional conduct for diplomacy and development? If so, are these standards conveyed to employees at all levels? And how can these guidelines be further developed and made an integral part of professional education and training?



Let me propose some definitions at the outset to frame this discussion. A professional is a member of a vocation founded on specialized educational training. (For traditionalists, Webster defines “professional” (adjective) as “characterized by or conforming to the technical or ethical standards of a profession.”)

Professional ethics concerns the moral issues that arise from the specialized, in-depth knowledge that members of a particular occupation attain and how the use of this knowledge should be governed when providing a public service. Codes of conduct are usually established by a cohort of members of a given field of endeavor to govern ethical behavior in that profession.

In 1958 Congress passed a resolution outlining a “Code of Ethics for U.S. Government Service.” It calls on all

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*Susan R. Johnson is the president of the American Foreign Service Association.*

federal government employees to put loyalty to moral principles and country above loyalty to person, party or department, to uphold the Constitution, never to discriminate unfairly by dispensing special favors or privileges, never to make private promises of any kind binding on the duties of office, and never to use information coming confidentially in the performance of governmental duties as a means of private profit, among other provisions. (You can find the entire text at [www.USgov.info.about.com](http://www.USgov.info.about.com).) In addition, the U.S. armed forces have well-defined codes of conduct.

As for the Foreign Service, the Foreign Affairs Manual addresses ethics and conduct in 3 FAM, the section on personnel policy. 3 FAM 1332 says that it is “the policy of the [State] Department that our employees must treat each other as well as our external customers with proper respect and courtesy at all times.” 3 FAM 1210 says that the personnel programs of the foreign affairs agencies shall be administered without discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, national origin, age, handicapping condition, marital status, geographic or educational affiliation, or political affiliation...” And 3 FAM 1216 is a short paragraph titled “Ethical Standards,” which says that “employees at all levels are expected to

exhibit the highest standards of character, integrity and conduct...” (In addition, many Foreign Service employees may have taken online “ethics” training, but this focuses on conveying general federal regulations.)

These standards are a good start, but still far from a developed code such as many professional associations apply to ensure that their members understand their mission and the importance of conducting themselves ethically. An effective code of conduct requires a range of stakeholders at all levels to take it seriously and be involved in its formulation, after which the code should be disseminated broadly to convey what is valued by a particular organization. For elaboration, I suggest checking out [www.humanresources.about.com](http://www.humanresources.about.com), where you can read Google’s or Apple’s codes of conduct, among others.

Lawyers, doctors and teachers have all established their professions as well-defined fields with certifiable standards of conduct and professional ethics and codes of conduct that are specific to each, though they share many common ethical principles. Is it not past time for diplomacy and development professionals to do the same?

I believe AFSA can and should play a role in facilitating this process, bringing together members from all agencies, all cones, all specializations and all levels. Please let me know what you think at [President@afsa.org](mailto:President@afsa.org). ■

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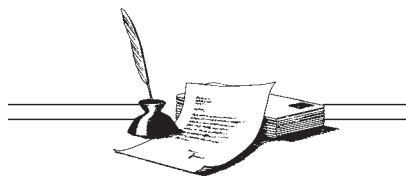
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# LETTERS

## Know the Mission

The mission statement for any organization is the single most important document it produces, one that should stand at the very heart of its existence. It is a constant reminder to employees of why the entity exists and what its founders envisioned.

As such, the statement must be visible and regularly consulted by the entity's employees to remind them why they are working for the organization in the first place and where they are heading.

Here is the State Department's mission statement: "Advance freedom for the benefit of the American people and the international community by helping to build and sustain a more democratic, secure and prosperous world composed of well-governed states that respond to the needs of their people, reduce widespread poverty and act responsibly within the international system."

Strangely, this important document is virtually hidden among the many other links on the main State page ([www.state.gov](http://www.state.gov)) under the tab "About State." And on the intranet site (<http://intranet.state.gov/>), it is not visible at all.

To ensure that all employees are mindful of the department's mission, it would be wise to display the mission statement more clearly online — and not just on the department's homepage, but on the Web pages of all its bureaus

and offices. And how about going a step further and installing a framed copy of the document in the main lobby of each and every United States consulate and embassy worldwide?

*Krishna Das*  
*Foreign Service Specialist*  
*U.S. Embassy Manama*

## A Visit to Remember

I'd like to share a prime example of the value and effectiveness of the State Department's International Visitor Program (formerly run by the United States Information Agency). I was the escort-interpreter for Joachim Gauck during his 1991 visit to the United States as an IV grantee. This past June, Gauck — the standard-bearer of the Social Democrats and the Green Party — lost the election for president of the Federal Republic of Germany to Christian Wulff, minister-president of Lower Saxony, who had been selected by Chancellor Angela Merkel as the nominee of the Christian Democrats and Christian Socialists.

A former East German pastor, Gauck made his name following German reunification as head of a special office to investigate the old files of the Stasi, East Germany's secret police agency. A charismatic speaker, he gained wide popularity as a nonpartisan national conciliator, and was praised as such across the entire political spectrum of the German print media dur-

ing the run-up to the election.

Traveling with Gauck around the U.S. for a month was a rich experience. I still recall how much the throngs of Americans who visit our capital every day impressed him. During a visit to Capitol Hill, he asked former Senator Bill Bradley, D-N.J., what could explain such an outpouring of obvious patriotism, a phenomenon unparalleled in Germany, east or west. Bradley's answer: "It all comes down to one simple thing: an idea."

I closely followed the election campaign in the German press and it was clear to me that had the population as a whole voted, rather than a special assembly of delegates bound by party discipline, Joachim Gauck would be Germany's president today. In that case, imagine the value of the connection forged nearly 20 years ago by a single International Visitor Program grant!

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

## CORRECTION

The September FS Heritage column by Frank Brecher ("America's First Ambassador to Israel: James G. McDonald") should have specified that William Phillips was a *former* under secretary of State when he wrote to Ambassador McDonald in the 1950s. The *Journal* regrets the error.



# CYBERNOTES

## Has the Moment Passed?

Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton declared in a Sept. 8 speech to the Council on Foreign Relations that “a new American moment” has arrived in international relations — “a moment when our global leadership is essential, even if we must lead in new ways” ([www.cfr.org/](http://www.cfr.org/)).

Energetically defending the Obama administration’s foreign policy record, Sec. Clinton employed a sturdy metaphor: “Architecture is the art and science of designing structures that serve our common purposes, built to last and to withstand stress. And that is what we seek to build: a network of alliances and partnerships, regional organizations and global institutions, that is durable and dynamic enough to help us meet today’s challenges and adapt to threats that we cannot even conceive of, just as our parents never dreamt of melting glaciers or dirty bombs.”

Foreign reaction to the speech was curiously muted. Reporting for AFP (formerly known as Agence France-Presse), State Department correspondent Lachlan Carmic was positive, but ended his story with these cautionary words from Council on Foreign Relations analyst Stewart Patrick: “It remains unclear whether a diminished U.S. superpower — widely perceived to be in relative decline, its global brand tarnished, its fiscal situation perilous, its body politic internally divided

**W**hat does the current law say about marches? You must receive permission from local authorities. If you received it, go and demonstrate. If not, you don’t have the right. If you come out without the right, you will be beaten on your skull with a truncheon. And that’s that.

— Russian Prime Minister Vladimir Putin, commenting in an Aug. 31 interview with the newspaper *Kommersant* on the arrests in Moscow of hundreds of human rights demonstrators; <http://politicom.moldova.org/news/>

and exhausted from two wars — can still aspire to lead” ([www.afp.com/afpcom/en](http://www.afp.com/afpcom/en)).

An uncredited Asian News International journalist offered a much more upbeat analysis of Sec. Clinton’s message in an article headlined “U.S. ready to take lead in facing global challenges: Clinton” (<http://news.oneindia>). But it is perhaps noteworthy that two weeks after the story was posted, not a single reader had commented online.

Back in the U.S., Freedom’s Challenge, which bills itself as “A Private Blog Devoted to Foreign Policy and the Secretary of State,” was wildly enthusiastic: “It is clear that the speech has been lauded and given high marks by commentators, foreign policy wonks

and the media” (<http://secretary.clinton.wordpress.com/>). But in the Sept. 13 edition of *The New Republic*, Andrew Bacevich was harshly dismissive: “Hillary Clinton’s ‘American Moment’ Was Nothing but American Blather.” In his view: “It came. It went. It vanished without a trace.”

Bacevich continues: “The temptation to pass quietly over Clinton’s performance and move on is strong — but should be resisted. To read the speech carefully is to confront the central problem bedeviling American diplomacy: Infested with people who (like Clinton) are infatuated with power, Washington has increasingly become a city devoid of people who actually understand power” ([www.tnr.com/blog/foreign-policy](http://www.tnr.com/blog/foreign-policy)).

## “Game On!”

In its Aug. 6 edition, *Newsweek* profiles 26-year-old California software designer Austin Heap, who may have found a silver bullet for combating censorship around the world ([www.newsweek.com/](http://www.newsweek.com/)).

Heap does not consider himself particularly political. As he tells *Newsweek*, “I am for human rights [and] the Internet, and I check out from there.” But when he logged on to his Twitter account on June 14, 2009, Heap read about the growing number of Iranians protesting against President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad’s regime for censoring



# CYBERNOTES

their cries of fraud and election rigging. At that moment, he remembers saying, “OK, game on.”

Heap left a lucrative job to found the Censorship Research Center ([www.censorshipresearch.org](http://www.censorshipresearch.org)), a nonprofit dedicated to providing “anti-censorship education, outreach and technologies for free to those who need it most.”

Heap first posted advice on his blog about how people could run proxy servers from home to mask their identity as they surf the Internet. He soon had nearly 10,000 people following his instructions, but quickly discovered that the Islamic Republic’s censors read his blog, too, and simply trailed behind him, closing proxies as soon as he pronounced them ready to use.

Aided by a disaffected Iranian official who provided him with a copy of the internal operating procedures for Iran’s filtering software, Heap then created Haystack, an anti-censorship software built on a sophisticated mathematical formula that conceals someone’s real online destinations inside a stream of innocuous traffic.

As *Newsweek* reporter William J. Dobson explains, a Haystack user may be browsing an opposition Web site, but to the censors it will appear she is visiting, say, [weather.com](http://weather.com). Moreover, Heap tends to hide users in content that is popular in Tehran, sometimes the regime’s own government mouthpieces.

While other anti-censorship programs — such as Tor, Psiphon or Freegate — can successfully hide someone’s identity, censors are able to detect that these programs are being run and then work to disable them. But with Haystack, the censors aren’t even aware the software is in use.

But as Cecilia Kang reports in her Sept. 14 “Post Tech” column ([www.voices.washingtonpost.com/post\\_tech](http://www.voices.washingtonpost.com/post_tech)), whether the technology will be widely adapted remains to be seen.

About two dozen Iranians have been testing the program for the past year, but some critics have expressed concern that lax security could expose users’ identities to government authorities. In response, Haystack has halted

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

Many *Journal* readers are doubtless already familiar with the work of the Henry L. Stimson Center, a nonprofit, nonpartisan institution devoted to strengthening institutions for international peace and security, building regional security, and reducing weapons of mass destruction and transnational threats. A 2008 report it and the American Academy of Diplomacy produced on the 150 Account helped pave the way for the current Foreign Service hiring surge at the State Department and the U.S. Agency for International Development. Like AFSA, the center is also a key supporter of AAD’s current study of diplomatic professional education and training.

Stimson, as the center breezily refers to itself on the new and improved homepage, has just launched a redesigned Web site. The page centers on a rotating carousel with four screens of “Spotlights,” all of which highlight the center’s research and activities. These items include teasers for various policy papers, profiles of upcoming guests for the Chairman’s Forum, current publications, video clips and information graphics. There is also an increased capability for users to connect with Stimson using social networking tools, such as RSS feeds, Facebook and Twitter.

Even those with just a cursory knowledge of the Stimson Center’s work can easily find the information they’re looking for through new “topics” pages. These pages aggregate and display research from all of Stimson’s experts and programs, as well as provide alternative categories and regions for the user to explore. Currently, there are about 30 topics listed as related to the center’s research, ranging from border security to river basins.

At the same time, the site has retained the previous organizational structure. Stimson programs, experts and their corresponding work are all still accessible from the homepage, through a dropdown menu. Research, books and reports dating back to 1989 will also be archived on the new site.



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## CYBERNOTES



### 50 Years Ago...

America's reservoir of good will has undoubtedly been drawn down needlessly by our mistakes and insensitivity, yet most people throughout the world are still anxious to think well of us. Indeed, if we give them any excuse, they will.



The American ambassador who conducts himself today in a foreign capital with simplicity and sympathy will almost inevitably, I believe, receive a warm response. Where can such articulate, down-to-earth men be found?

Most of them, I believe, will be found right in our existing Foreign Service. Once we establish a clear standard of what we want our ambassadors to be, there will be no dearth of qualified professionals ready and waiting to tackle the most demanding assignments with skill and understanding.

— Chester Bowles, "Shirt Sleeves and Striped Pants," *FSJ*, November 1960.

human testing and is relying on machine testing until a third party completes a security review.

For now, the company's Web site bears the following warning in several languages: "We have halted ongoing testing of Haystack in Iran pending a security review. If you have a copy of the test program, please refrain from using it" ([www.haystacknetwork.com/](http://www.haystacknetwork.com/)).

Commenting on the larger issue of resistance to governmental crack-downs on freedom of information, Patrick Meier, director of crisis mapping for Ushahidi, a group of digital activists doing cutting-edge work in open-source interactive mapping, observes that "The technology variable doesn't matter the most. It is the organizational structure that will matter the most. Rigid structures are unable to adapt as quickly to a rapidly changing environment as a decentralized system. Ultimately, it is a battle of organizational theory" ([www.ushahidi.com/](http://www.ushahidi.com/)).

### All A-Twitter in Pyongyang

Only the most privileged North Koreans have access to the Internet, but that elite group is believed to include a group of master programmers and

hackers. Indeed, South Korea's spy agency has accused the North of launching cyberattacks last year that briefly paralyzed the Web sites of some South Korean and U.S. government agencies and commercial firms.

In its latest propaganda coup, reports the *Telegraph* ([www.telegraph.co.uk/](http://www.telegraph.co.uk/)), the Hermit Kingdom opened a Twitter account on Aug. 12. Called uriminzok — roughly translated, "our nation" — the account (<http://twitter.com/uriminzok>) has already attracted more than 10,000 followers and is currently on 727 Twitter lists (a way users highlight and organize their favorite members).

Blogging for *Forbes* magazine, Elizabeth Woyke comments that those are impressive statistics given the fact that every uriminzok tweet (392 as of Sept. 23) is written in Korean, and links to longer statements or videos, also in Korean. The postings address topics ranging from boasts about North Korea's economy to condemnation of the joint Seoul/Washington military exercises that were held recently in South Korea.

Woyke also reports on a parody North Korean Twitter account (<http://blogs.forbes.com/elizabethwoyke>)



ke/). Established on Aug. 17, the joke account is appropriately named Fake Uriminzok ([http://twitter.com/Fake\\_Uriminzok](http://twitter.com/Fake_Uriminzok)). Its photo depicts North Korean leader Kim Jong-il in sunglasses with the tagline “We be illin’.”

The prankster responsible for the account, who continues to remain anonymous, at least for now, has sent out 21 satirical tweets so far, including:

- Please believe our propaganda — it’s all we have left. That, and ginseng.
- Say “dear leader, great leader” ten times fast. ... See? I told you that you couldn’t.
- blah blah blah US devil monkeys blah blah blah
- The dear leader sees a kindred spirit in brett favre: he’s a dictator at heart — blackmailing parties for his own selfish design.
- The dear leader invites Pakistani flood victims to seek refuge in his workers’ paradise — preferably refugee nuclear scientists.
- It seems like @fake\_uriminzok is getting media attention: And we didn’t need to sink a south korean ship to do it!

### Feds Have at Least One Friend in Washington

There is, alas, no documentation for a quote frequently attributed to President Harry Truman: “If you want a friend in Washington, get a dog.” But many a federal worker can identify with the sentiment these days, in light of growing calls for Uncle Sam to get rid of employees and slash the pay and benefits of those who remain.

Fortunately, *Federal Computer Week* reports in its Sept. 20 edition, Senator Ted Kaufman, D-Del., is vigorously pushing back against allegations that federal employees are grossly

overpaid, earning more than twice the salaries of their private industry counterparts. He maintains that such claims are based on “a flawed reading of statistical data” (<http://fcw.com>).

In a Sept. 15 speech, Sen. Kaufman dissected an Aug. 10 *USA Today* article ([www.usatoday.com](http://www.usatoday.com)) by Dennis Cauchon, which drew on Bureau of Economic Analysis data to conclude that, in 2009, federal employees received an average total compensation in pay and benefits of \$123,049, while private sector workers made \$61,051.

As the senator noted, the newspaper’s analysis did not include military pay in its calculation of federal compensation. Nor did it compare similar jobs across all categories. Sen. Kaufman added that it’s unfair to compare the small, 1.9 million-strong federal work force with the 101.3 million people employed in the private sector — particularly given the fact that the civilian federal work force mainly consists of highly skilled, highly educated employees who tend to earn higher salaries.

This is far from the first time the Delaware senator has defended feds. Each week since May 2009, as part of his “Great Federal Employees Initiative,” he has taken the floor of the Senate to thank exemplary individuals for their hard work and unsung dedication to serving the American people.

Himself a veteran public servant, Sen. Kaufman hopes these stories will inspire Americans to consider careers as federal employees, and he plans to continue sharing examples of their important accomplishments throughout his term ([http://kaufman.senate.gov/great\\_feds/](http://kaufman.senate.gov/great_feds/)). ■

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



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# SPEAKING OUT

## *Making Provincial Reconstruction Teams More Effective*

BY PATRICIA THOMSON

Over the next decade, our country's most important national security missions will continue to include helping countries like Iraq and Afghanistan create effective democratic institutions. Otherwise, these countries are likely to revert to authoritarian rule, or even worse, become failed states — breeding grounds and base camps for Islamist extremism and the terrorism it generates.

This critical mission is the responsibility of the State Department, which carries it out in Iraq and Afghanistan through Provincial Reconstruction Teams. Modest in size, and staffed by military personnel alongside civilians largely hired from outside the department, these teams have had mixed success.

The future of the PRT program is uncertain: while they will continue to operate throughout Afghanistan, all PRTs in Iraq will be closed by the end of 2011, and key functions will be transferred to two embassy branch offices and two consulates. Regardless of whether they continue to be a significant part of our diplomatic and development arsenal, there are many lessons to be drawn from these experiments in nationbuilding. These insights are relevant not just to those involved with Provincial Reconstruction Teams, but also to employees of

*State must recruit the “best and brightest” for PRTs, prepare them for the job, and provide the leadership they need to succeed.*



the U.S. Agency for International Development and the State Department's Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization, including the nascent Civilian Response Corps.

The main lesson is that we have failed far too often to staff these teams with qualified and effective personnel. To rectify this shortcoming, we must recruit the “best and brightest,” prepare them for the job, and provide the leadership they need to succeed.

### **Proactive Recruitment Needed**

Nationbuilding requires a wide range of specific technical expertise (e.g., public management, business development, engineering, the rule of law). It also calls for consulting, cross-cultural and diplomatic skills. Moreover, those who engage in this work represent our country in direct and lasting ways in some of the most strate-

gically important places in the world. Put simply, the job requires a deep and diverse set of skills, yet the current recruitment process is not consistently attracting the requisite talent.

First of all, the process is largely passive. There is little or no head-hunting or proactive outreach, so applicants hear about the jobs primarily through word of mouth and Web searches.

There is also insufficient screening of applicants. They complete a questionnaire detailing their credentials as part of an application process conducted via [www.usajobs.gov](http://www.usajobs.gov), but there are few in-person interviews to verify their experience and gauge interpersonal, cross-cultural and diplomatic skills, or to explore their motivations. (It was clear to me and many of my colleagues in Iraq that money was the principal driver for many applicants.) Recommendations are required, but the candidates select individuals to submit them.

Once candidates make it through the process, they are assigned to a PRT with only limited prior engagement with that team's leadership — even though work in such incredibly demanding environments calls for strong team chemistry and cohesion.

Employing regionally based teams of recruiters, who proactively recruit, screen and interview candidates via a





competitive process, would go a long way to improve the quality of the individuals hired. Even given the dangers of deployment to places like Iraq and Afghanistan, there are large pools of untapped candidates who would be willing, indeed enthusiastic, about the work if they knew about it and were actively approached. Aggressively seeking these individuals via consulting and law firms, corporations, state and local government and the traditional development community will allow the State Department to be much more selective in the people it hires.

Once candidates complete the hiring process, they should be placed on an “available roster” that is accessible to field leadership. Through consultations and bidding processes (enabled by a user-friendly Web site), in-country managers could work together on succession planning and filling vacancies.

Investing in a robust recruiting process leads to hiring the right people, which is the most important element of success. And for the fiscally minded, it is less expensive than hiring the wrong people.

### **Meaningful Preparation**

Once hired, PRT members need to be given more thorough training and orientation. The current pre-deployment curriculum should provide more practical and more specialized training along the following lines:

*Week 1: The Players.* This module should focus on the structure and composition of the host-country government (national, provincial and local), as well as U.S. players (Department of State, USAID and the military).

*Week 2: Local Culture.* Similar to the current training program, this mini-course should provide a day on

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each team did its own  
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the country.***

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the history of the host country (for depth, students should be required to complete a reading list before class). Days two and three should cover culture and norms, as well as tribes and religions. And days four and five should be dedicated to learning key words and phrases and working with linguists, a crucial skill that can mean the difference between success and failure. (Of course, each day of the course could cover several topics concurrently.)

*Week 3: The Basics of Advising.* The principal role of Provincial Reconstruction Teams is to advise and support, to build local capacity — to *teach*, not to do. In addition to possessing specialized technical expertise, PRT members must also be skilled advisers, educators and mentors. They need to be able to build relationships and obtain buy-in for reform, design and conduct training programs, encourage changes in attitudes, and understand and manage expectations.

*Weeks 4, 5 and 6: Specialized Training.* New hires should receive at least three weeks of specialized instruction based on their prospective position. Nationbuilding literature and the composition of the PRTs indicate that at

least five “tracks” should be offered:

- Introduction to Governance and Public Administration in Fragile States
- Introduction to Infrastructure Development in Fragile States
- Introduction to the Rule of Law in Fragile States
- Introduction to Economic Development in Fragile States
- Introduction to Education, Health Care and Social Development in Fragile States

### **Practical Tools**

Nationbuilding should be as well-developed a profession as warfighting. We invest millions of dollars a year to craft and perfect military doctrine. We need a comparable investment in nationbuilding.

