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PUBLISHED BY THE AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION

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A Senior FSO describes his experience of the reality of war on assignment in southern Afghanistan.

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In agriculture, our free trade and commodity export agendas conflict with our development agenda, and the result is food insecurity. Here is the case for a change in focus.

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The world's fair has evolved from an industrial exposition into the Olympics of public diplomacy, and the United States should be there.

BY MATTHEW ASADA

On the Cover: Gardez Provincial Reconstruction Team Commander Lt. Col. John Chong, left, Air Force Maj. Gen. Harry Polumbo Jr., center, and Ambassador (ret.) Stephen G. McFarland participate in the closing ceremony of PRT Gardez on April 3, 2013, in Paktya Province, Afghanistan. (Also present but not pictured: Stephen Verrecchia, senior civilian representative at PRT Gardez.) Established in January 2003, Gardez was the first U.S. PRT. Amb. McFarland delivered his remarks in Dari to reach as many of the Afghans as possible with the message—the U.S. hope—that the Afghan government was poised to take over the work of the PRT.

Having led a PRT in Iraq during the surge, McFarland had a good idea of the sacrifice and work that had gone into PRT Gardez and an appreciation for the tremendous synergy achieved when civilians and military understand each other and partner with host country civilians and military. But as he recalled for the *FSJ* recently, it was a bittersweet moment. There was doubt in Afghanistan that the then-government was up to the task of supporting citizens in the province, as a representative of the government confided following the ceremony. And the fortifications dating back to the invasion of Alexander on hilltops surrounding the event were a humbling reminder that people have been fighting over the key terrain in this territory for ages.

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Setting Our Course

BY BARBARA STEPHENSON

Those of you who worked with me in my previous role as dean of the Leadership and Management School at the Foreign Service

Institute may well have heard me talk about what good Foreign Service leaders do when they arrive at their new job.

They consult intensively with stakeholders to form an assessment (Is this ship on course, off course, or sinking?) and to forge a vision for the years ahead (What is the best we can do in this situation, with the resources we have, to deliver for the people who put us here?).

The next step: rally the troops behind the vision. Then, remove obstacles to achieving the vision and align resources behind it. Finally, celebrate success and reward your people.

As I write, about seven weeks after taking office, we are well into the first phase of forming an assessment and refining the vision, while moving smartly into the effort to align resources behind it. As president of AFSA and chair of the Governing Board—and as a big believer in transparency and accountability as foundations of good governance—I want to share my initial assessment with you, the people who put us here.

Bottom line: The state of our asso-

ciation is strong. AFSA has 16,500 members, including almost 80 percent of all active-duty members of the Foreign Service.



Our finances are sound: AFSA has just come through the annual outside audit with the highest organizational rating.

Efforts by the previous Governing Board and staff improved internal AFSA governance by creating written operating procedures reflecting best practices. With nearly 40 dedicated professionals on the staff, AFSA is well positioned to deliver on the vision of making the Foreign Service stronger in fact and in reputation.

That vision is undergirded by the three pillars I outlined in my first column. While the effort to refine the vision is still underway, I offer this update in the hope that the benefits of modeling transparency and inviting thoughtful collaboration outweigh the risks of communicating prematurely.

Comprehensive workforce planning.

The desired outcome is a cohesive, robust, resilient, confident Foreign Service fit to lead America's foreign policy through the challenging decades ahead, as power becomes more diffuse (less concentrated in U.S. government hands) and the already rapid pace of change accelerates. To effectively advance America's foreign policy interests in the face of these challenges, we in the Foreign Service will need to up our collective game.

We are pulling together a comprehensive picture of our workforce and look forward to sharing that overview with you, our members—who are by definition stewards of the Foreign Service. We are simultaneously working with management to address short-term challenges in a way that delivers on the long-term goal

of a strong, resilient, confident Foreign Service.

Finally, to guide the effort, we are formulating a program of benchmarking to glean and then share best practices so that members of the Foreign Service can be informed and articulate about how to apply these best practices to the governance of our own organization, the Foreign Service.

Outreach to tell our proud story to the American people. Our goal is to increase awareness about, and favorable views of, the Foreign Service among the American people.

In strategic terms, we are looking at elements of the message that most resonate, and we are weighing whether to narrow our target audience to key states. In practical terms, we are seeking funding to support this effort, which we envision having two major components—a retiree-driven effort complemented by an outreach program featuring Foreign Service members on active duty.

Inreach to our members. In this third pillar of work, which ties back to the benchmarking effort in the first pillar, we seek to spark and sustain a structured discussion about issues affecting our profession. I want you, AFSA's members, to be fully engaged and informed, knowledgeable about best practices and prepared to advocate for good governance in the Foreign Service.

I welcome your feedback and your ideas. You can reach me at Stephenson@afsa.org. ■

Ambassador Barbara Stephenson is the president of the American Foreign Service Association.

Working with the Military

BY SHAWN DORMAN

This month, our focus is on civilian-military relations. This topic has so many critical dimensions, but we can only touch on a few of them this month. We hope this set of focus articles can serve as a starting point for a broader discussion of this important subject.

With each month's focus, we strive to contribute to or spark a conversation that will extend out to future issues of the *FSJ* and to dialogue and debate among those inside and outside the Foreign Service community.

The primary purpose of the *Journal*, according to its bylaws, is to provide "a forum for the lively debate of issues of interest to foreign affairs professionals by authors in the Foreign Service, the media, academia, etc." In a sea of military, think-tank and academic publications and ever-expanding media venues, the *FSJ* occupies a unique space, offering a Foreign Service and diplomacy lens on issues of concern.

As a clarifying point, I would add that the AFSA lens on issues is found in the president's monthly column and in the AFSA News department of the *Journal*. The rest of the *FSJ* is *your* space, where the views expressed are those of the authors. We urge you to add your voice to the discussions.

We start the focus with a primer, a kind of Civ-Mil Relations 101. Retired senior FSO Ted Strickler, who was executive director

for the Simons Center for the Study of Interagency Cooperation from 2010 to 2012 and was the first political adviser at the U.S. Strategic Command, shares lessons learned from his experience in "Working with the Military—10 Things the Foreign Service Needs to Know."

Senior USAID FSO Ambassador Jonathan Addleton shares his deeply personal story of serving alongside military colleagues in southern Afghanistan, and of losing civilian and military colleagues to that war. Then former Director General George Staples talks about his own military background and how that helped inform his Foreign Service career. He offers his take on how to best understand the U.S. military and its role in interagency decision-making.

Two features offer food for thought on practical policy matters. In "A Closer Look at Advancing World Food Security," retired FSO Michael McClellan makes a case for syncing the free trade and commodity export agendas with the development agenda to combat global food insecurity. FSO and former AFSA State VP Matthew Asada takes us to the 2015 world's fair in Milan, presenting a brief history of the fair, including the less-than-perfect attendance record for the United States in this "public diplomacy Olympics."

Our Speaking Out column this month will surely raise some eyebrows. It directly addresses the tension in Civil Service-Foreign Service relations at the State Department. In "Seeking Parity Between the Civil and Foreign Services,"

retired State Department foreign affairs officer Larry Roeder Jr. lays out his argument for treating members of the CS and FS as equals.

As the *Journal* aims to devote more attention to professional issues, the state of the Foreign Service and how diplomacy can stay relevant, we cannot ignore this elephant in the room. Send your reactions and letters to journal@afsa.org!

In President's Views, Ambassador Barbara Stephenson follows her first column, "Stepping Forward to Lead," with an overview of the new Governing Board's vision for their term in "Setting Our Course." She is prioritizing transparency and engagement with AFSA members to strengthen both AFSA and the Foreign Service.

Finally, I would like to introduce a new occasional feature in Letters, one of our most popular departments. Called "Back Story," it is a place to highlight, well, the Foreign Service back story on anything featured in the *Journal*. Our authors know their subjects well, but there is always more to any story.

On just about any topic we cover, there are those among you who were there or who have specialized knowledge of that event, story, policy, etc. The most recent example, in September Letters, is Ambassador Tom Boyatt's response to the *FSJ* Vietnam articles, giving the back story on what AFSA was doing during that time in relation to Vietnam.

Send us your back story, in 500 words or less, and we'll try to run it as a letter. ■



Shawn Dorman is the editor of The Foreign Service Journal.