A number of existing frameworks provide good starting points (e.g., the U.S. Institute of Peace’s “Strategic Framework for Fragile States and Societies Emerging from Conflict”). But more practical tools are needed, as well. Drawing on decades of development work, as well as our recent experience in Iraq and Afghanistan, we now have the intellectual capital to more systematically develop and catalog “how to” guides that advisers can use in the field.

Take, for example, those officials working with provincial councils in Iraq. When first established, every one of these councils needed to learn how to conduct plenary meetings, run committees, review budgets and fulfill their oversight responsibilities. But there were few toolkits available to the PRTs to enable them to assist Iraqis to acquire these skills.

Consequently, each team did its own thing, and wheels were reinvented all over the country. It’s time to develop a canon of resources, tools and



techniques to support our nation-building efforts. While these toolkits will need to be customized to local circumstances, there is no need (and never enough time) for our advisers to start from scratch on each mission.

In addition, PRT members working in fragile states like Iraq and Afghanistan would greatly benefit from regular in-country gatherings to discuss shared problems and workable solutions, as well as to share resources and lessons learned. During my tour in Iraq, I attended only one such gathering, an excellent meeting sponsored by the Department of Treasury contingent in Baghdad to discuss effective ways to provide budget support to our Iraqi clients.

Finally, one of the best ways to prepare people for the job is to ensure that there is at least a month overlap between new staff and their predecessors. Perhaps the most common complaint I heard from both American and Iraqi counterparts was the heavy toll turnover takes on our nationbuilding projects.

### Strong Leadership

Leadership failures are one of the primary reasons Provincial Reconstruction Teams fall short of achieving their missions. PRTs are generally led by career Foreign Service officers, and there is often a mismatch between their skills and the job requirements.

I had the good fortune of working with a number of outstanding FSOs and came to realize just how instrumental they are to our success abroad. But recent research, corroborated by conversations with dozens of my colleagues, indicates that many of these individuals do not have the project management and operational experience a PRT requires. Quite a few

don't have the right kind of experience, particularly in terms of leading an eclectic group of people from different professions and organizations. Making matters worse, many PRT members have more relevant technical experience than the team leader, and little loyalty to the State Department for which they are now working.

In order to attract the most talented leaders, State needs to make clear that PRT leader assignments are career-enhancing. Indeed, the leader position must be viewed as a very selective job, as well as a box to be checked for promotion. Individuals with strong management experience at State and USAID should be actively recruited, while PRT leaders who are not up to the task should be removed.

To build a new generation of leaders experienced in nationbuilding, junior officers should also be encouraged to join PRTs (and be rewarded for doing so). Nationbuilding is a critical foreign policy mission and, like the military, the State Department should be fielding its best and brightest leaders to carry it out.

Part of effective leadership is building commitment. To that end, the State Department should consider lengthening the current one-year assignment to two. A single year is hardly enough time to adjust to a challenging environment, learn the lay of the land and build relationships with local counterparts.

As an incentive, State should continue to offer very generous salaries, but a portion should take the form of performance-based bonuses, given at the end of each year. Current rest-and-recreation benefits (also very generous) should continue. In turn, PRT members should be held to a high standard of performance. Team lead-

ers should not be viewed negatively if they remove underperformers, who are a drain on morale as well as taxpayer dollars. In fact, some midtour attrition should be expected.

Finally, leaders must establish and work toward realistic, measurable goals with corresponding action plans — goals and plans that are not ad hoc in nature, but derived from research about fragile states — as well as a good understanding of the situation on the ground. Many of these goals will be (and should be) similar across PRTs: e.g., help the governor create a capital budget and gain stakeholder buy-in; help establish a functioning provincial investment commission; help conduct legal training via local attorney associations; help the provincial council conduct an investigation, hold hearings and craft solutions for the problems identified.

There are many outstanding people working on our PRTs, but we need to do better. Development is the best vaccine to prevent extremism but, to be effective, our nationbuilding efforts must be conducted by teams of talented, well-prepared and well-led experts. Making the above changes will require a real investment. Can we afford it?

Given the stakes, the more appropriate question is: Can we afford *not* to? ■

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*Patricia Thomson was a Section 3161 Provincial Reconstruction Team member in Iraq from December 2008 to January 2010, serving as an adviser to the Diyala province's government. Before that, she was executive vice president of the United States Institute of Peace and an associate partner with PricewaterhouseCooper Consulting.*

# IN THEIR OWN WRITE



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HERE IS OUR 2010 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 listings 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 those featured in previous years — and more ([www.afsa.org/ads/books/](http://www.afsa.org/ads/books/)).

Below is the annotated list of some of the volumes written or edited by Foreign Service personnel and family mem-



bers in 2009 and 2010. The roundup was assembled with the vital assistance of editorial interns Laura Caton and Mohammad Alhinnawi.

This year's selection contains very strong history and memoir sections, a weighty and wide-ranging policy and issues section, six works of fiction and poetry, three different reference works and a volume of photography. 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.

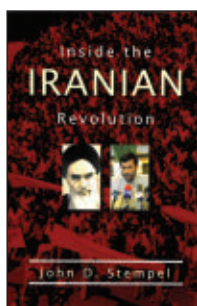
As has become our custom, we also include a list of books "of related interest" that were not written by FS authors.

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. (See the box on p. 47.) The AFSA Bookstore has links to Amazon and, at no extra cost to you, each book sold there generates a small royalty for AFSA. 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



### **Inside the Iranian Revolution**

John D. Stempel, *The Clark Group*, 2009, \$32.95, paperback, 392 pages.

*Inside the Iranian Revolution* gives a Foreign Service officer's perspective on a turning point in Middle East history. John Stempel spent four years in Iran, from 1975 to 1979, and saw the changes and unrest that sparked the uprising. In this work, originally published in 1981, he gives a general overview of Iranian history in addition to his personal recollections of the revolution. Stempel covers Iran's 20th-century history — including relations with the U.S. — leading up to the revolution and the overthrow of the shah, as well as the country's trajectory following these political changes.

It may be hard to imagine, but less than 35 years ago, before the revolution, Washington and Tehran were close allies and President Jimmy Carter called Iran "an oasis of stability in a sea of uncertainty." Stempel details exchanges among U.S. and Iranian officials and chronicles American missteps that undermined the shah's legitimacy at a time of mass protests and violence in the streets. A sizable chunk of the book deals with the hostage crisis at the U.S. embassy in Tehran — which, fortunately for Stempel, happened after he left the country.

A career FSO from 1965 to 1988, John Stempel served as a political officer in Tehran for four years (1975-1979). Today he is a senior professor of international relations at the University of Kentucky, where he has served as director of the Patterson School of Diplomacy and International Commerce.



### **Czechoslovakia: The State that Failed**

Mary Heimann, *Yale University Press*, 2009, \$45, hardcover, 432 pages.

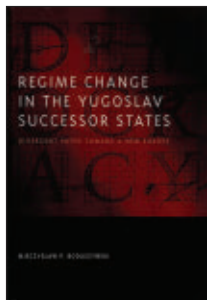
Following its declaration of independence in October 1918, the state of Czechoslovakia lasted for only 74 years, shorter than the average American's lifetime. In *Czechoslovakia: The State that Failed*, Mary Heimann creates a "definitive political history" of the country.

She begins by chronicling the disparate groups living in the five former Habsburg territories — Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, Subcarpathian Ruthenia and Slovakia — which ultimately coalesced into Czechoslovakia. What follows is an absorbing account of three-quarters of a century. Heimann overturns the conventional view of Czechoslovakia as "a plucky little country" that was unfortunate enough to feel the brunt of Hitler and Stalin's machinations; instead, she argues that the country was "not just the victim but also a perpetrator of intolerant nationalism."

Whether readers agree with Heimann or not, her book provides an engaging and original perspective on Czechoslovakian history and serves as a warning "as to how easily a nationalist outlook ... can lead perfectly ordinary, decent people from liberal democracy to the police state."

Mary Heimann is the daughter of the late FSO John P. Heimann. She attended Vassar College and the University of Oxford and is currently a senior lecturer in

history at the University of Strathclyde in Glasgow. A widely published writer, she spent two years living in Prague to research and write *Czechoslovakia*.



**Regime Change in the Yugoslav Successor States: Divergent Paths toward a New Europe**

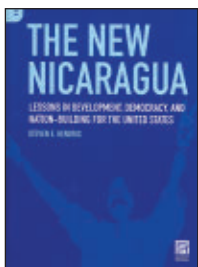
Mieczyslaw P. Boduszynski,  
*The John Hopkins University Press, 2010, \$60, hardcover, 360 pages.*

The dissolution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia into seven states in the early 1990s is a complicated and intriguing topic. In his new book, FSO Mieczyslaw Boduszynski explores four of the successor states — Croatia, Slovenia, Macedonia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia — and how they developed politically in the tumultuous years after their creation.

Boduszynski first analyzes the region as a whole, providing an excellent overview. He then explores Croatia's "simulated democracy," Slovenia's "substantive democracy," Macedonia's "illegitimate democracy," and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia's "populist authoritarianism" during the transitional period of the 1990s. Helpful graphs and tables highlight the text, as Boduszynski describes the internal and external circumstances that shaped the different forms of democracy in the Yugoslav successor states.

He concludes by noting that all of these states are already on track to become members in the European Union, "a fact that offers great hope for democracy, stability and security in the region."

Mieczyslaw P. Boduszynski has served in Tirana, Pristina and Tokyo. A veteran teacher, he holds a Ph.D. in political science from the University of California at Berkeley.



**The New Nicaragua: Lessons in Development, Democracy and Nation-Building for the United States**

Steven E. Hendrix, *Praeger, 2009, \$59.95, hardcover, 286 pages.*

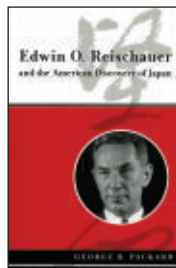
*The New Nicaragua* is an intriguing blend of history, political analysis and autobiography covering a turbulent two-year period in modern Nicaraguan history, from June 2005 to June 2007.

After three years in Washington, USAID Foreign

Service officer Hendrix, a self-described "field type," headed out to respond to the emerging challenge in Nicaragua. The issues involved corrupt government, undemocratic elections and conniving political leaders. Hendrix arrived just as Daniel Ortega returned to the Nicaraguan presidency and U.S. policy shifted, in Hendrix's words, "from right versus left to right versus wrong."

As Hendrix describes it, his time in Nicaragua presented a mixed bag of solutions. Though less overtly antagonistic than Ortega had been 25 years earlier, his administration still lacked transparency, and corruption was still a problem. But *The New Nicaragua* also offers a happier lesson. Hendrix says that he "hopes any reader of this work will see that we did have a major impact in Nicaragua in promoting democracy." And in difficult circumstances, such as those described in this book, that's certainly a promising outcome.

An FSO since 1967, Steven Hendrix is a crisis, stabilization and governance officer with USAID, whose postings include Nicaragua, Iraq and Guatemala. He graduated from the University of Wisconsin Law School and is a licensed attorney in the United States, Bolivia and Guatemala. He lives in Arlington, Va., with his wife and three children.



**Edwin O. Reischauer and the American Discovery of Japan**

George R. Packard, *Columbia University Press, 2010, \$32.50, hardcover, 368 pages.*

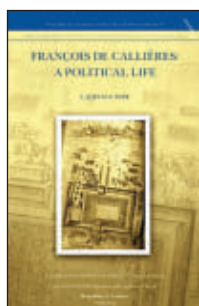
In the preface, George Packard explains his intent to supplement Edwin O. Reischauer's autobiography by adding details of his life and describing his continuing influence since his death in 1990. The result is an excellent chronicle of the life and times of this extraordinary man, whose ultimate goal was to "cure America's ignorance of East Asia."

In April 1961, President John F. Kennedy appointed Edwin O. Reischauer as ambassador to Japan. Already influential as an author and professor, Reischauer served for more than five years, forever altering the way most Americans viewed East Asia. Born to American missionary parents in Japan, Reischauer lived there until he was 16, ultimately studying in the United States and establishing the East Asian studies department at Harvard before returning to Tokyo as ambassador.

Through Packard's well-crafted prose, Reischauer emerges as a dynamic but flawed man who sacrificed

his health for the sake of enhancing the relationship between America and Japan. An eternal optimist, Reischauer believed in the potential of the Japanese people, and his open-minded attitude continues to exert influence today.

George R. Packard served as a military intelligence officer and Foreign Service officer. The founder of the Reischauer Center for East Asian Studies at Johns Hopkins University, he currently serves as president of the United States-Japan Foundation. He and his wife live in Washington, D.C.



**François de Callières:  
A Political Life**

Laurence E. Pope,  
*ADST-DACOR Diplomats  
and Diplomacy Series,  
Republic of Letters Press  
(The Netherlands), 2010,  
\$49, paperback, 280 pages.*

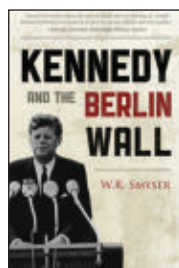
François de Callières (1645-1717) rose from modest provincial origins to a position of power and influence at the court of Louis XIV. Best known as the author of *On Negotiating with Sovereigns*, a work that has rarely been out of print in English since its publication in 1716, Callières was a skillful, wily negotiator and politician.

In this critical biography, the 41st volume in the ADST-DACOR Diplomats and Diplomacy Series, Laurence Pope contrasts the practice of the historical Callières with the high-minded theorist of *On Negotiating*. Drawing on newly discovered archival materials, he traces Callières' long political career, from his maiden clandestine mission to Poland in 1670 to his advocacy of the failed Franco-Jacobite invasion of Scotland in 1708.

British diplomatic scholar G.R. Berridge says of this book: "François de Callières is one of the most important figures in the history of diplomatic thought, and Laurence Pope, who is in the first rank of scholar-diplomats, has produced a biography worth of him. It is impeccably researched, rich in absorbing detail, comprehensive in its account of his subject's activities (literary as well as diplomatic), shrewd in its judgments, and written with considerable verve. I enjoyed it immensely."

Former U.S. ambassador and FSO Laurence E. Pope served as political adviser to U.S. Central Command General Anthony Zinni in 2000, before which he did stints in counterterrorism and Middle Eastern af-

fairs. A graduate of Bowdoin College and the Senior Seminar, he also studied at Princeton and the Armed Forces Staff College. He previously co-edited *Letters (1694-1700) of François de Callières to the Marquise d'Huxelles* (Mellen, 2004).



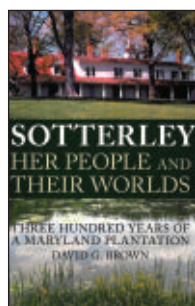
**Kennedy and the Berlin Wall**

W.R. Smyser, Rowman &  
*Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2010,  
\$17.95, paperback, 256 pages.*

*Kennedy and the Berlin Wall* tells the full story of the Berlin Crisis that riveted international attention and brought the world to the brink of nuclear warfare, as Soviet and American tanks opposed each other on the streets of Berlin. Posted there as special assistant to U.S. Army General Lucius D. Clay, W.R. Smyser had a unique vantage point on the 33-month confrontation.

Drawing on his own experience, as well as on recently opened archives, Smyser frames his account in terms of both the contest between President John F. Kennedy and Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev and the foreign policy education of the new U.S. president. (See the review by Aurelius Fernandez in the February *FSJ*.)

W.R. (Dick) Smyser, a retired FSO, is an adjunct professor in the BMW Center for German and European Studies at Georgetown University and also teaches at the Foreign Service Institute. Smyser, who joined the Foreign Service in 1955, served as a political officer in Bonn and in Saigon. He was an adviser to the U.S. delegation to the Paris Peace Talks on Vietnam in 1969, and was detailed to the National Security Council in 1970. He has written 10 books. The most recent are *The Humanitarian Conscience: Caring for Others in the Age of Terror* (Palgrave-MacMillan, 2003) and *How Germans Negotiate: Logical Goals, Practical Solutions* (U.S. Institute of Peace Press, 2003).



**Sotterley, Her People and  
Their Worlds: Three Hundred  
Years of a Maryland Plantation**

David G. Brown, Publishing  
*Concepts, 2010, \$17, paperback,  
116 pages.*

This succinct chronicle of a historic Maryland plantation sounds initially as though it would appeal to only a very limited audience. The book, however, describes not only the specific plantation and its peo-

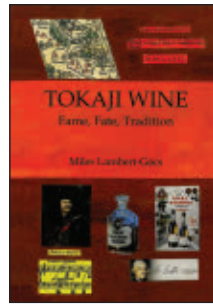


ple, but covers hundreds of years of American history through the lens of this single locale.

The book begins in 1700, describing the various Indian tribes living in villages around Sotterley's current location. Following James Bowles' purchase of the land, the estate gradually became a tobacco plantation. Over the centuries, Sotterley evolved and changed to keep up with the course of American history, from the War of 1812 to the Civil War and beyond.

Ultimately, the estate belonged to the Satterlee family; Mabel Satterlee Ingalls, the last owner of Sotterley, founded the Sotterley Mansion Foundation. The author clearly feels a deep connection to Sotterley, describing it as "attractive to the eye and soothing to the soul." And his passion is certainly catching.

David Brown served as an FSO for more than 30 years, focusing mostly on Asian affairs. Currently an adjunct professor of Chinese and Asian studies at Johns Hopkins University, Brown has published many articles on foreign policy and colonial Maryland. He and his wife, Erna, have three children. Brown is a trustee of Historic Sotterley, and all proceeds from this book will be donated to the organization.



**Tokaji Wine:  
Fame, Fate, Tradition**

*Miles Lambert-Gócs,  
Ambeli Press, 2010, \$27.95,  
hardcover, 269 pages.*

In *Tokaji Wine*, Miles Lambert-Gócs offers a detailed history of the eponymous wine's origins and the people who helped spread it across the world. In 1989, oenophiles heralded Tokaji's re-emergence after four decades in relative obscurity under a communist regime. This book, a labor of love for the author, whose family has roots in the region, is meant to supplant the sketchy accounts available to date on Tokaji's history.

The book is encyclopedic, with A-Z entries on four major topics: the people and clans who ruled over Hungary and brought Tokaji to prominence, the places that are important in the vintage's history, Tokaji wine-growing areas in Hungary and a detailed look at the qualities and varieties of the wine.

We also learn the history of the Tokaj-Hegyalja region in the former Kingdom of Hungary, where the

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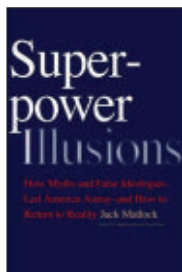
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wine got its name. A general essay at the end of each major section helps tie together the many entries. This meticulously researched volume, which includes new information and novel interpretations, will appeal to serious wine aficionados who have a taste for historical detail.

Miles Lambert-Gócs is a retired Foreign Agriculture Service FSO. An avid historian and chronicler, he spent 30 years researching wine in his native Hungary. He is also the author of *Desert Island Wine* (Ambeli Press, 2007), *Greek Salad: a Dionysian Travelogue* (The Wine Appreciation Guild, 2004) and *The Wines of Greece* (Faber and Faber, 1990). He lives in Williamsburg, Va.



**Superpower Illusions:  
How Myths and False Ideologies  
Led America Astray — and  
How to Return to Reality**

Jack F. Matlock Jr., Yale University  
Press, 2010, \$30, hardcover,  
368 pages.

Part of America's popular wisdom concerning the Cold War is that it was American economic and military pressure that brought down the Soviet Union. In *Superpower Illusions*, Jack Matlock shows that it just wasn't so, and that this fundamental misunderstanding of the Cold War has been detrimental to subsequent policymaking.

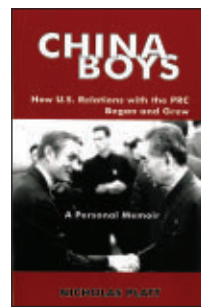
In a book that *Library Journal* cites as "refreshingly free of partisanship," Matlock traces the history of the late U.S.-Soviet rivalry, re-examining Soviet-American diplomacy during the 1980s, and demonstrating that Premier Mikhail Gorbachev's efforts to reform the Soviet Union and undermine communist rule were the primary reasons for the end of the Cold War. Washington's failure to appreciate this, Matlock contends, accounts for the erroneous overestimation of U.S. power that, in turn, led to a belief that America did not need allies and international institutions, but could rule the world through the exercise of unilateral military power.

This is "a truly remarkable book," says Dimitri Simes, a Soviet expert and president of the Nixon Center, "both wise and provocative, telling a sad yet instructive story of how the United States failed to exploit a triumph in the Cold War to build a new international order reflecting U.S. interests and principles."

Jack F. Matlock is a retired FSO who served as ambassador to the Soviet Union from 1987 to 1991. First posted to Moscow in 1961, he was director of Soviet affairs at the State Department at the beginning of the

détente era. He returned to Moscow in 1974 and, again, in 1981, before being appointed ambassador to the Soviet Union in 1987. He attended all but one of the U.S.-Soviet summits between 1972 and 1991. Since then, he has held several academic posts, serving as the George F. Kennan Professor at the Institute for Advanced Study from 1996 to 2001.

## MEMOIRS



**China Boys: How U.S. Relations  
with the PRC Began and Grew  
— A Personal Memoir**

Nicholas Platt, ADST-DACOR  
Diplomats and Diplomacy  
Series, New Academia  
Publishing/Vellum, 2010,  
\$28, hardcover, 366 pages.

"How should the West deal with a China that has risen? Before you decide, you'll want to read Nick Platt's fascinating account of American efforts to understand and cooperate with Beijing since the mid-1960s," says Jerome A. Cohen, co-director of the U.S.-Asia Law Institute at New York University. "Platt sheds light on important events that have been forgotten or misunderstood, and lets us see how the U.S. government processes China policy."

FSO Nicholas Platt was with President Richard Nixon and National Security Adviser Henry Kissinger on their visit to Beijing in 1972 and has been involved in various aspects of the U.S.-China relationship ever since. In *China Boys*, the 38th volume in the ADST-DACOR Diplomats and Diplomacy Series, he presents the U.S. opening to China, including the forging of the first links between the Pentagon and the People's Liberation Army during 1979 and 1980, from an insider's point of view.

"Ambassador Platt provides valuable perspective and context for today's debate, as his engaging storytelling, keen insights, and wicked wit carry the reader through four decades of U.S.-China friendship, friction and frustration," says former *Wall Street Journal* China bureau chief James McGregor.

An Asia hand and China specialist, Nicholas Platt served in Hong Kong, Beijing and Tokyo, among many other assignments during a 34-year diplomatic career that culminated in service as U.S. ambassador to the Philippines (1987-1991) and Pakistan (1991-1992). He served as president of the Asia Society from 1992 to 2004.



### **Cold War Saga**

*Kempton Jenkins, ADST-DACOR Diplomats and Diplomacy Series, Nimble Books, 2010, \$20.94, paperback, 452 pages.*

*Cold War Saga* is a lively, first-hand account of the global confrontation between the Soviet Union and the United States. The author, veteran diplomat Kempton Jenkins, was directly involved in this epic struggle from 1950 to 1980 and has remained involved in Russian and East European affairs to the present.