Bush 41 and the Collapse of the USSR

Like many fellow Americans I was startled to hear that former President George H.W. Bush had again been rushed to a hospital following a recent fall. Reports indicate that he is recovering and that he remains robust despite his 91 years.

Nonetheless, the event reminds us how quickly time is passing. The curtain on what was arguably the 20th century's most far-reaching foreign policy moment—the collapse of the USSR—along with the incumbent U.S. president whose deft leadership steered safe passage through a potentially cataclysmic period of uncertainty, may soon close.

Other than the *Journal's* December 2011 issue dedicated to the collapse of the Soviet Union (*When the USSR Fell: The Foreign Service on the Front Lines*), there has been no focused work on the truly extraordinary role that on-the-ground diplomacy played.

As a former AFSA president, Tex Harris, describes it, our primary job is to “execute and make real presidential visions.” From 1989 until Christmas Day 1991, President Bush had a vision as he watched events unfold in the Kremlin and across the USSR. His vision was a peaceful USSR transition from “Evil Empire” to newly democratic Russia—a vision that his Foreign Service team helped make real.

It would be a shame, indeed a disservice to our institution and to the honor of President Bush, if we fail to capture this history. I respectfully issue a challenge to the new AFSA Governing Board: Please move ahead with plans to compile all the stories of service and

sacrifice, along with the interview with President Bush, found in the December 2011 *FSJ* issue into an AFSA book. (Full disclosure, my essay about the role of information management special-

ists at Embassy Moscow was submitted for the collection. The project, as I understand it, has been on the back burner since it was approved in 2012.)

AFSA would have the honor of presenting the first book to former President Bush—before the curtain closes.

Timothy C. Lawson
Senior FSO, retired
Hua Hin, Thailand



Where Was Everyone?

The State Department, on its website, describes Foreign Affairs Day this way: “Each year on the first Friday of May, the Department of State observes Foreign Affairs Day, the annual homecoming for our Foreign Service and Civil Service retirees. This day also commemorates the members of the Foreign Service who made the ultimate sacrifice and lost their lives serving the United States overseas. Both a solemn occasion and a celebration, Foreign Affairs Day recognizes employees of foreign affairs agencies and their dedication and service as they address foreign policy and development challenges around the world.”

This past May 1, large numbers of retirees returned to the department to participate in a morning program of remarks and seminars to discuss key foreign policy issues. Alongside the seminar program, AFSA hosted its

annual memorial ceremony honoring colleagues who were killed overseas in the line of duty or under heroic circumstances. Presiding with elegance and dignity, the Director General presented the Director General's Foreign Service Cup and Civil Service Cup. At the luncheon an inspiring speech in praise of the past, present and future of the Foreign Service was given by the featured speaker.

All in all it was a lovely affair, notable also for the presence of a number of our most distinguished colleagues, FSOs whose names and reputations are legendary.

Yet I have been brooding ever since. Where was our seventh floor leadership? Of the nine principal officers of the State Department—one Secretary, two Deputy Secretaries and six under secretaries—only one was present, the under secretary for management. None of the other principals attended.

Would the leadership of any other organization—in the public or private sector—hold such an affair and not show up? Can you imagine the lineup of senior officials at, say, the Department of Defense or Google or General Motors? Surely this is not what is taught at management schools and leadership programs.

Some will reply that their absence was understandable: they were

spread around the world doing the nation's business. Well, yes. But who was minding the store? Who was on the bridge? Who was at the controls? Every organization needs top-level strategic leadership and management to be present.

There is a real distinction between strategic leadership



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A History of the American Foreign Service Association

By Harry W. Kopp for the American Foreign Service Association

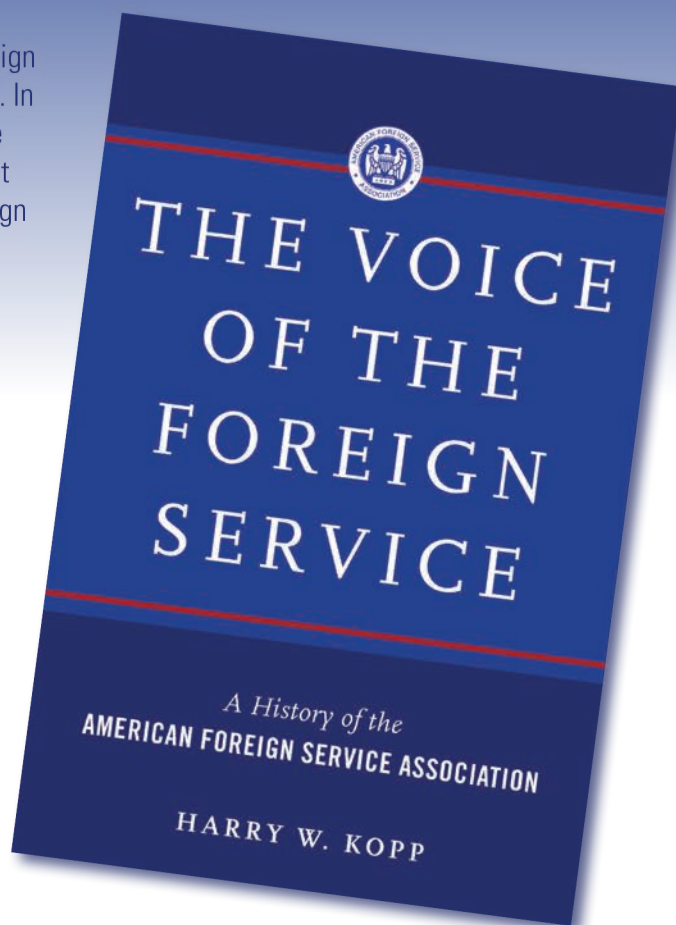
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Published by the book division of AFSA, Foreign Service Books, *The Voice of the Foreign Service* takes readers through the early history of diplomacy, from Benjamin Franklin to the Rogers Act of 1924 and the Foreign Service Acts of 1946 and 1980, following the evolution of the Foreign Service and the association through the 20th century and into the 21st.

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and tactical implementation. If all the principals are out doing the latter, who is doing the former? After all, as Shakespeare noted, "Alas! How should you govern any kingdom that know not how to use ambassadors..."

The department is fully equipped with a large number of assistant secretaries (who, it should be noted, are the equivalent in rank to the military's six geographic combatant commanders), their staffs and numerous experienced ambassadors, not to mention literally dozens of special envoys and such who surely could perform some of these duties so our leadership can be in Washington.

There is another aspect to consider. Our luncheon speaker made some insightful remarks about the political character of foreign policy. If there was ever a time when politics stopped at the water's edge, that day is long gone.

Domestic politics are an essential element of contemporary foreign policy. But if everyone is out of town, who is taking care of domestic politics? Who is representing the State Department in the corridors of power? As has often been said, the absent are always wrong—which may partially explain the decline in the Department of State's influence in the world of Washington politics.

Perhaps this year was an anomaly; perhaps the planning and scheduling for next year's Foreign Affairs Day will ensure a proper and respectful representation from our leadership.

If not, I don't see any purpose in participating.

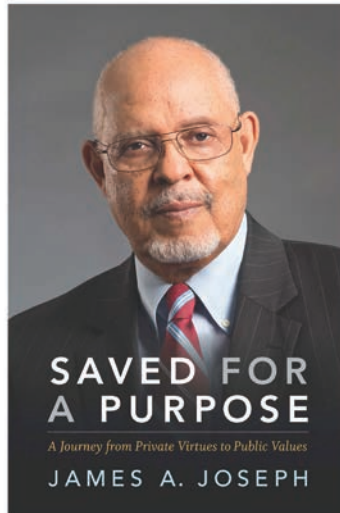
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Arctic: Geopolitics of Climate Change

In August, Russia's resubmission of a bid to the United Nations on 1.2 million square kilometers of Arctic territory triggered press speculation that the Arctic is set to become the next geopolitical flashpoint in a race for unclaimed, and newly accessible, land and resources.

As a resource repository, the Arctic is becoming more attractive than ever; climate change has thinned thick areas of ice, and improved technology has allowed boats to venture ever farther into the Arctic zone.

Russia and other Arctic nations have expanded northern military capabilities, while remaining in their own borders. Norway, Canada and Denmark have submitted similar bids, each of which will be decided by UN scientists who will examine each country's findings regarding the extent of their territorial shelves.

However, most Arctic security experts see little cause for concern over potential conflicts and are instead encouraged by several recent cooperative steps taken by the Arctic nations: Canada, Denmark, Norway, Finland, Iceland, Sweden, Russia and the United States.