Following postings in Germany, Jenkins was assigned to Moscow in 1960, where he accompanied then-Ambassador Llewellyn E. Thompson Jr. in negotiations with Soviet foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko on a plan to reduce Soviet-Allied tensions in Germany. Returning to the Soviet desk at the State Department, he then moved to USIA in 1968, where he was in charge of programs in the Soviet Union and Warsaw Pact countries. In 1973, he was assigned to

State's congressional affairs office, retiring in 1980 to join the Commerce Department as head of the bureau of East-West trade.

Jenkins "tells it like it was," says Jack F. Matlock Jr., U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union from 1987 to 1991. "*Cold War Saga* is an absorbing read. If you fought with 'Jenks' in the political trenches, it will stir fond memories. If you didn't, it will take you there — and you won't forget where you've been or what was at stake." This well-written book is the 40th volume in the ADST-DACOR Diplomats and Diplomacy Series.

Retired FSO Kempton Jenkins is a consultant in international public affairs. He is the former president of the Ukraine-U.S. Business Council and the U.S.-U.S.S.R. Trade and Economic Council, and vice chairman of the U.S.-Yugoslav Business Council. He also served as an adjunct professor on East-West trade policy at Georgetown University.

### **Crossing Mandelbaum Gate: Coming of Age Between the Arabs and Israelis, 1956-1978**

*Kai Bird, Scribner, 2010, \$30, hardcover, 424 pages.*

In this memoir, Kai Bird takes the reader on a



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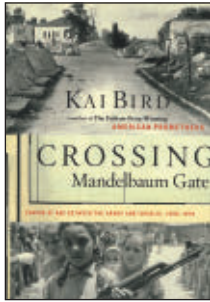
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gripping journey through both his own life and the history of the 20th century. Born in 1951 to FSO Eugene Bird and his wife, Jerri, the author grew up in the Middle East, returning to the United States intermittently for home leave and, ultimately, for college.

The memoir covers events with which most readers will already be familiar from history books or nightly news broadcasts. But Bird adds a new dimension by skillfully blending biography and history. From Saudi Arabian King Faisal's ascendancy to Bird's experience racing horses at the Aramco camp, from the siege of Mecca to his family's acquaintance with Saudi businessman Salem bin Laden — cousin of the infamous terrorist and patriarch of the elite bin Laden family for 20 years until his death in 1988 — the author weaves together the objective and subjective.

Bird is uniquely qualified to offer insight into the progression of the entrenched problems of the Middle East. The book ends on a cautiously optimistic note, as Bird observes that, though the Mandelbaum Gate he once crossed is no longer there physically, its presence remains. He speculates that perhaps it serves as "a symbol of hope, a place of reunion — and a reminder that these divisions cannot last forever."

Kai Bird is the author of *American Prometheus* (Knopf, 2005), the Pulitzer Prize-winning biography of J. Robert Oppenheimer. A prolific journalist, he often writes for the *Washington Post* and *The Nation*, and is a member of the Society of American Historians. He lives in Kathmandu with his wife and son.



**Danger and Opportunity:  
An American Ambassador's  
Journey through the Middle East**

*Edward P. Djerejian,*  
*Threshold Editions, 2009,*  
*\$16, paperback, 301 pages.*

Veteran diplomat Edward Djerejian presents not only a chronicle of his diplomatic experience in the Middle East, but also dispenses savvy political advice in *Danger and Opportunity*.

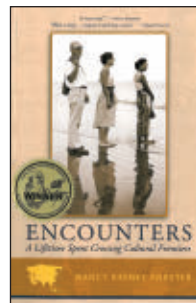
A former ambassador to Syria and Israel, Djerejian attempts to answer a complicated question: What went wrong with America's foreign policy in the Arab and Muslim world? He then asks an even more pointed

follow-up question: How can we fix it?

Interspersed with practical examples from his action-packed career are insightful suggestions about the future of U.S.-Middle Eastern relations. Echoing his 1992 speech at the Meridian House in Washington, Djerejian asserts that the U.S. must accept that many Middle Eastern countries will never have completely secularized governments and that encouragement of the moderate Muslim majority is the best prospect for stability and peace.

From his experiences in Beirut, Syria, Israel and Iraq, Djerejian provides a firsthand perspective on U.S. interaction with the Middle East and argues that the U.S. "can help marginalize radicals and champion a democratic way of life in conformity with the region's own mainstream values and ideals."

A graduate of Georgetown University, Edward P. Djerejian served in the Foreign Service for more than 30 years. He is the founding director of Rice University's James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy.



**Encounters: A Lifetime Spent  
Crossing Cultural Frontiers**

*Nancy Keeney Forster,*  
*Wind Shadow Press, 2009,*  
*\$15.95, paperback, 380 pages.*

This unique and engaging memoir — drawn from a combination of the author's own experiences and those of her late husband, FSO Clifton Forster — has received critical acclaim and was the winner of the Eric Hoffer Award for excellence in independent publishing. In *Encounters*, Nancy Keeney Forster presents the intertwined narrative of two fascinating people who shared a lifetime of diplomatic adventures. (See David Hitchcock's review in the July-August *FSJ*.)

Several years after her husband's unexpected death in 2006, Nancy Forster delved into the chests of papers and manuscripts he had left behind. In addition to drafts of several books, she found written reminiscences, and it is with these that *Encounters* opens. The son of American expatriates, Cliff had spent the first 18 years of his life in Japan, initially as a carefree child and, ultimately, in an internment camp. Forster chronicles his journey from prisoner to diplomat.

Their marriage occurs about halfway through the memoir and, from there, Forster recounts their shared adventures, from Japan to Israel to Washington. Part biography and part memoir, *Encounters* portrays the

power of diplomacy in positively affecting both individuals and the world.

Nancy Keeney Forster was married to the late FSO Clifton Forster for almost 60 years. They lived in California, the Philippines, Japan, Burma, Israel, Hawaii and Washington, D.C. In addition to managing these adventures, Forster became a career educator and director for the International Baccalaureate program. She currently resides in Tiburon, Calif.



**Slovakia on the Road to Independence:  
An American Diplomat's  
Eyewitness Account**

*Paul Hacker, The Penn State  
University Press, 2010, \$65,  
hardcover, 240 pages.*

Veteran FSO Paul Hacker combines personal memories and political history in this engaging memoir, in which he chronicles his years as head of the U.S. consulate in Bratislava, set against the backdrop of the Slovakian struggle for independence.

In October 1990, Hacker was given the responsibility of reopening the consulate, which had been closed for 40 years during the Cold War. *Slovakia* describes the country's fascinating three-year journey to independence in 1993, at which point the U.S. consulate in Bratislava became the U.S. embassy.

Hacker, who has years of experience in Eastern European affairs, recounts anecdotes of personal and political interest, including his interactions with Ambassador Shirley Temple Black, who headed Embassy Prague at the time (1989-1992). The book's postscript provides a summary of the 17 years since Slovakia's independence, offering a new perspective on the issues of the early 1990s. This succinct volume expertly combines autobiographical and historical information to create the captivating story of a nation on the verge of sovereignty and a diplomat who experienced the journey firsthand.

Dr. Paul Hacker had a 30-year career in the Foreign Service, during which he served as principal officer in the U.S. consulate in Bratislava from 1990 to 1992 and as chargé d'affaires of the U.S. embassy there in 1993. He and his family currently live in Florida.

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**Simple Gestures: A Cultural Journey into the Middle East**

Andrea B. Rugh, Potomac Books Inc., 2009, \$29.95, hardcover, 368 pages.

Although the Middle East often features prominently in the headlines of morning newspapers and nightly broadcasts across the United States, few Americans understand the region's inhabitants. In *Simple Gestures*, Andrea Rugh chronicles her progression from puzzled foreigner to cultural guru. As mother, wife and, ultimately, anthropologist, Rugh explores the traditions of the eight Middle Eastern countries in which she lived, from Lebanon in 1964 to Afghanistan in the aftermath of 9/11.

Rugh presents her remembrances chronologically, from her childhood exposure to foreign culture in her grandparents' copies of *National Geographic* to her work at schools in Afghanistan in 2001. Along the way, she discovers the differences not only between American and Middle Eastern cultures, but also among the various countries themselves. Rugh narrates dozens of highly readable anecdotes about every aspect of life, from social visits to weddings to education. Rugh's honest and respectful insights culminate in a chapter of conclusions, describing the overall lessons of her life in a region often misrepresented in the West.

The wife of an FSO, Andrea Rugh has been involved in projects with USAID, the Harvard Institute of International Development, Save the Children and UNICEF. She attended Swarthmore College and Oberlin College before receiving her Ph.D. in anthropology from American University. The author of several other books about the region, she is currently an adjunct scholar at the Middle East Institute and lives in Maryland and Massachusetts.



**Russian Spies, Qadhafi and Other Memories**

Dick Kalla, CreateSpace, 2008, \$16.95, paperback, 384 pages.

In his foreword to *Russian Spies, Qadhafi, and Other Memories*, Dick Kalla explains that he wrote the memoir primarily to satisfy the curiosity of family and friends about his Foreign Service career. But readers unacquainted with the author will also appreciate his book: Kalla's remem-

brances of life as an FSO will interest fellow career diplomats, who can identify with his experience, while his simple description of Foreign Service life will delight those less familiar with the hierarchies of embassies and other insider knowledge. Readers will have as much fun reading this memoir as Kalla clearly did in writing it.

The memoir contains 14 "slices of life" detailing memorable experiences at each of Kalla's 12 posts (from Copenhagen to Caracas). Kalla relays a variety of anecdotes — everything from the story of his "coincidental" encounters with the titular KGB agent (who attempted to seduce him into becoming an informant for the Soviet Union) to a short description of Tawny, the Great Dane adopted by the Kalla family while they lived in the Dominican Republic. The book concludes with a succinct editorial on the potentially detrimental effects of American xenophobia.

Richard L. Kalla served as an FSO with the U.S. Information Agency for 33 years, and has written many articles about his career experience. Now retired, he and his wife, Pat, live in Washington state and are, as he concludes his memoir, "looking forward to many adventures down the road."



**Not to the Manner Born**

Helen Lyman, ADST Memoirs and Occasional Papers Series, New Academia/Scarith Books, 2010, \$20.00, hardcover, 172 pages.

In 2001, Helen Lyman, wife of retired FSO and former Ambassador Princeton Lyman, began writing about the more humorous incidents of her life overseas. As one who never thought of herself as being born to the trappings of diplomatic life, she brings a wry perspective to her observations. *Not to the Manner Born*, published posthumously as a title in the ADST-DACOR Memoirs and Occasional Papers Series, contains a foreword by her husband.

The essays recount incidents with the famous — Nelson Mandela, Al and Tipper Gore, Hillary Clinton — and the not-so-famous, such as her first-grade students in Nigeria. Lyman's account of her first meeting with Nelson Mandela, during her husband's posting as U.S. ambassador to South Africa (1992-1995), was published in the *Foreign Service Journal* (May 2004).

From housewife to family counselor, to teacher, to computer trainer for the State Department, Lyman



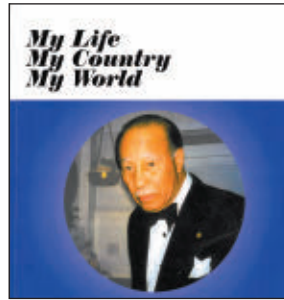
records the human touches of each of these roles and, in the process, her own development. Just as she was looking forward to a rich retirement life, illness struck: she was diagnosed with cancer in 1987. Lyman continued writing throughout, turning to poetry toward the end. As her husband observes, “The final work is thus not a traditional memoir, but a rich journey.”

Helen Carolyn Lyman died on July 6, 2008. Trained as a family counselor, she developed a career as a teacher and computer instructor while overseas. She taught English in South Korea and kindergarten and first grade in both Ethiopia and Nigeria. In 1990, she joined the State Department as an instructor in computer applications. In that capacity she traveled to China, Turkey, El Salvador, Swaziland, Switzerland, South Korea, Namibia, Israel and South Africa to train staff.

**My Life, My Country, My World**

James Leonard Mack, Dorrance Publishing Co. Inc., 2008, \$15, paperback, 150 pages.

The memoirs of James Leonard Mack span almost 60 years and provide not just a glimpse into the life of



an FSO, but of world history. *My Life, My Country, My World* begins with the author’s birth on his family’s farm in 1916. In a light, conversational tone, Mack chronicles his education, travels and career as an FSO, travers-

ing most of the globe and drawing memorable experiences from each country.

Additionally, the chapter titled “Departing Thoughts” details Mack’s advice and predictions for the future of American foreign policy. An appendix provides photos to accompany many of the anecdotes, as well as several examples of his poetry.

James Leonard Mack is a retired FSO who first served as cultural attaché in Khartoum. He has received several meritorious honor awards, including a service award from the Department of State in 1964. A graduate of New York, George Washington and Harvard universities, Mack is also a veteran teacher and an accomplished poet.

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**Finding My Father:  
The Lifelong Quest by an  
Iwo Jima Marine's Son to Know  
the Man Who Was His Father**

Robert Sidney Pace,  
*iUniverse.com*, 2009, \$23.95,  
paperback, 340 pages.

Almost every history textbook includes basic facts about the battle of Iwo Jima, but with this memoir, Robert Sidney Pace puts a human face on the event and its aftermath.

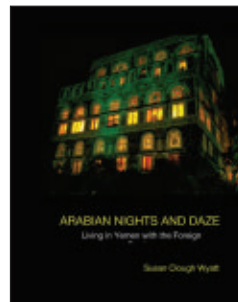
Born in 1944, Pace grew up knowing only scant details about his father, who died at Iwo Jima six months after his son's birth. One day, 12-year-old Robert explored his grandparents' attic and discovered a box of his father's letters to his mother. He became determined to discover the man behind his shadowy conception of his father.

Although it revolves around Pace's journey to understand his father, *Finding My Father* concerns more than this posthumous relationship. Pace describes the lives of many of his ancestors and relatives — including his great-grandmother, mother and aunt — and chron-

icles his own experiences in the Foreign Service.

Particularly moving is Pace's adult rediscovery of the letters he first read as a preteen. Once Pace sees his father in a realistic light, he is able to come to terms with both the flawed and admirable aspects of his father's character.

Robert Sidney Pace served as an FSO for 30 years, from 1966 to 1996. For almost a decade, he worked exclusively on U.S.-Turkish relations, and served twice in Ankara. After retiring from the Foreign Service, Pace served as executive director of the American-Uzbekistan Chamber of Commerce in Washington, D.C. He and his wife live in Northern Virginia.



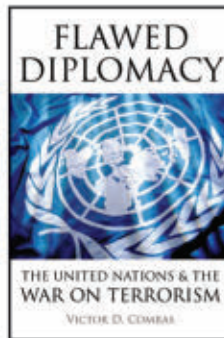
**Arabian Nights and Daze:  
Living Yemen with the  
Foreign Service**

Susan Clough Wyatt, *ADST  
Memoirs and Occasional  
Papers Series*, New  
*Academia/Scarith Books*,  
2010, \$26, hardcover,  
302 pages.



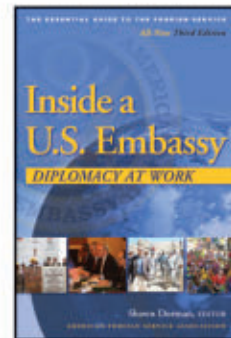
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*Arabian Nights and Daze* follows a U.S. Foreign Service couple as they renew an official presence in Yemen at a time when neither country was interested in having full diplomatic relations. Arriving in Sanaa three years after the closing of the U.S. embassy, they opened and managed the U.S. interests section within the Italian embassy. Author Susan Clough Wyatt's husband, David William McKlintock, served as principal officer, and she was the mission's secretary — at a time when FS wives were referred to as “dependents” and evaluated in their husband's yearly personnel reports.

Wyatt describes the challenges they faced with candor. She also recounts Yemen's struggles to become a modern, viable state just eight years after the Republican Revolution had ousted a thousand-year-old dynasty of Shiite (Zaydi) Muslim imams. The portrait Wyatt paints of the Yemeni people as she knew them in the 1970s — proud, respectful, loyal, friendly, hospitable and inexperienced in Western ways — contrasts sharply with the terrorists described in the media after the USS *Cole* attack in 2000.

The last two chapters compare Yemen then and now,

identifying the major challenges the present government faces as it attempts to maintain stability in the face of a global terrorist threat that continues to penetrate its borders. Part of ADST's Memoirs and Occasional Papers Series, the book is richly illustrated.

Susan Wyatt is a former FS spouse and career counselor. She and her present husband, Richard Williams, divide their time between Albuquerque, N.M., and Eugene, Ore. She is the author of *Thirty Acres More or Less: Restoring a Farm in Virginia* (Warm Snow Publishers, 2003).



**Present at the Footnote:  
Personal Commentary on  
American Diplomacy**

Henry E. Mattox,  
*ADST Memoirs and  
Occasional Papers Series,*  
*Xlibris, 2010, \$19.99,*  
*paperback, 204 pages.*

In 1996, a small group of retired FSOs in the Raleigh-Durham area of North Carolina founded an Internet journal, *American Diplomacy*



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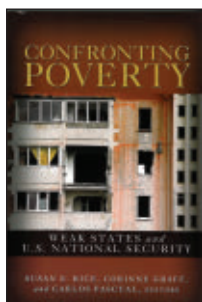


([www.unc.edu/depts/diplomat/](http://www.unc.edu/depts/diplomat/)). Under the editorial direction of Henry Mattox, the journal — which is hosted by the University of North Carolina — evolved from a quarterly to a dynamic e-zine, offering lively commentary and analysis on international affairs and Foreign Service life, as well as book reviews, an extensive archive and other resources for those interested in foreign relations.

In *Present at the Footnote*, Mattox presents a sampling of his own writings, first posted on *American Diplomacy* between 1996 and 2008. Drawing on his experiences during a 23-year Foreign Service career and, later, as a senior lecturer in American and diplomatic history, Mattox addresses such issues as diplomacy as a profession, the Iraq War, civil-military affairs, and country and regional policies. This wide-ranging set of highly readable essays is part of the ADST Memoirs and Occasional Papers Series.

Henry E. Mattox served in the U.S. Foreign Service from 1957 to 1980, with postings to Paris, Ponta Delgada, Sao Paulo, Kathmandu, Port-au-Prince, London and Cairo. After retirement, he spent a year in Nigeria as a Fulbright senior lecturer and taught for 15 years at North Carolina State University. He was editor of *American Diplomacy* from 1996 to 2007.

## POLICIES & ISSUES



### **Confronting Poverty: Weak States and U.S. National Security**

*Susan E. Rice, Corinne Graff  
and Carlos Pascual, editors,  
Brookings Institution Press,  
2010, \$26.95, paperback,  
256 pages.*

Taking a new look at the old, afflicting problem of global poverty, Susan Rice, Corinne Graff and Carlos Pascual summarize much of the recent research done on international development in weak states. As the authors remind us, “poverty is a national-security challenge for all, including the United States.”

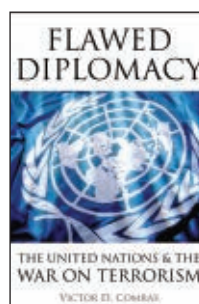
Underlying poverty and other challenges is the strength of the state and its ability to provide adequate services for its citizens. The editors’ own pieces, as well as contributions from other experts, examine the intersection of poverty and conflict throughout the world. What emerges is a set of recommendations for policy-

makers about helping to alleviate poverty and increasing security worldwide.

One major challenge for the field of international development is figuring out which approaches work and how to tweak them to fit the needs of different countries. The analysis contributes to our understanding of how to take a more comprehensive approach to promoting international development. Ultimately, poverty and conflict, even in distant parts of the world, can have a harmful impact on U.S. national security.

Susan Rice, who served as assistant secretary of State for Africa during the Clinton administration, was a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution until 2009, when she left to become U.S. ambassador to the United Nations. Crone Graff was a Brookings fellow.

Career Senior FSO and former ambassador Carlos Pascual served as the State Department’s Coordinator for Stabilization and Reconstruction (2004-2006). Following retirement in 2006, he served as vice president and director at the Brookings Institution. In 2009, President Barack Obama appointed him U.S. ambassador to Mexico.



### **Flawed Diplomacy: The United Nations & the War on Terrorism**

*Victor Comras, Potomac Books,  
Inc., 2010, \$29.95, hardcover,  
256 pages.*

Few would dispute that the United Nations is an indispensable organization in today’s globalized world; why, then, has it been so difficult for the U.N. to coordinate responses to terrorism? *Flawed Diplomacy* explores the history and political implications of terrorism and analyzes the U.N.’s responses.

The crux of Comras’ argument is that the U.N., while it has made some gains against terrorism in the past, needs to implement a more effective response for today’s increased threat. Part of the problem with counterterrorism actions, he argues, is that the international community cannot readily agree on what constitutes a terrorist action; the line between “terrorism” and “freedom fighting” is often narrow.

Comras underscores the inherent difficulty of any U.N.-orchestrated counterterrorism actions: with so many member countries, consensus on such a hot issue is nearly impossible. Still, he remains a cautious optimist, acknowledging small steps taken in the past and providing recommendations for stronger action in the

future. *Flawed Diplomacy* provides readers with a detailed look at a crucial issue — one which affects, and will continue to affect, politics the world over.

Career FSO Victor Comras is an expert on international sanctions and efforts to counter terrorism. He served as one of five monitors, chosen by U.N. Secretary-General Kofi Annan, overseeing the enforcement of Security Council antiterrorism measures. A prolific writer and radio and television commentator, he currently lives in Ft. Lauderdale, Fla.



**Understanding  
Islam in Indonesia:  
Politics and Diversity**

Robert Pringle, *University of Hawaii Press*, 2010, \$22, paperback, 220 pages.

It often comes as a surprise to people that Indonesia — a country located in East Asia, not the Middle East — has the largest Muslim population in the world (more than 230 million). As a rising power and a democracy, Indonesia is set to grow in impor-

tance. Yet the country's history and politics are not very widely known.

Robert Pringle aims to remedy this problem with his new book, *Understanding Islam in Indonesia: Politics and Diversity*. With a focus on the development of Islam, Pringle explores Indonesia's colonial past, its recent history and the newest developments taking place in the country.

Indonesian Islam developed in its own unique circumstances, with the first confirmed arrival of the religion in the 13th century. (The country would later be ruled by the Dutch and the Japanese before gaining independence.)

Pringle weaves a narrative thread that traces these developments and their impact on Islam in the country. Most valuably, he elucidates modern Indonesia's religious diversity, religion's connection with politics and its role in society and politics. *Understanding Islam in Indonesia* helps the reader to do exactly what its title promises.