In May 2015, the United States and Russia, backed by Denmark, Canada and Norway, signed a new pact on commercial fishing in Oslo. It was originally to be signed in early 2014, but tensions over Russia's actions in Ukraine prevented this.

The agreement will regulate fishing in areas near the North Pole which, until very recently, were entirely covered by ice, prohibiting activity in international waters beyond the exclusive economic zones of the five signatories.

This pact builds on past cooperative



Secretary of State John Kerry addresses the GLACIER meeting (a conference on "Global Leadership in the Arctic: Cooperation, Innovation, Engagement and Resilience") in Anchorage, Alaska, on Aug. 31. The U.S.-sponsored event brought together foreign ministers, scientists and policymakers to focus attention on climate change and other challenges emerging in the region.

frameworks, one of the most significant being the 2008 Ilulissat Declaration, in which signatories reconfirmed their belief that international law governs actions in the Arctic and committed to regional cooperation.

The International Maritime Organization, of which the United States is a member, has drawn up a mandatory Polar Code that will regulate shipping in polar areas beginning January 2017.

—Shannon Mizzi, Editorial Intern

Citizenship for Sale?

Congress is considering reform of the EB-5 "immigrant investor program," which is up for renewal this year after being transitioned from a pilot to an official program by President Barack Obama in 2012.

Some legislators argue that the program should be expanded, as a domestic job creation strategy. Others feel that the program is unfair and essentially allows wealthy foreign investors to buy their way into eventual citizenship over poorer applicants.

To obtain an EB-5 visa, a citizen of a foreign country must invest a minimum of \$1 million in a new commercial enterprise and create or preserve at least 10 American jobs within two years of admission to the United States as a conditional permanent resident. Alternatively, they may invest \$500,000 in a high-unemployment or rural area.

Administered by U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, part of the Department of Homeland Security, the program began in 1990 but was little used until recently. In 2005, only 346 visas were issued.

By 2011, that figure had jumped to 3,340; and 2014 saw 10,692 visas, the limit, issued. In 2014, 85 percent of the visas went to Chinese investors. According to the *Washington Post*, the EB-5 "brought more than \$1.5 billion and 31,000 jobs to the U.S. economy in 2013." Investments are most often made in building hotels, casinos and shopping malls.

USCIS estimates that EB-5 has brought in almost \$7 billion in investment funds since 1990. The program is well supported in the business world, and Sheldon Adelson, Bill Gates and Warren Buffett wrote a joint op-ed defending it in the *New York Times* last year.

However, critics of the program argue it has become a magnet for domestic scammers looking for foreign investors to fund less-than-legitimate ventures. Many question the validity of the economic and job-creation statistics attributed to the program.

Indeed, in 2013 the DHS Inspec-

tor General found that the government “cannot demonstrate that the program is improving the U.S. economy and creating jobs for U.S. citizens.”

Others argue that DHS is not qualified to assess business plans and the financial backgrounds of investors and those seeking funding, and point out that there is very little regulation of the regional centers handling the EB-5 cases.

—Shannon Mizzi, Editorial Intern

Reinterpreting U.S. Hostage Policy

Reactions were mixed to President Barack Obama’s June 24 announcement of a change in how the government interprets its “no concessions to terrorists” policy, which dates back to the 1970s when President Richard Nixon refused to give in to the demands of the

Contemporary Quote

“ Fear is a bad adviser. ”

—German Chancellor Angela Merkel, at the University of Bern, Sept. 3, in response to an individual who expressed fear that refugees would bring more Islamist terror to Europe.

terrorist organization Black September.

Nixon’s refusal to release Palestinians in all foreign jails resulted in the death of two senior U.S. diplomats and three other hostages in Khartoum.

It also cemented the government’s approach to dealing with terrorists and dramatically limited what private citizens could legally do in such cases.

50 Years Ago

Diplomats Need to Connect with the American Public

One of the reasons the position of the United States in the world is now being challenged is that the role of its military establishment has become unjustifiably large in comparison with the other instrumentalities of a successful foreign policy.