A historian and author, retired FSO Robert Pringle served in Jakarta in the 1970s. He specializes in Islamic issues.



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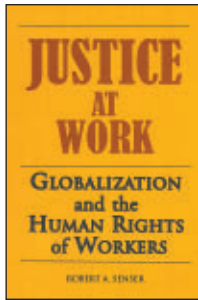
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**Justice at Work:  
Globalization and the  
Human Rights of Workers**

Robert Senser, Xlibris  
Corporation, 2009, \$19.99,  
paperback, 232 pages.

In *Justice at Work*, Robert Senser provides an unflinching look at the often-violated rights of workers the world over. The book contains some of the author's articles written between 1991 and 2008 examining labor practices in much of the world, particularly in Bangladesh, India and China.

Senser spotlights how the Western world condones horrific working conditions — however unwittingly — and argues that personal responsibility is necessary to improve these conditions. He graphically describes scenes of employees treated as machines: children as young as 7 taken from their mothers to work 12 hours a day, seven days a week; young women trapped in burning factories; workers subjected to polluted air full of toxic chemicals.

But the book does more than describe the abuses.

It also examines the causes of these problems and chronicles some attempts to rectify them (including, for example, the successful 1998 crusade of a group of students at Duke University to stop the licensing of Duke's logo on sweatshop-produced merchandise and the beginnings of the anti-sweatshop movement).

Senser believes that in the 21st century there can be no more excuses for such problems: these outrages are not a necessary phase in a country's industrialization and should not be ignored under the assumption that they will ultimately go away.

By confronting these issues and putting a human face on cheap labor, he wants to make his readers think twice before purchasing an inexpensive garment or a toy "made in China."

Retired FSO Robert Senser served as a labor attaché for 21 years. He earned a B.S. at Loyola University in Chicago and conducted postgraduate studies at the University of Chicago. He has had more than 50 years of experience in human rights issues, and serves as editor of *Human Rights for Workers*, an online newsletter devoted to wide-ranging coverage of labor, trade and economic issues (<http://humanrightsforworkers.blogspot.com/>).



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**U.S. Peacefare:  
Organizing American  
Peace-Building Operations**

*Dane F. Smith Jr., Praeger,  
2010, \$44.95,  
hardcover, 301 pages.*

While conducting peace attracts only a fraction of the resources committed to conducting war, it is no doubt the preferable (and more cost-effective) means of dealing with international conflict. In *U.S. Peacefare*, author Dane Smith examines America's peacebuilding infrastructure. (The neologism "peacefare," the author explains, is synonymous with "peacebuilding," which is an umbrella term covering a range of activities to reduce conflict generally or end specific conflicts.)

Beginning with an historical overview of official peacebuilding, Smith then examines the organization and interaction of five key bureaucratic entities involved in this work: the National Security Council, the State Department, the U.S. Agency for International Development and the Defense Department, as well as

the U.S. Institute for Peace. Smith focuses on agency interaction because the success of peacemaking efforts — such as in the post-conflict Balkans, for example — is dependent on each agency's precise understanding of its role and cooperation to coordinate their actions toward a common goal.

Considering the high stakes of international conflict — lost lives, political instability and huge sums of money — Smith is passionate about providing the recommendations needed to strengthen and expand American 'peacefare' abroad. While the book's technical jargon and meticulous detail may not be for the general reader, it fills a critical gap in understanding the different agency players.

Retired career FSO Dane Smith, who served as U.S. ambassador to Senegal and to Guinea and as special presidential envoy for Liberia, is a senior associate at the Center for Strategic and International Studies and an adjunct professor at American University in Washington, D.C. Drawing on 17 years of residence and travel in 32 African countries, he lectures on African history and culture, and trains expatriate teams to work effectively on the continent.

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**Iraq: The Moral Reckoning — Applying Just War Theory to the 2003 War Decision**

Craig M. White, *Lexington Books*, 2010, \$26.95, paperback, 290 pages.

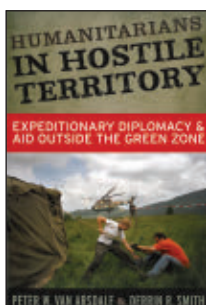
In *Iraq: The Moral Reckoning*, author Craig White “not only sets a new standard for evaluating the

2003 Iraq War, but also shows how present and future wars can be better evaluated in moral and practical terms.” The book details the stipulations of “just war” theory and systematically analyzes whether or not each criterion was met by the Bush administration in 2003.

White’s conclusion — that the decision met only one of six “just war” criteria — is supported by his meticulous research. The book begins with an overview of theories on warfare, from Aristotle to Thomas Aquinas, and presents the qualifications of a just war: sovereign authority, just cause, right intention, proportionality of ends, last resort and reasonable chance of success. In subsequent chapters, White explores speeches, news articles, editorials and other sources of publically available information about the Iraq war decision.

White anticipates counterarguments and rebuffs them; his book successfully juggles the complex components of a war decision. Whether they agree with White’s argument, readers will appreciate this look at the problems confronting a government as it prepares for war.

Craig M. White joined the Foreign Service in 1991, after living in the Middle East for nearly 10 years. He wrote *Iraq: The Moral Reckoning* in his free time as a citizen, not as an official, believing that “if any theory is to be useful, it must be applied to the dense texture of the existing world.” He currently serves as the public affairs officer in Port Louis, Mauritius.



**Humanitarians in Hostile Territory: Expeditionary Diplomacy & Aid Outside the Green Zone**

Peter W. Van Arsdale and Derrin R. Smith, *Left Coast Press*, 2010, \$34.95, paperback, 352 pages.

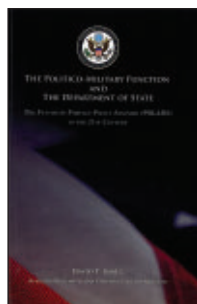
*Humanitarians in Hostile Territory* is Peter Van Arsdale and Derrin Smith’s guide to the moral and practical aspects of helping civilians outside the safety of the U.S.-secured “green zones.”

Within a certain stretch of territory governments and aid organizations establish a presence and provide humanitarian assistance and security to the local population. But what about those civilians living far from secured areas and relief operations? This book is designed to help governments and nongovernmental organizations navigate this unfamiliar terrain.

The authors divide the book into three parts, covering the ethos of humanitarian efforts, operational requirements and the lessons learned from previous humanitarian interventions. Especially important is the delicate subject of civilian-military relations. Van Arsdale and Smith supply ample guidelines and recommendations for how NGOs and governments should play their respective roles and work together toward a common goal.

By and large, this is a detailed guide to cutting-edge humanitarian work based on years of experience and case studies, especially the U.S. experience in Iraq, and is recommended reading for Foreign Service personnel and NGOs operating in “hostile territory.”

Derrin Smith is a political officer in Beirut, specializing in terrorism finance and sanctions, human trafficking, Iraqi refugees and internally displaced persons. Peter Van Arsdale is a senior lecturer at the Josef Korbel School of International Studies at the University of Denver, as well as director of African initiatives. He has conducted fieldwork in Romania, Bosnia, Indonesia and Ethiopia, among other places, and is the author of *Forced to Flee: Human Rights and Human Wrongs in Refugee Homelands* (Lexington Books, 2006).



**The Politico-Military Function and the Department of State: The Future of Foreign Policy Advisers (POLADS) in the 21st Century**

David T. Jones, *Una Chapman Cox Foundation*, 2010, paperback, 124 pages.

Writing on a special class of Foreign Service officers known as POLADS (foreign policy advisers to military commanders), David Jones examines the cooperation between the State and Defense Departments integrating the expertise of FSOs with on-the-ground military officials. Demand for qualified and knowledgeable diplomatic advisers has been on the rise ever since 9/11, and Jones is concerned with mapping out how this expansion of the POLAD program should proceed.

In addition to a brief history of State-Defense relations and the POLAD program, Jones takes a step-by-step approach to identifying the precise roles of these political advisers, how they should be selected, and what kind of training is needed to help them do their job well. This report on the POLAD program is detailed and intricate, and is targeted at State and Defense officials thinking about using the program to improve U.S. foreign policy operations.

David Jones is a retired career FSO and frequent contributor to the *Journal*. During a diplomatic career of more than 30 years, Jones concentrated on politico-military issues and served as a POLAD for the Army Chief of Staff. He is also coauthor of *Uneasy Neighbor(s)* (Wiley, 2007), a book on U.S.-Canada relations.

The monograph is available at no cost to qualified requesters through the State Department's Bureau of Political-Military Affairs.

### **Building Security in the Persian Gulf**

*Robert E. Hunter, RAND Corporation, 2010, \$24, paperback, 202 pages.*

In this valuable book, retired Ambassador Robert



Hunter examines the security dynamics of the Persian Gulf, and the Middle East more generally. As a geostrategic area and hub of the world's oil resources, the region has repeatedly attracted intervention by outside powers. The cumulative effect of this history has left a fragmented, insecure grouping of states mired in conflict and burdensomely high defense spending.

Hunter emphasizes the world's common interest in ensuring the security of the Middle East. In each chapter he discusses different elements underlying regional stability, including conflict resolution, the role of external actors and arms control. Each chapter also contains recommendations for how U.S. policy should be directed.

The end goal of U.S. engagement with the Middle East, according to Hunter, is establishment of a collective security system that can help Washington "achieve its goals in the region at less material and human risk and cost than at present." While the challenges the U.S.



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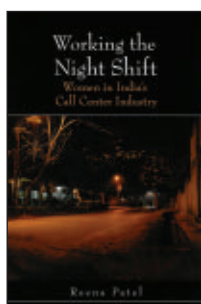
**Leah Wallace, Education and Youth Officer**  
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faces in the Middle East are daunting, Hunter ably explains how to deal with them.

Retired FSO Robert Hunter is a senior adviser at the RAND Corporation in Washington, D.C. He served as U.S. ambassador to NATO and U.S. representative to the Western European Union under President Bill Clinton. He has also served as a foreign policy adviser to many government officials, including President Jimmy Carter and Defense Secretary William Cohen.



**Working the Night Shift:  
Women in India's Call  
Center Industry**

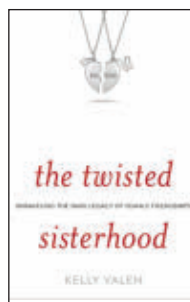
Reena Patel, *Stanford University Press*, 2010, \$21.95, paperback, 208 pages.

Almost every American has called an 800 number for assistance with electronics, credit cards or airline ticketing. In *Working the Night Shift*, Reena Patel explores the lives of the women at the other end of those calls. Patel's book — the result of months of research at call centers in and around Mumbai — analyzes how call center jobs affect employees.

The author draws on interviews with dozens of workers to explain the cultural and familial pressures discouraging many Indian women from working at call centers. Due to the time difference between the centers and the primarily American customers they serve, these women (many of whom have never before held jobs or even been outside of their homes past 8 p.m.) must work night shifts — or, as detractors call it, the “hooker shift.”

Through the personal stories of a variety of women — from a single mother working to afford her rent to a middle-class daughter earning spending money — Patel creates an intimate picture of a liberating but frequently dangerous profession, one which “brings with it new challenges and new opportunities for women workers.” This well-written book will certainly give readers something to think about the next time they call to reserve a plane ticket or pay a bill.

The first-generation American daughter of an Indian family, Reena Patel is a feminist scholar and Foreign Service officer. After graduating with a degree in business from the University of Massachusetts at Boston, she served as a Peace Corps Volunteer. She joined the Foreign Service this year and currently serves as a political officer in Madrid.



**The Twisted Sisterhood:  
Unraveling the Dark Legacy of  
Female Friendships**

Kelly Valen, *Ballantine Books*, 2010, \$25, hardcover, 256 pages.

When FS spouse and writer Kelly Valen's essay, “My Sorority Pledge? I Swore Off Sisterhood,” was published in the *New York Times'* Modern Love column in December 2007, she was overwhelmed by the volume and intensity of the response. The piece about an ugly encounter with sorority sisters struck a chord with thousands of women who carried powerful impressions and memories about female-inflicted wounds, and also prompted protest from women who felt such an airing of “dirty laundry” was somehow anti-woman.

Inspired, Valen embarked on a program of research and writing, including interviews with more than 3,000 women. In this book, she presents the results of her investigations, exposing the hidden and enduring fallout of seminal female relationships. “But while the survey results have more than confirmed that there is widespread social anxiety, wariness and doubts about the emotional safety of women — among women of all ages, backgrounds and perspectives,” says Valen, “my intent was for *The Twisted Sisterhood* to fill a void by not only opening this deeply emotional topic for discussion, but by raising consciousness and calling for a more mindful civility.”

Kelly Valen earned her J.D. from the University of California at Davis, where she was executive editor of the *UC Davis Law Review*. Since leaving the legal profession in 2004, she has published essays and commentaries in *The New York Times*, *Los Angeles Times*, *San Francisco Chronicle Magazine*, *Chicago Tribune* and other publications. She lives with her FSO husband and their four children in Bangkok and San Francisco.



**Grand Strategies: Literature,  
Statecraft and World Order**

Charles Hill, *Yale University Press*, 2010, \$27.50, hardcover, 384 pages.

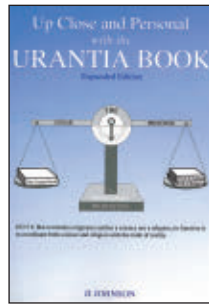
*Grand Strategies: Literature, Statecraft, and World Order* examines statecraft through literature, a relatively unique perspective in international relations. Charles Hill reviews many of the world's great works to provide a view of international relations through a humanities-focused lens rather

than the traditional viewpoint of political science.

The book explores several themes connecting the humanities and politics. The first is that the history of international statecraft can be traced through works of literature, including ancient Greek works by Homer and modern works by Kipling and Proust. Hill wants to show that the building blocks of the international system, including “diplomacy, justice and lawful governance” arise from parts of human nature.

A second theme is the significance of a broad humanities education for those working in international politics. Great works by authors like Sun Tzu help diplomats and statesmen to understand eternal political ideas and their origins in human nature and interaction. Hill has written a book aiming to distill the wisdom of human experience for the benefit of diplomats and widen their understanding of international politics.

Retired FSO Charles Hill was an adviser to many important political figures, including Ronald Reagan, George Shultz and Henry Kissinger. Today he is diplomat-in-residence and a lecturer in international studies at Yale University, as well as a research fellow at the Hoover Institute.



### Up Close and Personal with the Urantia Book

Expanded Edition

J.J. Johnson, 2010, \$19.99, paperback, 450 pages.

*Up Close and Personal with the Urantia Book* is a study guide for students of the spiritual and philosophical work first

published by the Urantia Foundation in 1955 as *The Urantia Book*. Though its origin remains a matter of debate, the work consists of a series of papers on the genesis, history and destiny of humanity and our relationship with God, including a unique portrayal of the life and teachings of Jesus. The papers propound the integration of science, philosophy and religion.

Johnson’s guide contains short essays on his own experiences with *The Urantia Book*, as well as references to particular topics in the different papers of the book organized by subject. A devoted student of Urantia, Johnson was a founding member and past president of the Grand Canyon Society for Readers of the Urantia Book. This new edition features a chapter, “The

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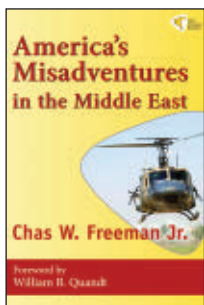
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J.J. Johnson joined the Foreign Service in 2001 as an information management specialist and has served in Islamabad, Rangoon and Moscow. He has also served on the Executive Secretariat’s Special Communications team in Washington, D.C., and with the Multinational Force and Observers’ Civilian Observer Unit in the Sinai. He is currently posted in Beijing.



**America’s Misadventures in the Middle East**


Chas W. Freeman Jr., *Just World Books*, 2010, \$22.95, paperback, 232 pages.

“He has given us a wake-up call. Let’s hope we hear it,” says Frank Carlucci, former ambassador to Portugal and Secretary of Defense, of *America’s Misadventures in the Middle East*. “Chas Freeman is one of our country’s best practitioners of diplomacy, an art he argues we have ne-

glected in favor of military options. With unclear goals, the latter has cost us good will and prestige around the world. Some will find Freeman’s indictment of our drift from our values too sweeping; all will find Freeman’s book thought-provoking and well-articulated.”

In this collection, the author presents two dozen of his essays, many of them never before published, spanning the two decades from 1990 to 2010. In 1990, as U.S. ambassador to Saudi Arabia, Freeman helped plan and implement the massive, U.S.-led effort to liberate Kuwait from occupation by Saddam Hussein’s Iraq; by 2010, he had developed many thoughtful and well-informed criticisms of the policies Washington had pursued toward the region. The book includes considerable new material on Operations Desert Shield and Desert Storm, as well as valuable information about the structure and politics of Saudi Arabia.

“Insight leaps from every page of this remarkable volume,” says Jessica Matthews, president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. “No diplomat of his generation has a finer intelligence, a better ear to listen, as great a willingness to pierce self-deception or as gifted a pen as Chas Freeman.”



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Chas W. Freeman Jr. is chairman of Projects International, Inc., a Washington-based firm that helps American and foreign clients arrange business transactions internationally. A retired FSO and former ambassador to Saudi Arabia, Freeman has had a distinguished three-decade-long career in government and foreign relations. A China expert and fluent Mandarin speaker, he was the principal American interpreter during President Nixon's historic 1972 visit to Beijing.

## FICTION



### **Spies in the Garden**

Bob Bergin, *Impact Publications*, 2010, \$14.95, paperback, 365 pages.

This engaging work of historical fiction centers on the American espionage effort in Asia that became the Office of Strategic Services. The story begins in

Burma just before the start of World War II and follows the Japanese invasion and the disasters that befall the British Army. Young journalist Harry Ross has been sent to Rangoon by "Wild Bill" Donovan to establish an espionage network and monitor the effectiveness of Claire Chennault's American Volunteer Group, the "Flying Tigers," who joined in the defense of Rangoon. When Rangoon falls, the action moves to China.

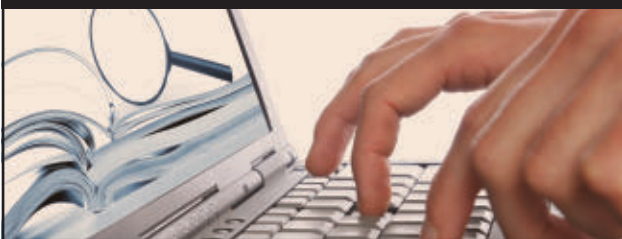
An adventure novel, *Spies in the Garden* is packed with historical characters and data. "It is detailed and authentic when it comes to the OSS [Office of Strategic Services] in Burma, China (particularly Chunking and Kunming) and Thailand," says Alice Booher in *The OSS Society Journal*. "A vivid picture of what the very beginning of America's espionage effort in Asia must have been like, *Spies* is rich in detail of the era and the craft of spying," says Charles Pinck, president of the OSS Society.

Bob Bergin is a retired FSO who served in Vietnam, Thailand, Indonesia, South Africa, Kenya and Japan. He is the author of two other historical novels set in Asia, *Stone Gods*, *Wooden Elephants* (Impact

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5. International Jobs - Working Overseas
6. Country Information (Bidding Resources)
7. Transition Center Courses
8. Preparing to Go Overseas
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10. Foreign Service Assignment Notebook: What Do I Do Now?
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Publications, 2001) and *When Tigers Fly* (Impact Publications, 2005), as well as numerous articles based on his extensive research into the history of aviation and OSS operations in Southeast Asia and China. When not writing, he and his wife, Monique, deal in the art and antiques of Southeast Asia at their shop, Banana Tree, in Alexandria, Va.



### Forty Wolves

Mark Jacobs, *Talisman House, Publishers*, 2010, \$19.95, paperback, 256 pages.

Mark Jacobs' novel *Forty Wolves* begins simply enough: middle-aged American Cris Alessi travels

to Turkey to find the woman he believes is his biological mother. But the plot quickly thickens, as each chapter shows a new perspective on the inhabitants — and intrigue — of the Village of Forty Wolves. Jacobs' experience as a short-story writer shines through in this novel, which expertly juggles everything from accusations of espionage to emotional farewells and subsequent reunions.

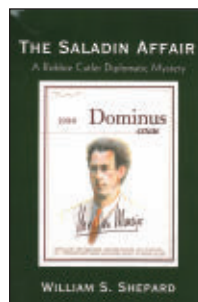
Perhaps the most intriguing part of the novel is its eponymous town. The setting weaves together the lives of Cris and a host of other characters, including a Turkish woman attempting to uphold her family's heritage, a blacksmith coming to terms with his religion, and a ruthless businessman seeking to control Forty Wolves and its citizens. This vivid novel, set against the backdrop of modern Turkey, presents the twists and turns of a thriller alongside the more subtle drama of literary fiction — and readers will be equally satisfied with both aspects.

Retired FSO Mark Jacobs served in Spain, Turkey and Latin America. He is the author of two collections of short stories, *A Cast of Spaniards* (Talisman House Publishers, 1994) and *The Liberation of Little Heaven* (Soho Press, 1998), and two novels, *Stone Cowboy* (Soho Press, 2003) and *A Handful of Kings* (Simon and Schuster, 2007). A native of New York, he lives with his wife in Virginia.

### The Saladin Affair: A Robbie Cutler Diplomatic Mystery

William S. Shepard, *iUniverse*, 2009, \$20.95, paperback, 360 pages.

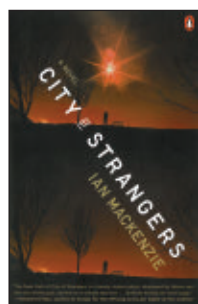
In this fourth installment of his diplomatic myster-



ies series, William S. Shepard presents a tale in the tradition of Dashiell Hammett and Dan Brown. Shepard tells an international story that spans six European capitals and 400 years of history. Robbie Cutler, the special assistant to a new Secretary of State, plans to accompany the Secretary on his travels overseas. What Cutler does not plan on is a string of mysteries, including an al-Qaida assassination conspiracy and an enigmatic desk that once belonged to the playwright Christopher Marlowe.

The author's experience as a career diplomat invests the novel with an impressive realism, while his authorial skills spin a gripping mystery.

William Shepard is a retired FSO. With his first Robbie Cutler thriller, *Vintage Murder* (iUniverse, 2002), Shepard created the genre of the diplomatic mystery. Currently a resident of eastern Maryland, he is the author of *Murder on the Danube* (Writers Club, 2001) and *Murder In Dordogne* (iUniverse, 2005), *Diplomatic Tales: Your Invitation to the Embassy* (iUniverse, 2006) and *Shepard's Guide to Mastering French Wines* (iUniverse, 2003).



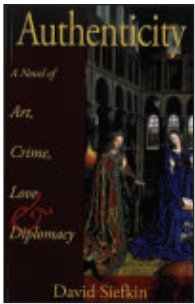
### City of Strangers

Ian Mackenzie, *Penguin Books*, 2009, \$14, paperback, 224 pages.

*City of Strangers*, Ian Mackenzie's first novel, deals with a man who sets out to confront the demons of his past. Paul Metzger is a lonely writer who has problematic relations with all the important people in his life. His ex-Nazi father is dying; he is deeply estranged from his older half-brother; and he has lingering feelings for his ex-wife. The backdrop to Paul's complicated life is a larger-than-life structure, the modern city.

In the book's opening, Mackenzie takes a quote from *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* in which strangers are said to be, "common not just in places of public assembly, but more common at a man's own doorstep." This quote encapsulates an important theme of the book: modern alienation.

FSO Ian Mackenzie is currently on his first posting, to Addis Ababa. After graduating from Harvard, he was a teacher in Brooklyn, N.Y.



**Authenticity: A Novel of Art, Crime, Love and Diplomacy**  
 David Siefkin, XPat Fiction, 2009,  
 \$12.50, paperback, 262 pages.

For U.S. consul general in St. Petersburg, a visiting art exhibit is the perfect, if rather routine, diplomatic mission. But on the eve of the opening, Peter May discovers a masterpiece of crime whose clues lead him to the secrets of the Hermitage Museum, backstage at the ballet, and into the world of spies and counterspies, ballerinas, art forgers, and Russian billionaires.

With romance, intrigue, humor and snappy dialogue, *Authenticity* tells the story of a man and woman separated by their political and social cultures but completely connected in the love they share for art and life. How far must they travel to restore a set of authentic paintings to their rightful owner? And who is the rightful owner?

David Siefkin — who wrote the original script for the popular computer game *Where in the World Is Carmen Sandiego?* before joining the Foreign Service

— is currently the press attaché in Moscow. He has served previously in Brussels, Yerevan, Sofia, Paris, St. Petersburg and Washington, D.C.



**A Modest Silence**  
 Sheila Coral Grimes, Dog Ear  
 Publishing, LLC, 2009, \$12.95,  
 paperback, 176 pages.

In *A Modest Silence*, Sheila Coral Grimes draws on her childhood in Alexandria, Egypt, and a lifetime of experience as the wife of an FSO to weave “an exotic tale with conflict, suspense, innocence, budding love, and determination amid chaos.”

Gaby is a feisty and musically talented young woman living with her Sephardic Jewish parents in Egypt during the turbulent reign and abdication of King Farouk. As she copes with the country’s political upheaval and her father’s unjust incarceration, she must make a difficult and life-altering decision: choosing among three potential suitors for her hand in marriage. The author’s

*Continued on page 45*

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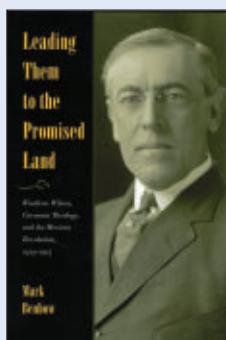
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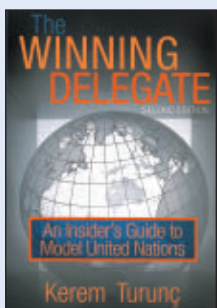
### **Leading Them to the Promised Land: Woodrow Wilson, Covenant Theology and the Mexican Revolution, 1913-1915**

Mark Benbow, *Kent State University Press*, 2010, \$49, *hardcover*, 204 pages.

Woodrow Wilson, the son of a Presbyterian minister and seminary professor, was influenced throughout his life by “a basic orthodox view of covenant theology as the foundation of his beliefs.” *Leading Them to the Promised Land* explores the way this influenced his politics; specifically his handling of the Mexican Revolution from 1913 to 1915.

Benbow presents Wilson as a methodical, careful leader who followed covenant theology almost to a fault: when faced with leaders who did not necessarily agree with him — such as Venustiano Carranza and Pancho Villa — Wilson’s political decisions became even more difficult to make. The book succinctly analyzes a short but intriguing period in American history and explores the often-tenuous link between church and state in American politics.

A former resident historian at Washington, D.C.’s Woodrow Wilson House, Mark Benbow currently teaches American history at Marymount University in Arlington, Va.



### **The Winning Delegate: An Insider's Guide to Model United Nations (Second Edition)**

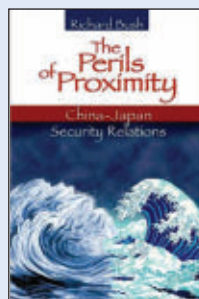
Kerem Turunç, *iUniverse*, 2009, \$16.95, *paperback*, 188 pages.

Kerem Turunç’s *The Winning Delegate* delivers exactly what its subtitle promises: an expert guide to the Model United Nations experience. Drawing from years of Model U.N. experience, Turunç provides advice that will be helpful to any participant, from a newcomer to a veteran delegate.

This well-organized book begins with an introduction to the history of the United Nations and Model U.N. Subsequent chapters detail the structure and protocol

of the latter, guiding prospective delegates in everything from conference preparation to committee etiquette. The book concludes with two helpful appendices — a list of U.N. members and permanent observers, and the text of the preamble to the U.N. Charter — and a glossary of common acronyms and terms.

Kerem Turunç served as secretary-general of the Yale Model U.N. While still in high school at the American Collegiate Institute in Turkey, he co-founded and led his school’s team. A graduate of Yale University, Turunç currently lives in London.



### **The Perils of Proximity: China-Japan Security Relations**

Richard C. Bush, *Brookings Institution Press*, 2010, \$32.95, *hardcover*, 360 pages.

This year observers marked a new milestone in China-Japan relations as China overtook Japan to become the world’s second-largest economy. Modern China’s rise is the background to Richard Bush’s *The Perils of Proximity*, an examination of tensions between China and Japan as they have played out in the East China Sea.

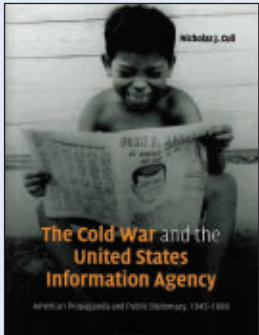
Bush is concerned with a “significant challenge” that will confront Washington, involving “groups of countries with which the U.S. seeks to maintain good relations but that cannot get along with one another.” Most of the book is dedicated to an examination of Chinese and Japanese military capacities and each country’s internal decision-making and national psychology.

Richard Bush has spent more than two decades working in Congress, the National Intelligence Council and the State Department on East Asia issues. He is now a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution and director of its Center for Northeast Asian Policy Studies.

### **The Cold War and the United States Information Agency: American Propaganda and Public Diplomacy, 1945-1989**

Nicolas J. Cull, *Cambridge University Press*, 2009, \$36.99, *paperback*, 580 pages.

In telling the story of American public diplomacy during the Cold War, Nicholas Cull offers a strong affirmation of the critical importance of soft power in ad-

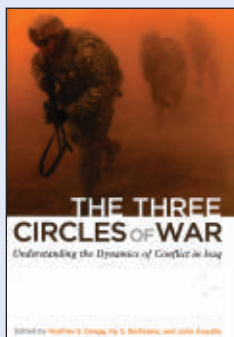


vancing U.S. interests. The book harkens back to the early 1950s, when the U.S. Information Agency was established to “tell America’s story to the world.”

Cull takes the reader through a half-century of diplomatic history framed by each presidential administra-

tion’s continuations and changes to American propaganda efforts abroad. He shows how domestic politics and conflicting personalities in USIA, the White House and Congress all played a role in shaping how the U.S. presented itself and what effect this had, particularly in the Third World. (See Allen Hansen’s review in the July-August issue of the *FSJ*.)

Nicholas Cull is professor of public diplomacy at the University of Southern California’s Annenberg School for Communication. He is the author of *Selling War: The British Propaganda Campaign against American “Neutrality” in World War II* (Oxford University Press, 1996) and a co-author of *Propaganda and Mass Persuasion: A Historical Encyclopedia, 1500 to the Present* (ABC-CLIO, 2003).



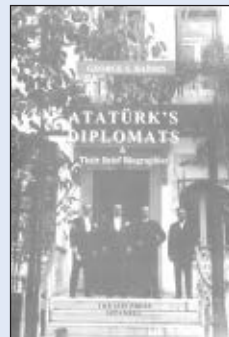
### **The Three Circles of War: Understanding the Dynamics of Conflict in Iraq**

*Edited by Heather S. Gregg, Hy S. Rothstein and John Arquilla, Potomac Books, Inc., 2010, \$60, hardcover, 224 pages.*

Much of the analysis focusing on Iraq does not go past the well-known conflict between the country’s three main groups, the Sunnis, Shia and Kurds. Heather Gregg, Hy Rothstein and John Arquilla aim to give a more sophisticated explanation of events.

The authors describe the three types of war that have taken place since the March 2003 U.S. invasion of the country: interstate conflict (that led to the successful deposing of Saddam Hussein); insurgency (that targeted U.S.-led occupying forces); and civil war (sparked by the al-Qaida bombing of a Shiite holy site in 2006).

Heather Gregg is an assistant professor at the Naval Postgraduate School’s Department of Defense Analysis. Hy Rothstein is a senior lecturer at the Department of Defense Analysis at NPS and previously served in the U.S. Army Special Forces. John Arquilla is a professor of defense analysis at NPS and the author of *Worst Enemy: the Reluctant Transformation of the American Military* (Ivan R. Dee, 2008).



### **Atatürk’s Diplomats & Their Brief Biographies**

*George S. Harris, The Isis Press, 2010, \$50, paperback, 424 pages.*

*Atatürk’s Diplomats* opens with a 100-page essay, “The Foreign Service under Atatürk,” in which Harris explores the history of the Ottoman Foreign Service and the formation of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk’s government, including descriptions of the new Turkish republic’s relationships with other countries. Then come some 600 biographies, ranging in length from several sentences to several pages, in which Harris describes the men and women who served in Atatürk’s Foreign Service.

George Harris received a Ph.D. in history of the Middle East from Harvard in 1957, after which he served at Embassy Ankara until 1962. From 1979 to 1995 he was director of analysis for Near East and South Asia. His previous books include *The Origins of Communism in Turkey* (Hoover Institution, 1967) and *The Communists and the Kadro Movement: Shaping Ideology in Atatürk’s Turkey* (Isis Press, 2002).

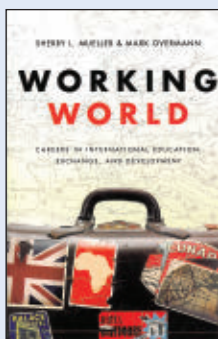
The book can be purchased from the publisher ([www.theisispress.org](http://www.theisispress.org)).

### **Working World: Careers in International Education, Exchange and Development**

*Sherry L. Mueller and Mark Overmann, Georgetown University Press, 2008, \$24.95, paperback, 246 pages.*

A young professional’s journey from school to working life is almost universally anxiety-provoking and challenging. In this book, Sherry Mueller and Mark Overmann make the new job-seeker’s task a bit easier.

## OF RELATED INTEREST



Concentrating on careers in international education, business, government and foreign policy, the authors relay advice on how to learn what their interests and needs in a career are. The appendix has an annotated listing of organizations — NGOs, government agencies, companies — that offer careers, volunteer opportunities and internships.

Sherry Mueller is president of the National Council for International Visitors in Washington, D.C. Mark Overmann is the director of college communications at Georgetown University, where he works on international exchange programs.



### **The Global Nomad's Guide to University Transition**

*Tina L. Quick, Summertime Publishing, 2010, \$18, paperback, 300 pages.*

In *The Global Nomad's Guide to University Transition*, Tina Quick is writing to Third Culture Kids, also known by the acronym TCKs, who spend significant amounts of their lives growing up in a foreign country.

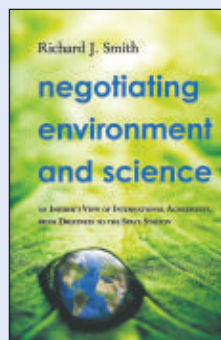
Eventually these children grow up and return to their “home” country, but often feel isolated. Similarly, many students go abroad to attend a university, but find the transition to another culture overwhelming.

Tina Quick is an adult TCK, cross-cultural trainer, writer and international speaker. She is on the board of directors of Families in Global Transition and is a member of the Overseas Association of College Admissions Counseling. She has three TCK daughters of her own.

### **Negotiating Environment and Science: An Insider's View of International Agreements, From Driftnets to the Space Station**

*Richard J. Smith, RFF Press, 2009, \$27.50, hardcover, 200 pages.*

In the past 20 years, many international negotiations have shifted from the security-heavy diplomacy of the Cold War to environmental and technological discus-

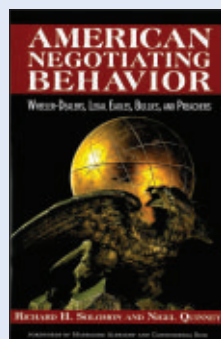


sions. In *Negotiating Environment and Science*, Richard J. Smith draws from years of first-hand experience to chronicle eight important environmental debates, ranging from driftnets to caribou to the Bering Sea “donut hole.”

Each chapter opens with a brief background on the issue.

Smith then explains the U.S. approach to the negotiation, the proceedings, reactions to the result in the U.S., and the impact of the decision. Smith's knowledge of the issues provides an expert road map for the general reader. (See Ted Wilkinson's review in the May *FSJ*.)

Richard J. Smith served from 1985 to 1994 as principal deputy assistant secretary in the U.S. Department of State's Bureau of Oceans and International Environmental and Scientific Affairs. He has had extensive experience in negotiations, including service as special negotiator for George H.W. Bush on an air quality agreement with Canada.



### **American Negotiating Behavior: Wheeler-Dealers, Legal Eagles, Bullies and Preachers**

*Richard H. Solomon and Nigel Quinney, United States Institute of Peace, 2010, \$22.50, paperback, 376 pages.*

The purpose of *American Negotiating Behavior* is summarized in its epigraph, a quote from Sun Tzu: “Know your adversary, know yourself; in a hundred battles, a hundred victories.” In this book, Solomon and Quinney describe American behavior, hoping to provide both domestic and foreign diplomats with increased insight — and, ultimately, to encourage success in negotiations.

For this study, dozens of seasoned foreign diplomats contributed their opinions on American negotiating behavior, which the authors present and analyze. In addition, the authors explore the uniquely American trait of domestic negotiations, which must take place among institutions at home before agreements can be made abroad.



Richard H. Solomon is president of the United States Institute of Peace; he formerly served on the National Security Council staff and was ambassador to the Philippines. Nigel Quinney, who has more than 20 years of experience as an editor, writer and researcher, is the president of The Editorial Group and a consultant to many corporations.



**Great Negotiations: Agreements that Changed the Modern World**

*Fredrik Stanton, Westholme Publishing, 2010, \$26, hardcover, 304 pages.*

*Great Negotiations* begins with a rephrasing of the idea that the pen is mightier than the sword: “Words, as much as weapons, shape history.” In the subsequent text, Fredrik Stanton explores eight negotiations in history, stretching from the Revolutionary War to the Cold War, and explains that “the better we understand what has worked in the past and which mistakes to avoid, the less often states may find the need to resort to violence to settle differences.”

Stanton expertly establishes the context and importance of each entry, giving readers an idea of exactly why the outcomes of the negotiations were influential. (See Patricia Kushlis’ review in the June *FSJ*.)

Fredrik Stanton was born in New York City and received a B.A. in political science from Columbia University. He is the former president and publisher of the *Columbia Daily Spectator* and has written for numerous publications, including the *Boston Herald*. He has also served as an election monitor in Bosnia, Azerbaijan and three other countries.



**Peru and the United States, 1960-1975: How Their Ambassadors Managed Foreign Relations in a Turbulent Era**

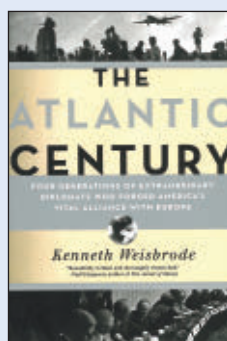
*Richard J. Walter, Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010, \$75, hardcover, 333 pages.*

Despite a historically friendly relationship between Peru and the United States, some notable exceptions occurred

from 1960 to 1975. In his new book, Richard J. Walter chronicles these diplomatic minefields and the ambassadors who navigated them.

Utilizing newly released material from the U.S. State Department and records from Peru’s Foreign Ministry archives, Walter paints a picture of sometimes-turbulent foreign relations. He profiles the American and Peruvian ambassadors — among others, Berckemeyer, Pastor and Jones — who worked to maintain relations between their respective countries during this anomalous decade and a half in U.S.-Peruvian interaction.

Richard J. Walter holds a Ph.D. from Stanford University and is currently Professor Emeritus of History at Washington University in St. Louis. He has written extensively on South American history and is also the author of *Politics and Urban Growth in Santiago, Chile, 1891-1941* (Stanford University Press, 2005).



**The Atlantic Century: Four Generations of Extraordinary Diplomats Who Forged America’s Vital Alliance with Europe**

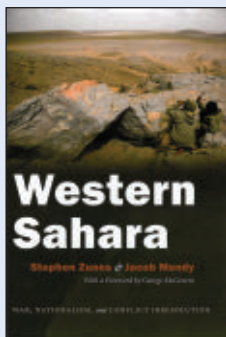
*Kenneth Weisbrode, Da Capo Press, 2009, \$30, hardcover, 496 pages.*

In the June *Foreign Service Journal’s* review of *The Atlantic Century*, Edwina Campbell described the book as “quite simply, the finest, most balanced work of diplomatic history that [she has] read in many years.”

Kenneth Weisbrode takes readers through the history of modern American-European ties and the critical agencies and people that solidified an alliance, including the State Department’s Bureau of European Affairs and prominent statesmen like Dean Acheson. In addition to featuring specific profiles of important figures, the author reminds us that assiduous work is the key to building and maintaining these relations.

Kenneth Weisbrode is the founder and managing editor of the journal *New Global Studies* and a history fellow at the Center for Advanced Studies of the European University Institute. He has also worked as a defense analyst.

## OF RELATED INTEREST

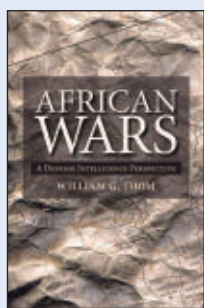


### **Western Sahara: War, Nationalism, and Conflict Irresolution**

Stephen Zunes and Jacob Mundy, Syracuse University Press, 2010, \$49.95, hardcover, 424 pages.

Stephen Zunes and Jacob Mundy bring the Western Sahara into focus in this dense primer, the first book-length treatment of the protracted conflict that has been simmering in this corner of Africa for more than two decades. Rather than a strict chronological approach, the authors divide the book into three thematic parts: war, chronicling the three decades of conflict over the region; nationalism, a broad historical analysis of the most important factor in the conflict; and irresolution, an analysis of the history of failed efforts to resolve the conflict.

Stephen Zunes is chair of the Middle Eastern Studies program and professor of politics and international studies at the University of San Francisco. He is the author of *Tinderbox: U.S. Middle East Policy and the Roots of Terrorism* (Common Courage, 2003). Jacob Mundy is a doctoral candidate at the University of Exeter's Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies, where he specializes in the North African region.



### **African Wars: A Defense Intelligence Perspective**

William G. Thom, ADST-DACOR Diplomats and Diplomacy Series, University of Calgary Press, \$34.95, paperback, 276 pages.

A timely look at the history of recent wars in sub-Saharan Africa, *African Wars* by William Thom is also the 42nd volume in the ADST-DACOR Diplomats and Diplomacy Series. Even though Africa south of the Sahara is the most conflict-prone region of the world, it has a notably lower profile in media coverage of international conflict, perhaps because of its complicated post-colonial history and interlinking conflicts across the continent.

William Thom analyzes sub-Saharan Africa's conflicts and their legacies, including the Second Congo War

(1998-2003), whose bloodiness and involvement of eight countries prompted observers to name it "Africa's World War." *African Wars* is also an account of Thom's work with various U.S. agencies and his field experience.

A retired professional intelligence officer, William Thom served for 35 years with the Defense Intelligence Agency. He was the senior Africanist at DIA from 1987 to 2002 and now works as an educator, consultant and public speaker on African affairs.



### **Dealings: A Political and Financial Life**

Felix Rohatyn, Simon and Schuster, 2010, \$27, hardcover, 275 pages.

"Dealings is no ordinary memoir, as befits its author, Felix Rohatyn," says Henry Kissinger. "Looking back on his extraordinary life, from a chance reprieve from a Nazi death camp to the heights of finance, politics and diplomacy, his story is an American saga, well-written and thoughtful."

For decades, Lazard Freres investment banker Felix Rohatyn was a prominent figure at the intersection between high finance and American politics. *Dealings* is a personal account of his working life, from high-stakes negotiations on Wall Street to his tenure as U.S. ambassador to France from 1997 to 2000.

Rohatyn also discusses his role in preventing New York City's bankruptcy in the 1970s in the face of President Gerald Ford's refusal to help bailout the city (the headline of the *New York Daily News* read "Ford to City: Drop Dead"). The book concludes with the author's perspective on the 2008 financial crisis and the hubris of a new generation of financiers that caused the worst downturn since the Great Depression.

"He has matched wits with a legion of high-flying entrepreneurs, earned a reputation as a financial miracle worker, and gained the respect of presidents and the public alike for his outstanding service to our country," says former Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright. "In *Dealings*, Rohatyn shows that he is also a master storyteller."

Felix Rohatyn recently returned to Lazard Ltd. as a special adviser to the chairman and CEO. During his lengthy career he served as managing director of Lazard and chairman of the Municipal Assistance Corporation of New York (1973-1992).

Continued from page 39

autobiographical influences shine in this passionate tale of intertwining revolution and romance.

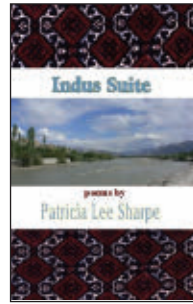
Sheila Coral Grimes lives in Arlington, Va. She speaks seven languages and has served as a diplomatic interpreter and French teacher. In addition to her roles as writer, grandmother and great-grandmother, she is an accomplished concert pianist and continues to give solo concerts in the Washington, D.C., area. All proceeds from *A Modest Silence* will be donated to the charity Fisher House.

### Indus Suite Coming and Going Love Poems

Patricia Lee Sharpe, *Finishing Line Press*, 2009 and 2010, each \$14, paperback, 30 pages.

These two handbound volumes of poetry are full of life. *Indus Suite*, written while Pat Sharpe was serving as public affairs officer at the American consulate in Karachi, captures the aura of Pakistan in poetic form. Sharpe also manages to get at the realities behind the veils of culture and gender.

Says Pakistani poet Fahmida Riaz, "In these poems



Karachi comes alive with a heightened awareness of its natural flow, its smells and sounds, its color and light, and she renders them palpable, all these aspects of the city where we lived, that we love and have quarreled with."