In its relationship with Congress, the Department of State has been handicapped by the doctrine of separation of powers which denies an active role to the legislature, thereby enabling it to sit back and criticize irresponsibly. Many Senators and Representatives still have a tendency to speak extemporaneously on certain key issues, an aspect of our national life which will probably continue to be true since it is rooted in constitutional practice. ...

A final word might be appropriate on what the U.S. diplomatic establishment can do to improve its domestic image. Most importantly, the Department of State, under the guidance of the White House, should exercise greater initiative and competence in explaining to the American people the issues of which it has the best understanding and is most capable of offering a convincing and effective presentation.

—James A. Ramsey, from his article, “The Strengths and Weaknesses of American Foreign Policy,” in the October 1965 FSJ.



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Following the Islamic State group's brazen release of the recorded beheadings of freelance journalists James Foley and Steven Sotloff last summer, Pres. Obama commissioned a comprehensive review of U.S. hostage policy. The report's findings concluded that a "no concessions" policy does not mean "no communication."

Thus, the administration determined not only that it will allow families and third parties to negotiate with and pay ransoms to terrorist groups, but it will also facilitate those discussions when appropriate.

The policy shift includes creation of a single interagency body responsible

for managing the recovery of American hostages; a new special envoy for hostage affairs at the State Department (Jim O'Brien was appointed on Aug. 28); and a family engagement coordinator to improve communication with victims' relatives.

Families of murdered hostages and those still being held generally welcomed the announcement, but others expressed concern that the change will endanger more Americans.

Pres. Obama made clear that no U.S. taxpayer dollars will go toward paying ransoms, the proceeds of which would inevitably bankroll terrorist operations. A *New York Times* report issued in July

2014 found that al-Qaida and its affiliates had brought in roughly \$125 million in kidnapping revenue since 2008, most of which was paid by European governments.

The Treasury Department has said that kidnapping ransoms have become the most significant source of terrorist financing. In 2003, kidnappers would have received an average of \$200,000 per hostage; today's rate is closer to \$10 million.

Since 9/11, more than 80 Americans have been taken hostage by terrorist organizations. According to the White House, there are currently more than 30 U.S. hostages in places ranging from

SITE OF THE MONTH: therefugeeproject.org

A source of information about the global migration patterns of those who have fled persecution, war and fear of death since 1975, the Refugee Project puts mass migrations into their political and social contexts.

The project is based on the United Nations definition of a refugee: "someone who owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality, and is unable to, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country."

An interactive map for each of the past 40 years shows the number of refugees from almost every

country in the world. The maps show both the countries refugees were leaving and the countries to which they fled. Each year several critical locations



Migrants crowd a platform at the Vienna railroad station on Sept.5.

are discussed in greater detail, with short articles explaining the causes of the migration. The result is an arresting visual history of social and political crises, such as war, persecution, political instability and famine.

Users also have access to a collection of informative external articles on countries that have experienced major refugee crises, such as Afghanistan, Bhutan, Bosnia, Cambodia, the Central African Republic, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Burma and Russia.

—Shannon Mizzi, Editorial Intern



Afghanistan and Iraq to Somalia and Nigeria, and even Mexico and the Philippines.

—*Maria C. Livingston,*
Associate Editor

Decline in Foreign Language Study Reported

Since 1958, the Modern Language Association of America has conducted regular surveys of enrollment in foreign language studies at U.S. higher education institutions. Enrollment has typically fluctuated over the years. But in the most recent survey, MLA reported the first decline in 20 years.

According to the 2015 report, “Aggregated results for enrollments in all languages show a decrease of 6.7 percent from the 2009 survey, thus ending a steady rise since 1980.” The study was based on data as of fall 2013 gathered from 2,616 institutions.

Spanish and French remain the two most-studied foreign languages, with Spanish exceeding that of all other languages combined. Yet Spanish enrollments nonetheless fell for the first time ever, declining 8 percent over the survey period, reports ICEF Monitor, a market intelligence resource for the international education industry.

Some languages did experience significant growth—Chinese, Arabic, Korean and American Sign Language all accounted for a larger percentage of total language enrollments than ever before.

Despite the 6.7 percent drop overall in enrollments, many sectors in many institutions experienced stability and, indeed, growth in enrollment. Interestingly, the largest growth was in programs of advanced undergraduate or graduate study.