In *Coming and Going Love Poems*, the author casts a lively and discerning eye on the realities of love relationships. A different type of "love poem," says editor Leah Maines, these verses are fast-paced and sure to startle.

Patricia Sharpe, a retired FSO with the U.S. Information Agency, served in India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Indonesia, Tanzania, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and the Dominican Republic. She is the author of *The Deadmen and Other Poems* (Writer's Workshop, Calcutta) and is the principal translator for *Four Walls and a Black Veil* by Fahmida Riaz (Oxford University Press, 2005). Now living in New Mexico,

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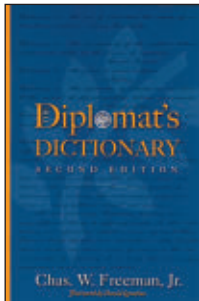
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she contributes to *Whirledview*, an e-zine devoted to diplomacy and foreign policy, and is working to publish two collections of short stories.

## REFERENCE



### **The Diplomat's Dictionary**

Chas W. Freeman Jr.,  
United States Institute of Peace  
Press, 2010, \$19.95, paperback,  
362 pages.

With *The Diplomat's Dictionary*, Chas W. Freeman adds lexicographer to his already impressive list of accomplishments. In this new, second edition, the book provides "practical information, witty insights, and words of wisdom on the art and practice of diplomacy," as well as more than 475 new entries, from "abruptness" to "zealots."

Readers will appreciate this collection of humorous, poignant and helpful definitions of terms clearly related to diplomacy (such as "diplomats") and others whose

connection is not immediately obvious (such as "words," about which Winston Churchill said "To jaw-jaw is always better than to war-war").

*The Diplomat's Dictionary* provides utility beyond simply looking up the meaning of a word and is popular with candidates preparing for the FS exams. Through quotations, summaries and straightforward definitions or translations of foreign phrases, Freeman helps readers learn new terms and explore different sides of terms with which they are already familiar.

The book concludes with short biographies of those quoted therein, as well as a bibliography and extensive index. Diplomats and casual readers alike will appreciate the wit and charm of this unconventional dictionary.

Chas W. Freeman Jr. has extensive influence in diplomatic affairs, having served in India, Taiwan, China, Thailand and Saudi Arabia. He was the principal American interpreter on President Richard Nixon's visit to China in 1972 and served as ambassador to Saudi Arabia during the Persian Gulf War. He was a United States Institute of Peace senior fellow from 1994 to 1995 and has also authored *Arts of Power: Statecraft and Diplomacy* (U.S. Institute of Peace Press, 1997).

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**Dari Practical Dictionary:  
Dari-English/English-Dari**

Carleton Bulkin, Hippocrene Books, 2010, \$24.95, paperback, 571 pages.

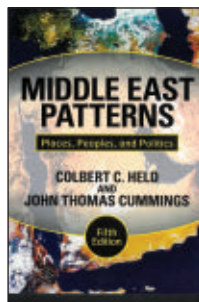
With President Obama's commitment to redouble U.S. efforts in Afghanistan, language skills and expertise are in high demand.

Dari, a relative of Persian and the main spoken language in Afghanistan, is especially important. This two-way Dari-English dictionary is one of the few up-to-date works of its type available.

While the dictionary is quite detailed and covers a lot of vocabulary, it remains portable and easy to read. The author also includes a guide to pronunciation, information about Afghanistan and even some Dari proverbs. At a time when the U.S. is trying to communicate with Afghans and win their hearts and minds, a practical resource such as this is a necessity.

FSO Carleton Bulkin, a translator and linguist with a master's degree in Slavic languages and literature from Indiana University, has served in Prague, Havana,

Moscow, Budapest and Kabul. He currently serves in Washington, D.C., where he is a member of the AFSA Governing Board.



**Middle East Patterns:  
Places, Peoples and Politics**

Colbert Held and John Cummings, Westview Press, 2010, \$52, paperback, 688 pages.

*Middle East Patterns: Places, Peoples and Politics* is the fifth edition of Colbert Held and John Cummings' seminal reference

work on the region. It joins a large selection of works on the region available today, but what distinguishes *Middle East Patterns* is its level of detail, accessibility and comprehensiveness.

Held and Cummings cover the Middle East from almost every angle: geography, regional history, land use and economics, in addition to the many well-known political conflicts of the region, including Israel and Palestine. Of particular interest is the set of country profiles featured in the latter half of the book that explore each

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state's internal politics and its relations with others.

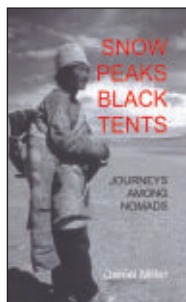
Maps, pictures and charts enliven the book's pages and attest to the authors' meticulous attention to detail. For students and scholars of the Middle East, this concise volume provides both a broad overview of regional trends and a wealth of useful detail that is difficult to find in a single volume.

A former diplomat-in-residence at Baylor University, Colbert Held was a Foreign Service officer for 15 years who acquired experience in nearly every country in the Middle East. John Cummings is a former USAID economist who has worked in the Treasury Department and the World Bank. He has also taught at Al-Hikma University in Baghdad, Tufts University and the University of Texas at Austin.

## Photography

### Snow Peaks Black Tents

Daniel Miller, *www.blurb.com*, 2010, \$7.95 softcover, \$26.95 hardcover, 150 illustrations, 200 pages.



This unusual book, self-published online and available to preview there in full, is a record of the author's journeys and work among Tibetan-speaking nomads in the Himalaya in Nepal and Bhutan and throughout the Tibetan Plateau region of what is now China. The many, stunning photographs in the book cover a time span of more than three decades and capture a disappearing way of life. They are complemented by an insightful and informative narrative on the nomadic culture.

Daniel Miller is an FSO with USAID in India. A rangeland ecologist, he went to Nepal for the first time in 1974, and bought his first camera, a Canon FTb, at that time. For the past 25 years he has worked with nomads in Afghanistan, Bhutan, China, Mongolia, Nepal and Tibet. He still uses a Canon F-1 manual camera.

This book can be purchased online at [www.blurb.com/user/store/wildyakman](http://www.blurb.com/user/store/wildyakman). A richly illustrated 2011 Weekly Planner as well as other works by Daniel Miller are also available. ■

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# FROM MOUNT ELBRUS TO ARARAT

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AN OVERLAND COURIER TRIP FROM TBILISI TO YEREVAN PASSES THROUGH CENTURIES OF HISTORY WHERE GREEK, ROMAN, PERSIAN AND ARAB CULTURES MEET.

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BY JAMES B. ANGELL

Getting east over the Black Sea past Yalta aboard an Air Georgia flight to deliver classified diplomatic pouches to Embassy Tbilisi and make an overland delivery to Embassy Yerevan, I marveled at the dramatic sight of snow-capped Mount Elbrus. Europe's highest peak at 18,510 feet, Elbrus dominated the landscape ahead.

The volcanic peak towers over the geologic, religious and political cleft between the Caucasus and the Trialeti (Lesser Caucasus) range that forms Georgia's southern border with Turkey and Armenia.

Alternately controlled by Greeks, Romans, Russians, Persians, Arabs and Turks, this ancient land between the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea has been the scene of upheaval for centuries. Today it is home to a collection of powder kegs: the "independent republics" of Abkhazia and South Ossetia in Georgia; Ingushetia, Chechnya and Dagestan in the Russian Federation, bordering Georgia to the north; and Azerbaijan, Armenia and Turkey, with ongoing, bitter enmities among them along Georgia's southern border.

With conflicts in Abkhazia, South Ossetia and Nagorno-Karabakh still simmering, and with the 2014 Winter Olympics slated for Sochi, Russia (on the Black Sea just 70 kilometers from the Georgia-Abkhazia border), the Caucasus is likely to generate front-page news for years to come.

After a smooth landing in Tbilisi, I looked forward to traveling through this fascinating region.

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*James B. Angell has served in Washington, D.C., Seoul and Bangkok (twice). He is currently deputy regional diplomatic courier director in Frankfurt, his second tour there.*

## "The Place of Warm Springs"

Tbilisi is an ancient city (Christianity was established there in 337), with the Mtkvari River (Kura is the Russian name) carving the spectacular Metekhi cliff as it flows through town. Atop the cliff sit the famous Assumption Church (built by a Georgian king in 1278) and a statue of King Vakhtang Gorgasali (477-522) on horseback. He was the anti-Persian liberation movement leader who founded Tbilisi and the Georgian Orthodox and Apostolic churches. Distinctive gingerbread houses are perched along the cliff face, with balconies protruding over the river.

The legend of Tbilisi's founding describes Gorgasali hunting in the area when his falcon chased a pheasant into some hot springs. When Gorgasali saw the steam rising from the water, he asked that a city be built there. (In Georgian, Tbilisi means "the place of warm springs.") The springs still exist today, as does the spectacular Narikala Fortress (built in the fourth century), which looms above the sulphur baths and overlooks the city from a rocky precipice.

By 645, Arabs had captured Tbilisi and installed an emir to rule the region. Tbilisi became a major trading center connected to other capitals of the Arab world, but the Umayyad Arabs were never able to conquer the western Georgian region of Abkhazia.

In the 11th century, the famous Georgian king, David the Builder, expelled the Seljuk Turks, promoted Christianity, liberated Tbilisi and made it the Georgian capital. (The Georgian Orthodox Church canonized him after his death for his accomplishments.) The Kingdom of Georgia reached its peak in 1204 when Constantinople fell, leaving Georgia as the strongest Christian state in the Middle East until the

Mongol invasion and occupation of 1235. (The Mongols renamed the fort Narin Qala: literally, Little Fort.)

### Enter the Russians

Two other powers then began a centuries-long tug-of-war over the region: the Persians and the Ottoman Turks. Once Catherine the Great saw advantage in using Christian brethren to fight her two Muslim rivals during the expansion of the Russian empire, she signed a treaty with Georgia in the mid-1700s making it a vassal state, and annexed it in 1801. After the Russian Revolution, Georgia proclaimed its independence. That status was short-lived, however, for the Soviet Union annexed Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan in 1922. In 1936, Georgia became a separate Soviet republic.

In 1991, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, Georgia proclaimed independence. Hostilities with breakaway Abkhazia began almost immediately, but in 1994 Russia and Georgia signed a treaty that brought a temporary peace to the region.

In the wake of 9/11, the U.S. began assisting Georgia with counterterrorism so it could operate effectively against Chechen and Islamic militants operating out of the Pankisi Gorge deep in the Caucasus. This relationship blossomed under the Bush administration, with Georgia ultimately seeking NATO membership following the 2003 Rose Revolution and the presidential victory of the young anti-corruption candidate, Mikheil Saakashvili.

The Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan pipeline, running from Azerbaijan through Georgia to Turkey, was completed in July 2006, further eroding Russian economic control over its former vassal. Yet following controversial NATO exercises in “crisis response” and “field training” involving 1,000 troops in May 2009, the Russian military still patrols Georgian territory along its border with South Ossetia.

### Toward Armenia

Departing Tbilisi and its ancient Orthodox churches full of exquisite icons and smoky incense, we drove a van full of diplomatic pouches along the Mtkvari River (regarded by geographers as the natural division between Europe and Asia as it flows into the Caspian through Azerbaijan) on the two-lane road that heads south-southeast toward the Armenian border. Once out of the river valley the road is straight and flat, interspersed with unremarkable little towns. To the west, however, are picturesque rolling hills crowned

with the occasional thousand-year-old, rough-hewn church.

Approaching the Armenian border, the road drops into the Debed River Valley and parallels it until a narrow bridge appears just past Sadakhlo. Full of stationary traffic, the bridge leads to the Armenian border crossing in a ramshackle town across the river. Even with diplomatic plates, there is no way to jump the line because of heavy oncoming traffic, but the picturesque river flowing out of the hills to the south eases the wait.

Across the bridge, once one passes through Armenian immigration and past Russian military sentries, the striking scenery really begins. There are two routes to Yerevan, but because Azerbaijani snipers were active on the road running along the disputed border, the regional security officer had forbidden its use. The status of the landlocked, de facto “independent republic” of Nagorno-Karabakh, an island of Armenians within the contiguous borders of Azerbaijan, remains unresolved. The flip side to Nagorno-Karabakh is the Nakhchivan Autonomous Republic, a landlocked enclave of Azerbaijani nationals within Armenia, southeast of Yerevan along the Iranian border.

The valley road hugs the forested Debed riverbank for several miles before entering the mouth of a huge gorge. Sheer cliffs soar above the two-lane road that rides a roller coaster of topographic undulations along the river. On the opposite bank, Soviet train tracks intermittently disappear under mas-



*Tbilisi, as depicted by the Russian poet Mikhail Lermontov in 1837. Lermontov painted the scene while in military service in the Caucasus.*



sive concrete culverts built to divert mountain runoff so trains and rail won't be swept into the river.

We pass decrepit villages every few miles, with sheep and children scampering about, until thick smog suddenly fills the valley and obliterates the stunning views. The rural scenery also begins to disappear, replaced by huge monoliths of an industrial zone at the approach to an old Soviet mining town. The smog soon disappears, and clear air reveals a colossal smokestack belching thick fumes.

Alaverdi is a dreary town in the middle of one of the most beautiful gorges imaginable. The road passes under a gondola that runs between it and the top of a sheer 500-foot cliff, where, my driver remarks, the other half of the town is spread out atop a mesa. Then the road returns to a pristine valley, free of smog due to the favorable wind direction, and a fork in the river. We soon crossed the Debek and began climbing steeply above the Pambek River.

The next town of any significance is Vanadzor, the third-largest city in Armenia. Partially leveled by a 1988 earthquake that killed 45,000, it has mostly recovered, with much of its infrastructure, such as a smoking chemical plant, hard at work. The road cuts through a vibrant city of markets and bustling school kids, then climbs away from the Pambek toward gently round-

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*Georgia reached its peak in 1204 when Constantinople fell, making it the strongest Christian state in the Middle East.*

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ed mountains covered in snow.

Atop the pass, the extremely long Sevan-Dilijan tunnel, hewn from the rock, is completely dark inside except for our headlights. But the tunnel's exit frames staggering vistas of snowy alpine meadows, hemmed by the thick juniper forests of Dilijan National Park.

Further on, Lake Sevan appears, a massive body of fresh water rimmed by snowy mountains, volcanoes and ancient churches atop rocky precipices. Seventy-eight kilometers long and 56 wide, Lake Sevan is one of the largest high-altitude lakes in the world, standing at 6,600 feet. Just outside the resort town of Sevan on its northwest shore, the Sevanavank Church (founded in 874) rises on an outcrop with sweeping views of the awe-inspiring geography.

### **Approaching Yerevan**

Leaving the lake, the road heads south across bleak terrain surrounded by numerous volcanoes that seem to prepare the traveler for one of the great sights on the planet. Snow-capped Mount Ararat (16,854 feet) and Lesser Ararat (12,782 feet) dominate the landscape 100 kilometers ahead across the border in Turkey.

The road then plunges down to dusty Yerevan, where I made a secure delivery of classified pouches to the embassy.

Founded along the banks of the Hrazdan River in 782 B.C. by King Argishti I, and named after the Erebuni fortress he built, Yerevan is one of the oldest continuously inhabited cities in the world. Erebuni's strategic position along the caravan routes between Europe and India made it wealthy, but it was also a site of continual conflict.

The area acted as a buffer between the Greek and Roman world and that of the Arabs and Persians. During the reign of King Tigran the Great (95-55 B.C.), Armenia stretched from the Mediterranean Sea to Tbilisi in the north. Tigran based his empire on Hellenic culture as a counter to the Persians who had historically occupied the region. By 30 B.C., however, Armenia had been conquered by Rome.

Armenia accepted Christianity as its state religion in 301 A.D. King Tirdates III (238-314) is credited with being the first sovereign to Christianize his kingdom, predating the conversion to Christianity of Constantine and the Roman Empire (312).

According to legend, the Armenian Apostolic church was established by two of Jesus' 12 apostles, Thaddaeus and Bartholomew, who preached in Armenia from 40 to 60. Armenia was eventually absorbed into the Byzantine Empire where it remained until 653, when the Byzantines ceded the area to the Arabs, claiming it was too difficult to rule.

After countless invasions from the



Photo courtesy of [www.planetware.com](http://www.planetware.com)

*Snow-capped Mount Ararat and Lesser Ararat dominate the landscape across the border in Turkey.*

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*There are two routes to Yerevan, but because Azerbaijani snipers were active on the road running along the disputed border, the regional security officer had forbidden its use.*

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west by Byzantine Greeks and from the east by Seljuk Turks, the kingdom of Armenia collapsed and became the Lesser Armenian Empire, based in Cilicia, on the Mediterranean Sea. On the basis of shared Christian values, Europe propped up Lesser Armenia against the Muslim world. Cilicia held out until 1375 when the Mamluk Turks overran it, giving way to the Ottoman Turks in the 1600s.

### **Christian Roots**

When the Russians annexed Georgia in 1801, they began a long campaign against the Persians and Ottomans, incorporating the region around Yerevan in 1828. But Armenia's experience with the Russians was different. The victory of czarist Russia brought various Armenian communities together under a single administration for the first time in centuries.

Moscow also fostered commerce and industry throughout the region before returning to their advance against the Ottoman Empire. In the treaty that ended the Russo-Turkish war (1877-1878), Russia guaranteed the rights of all Armenians still living under Ottoman rule against oppression. Thus began a protective relationship between two Christian peoples that endures to this day.



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Administrative map of Caucasus in USSR, 1952-1991



Map courtesy of <http://chymyz.wordpress.com>

In April 1915, in the midst of World War I, the Ottoman Turks accused Christian Armenians living in Turkey of siding with their Russian brethren. The Turks treated the entire population as an internal enemy and began a campaign of ethnic cleansing. Turkey still maintains the deaths of 1.5 million Armenians were the result of World War I. Following the war, Yerevan became Armenia's capital, as thousands of survivors settled the area.

Despite attempts at diplomatic reconciliation between the two countries, such as the planned opening of their border for the first time since Armenia's 1993 war with Turkey's ally, Azerbaijan, relations have faltered and the

border remains closed.

When the anti-Bolshevik Transcaucasus Federation was dissolved in 1918, Armenia, like Georgia, proclaimed its independence. Armenia's independent status was also short-lived, as the country became a Soviet regime. In 1931, the church of St. Peter and Paul in Yerevan, completed in the fifth century, was destroyed to make way for the Moscow Theater.

In 1988, fighting between the Armenians of Nagorno-Karabakh and the Azerbaijani Army began. When Nagorno Karabakh's parliament voted to unify the encircled region with Armenia, the Turks and Azerbaijanis closed their borders with the young country.

After claiming its independence in 1991, Armenia has been practically strangled from birth.

During her July 1-5 visit to the region, Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton declared, "It is in the interest, first and foremost, of the people of Nagorno-Karabakh — but certainly of Azerbaijan, Armenia and the greater region — to work as hard as we can together to come up with an acceptable, lasting settlement of this conflict." She also called upon Turkey to normalize ties and open its borders with Armenia.

Even though Yerevan most likely got its name from the Erebuni fortress, early Christian Armenians credited



*The area acted as a buffer  
between the Greek and  
Roman world and that of  
the Arabs and Persians.*

Noah with naming it. After the ark landed on nearby Mount Ararat and the waters receded, Noah is said to have exclaimed “Yerevats” (“it appeared” in Armenian) when looking in the direction of the future capital.

The territory around Yerevan has Bronze Age settlements that date to the fourth millennium before Christ. The world’s oldest leather shoe (3500 B.C.), with delicate laces intact, was recently found in a Bronze Age cave along the Iranian border in Armenia. These finds are younger than the 4800 B.C. radiocarbon dating of recently discovered wooden “ship” fragments at a height of 3,000 meters on the flanks of Mount Ararat: “On the seventeenth day of the seventh month the ark grounded on a mountain in Ararat” (Genesis 8:4).

The ancient name for Armenia is Haik. According to legend, Haik was the great-great-grandson of Noah and is considered the forefather of all Armenians. If Noah’s descendants still fill the dynamic region from Elbrus to Ararat, their propensity for conflict is the tale of humanity itself.

I spent the evening strolling Yerevan’s tree-lined boulevards, as the omnipresent bulk of Mount Ararat filled the western horizon. The next morning, my Austrian Airlines sunrise flight to Vienna, with the post’s dispatch safely stowed, soared past Ararat’s flanks at about the height of Noah’s landing. ■

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## FS HERITAGE

# JOHN S. SERVICE: A COLD WAR LIGHTNING ROD

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THE LESSONS OF JOHN SERVICE'S LIFE AND CAREER STILL RESONATE MORE THAN  
60 YEARS AFTER HIS WORK IN CHINA.

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BY HANNAH GURMAN

**T**hough he is a familiar, even iconic figure to many in the Foreign Service, few Americans outside the diplomatic establishment know the name, let alone the life story, of John S. Service. It was not until last fall that the first comprehensive biography of this emblematic figure, Lynne Joiner's *Honorable Survivor: Mao's China, McCarthy's America and the Persecution of John S. Service* (Naval Institute Press, 2009), appeared. (See the February 2010 *Foreign Service Journal* for a review.)

As Joiner observes, Service was indeed a "lightning rod" of U.S.-China relations and domestic politics during the Cold War. But the lessons of his life and career still resonate to this day.

Most Americans first heard of John Service in February 1950, after Senator Joseph McCarthy, R-Wis., gave his famous speech in Wheeling, W. Va., in which he claimed to have a list of 205 State Department employees who were members of the Communist Party. As a Foreign Service officer who had served in China during World War II, Service was near the top of McCarthy's list.

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*Hannah Gurman is an assistant professor at New York University's Gallatin School of Individualized Study, where she specializes in the history of American foreign policy in the 20th century. Her dissertation, The Dissent Papers: The Voice of Diplomats in the Cold War and Beyond, won Columbia University's Bancroft Dissertation Prize and is currently under review for publication.*

McCarthy alleged that Service "had sent official reports back to the State Department urging that we torpedo our ally Chiang Kai-shek and stating in unqualified terms (and I quote) that 'communism was the only hope of China.'" He went on to charge that Service had aided and abetted the communist cause by turning over secret State Department information to known communist agents, an act of espionage and treason for which he had never been tried.

### The Real Story

The son of missionaries, Service was born in 1909 and raised in China, joining the Foreign Service in 1935. He spoke fluent Mandarin and already understood local politics and culture better than most Westerners when he arrived at the U.S. embassy, located in Chungking, in 1941, after serving as a clerk in the consulates at Yunnan-fu in Kunming and Shanghai.

The diplomat quickly proved himself an unusually eager and talented political reporter. In addition to meeting regularly with local officials, he traveled deep into the Chinese countryside to get a sense of political and economic conditions. Several of Service's wartime reports are remarkable not only for their incorporation of previously untapped information from the field, but also for their ability to convey complex political analysis through concrete examples. In a July 1943 message, for example, Service illustrated the weakness of Chiang Kai-shek's government through an analysis of official propaganda.