Thus, while there may be fewer

students taking courses in languages other than English overall, the ones who are enrolled are often going farther, and presumably gaining greater proficiency, than ever before.

Those thriving foreign language programs need to be studied as models of effective teaching, MLA notes.

To view the full report, visit www.bit.ly/1Up8qKH.

—*Brittany DeLong, Assistant Editor*

New Film Showcases the Foreign Service

“America’s Diplomats,” a new film that explores the role of diplomacy in shaping American history, will air on PBS in early 2016.

From the nation’s first diplomat, Benjamin Franklin, through Consular Officer Fiorello LaGuardia to diplomats who have lost their lives in the service of their nation, the one-hour documentary places their compelling stories in the context of major events in American history, and shows the work and challenges of the Foreign Service today. The film is narrated by Kathleen Turner, a Foreign Service “brat.”

The Foreign Policy Association, a nonpartisan educational organization, in conjunction with AFSA members Ambassadors Bill Harrop and Ed Marks, other active-duty and retired diplomats and the Delavan Foundation have produced the film.

A premiere showing in Washington for AFSA members and others in the Foreign Service community is planned for the first week of November as a fundraiser for the Diplomacy Center Foundation. Stay tuned for further details. ■

—*Susan B. Maitra, Managing Editor*



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Seeking Parity Between the Civil and Foreign Services

BY LARRY W. ROEDER JR.

As I've done for years, I attended this year's Foreign Affairs Day celebrations at State, which featured some interesting speeches and seminars. But two events that day brought home to me, a retired civil servant, the long-standing disharmony between the Foreign and Civil Services, with the latter often portrayed as a B team backing up the former.

First, a Foreign Service officer stood up in the plenary session and complained about the increase in the number of foreign affairs officers (FAO). He even described us as a harbinger of the demise of the Foreign Service. Later in the day, the speaker who led the discussion of the new National Museum of American Diplomacy barely mentioned the Civil Service at all, as though we had no right to be honored there.

In fact, we FAOs are an asset to the Foreign Service, and the State Department as a whole, not a threat. And modern American diplomacy needs a strong Civil Service as much as a strong Foreign Service.

Today's diplomacy is nearly always developed by a team of Foreign Service and Civil Service professionals.

Deep Roots

I was born into the Foreign Service and grew to love the constant travel, meeting new cultures and fresh challenges. Mom worked in intelligence and dad was an FSO; they met in Beirut. By the time I was 8, I had been through an earthquake, a locust infestation, an invasion and a naval evacuation, during which I had to be transferred between ships by bosun's chair. I had also lived twice in Lebanon, as well as in Egypt, Cuba, Italy and Washington, D.C.

Surviving the 1956 Suez Canal War was what really got me thinking about the need for diplomacy. Though I would first serve in the U.S. Army as an intelligence expert, my real goal was to join the State Department, to protect America through discussion and logic

rather than bullets. That's not an untypical choice for Foreign Service "brats," I've found.

When dad began his Foreign Service career in Saudi Arabia in the 1940s, he got to know the Saudi ruler at the time. And, thanks to dad, I sat on Egyptian President Gamal Nasser's knee and later shared a cigarette with Golda Meir. In those days, Foreign Service officers ran everything, or at least most things; and dad was successful, becoming a consul general in Israel and Canada.

My own governmental career was very different from my father's, reflecting profound changes in the practice of U.S. diplomacy. But I, too, came to know a king very well—King Hussein of Jordan, whom I met in the Army and later traveled with in his own country. I joined the State Department in 1972 as an FAO, the kind of fellow the gentleman in the Foreign Affairs Day plenary session mistakenly sees as a threat. My work began in consular affairs, then shifted to intelligence, followed by a long stint in economic affairs and, finally, emergency management.

Fresh out of the Army, I chose the Civil Service as my entrée into diplo-



Larry W. Roeder Jr. retired from the State Department in 2005 (after 35 years of government service). He last worked as a policy adviser on disaster management in the Bureau of International Organizational Affairs, where he focused on international humanitarian law, natural disasters and conflict resolution. He also served with the Army Security Agency in East Africa, as United Nations affairs director with the World Society for the Protection of Animals and as the series editor for humanitarian affairs at Springer, a German publisher. Currently, he works at Catholic University. He has written extensively on diplomatic practice and African-American history.

macy. By the time I thought about converting to the Foreign Service, I was so senior (a GS-15) that conversion would have hurt my career. I'd be bounced back to entry level; so I never did it. (In contrast, FSOs can convert to Civil Service without sacrificing rank if they meet certain conditions. That needs to change, so that members of both services can move back and forth on an equal basis.)