This particular report was part of a broader series in which Service began to argue against unconditional U.S.

support for the corrupt and unpopular Nationalist government and asked Washington to consider allying with Mao Tse-tung's communist forces. While Chiang was starving peasants in the countryside and saving his resources to fight the communists, reported Service, Mao was giving food and other resources to the peasantry and actually helping to defeat Japan. These reports were collected and published in Joseph Esherick's *Lost Chance in China: The World War II Despatches of John S. Service* (1974), an invaluable resource for anyone interested in Sino-American relations during the war.

A 1944 trip to the communist base in Yen-an is documented both in Esherick's volume and in Service's oral history, which is archived in the Bancroft Library in Berkeley and available online ([www.archive.org/details/statedutychinaera00johnRich](http://www.archive.org/details/statedutychinaera00johnRich)). As the first American diplomat to meet with Mao since the Long March a decade before, Service had extensive conversations with the communist leader, who expressed an eagerness to work with the Americans.

Service reported these conversations and the state of wartime China just as President Franklin D. Roosevelt was becoming deeply frustrated with Chiang and was considering closer cooperation with Mao. But as Barbara Tuchman and other historians have argued, the window of possibility closed in the following months, when FDR appointed an ardently pro-Chiang ambassador to China, Patrick Hurley, and shifted his war strategy in the East to a greater reliance on the Soviet Union.

Back in Washington, D.C., after the war, Service met with interested journalists and academics and shared his version of the story with them, occasionally giving them personal copies of his reports to use as background. Contrary to McCarthy's charges, Service had already been arrested for these acts after his return from the war in 1945 and deemed innocent by a grand jury. Moreover, between 1945 and 1950, he underwent and passed no fewer than eight loyalty examinations in the State Department.

As the testimony of various State officials in these investigations reveals, a relative freedom of expression existed in the diplomatic establishment before McCarthy. Yes, Service had lost the policy battle. But he had won great respect within the department as a talented and committed political reporter. Clarence Gauss, who served as ambassador to China until 1944, testified that Service was perhaps the most talented political reporter he had ever encountered.

## A Quest for Vindication

In the years following World War II, Service was promoted to senior status in the department, becoming the youngest officer ever to achieve a class two rank. But these promotions took place against the backdrop of an increasingly hostile Cold War climate, both internationally and domestically. By the end of 1949, following the communist victory in China and the Soviet explosion of the atomic bomb, the red-baiting that would characterize Cold War domestic politics for the next several years shifted into high gear. Thanks in large part to the testimony of ex-communists like Elizabeth Bentley and Whittaker Chambers, and the intercepted "Venona" cables between American and Russian agents, a few real (and many more imaginary) Soviet spies were being uncovered in all branches of American government and society, fueling accusations that President Harry Truman and Secretary of State Dean Acheson were "soft" on communists.

The Korean War put additional political pressure on the Truman administration. In late 1951, the Loyalty Review Board overturned the previous rulings in Service's favor. That December, John Service became the first China specialist, and one of the first of dozens of Foreign Service officers, to be fired as a result of McCarthyism.

But Service's story does not end there. He spent the next six years in a legal battle to exonerate and reinstate himself in the Foreign Service. The case went all the way to the Supreme Court, which in 1957 ruled in Service's favor. While this ruling confirmed that Cold War paranoia was starting to ease, Service's fate reflected the long-term effects of McCarthy's attacks on the State Department. Locked out of posts in Asia and other politically critical areas, the beleaguered diplomat retired in 1962.

As with his initial firing, the complicated dance involving Service's life, McCarthyism and U.S. relations with China did not end with his departure from government service. In 1972, when President Richard Nixon traveled to China and shook hands with Mao, Service once again became a "lightning rod," to use Joiner's term, attracting attention from both supporters and critics of the administration's policy of renewing relations with China.

Invited to China by Premier Zhou En-lai in 1971, Service actually visited Beijing before Nixon, accompanying Henry Kissinger, who asked Service for advice on China policy and even invited him to San Clemente. But when

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*Though he lost the policy  
battle, Service won great  
respect as a talented and  
committed political  
reporter.*

---



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*Everyone who recognizes  
the value of learning  
about the political realities  
of the places we deem  
strategically important  
should know John  
Service's story.*

---

Kissinger returned to Washington and learned of the controversy surrounding Service's career, he never followed up on the invitation.

That same year, opponents of rapprochement with Beijing renewed their accusations against Service. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, after the U.S. formally recognized the People's Republic of China and forged closer ties under the leadership of Deng Xiaoping, assessments of Service's record were still being punted back and forth by key political players on both sides of the China-Taiwan debate.

### A Forgotten Hero

By the time Service died in 1999, he had won numerous honors and awards and was increasingly lauded as a hero by the foreign policy establishment. Ironically, however, even as U.S.-China relations have normalized in the last two decades, fewer and fewer people in either country know Service's name.

It is in times of crisis that fellow diplomats, journalists and scholars have returned to find meaning in Service's story. For instance, it is no accident that the most powerful commen-

taries on Service were written during the Vietnam War. In *The Best and the Brightest* (1969), the classic critique of the Kennedy administration's role in escalating the Vietnam conflict, David Halberstam cited the firing of Service and other China experts as a fateful event in U.S.-Asia policy. Once the State Department had been purged of its Asia experts, U.S. diplomats had limited expertise in the politics or culture of that part of the world. Their ignorance contributed to the flaws in, and the ultimate failure of, U.S. policy during the Vietnam War.

Service's story thus carries importance beyond U.S.-China relations. It was part of a larger erosion in the ranks of the best and brightest in the diplomatic corps that affected foreign policy around the world. When the American Foreign Service Association honored him at a 1973 luncheon, he chose to speak not on the topic of U.S.-China relations or even the Cold War more broadly, but rather on political reporting, a fundamental skill that applies to Foreign Service personnel in every region and era.

In 2010, the U.S. foreign policy establishment once again finds itself defending its relevance. A growing focus on counterinsurgency has come at the expense of reporting and analysis; indeed, leading opponents of the U.S. invasion and occupation of Iraq and Afghanistan have underscored a lack of real American expertise on the ground.

It seems reasonable to speculate that if Foreign Service members and other area experts had enjoyed a greater voice in policy before such conflicts escalated, alternatives to full-scale military intervention and war could have been pursued. With that in mind, everyone who recognizes the value of learning about the political realities of the places we deem strategically important, in order to seriously pursue windows of diplomatic possibility, should know the name and story

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*John Service became the first China specialist, and one of the first of dozens of Foreign Service officers, to be fired as a result of McCarthyism.*

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of John Service. His life and legacy are part of the ongoing narrative of how America gets information about, and understands, the world in which it acts. ■

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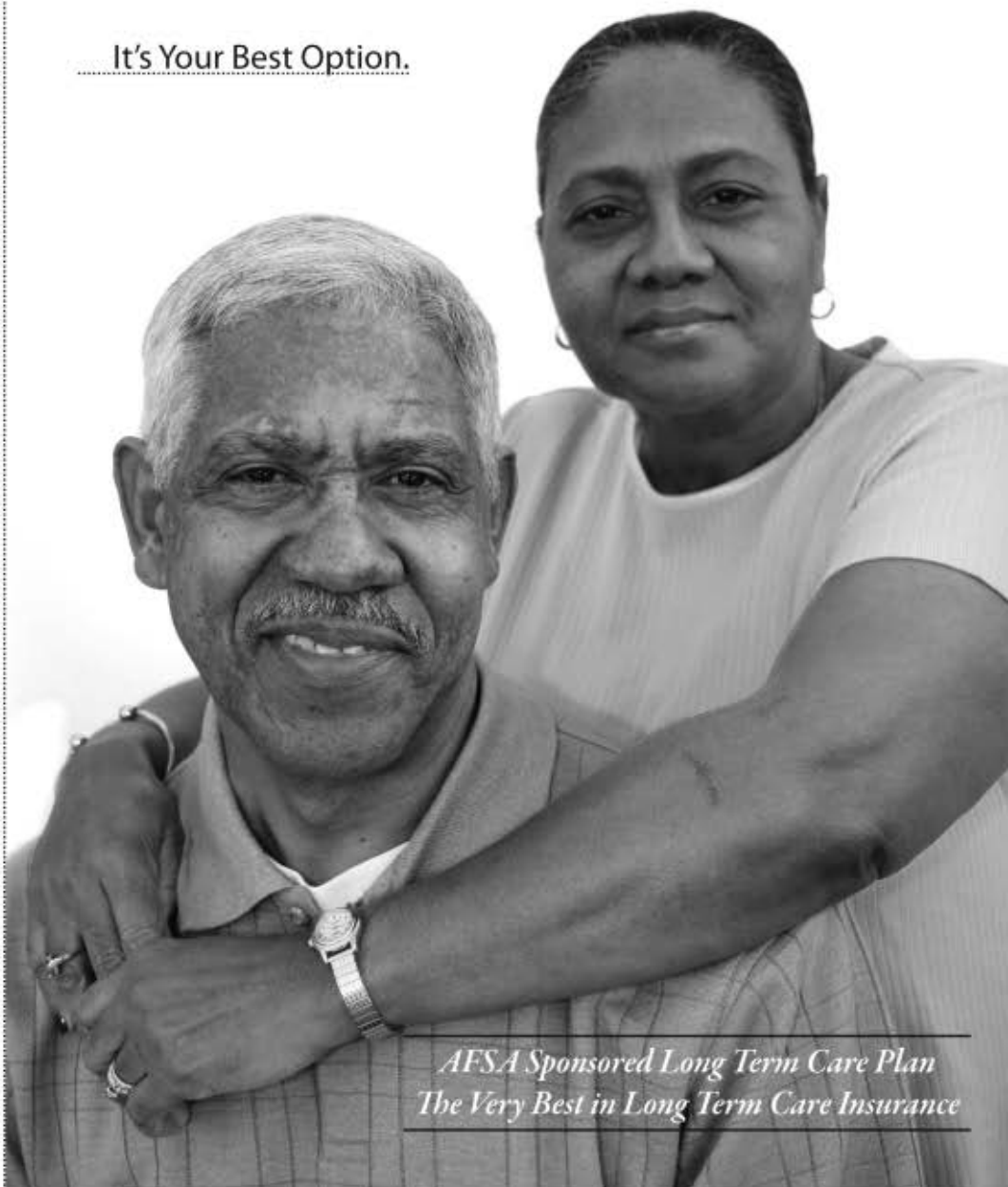
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# AFSA NEWS

American Foreign Service Association • November 2010

## Amb. J. Stapleton Roy Looks at the Future of U.S.-China Relations

STORY BEGINS ON PAGE 68

## Nominate Risk-Taking Colleagues for AFSA's Dissent Awards

BY PERRI GREEN, SPECIAL AWARDS AND OUTREACH COORDINATOR

*"It never occurred to me that what I was doing was constructive dissent. I just wanted to recover from the trauma I experienced during my Iraq tour and believed that the interests of the State Department would be better served if its traumatized employees received treatment. So I spoke out, raising my hand in town-hall meetings and penning an article about my experience in the Foreign Service Journal.*

*At the time, the State Department did not have a policy on Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder, so the resistance I encountered while pressing for heightened awareness on the issue was institutional rather than purely political. It was not something that could have been adequately addressed through the formal Dissent Channel."*

— Rachel Schneller

For 42 years, AFSA has been proud to encourage and recognize constructive dissent and risk-taking in the Foreign Service. It was due to her efforts raising awareness about PTSD that AFSA declared Schneller the winner of its 2008 William R. Rivkin Award for constructive dissent.

Please give some thought now to those among your colleagues who have had the courage to challenge the system — on any subject, policy or management. Success is



JEFF WATTS, AMERICAN UNIVERSITY

Amb. J. Stapleton Roy discusses the rise of China before a standing-room-only crowd at the Adair Memorial Lecture on Sept. 1 at American University. AFSA Director of Communications Tom Switzer looks on.

## CALL FOR NOMINATIONS FOR THE 2011-2013 AFSA GOVERNING BOARD

Do you want to represent your colleagues and make sure the voice of the Foreign Service is heard on the Hill and around the country? If so, consider joining the next AFSA leadership team by running for a position on the 2011-2013 AFSA Governing Board.

Pursuant to a voluntary settlement agreement between AFSA and the U.S. Department of Labor, Office of Labor-Management Standards, the election is being supervised by OLMS. OLMS is responsible for assuring that the election is conducted in accordance with Title IV of the Labor-Management Reporting and

Disclosure Act of 1959.

Please look at the positions available and consider putting your name forward or nominating a colleague. This election is for the board that will take office on July 15, 2011, and serve for two years. Here are instructions on how to be nominated and run for the 2011-2013 AFSA Governing Board.

### Important Dates:

Feb. 1, 2011 — Deadline for Nominations

March 28, 2011 — Ballots and Candidate Statements Mailed

Continued on page 66

Continued on page 64

# AFSA NEWS BRIEFS



## Ambassadors Make Creative Donations to AFSA Scholarships

Ambassador Rozanne Ridgway recently added to the perpetual financial aid scholarship she established in August 2009 in her name by making a donation that Emerson Electric Company will match.

Amb. Ridgway is a member of Emerson's board of directors.

Amb. Marc Grossman has donated his author's fee for a Speaking Out column he wrote for the October *Foreign Service Journal* to the Marc Grossman and Mildred Patterson Financial Aid Scholarship that he, his wife and his friends established in 2005.

For more information on the AFSA Scholarship Program, contact Lori Dec at (202) 944-5504 or [dec@afsa.org](mailto:dec@afsa.org). Or visit our Web site at [www.afsa.org/scholar](http://www.afsa.org/scholar).

## Make a CFC Pledge to #11759 and Support the AFSA Scholarship Fund

Combined Federal Campaign materials now list the "AFSA Scholarship Fund" as "Foreign Service Youth Scholarships – AFSA." Even though the name has changed, we are still the same organization with the same CFC number as in years past. The new name simply provides a better description of what we do.

The AFSA Scholarship Fund provides high school seniors with academic and art merit awards and confers need-based aid on undergraduate children of Foreign Service employees to defray college expenses.

Keep your support within the Foreign Service community. Go to [www.afsa.org/scholar/CFC11759.cfm](http://www.afsa.org/scholar/CFC11759.cfm) for more information.

## Help AFSA Tell the Story of the Foreign Service

Most readers will shortly receive in the mail our annual solicitation for donations to AFSA's Legislative Action Fund. The LAF enables AFSA to advocate in Congress on behalf of our members, promoting legislation that is essential to strengthening the Foreign Service and American diplomacy. This includes securing overseas comparability pay, pushing for increased hiring for the foreign affairs agencies, and protecting and strengthening federal employee benefits and entitlements. Your support is crucial for us to carry on this fight, and we greatly appreciate your donations.

In addition, November will bring the annual fundraising drive for the Fund for American Diplomacy. FAD is AFSA's 501(c)(3) charitable organization, dedicated to educating the American public about the important work Foreign Service employees perform at home and abroad. The fund also supports AFSA's memorial plaques program, dissent and performance awards, Speakers Bureau, Sinclair Language Awards, AFSA/TLG minority intern program and many other worthy causes. Donations to the FAD are tax-deductible. We hope you will help AFSA continue to tell the story of the Foreign Service to nationwide audiences.

## Life in the Foreign Service

■ BY BRIAN AGGELER

### A Key Moment in Evolution



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## Honey, I'm Home! (And Would Rather Be Working)



One of the first lessons you learn in marriage is that you can't be happy if your spouse or partner is unhappy. For many spouses and partners, happiness requires a job. Thus, one of the highest considerations for Foreign Service member morale is the possibility of employment for family members.

Family member employment affects bidding decisions, employee retention and, of course, family finances. Yet it has been a problem area for decades. Jobs are often unavailable or limited in nature, while salaries are sometimes insultingly low. Hiring processes can occasionally be opaque and biased by the rank or seniority of the "sponsoring" member, by divisions between agencies, or by nepotism.

Dividing full-time positions into shared jobs can turn one opportunity into two; but it can seem patronizing when interpreted as a sign that the job is not "real."

Part of the problem is that, with a few exceptions, posts fund Eligible Family Member positions themselves and are forced to choose between them and other post-specific budget items. These jobs suffer in tough budget times when they're too often seen as simply a morale issue or a luxury.

The vast diversity of EFM skills and backgrounds is another part of the problem, as they might range from a high school degree to a Ph.D. or medical degree, or from extensive work experience to no work experience at all. Posts can't predict from one staffing cycle to the next what the pool of EFM talent will be, so it's hard to create a permanent set of jobs.

Even where vacancies exist, there may be staffing cycles where no one is qualified to fill a particular EFM position.

For foreign-born Eligible Family Members, other issues can apply. Academic or work credentials acquired overseas might not be fully credited when considering applications. English-language skills might also be limited. Security clearances could become problematic. These can heighten the general sense of isolation or lower status some foreign-born EFMs feel, which complicates matters further.

Efforts to address these issues can sometimes backfire.

Dividing full-time positions into shared jobs can turn one opportunity into two; but it can seem patronizing when interpreted as a sign that the job is not "real."

Efforts to ensure hiring fairness can evolve into schemes favoring those who have been at post longest or other procedures under which EFMs are hired for reasons other than their qualifications.

These problems may worsen in the near future as the department places more entry-level FS employees overseas than ever, reducing the need for additional personnel at posts. More employees, of course, also bring more spouses and partners, all competing for a shrinking pool of jobs.

AFSA has suggested, and continues to urge, a number of systemic revisions in employment policies, such as creating more centrally funded and standardized EFM positions that are managed by Washington bureaus rather than by posts. We have asked the department to explore enabling more Eligible Family Members to telework — either to Washington jobs or to positions at other posts — and to create a centralized skills bank to facilitate this. Other possibilities include advertising expected EFM openings during the bidding cycle, enabling FS members to know before bidding what the EFM options will be at a particular post, and requiring funding for a certain number of such jobs in the basic International Cooperative Administrative Support Services contributions of each agency at post.

AFSA is currently researching the issue of non-American academic credentials, too, looking for ways to ensure they're counted in hiring decisions.

Members should keep in mind that the Foreign Service Institute has made a large number of training courses available to EFMs online, including, at AFSA's urging, English as a second language. All EFMs, whether employed or unemployed, should take advantage of these courses. After all, learning new skills can only increase your qualifications for a broader range of positions.

EFM employment is very much a part of AFSA's ongoing discussions with management. We welcome suggestions of ways to increase options for family members' employment and career development. □



## Making the Most of Retiree Talent



I reported in my last column on the decision of the AFSA Governing Board to seek congressional action to lift the caps on pay and hours for retired annuitants or When Actually Employed positions. We are currently working on proposed language and strategy, and by the time this column makes it to press, we should be actively working the Hill.

Meanwhile, there have been some positive developments at the department on the retired annuitant front. At the most recent retirement seminar at the Foreign Service Institute, Ambassador Nancy Powell, the Foreign Service director general, announced that her office is in the process of setting up a central registry for WAEs. She noted that there are a number of kinks to work out and it is taking more time than she would like, but it will get done. This will be a great step forward, one that levels the playing field, shares information broadly, and essentially breaks down the “stovepipe” operations that have existed in the various bureaus.

Additionally, AFSA has learned in briefings on the Quadrennial Diplomatic and Development Review process that the final report will most likely contain a recommendation on lifting WAE pay and hour caps. This is an encouraging development, but it would only cover WAEs in foreign affairs agencies. We have asked the QDDR staff to seek provision for employment of foreign affairs agencies’ retirees with other national security agencies, mainly the Department of Defense, without forfeiture of annuity benefits. The National War College and other service training institutions are eager to hire retired FSOs, but are largely unsuccessful due to the annuity problem.

While continuing to pursue all the avenues described above, AFSA is also looking into a “default” option in case none of the foregoing result in satisfaction for our members. As contractors to State and other federal agencies are not required to suspend their annuities, AFSA is considering a contractor/job placement service for retirees seeking employment with national security agencies. Overhead would be charged to the employing agencies and any profit would be devoted to AFSA activities such as the scholarship fund.

Our preliminary due diligence indicates that this plan is legal under our constitution and bylaws. But it would be a major new undertaking for AFSA, so membership feedback is essential.

Please get in touch with us to express any thoughts as to this plan, or interest in being placed in the proposed talent pool. You can reach Bonnie Brown, retiree issues coordinator, at [brown@afsa.org](mailto:brown@afsa.org). □

### Dissent • Continued from page 61

not a requirement. The willingness to ask the tough questions and pursue the answers is what counts.

Remember that anyone can nominate anyone else. The official call for nominations will be in the AFSA News section of the December *Foreign Service Journal*. There are four awards:

The **F. Allen “Tex” Harris Award** for a Foreign Service Specialist

The **W. Averell Harriman Award** for a junior officer (FS 6-FS 4)

The **William R. Rivkin Award** for a mid-level officer (FS 3-FS 1)

The **Christian A. Herter Award** for a member of the Senior Foreign Service (FE OC-FE CA)

Winners receive a monetary reward of \$2,500 along with a recognition ceremony at the State Department (see the 2010 winners in the July-August and September issues).

These awards are truly unique. They are not based on performance, and no other organization or agency in the U.S. government has a similar program.

A Foreign Service dedicated to individual excellence, independent thinking and the intellectual courage to challenge conventional wisdom is especially needed now as the nation faces challenges far greater than any in recent history. Foreign Service employees at all grades and in all agencies work to advance America’s interests abroad. Our dissent awards offer an opportunity to recognize the critical contributions made by our colleagues over and above their assigned responsibilities.

“Engaging in the sort of advocacy that merits an AFSA constructive dissent award involves taking risks and breaking your head against bureaucratic brick walls,” Schneller said. “You do it not to get a prize, but because it is the right thing to do. Nominating someone for the award also takes bravery — an awareness that the State Department as a whole is made better because someone has had the courage to question the system.”

A full description of the program and the nomination process can be found at [www.afsa.org/awards](http://www.afsa.org/awards). □

## AFSANEWSBRIEFS

## AFSA Mourns Passing of Former Executive Director

BY IAN HOUSTON, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

It is with sadness that I report the passing of former AFSA Executive Director John Mamone. John passed away peacefully with his family at his side in late August.

It was a pleasure to work with John during the short time he was here at AFSA. He brought a sense of humor, an understanding manner and a friendly personality to his work.

He had many talents.

On behalf of the AFSA staff, I bid a sincere farewell to our former colleague. I know you will share the hope that those closest to him will be comforted in their time of loss.

## Now Available – College Scholarship Applications for FS Kids

High school seniors and college undergraduate children of Foreign Service employees (active-duty, retired and deceased) are eligible to apply for one-time-only AFSA academic/art merit awards and renewable, need-based AFSA financial aid scholarships for the 2011-2012 school year. Academic and art merit awards are \$1,800, and financial aid scholarships range from \$1,000 to \$3,500. Applications will be available on Nov. 15, and the submission deadline is Feb. 6, 2011. For complete details and to download forms, please visit [www.afsa.org/scholar](http://www.afsa.org/scholar) or contact Lori Dec at (202) 944-5504, or 1 (800) 704-2372, ext. 504 (toll-free) or by e-mail at [dec@afsa.org](mailto:dec@afsa.org).



V.P. VOICE: FCS ■ BY KEITH CURTIS

## Good News for the Foreign Commercial Service – We Hope



**B**y the time you read this, I hope we'll have a new deputy director general for the Commercial Service — and I also hope he or she will be a Foreign Service officer.

Every other Foreign Service agency assigns its deputy DG position to an officer to give the DG firsthand experience with how the organization works internationally. After all, if we are not an international-facing organization, what are we?

It would be especially bad for the organization to bring a deputy DG in from the outside at this critical time, when morale is under great strain. The largest pool of experienced senior government employees in the International Trade Administration are Foreign Service officers, and senior Foreign Service officers have ably served in the deputy DG position at least three times in the recent past.

I can only hope this is all moot by the time this article appears, adding another feather of good decisions to our DG's cap. And if so, it will be especially important to give the new deputy DG all the support we can. We must prove he or she has the support of the organization and help to get the job done.

On other fronts, both our House and Senate committees have passed the appropriations bills for ITA, but they are \$10 million apart in their allocations. Both proposals represent a long-needed and substantial increase for the Commercial Service; but we need to fight for the higher figure. Still, nothing will happen by way of a final bill before the November elections. Nor should it be a surprise to anyone that cuts in that increased budget will be coming in 2012. Defending the National Export Initiative budget is still our number-one priority. For that reason, I urge you to consider the AFSA president's fundraising appeal for AFSA-PAC.

We also welcomed a new class of 16 FCS officers and, for the first time in memory, they were given a full four weeks of commercial training together as a class. A hearty welcome to our new colleagues! With the increased budget, a strong new deputy DG who knows us (I hope), a new officer class, and efforts to get training back on track, there are a lot of good reasons to believe we have turned the corner.

Now let's hope we can build on that momentum. □

*Editor's Note: At the time this article went to print, Director Suresh Kumar named Ambassador Charles "Chuck" Ford to the deputy DG position. Ford served as Vice President for FCS on the 2003-2005 AFSA Governing Board.*

I can only hope this is all moot by the time this article appears, and that we can add another feather of good decisions to our DG's cap.

Initial Call • Continued from page 61

June 2, 2011 — Ballots Counted  
 July 15, 2011 — New Board Takes Office

### 2011 Election of AFSA Officers and Constituency Representatives Call for Nominations:

This election call, issued in accordance with Article VII (2)(a) of the AFSA bylaws, constitutes a formal notice to all AFSA members of the opportunity to participate in the nomination and election of a new Governing Board.

All of the officer and representative positions listed below are for two-year terms beginning July 15, 2011.

AFSA bylaws require that all Governing Board members must be resident in the Washington, D.C., area within 60 days of taking office on July 15 and must remain resident in the Washington area throughout their term in office.

#### Positions to Be Filled

The officer positions to be filled in this election are:

- President
- Vice President for State
- Vice President for USAID
- Vice President for FCS
- Vice President for FAS
- Vice President for Retirees
- Secretary
- Treasurer

The president and State, USAID and FAS vice presidents are full-time positions detailed to AFSA. The FCS vice president is detailed 50 percent of his or her time to AFSA.

These employees are assigned over complement and are eligible for time-in-class extensions.

Article V (4)(b) of the AFSA bylaws authorizes a constituency vice president for each constituency with a minimum of 100 members and one constituency representative position for every 1,000 members or fraction thereof. Representatives are required to attend monthly lunchtime board meetings and may volunteer to serve on additional committees.

The constituency representative positions to be filled in this election are:

- State Department Representatives (10 positions)
- USAID Representatives (two positions)
- FCS Representative (one position)
- FAS Representative (one position)
- IBB Representative (one position)
- Retired Member Representatives (four positions)

#### Nomination Procedures

1. Any AFSA member in good standing (i.e., a member whose dues are automatically deducted or who has paid dues as of Feb. 1, 2011) may submit names (including his or her own) in nomination for any of the above-mentioned positions for which the nominee is eligible. No member may nominate more than one person for each officer position or more than the number of representatives established for each constituency. No member's name may appear on the ballot for more than one position.

2. In order to be nominated, a person must be a member in good standing by Feb. 1, 2011, and remain in good standing through the election process and, if elected, for his or her term of office.

3. The Foreign Service Act restricts employees occupying certain positions in the foreign affairs agencies from serving on the Governing Board.

Only employees in AFSA's bargaining unit may serve on the Governing Board or nominate others to serve on the board. Therefore, individuals who will be serving as management officials and confidential employees (as defined below) when the new board takes office on July 15, 2011, are ineligible to occupy a position on the Governing Board.

In addition, management officials and confidential employees may not make nominations for Governing Board positions.

4. For the purpose of the above discussion, *management official* means an individual who: is a chief of mission or principal officer; occupies a position of comparable importance to chief of mission or

principal officer; is serving as a deputy to the foregoing positions; is assigned to the Office of the Inspector General; or is engaged in labor management relations or the formulation of personnel policies and programs of a foreign affairs agency.

*Confidential employees* are employees who act in a confidential capacity with respect to an individual who formulates or carries out management policies in labor-management relations.

The Foreign Service Act also places a two-year restriction on the movement of Foreign Service personnel between certain positions in AFSA and certain Washington-based jobs in the foreign affairs agencies.

Pre-AFSA restrictions: Any individual who has served: 1) in a management position in Washington in which he or she has engaged in labor-management relations or the formulation of personnel policies and programs; or 2) as a confidential employee (as defined above) within two years prior to taking office in AFSA, is ineligible to hold the position of AFSA president or constituency vice president.

Post-AFSA restrictions: In addition, any individual who has held one of the foregoing positions in AFSA may not serve: 1) in a management position in Washington that involves labor-management relations or the formulation of personnel policies and programs; or 2) as a confidential employee, for two years after leaving AFSA. Members should consider these restrictions before deciding whether to run for AFSA Governing Board positions covered by these restrictions.

Please direct questions regarding this issue to Sharon Papp, General Counsel, by phone: (202) 647-8160; fax: (202) 647-0265; or e-mail: papps@state.gov.

5. Nominations may be submitted individually or in slates.

To qualify as a slate, a proposed slate must have a minimum of four candidates from at least two constituencies.

Slate designations will be noted on the ballot.

6. All nominations must be submitted in writing by letter, cable, fax or e-mail.

All written nominations must be addressed to the AFSA Elections Commit-



tee, 2101 E Street NW, Washington, DC 20037.

To be valid, they must, without exception, be received at this address no later than 5 p.m. on Feb. 1, 2011.

Members overseas can send "AFSA channel" cables marked for delivery to the AFSA Elections Committee. They must be received in the State Department's Communications Center within the same time limit.

Faxes can be sent to (202) 338-6820 and e-mail to [election@afsa.org](mailto:election@afsa.org).

Alternatively, nominations can be hand-delivered to an Elections Committee member who will be in the AFSA office, Room 1251, Department of State, from 11 a.m. to noon on Feb. 1, 2011, or to an Elections Committee representative at AFSA headquarters (2101 E Street NW) during that same time period.

7. A nominee can indicate his or her acceptance of a nomination by appending a letter to the letter of nomination or by appropriate notation on that letter, or by communicating with the AFSA Elections Committee at the addresses, fax or e-mail noted above.

Otherwise, an authorized representative of the Elections Committee will communicate with each nominee (excluding members who nominate themselves) as quickly as possible after the receipt of each nomination to determine whether the nominee wishes to be a candidate.

Any member who wishes to accept the nomination must confirm his or her acceptance in writing through one of the channels described above to the AFSA Elections Committee.

Any nominee whose written acceptance of nomination has not been received by the Elections Committee will be considered to have declined candidacy.

## Election Campaign

1. All candidates nominated under the procedure outlined above will be given the opportunity to submit campaign statements for dissemination to the AFSA membership with the election ballots.

Further information regarding such statements and editorial deadlines will be

contained in the "Instructions to Candidates," which will be posted by the Elections Committee on the AFSA Web site ([www.afsa.org/elections/](http://www.afsa.org/elections/)) by Nov. 1, 2010.

2. The AFSA bylaws provide that, should candidates wish to mail supplementary statements to the membership, the association will make available to them on request, and at their expense, the membership mailing list or address labels.

Further information on this and other campaign procedures will be included in the "Instructions to Candidates" mentioned above.

## Voting

Ballots will be distributed on or about March 28, 2011, to each person who is a regular AFSA member as of March 1, 2011.

Candidates or their representatives may observe the ballot distribution process if they so desire.

Each member may cast one vote for president, secretary, treasurer and, in addition, one vote for a constituency vice president and each representative position in the member's constituency.

Votes may be cast by voting for candidates listed on the official ballot, or by writing in the name(s) of member(s) eligible as of Feb. 1, 2011, or by doing both.

To be valid, a ballot must be received by June 1, 2011, at the address indicated on the envelope accompanying the ballot.

More detailed balloting instructions will accompany the ballots.

## Vote Counting and Announcement of Results

On or about June 2, 2011, the Elections Committee will count the ballots and declare elected the candidate receiving the greatest number of votes for each position.

Candidates or their representatives may be present during the tally and may challenge the validity of any vote or the eligibility of any voter.

The committee will inform candidates individually of the election results by the swiftest possible means and will publish the names of all elected candidates in the next issue of the *Foreign Service Journal*.

The elected candidates will take office on July 15, 2011, as provided in the bylaws.

## Complaints or Challenges

Members may file a written protest or complaint about the conduct of the 2011 election or the outcome of the election. Such protest, complaint or challenge should be filed as soon as possible but no later than 10 days from the announcement of the results of the election, and should be addressed to

Election Supervisor Alison Dunn  
U.S. Department of Labor, OLMS  
Washington District Office  
800 North Capitol Street NW  
Suite 120  
Washington, DC 20002-4244  
Fax: (202) 513-7301

These protest procedures are in lieu of AFSA's normal procedures. □

### ELECTIONS COMMITTEE MEMBERS

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David Salazar	<a href="mailto:salazardr@state.gov">salazardr@state.gov</a>	(202) 312-9630
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### OLMS ELECTION SUPERVISOR

Alison Dunn	<a href="mailto:AFSAelectionsupervisor@dol.gov">AFSAelectionsupervisor@dol.gov</a>	(202) 513-7314
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## Amb. J. Stapleton Roy Looks at the Future of U.S.-China Relations

BY AMY MCKEEVER

Ambassador J. Stapleton Roy addressed the rise of China and forcefully rebutted hard-line views about the future of U.S.-China relations in an AFSA-sponsored speech on Sept. 1 at American University.

Students, academics and diplomatic luminaries crowded the Kay Spiritual Life Center for the fourth annual Caroline and Ambassador Charles Adair Lecture to hear Amb. Roy's take on what he described as "the most important strategic challenge facing the United States over the next several decades."

Amb. Roy, who was born in Nanjing, China, specialized in East Asia throughout his 45-year career with the State Department.

He served as ambassador to the People's Republic of China from 1991 to 1995 and rose to the rank of career ambassador in 1996. He is currently the director of the Kissinger Institute on China and the United States at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.

Following brief introductory remarks from Tom Switzer, AFSA's director of communications and organizer of the event, Amb. Roy dove into the contentious topic. He began by laying out the issues that have created considerable tension in the U.S.-China relationship.

The American role in the global financial crisis, Amb. Roy argued, harmed U.S. financial credibility. China's comparatively rapid recovery from the crisis, he theorized, may have led to Beijing's growing tendency to assert itself in security issues from Taiwan and the Korean Peninsula to U.S. naval capacities in the Pacific.

Amb. Roy noted the pessimism of mainstream Chinese experts on the future of the Sino-American relationship, as well



Amb. J. Stapleton Roy (right) laughs as he talks with (from left) Dr. David Brown, dean of American University's Washington Semester Program, former AFSA President Marshall Adair and current AFSA President Susan Johnson before beginning his lecture.



Amb. J. Stapleton Roy (left) talks with Marshall Adair, a former AFSA president and founder of the Adair Memorial Fund. Amb. Roy delivered the fourth annual Caroline and Ambassador Charles Adair Lecture on Sept. 1 at American University.

as the alarm cries raised throughout the U.S. on the rise of the PRC.

Amb. Roy then turned his focus to some of these same alarmists, most especially University of Chicago Professor John Mearsheimer, who argues that a powerful China is bad for the United States. A rising China, he says, will push the U.S. out of Asia and the Pacific while seeking hegemony in that region.

Mearsheimer also contends that Washington has a security interest in preventing China from becoming a competitor.

### The Role of Leadership

But, Amb. Roy told the standing-room-

only crowd, that theory ignores the role that leadership plays in international relations.

Roy used the remainder of his lecture to critique the professor's theory point by point.

He cited President Richard Nixon's breakthrough to China as an example of leadership that turned a contentious relationship into one based on cooperation, and he declared that a stable relationship is in both countries' national security interests.

Amb. Roy also noted that U.S. hegemony in the Western Hemisphere is already giving way to the rise of Brazil and Mexico. Finally, he argued that the U.S. has not historically opposed the mere act of competitors seeking regional dominance but, rather, the hostile intent of states like Nazi Germany and Imperial Japan.

During the Q&A session, Amb. Roy commented that there's nothing wrong with China emerging as the dominant power in the Asia-Pacific region — so long as it refrains from using its power to bully and threaten its neighbors. For that rea-

Continued on page 70

# Diplomacy Must Meet Demands of a Globalized World, Book Notes Author Says

BY AMY MCKEEVER

**D**iplomacy is important, undervalued and in trouble. This was the message author Daryl Copeland delivered in a Sept. 20 lecture at AFSA headquarters. In order to meet 21st-century demands, he said, diplomacy must transform into an institution favoring acuity, agility and autonomy. In short, it must become “guerrilla diplomacy.”

Copeland, who served as a Canadian diplomat for 28 years and is currently a research fellow at the University of Southern California’s Center on Public Diplomacy, discussed his book *Guerrilla Diplomacy* as part of AFSA’s Book Notes series before an audience of diplomats and academics.

## Three Myths

Copeland began his talk by defining the three myths of international relations: Diplomacy is for wimps, security is a martial art, and the Cold War is not really over.

All three myths are detrimental to the future of diplomacy, Copeland said. But perhaps the most harmful is the last one. International leaders are still haunted by the worldview of the Cold War era, where all threats were universal, and this has led to a militarization of international policy, Copeland said.

“In the last decade, certainly since 9/11, policy has become an instrument of war,” he added.

But it’s diplomacy, not military might, that is best equipped to handle the challenges of the 21st century, Copeland argued.

In a world where powers are divvied up among several countries — the U.S. as a military power, China as an economic power and the European Union as a soft power pole, for example — policy calculations can be tricky. It is diplomats who have the complex balancing skills and the reasoning to handle these problems.

## Acuity, Agility and Autonomy

Diplomats need to dispel the three myths of international relations by becoming a “faster, smarter, lighter, more relentlessly innovative” international service, Copeland believes.

To become a guerrilla diplomat, one has to have sharpness of mind and knowledge of place, Copeland argued, in order to function in a globalized world. One must also demonstrate a flexibility and willingness to leave the diplomatic bubble by working in the field, he said, pointedly adding that backpacking experience may provide better training for a career in diplomacy than an Ivy League degree.



Author Daryl Copeland discusses his book *Guerrilla Diplomacy* on Sept. 20 at AFSA headquarters.

Diplomats must also shake free of the short leash back to their capitals, Copeland believes. Successful guerrilla diplomats have the trust, confidence and respect of supervisors and interlocutors, which gives them room to maneuver and respond quickly to events.

At the same time that diplomats gain autonomy from their capitals, Copeland believes they must forge stronger ties to their home countries.

“The problem with diplomatic corps is they become boutique outfits, disconnected

from the larger picture,” he said, explaining that diplomats have become too accustomed to turning their faces to the world and their backs to their own countries. A diplomatic service needs to be as diverse as the people it represents.

## Successful Guerrilla Diplomacy

Copeland cited Canada and Spain’s 1995 “Turbot War” as an example of successful guerrilla diplomacy.

Foreign fleets had taken to fishing illegally for turbot off Canada’s eastern shore, Copeland recalled, and overfishing had taken a toll. So Canadian Minister of Fisheries and Oceans Brian Tobin ordered the seizure of a Spanish trawler in international waters that was using an illegal net to fish for turbot. Spain threatened to take the case to the International Court of Justice, where Canada knew it wouldn’t have much chance of winning, Copeland said.

Instead the country mounted a campaign to educate the public and diplomats worldwide about the plight of the turbot. Tobin held a press conference on a barge outside United Nations headquarters decrying the treatment of the fish. The United Kingdom came to Canada’s defense, saving the country from European Union economic sanctions.

“It is possible to win in the international court of opinion cases you could never win in the World Court,” Copeland said.

Tobin’s move was risky, Copeland acknowledged, but risk tolerance is an important part of guerrilla diplomacy.

Copeland pointed to some of the things American diplomacy is doing right, such as upgrading the position of science adviser and establishing a strong presence on YouTube and Twitter. He was also impressed that American heads of mission have the autonomy to rebut statements made in the local press.

“But,” he said, “don’t confuse the exception with the rule.”

WETA-TV recorded this and other AFSA events and has posted them on its Web site, [www.weta.org/video/forum](http://www.weta.org/video/forum).

*Guerrilla Diplomacy* is available online at AFSA’s Bookstore, [www.afsa.org/ads/books/policy.cfm](http://www.afsa.org/ads/books/policy.cfm). □



Stapleton Roy • Continued from page 68

son, the United States should not overreact during China's "period of exuberant triumphalism" following the global financial crisis, Amb. Roy said.

Instead, he argued, the best response is to vigorously demonstrate American resilience while maintaining "a well-funded and highly qualified Foreign Service that can maximize the effectiveness of U.S. diplomacy."

Though he acknowledged a rocky road ahead, Amb. Roy expressed confidence in the future of the U.S.-China relationship.

The Adair Memorial Lecture Series on American Diplomacy is funded by a perpetual gift from the Adair family to the Fund for American Diplomacy that supports AFSA's Speakers Bureau, a key element in our national outreach program.

AFSA President Susan Johnson sat on the dais in the chapel along with Marshall Adair, a former AFSA president and founder of the Adair Memorial Fund. □

## AFSA NEWS BRIEFS

### TRANSITION CENTER SCHEDULE OF COURSES for November - December 2010

Nov. 1-2	MQ911	Security Overseas Seminar
Nov. 3	MQ801	Maintaining Long-Distance Relationships
Nov. 9	MQ115	Explaining America
Nov. 15-16	MQ911	Security Overseas Seminar
Nov. 19-20	MQ104	Regulations, Allowances and Finances
Nov. 20	MQ116	Protocol
Nov. 29-30	MQ911	Security Overseas Seminar
Dec. 2	MQ803	Realities of Foreign Service Life
Dec. 4	MQ802	Communicating Across Cultures
Dec. 8-9	MQ107	English Teaching Seminar
Dec. 13-14	MQ911	Security Overseas Seminar
Dec. 20-21	MQ911	Security Overseas Seminar

To register or for further information, e-mail the FSI Transition Center at [FSITCTraining@state.gov](mailto:FSITCTraining@state.gov).

## AFSA Names New Governing Board Members

The AFSA Governing Board approved the appointments of two new members, both specialists from the State Department's Bureau of Diplomatic Security, at its Sept. 1 meeting.

**Bruce Matthews**, who draws on 23 years of experience as a security engineering officer, leads the quality and liaison section of DS Security Technology. He recently completed his master's degree in national security resource strategy at the National Defense University.

**Ako Cromwell** is a DS special agent currently training for an assignment in Moscow. He has served on protective details for Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton, as well as former Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, visiting more than 60 embassies and consulates as part of the job.

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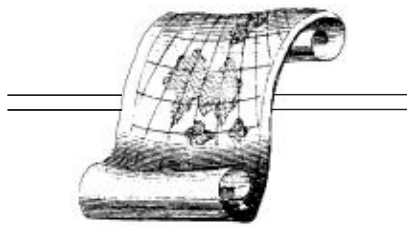
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# REFLECTIONS

## *Nelson Mandela and Me*

BY SHIRA GLASSMAN

**I**t all started one day on the way back from school. My driver, Desmond, asked me if I wanted Nelson Mandela's name in my book. I had just started reading *Tree Shaker: The Story of Nelson Mandela* by Bill Keller. Why wouldn't I?

When I got home I told my mom about what Desmond said. She said that I could take my book with a pen and go with Desmond down to Nelson Mandela's house, one street away.

When we got to the house, there were big guys in uniforms. They did not let Desmond in, but they did let me in. When I got in, they showed me to a lady. She said that I was so cute, and she let me in. She also said that "this is a once-in-a-lifetime chance."

When I got to the room where he was, he was eating lunch: chicken and vegetables. Mr. Mandela was wearing one of those fancy shirts he wears. I asked him to sign my book. He did, but first he gave me a big hug! Then he gave me some more hugs.

Then he asked me what I want to be when I grow up. I said I wanted to be like him. Everybody laughed. He had a really deep voice and a nice laugh. He wrote his last name in the book in cursive. He wrote the date, 19 08 08, and he drew a heart on the side.

*Mr. Mandela was wearing one of those fancy shirts he wears.*



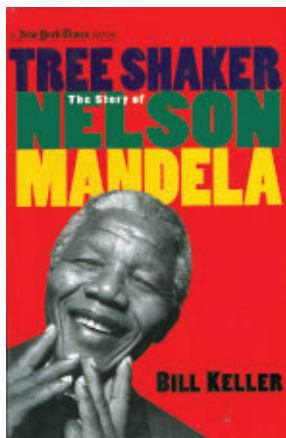
Then the lady brought me back to Desmond. On the way home, I told him about what had happened. He was really happy that Nelson Mandela was there, and so was I.

When I got home I tried to tell my mom, but she was on the phone with

her best friend Annie. When she got off the phone an hour later, I told her what had happened. She screamed! She called my dad the minute I told her.

I knew I had something special there, that I would never forget. ■

*Shira Glassman, the daughter of FSO Jeffrey Glassman, wrote this essay when she was 8 years old during the family's posting in Cape Town. Now 10, Shira is a fifth-grader at the Jewish Primary Day School. A painter, she was the Foreign Service Youth Foundation's 2007 "Artist of the Year." She also plays the drums. Shira lives in Washington, D.C., with her father, her mother, Elana, and brothers, Sammy (8) and Moses (5).*



*Eight-year-old Shira Glassman met Nelson Mandela in Capetown and he signed her book.*



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