The Work of an FAO Is Never Done

All the same, like many FAOs and FSOs, I led or participated in sensitive negotiations to control technology that could have been converted into weapons against the United States. I was also the first economic officer to visit Albania (before we had an embassy there), served with the Multinational Force of Observers in Egypt and worked on counter-smuggling operations with the European Commission in Brussels. And I helped negotiate the Tampere Convention on the Provision of Telecommunications, a treaty designed to save lives in disasters.

In most of those assignments, I served alongside fellow civil servants and FSOs. However, the Tampere delegation was entirely Civil Service, as were my several missions to Sudan to talk to rebels and relief workers. My career at State was truly wonderful, but so are the careers of many other FAOs, all true foreign policy professionals who take courses at the Foreign Service Institute, in academia and other venues.

Today's diplomacy is nearly always developed by a team of Foreign Service and Civil Service professionals—lawyers in the Office of the Legal Adviser who focus on treaties; scientists in the Bureau of Oceans and International Environmental and Scientific Affairs

who help combat climate change; experts in the Bureau of Population, Refugees and Migration who provide relief for refugees; officers in the Bureau of Consular Affairs who protect Americans living overseas; and analysts in the Bureau of Intelligence and Research who provide critical insights into the world's hotspots.

Many State bureaus are run by deputy assistant secretaries who are Civil Service employees; some have even been assistant secretaries or ambassadors. Add to that the non-Foreign Service folks from the U.S. Agency for International Development and other federal agencies who are on embassy country teams. Every civil servant should be proud of our brand of diplomacy, a brand which deserves full expression in the new National Museum of American Diplomacy.

Time to End Double Standards

There was only one case where I felt my career was hindered by being a member of the Civil Service rather than the Foreign Service. In 2004, the Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs accepted me for a tour of duty in Iraq. However, my supervisor felt it would be too complicated to hire a Civil Service replacement, and—despite my clear qualifications as ex-military and having done detached duty before—refused to let me go. That, too, needs to change. Such assignments should be easier to get.

We need a personnel system that gives FAOs easier access to overseas assignments. We are often just as brave and educated as members of the Foreign Service, so why can't foreign affairs officers aspire to be ambassadors?

My colleagues and I have also encountered prejudice over not being

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Moving?



It is long past time for us to treat the Civil Service and Foreign Service as equal partners.

FSOs. At more than one embassy, people assumed I was in the Foreign Service, for why else would I be there? That view is harmful to comity between the services, and it runs counter to the training we've all had that warns against profiling peers in other countries.

While some Foreign Affairs Day speakers did acknowledge the role of the Civil Service in the formulation and implementation of foreign policy, especially in embassy country teams, the State Civil Service contingent was

depicted mainly as a side note. Instead, the emphasis was on Foreign Service officers and chiefs of mission as the face of U.S. diplomacy, an image that has been stale for a couple of decades.

Please understand that I am not being critical of the Foreign Service, which continues to be vital to U.S. diplomacy. However, it is long past time for us to treat the Civil Service and Foreign Service as equal partners. Not only does that approach reflect reality, but it will freshen our policy development and the

management of programs.

With that in mind, here are some specific institutional changes State should consider:

- Allow FAOs the opportunity to convert directly to the Foreign Service at equal rank.
- Give FAOs greater access to foreign postings, especially hardship posts, and consider them for ambassadorships.
- Develop an agenda for the 2016 Foreign Affairs Day that constructively explores how the two services can more effectively evolve together.
- Treat Foreign Service and Civil Service professionals as equal partners, and include the latter in the National Museum of American Diplomacy.

It's only fair. ■

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WORKING WITH THE U.S. MILITARY

10 Things the Foreign Service Needs to Know

Here are some pointers for members of the Foreign Service working with the military today, from a retired senior FSO and the first political adviser to the U.S. Strategic Command.

BY TED STRICKLER

American diplomats have a long history of working alongside the U.S. military. In many cases, U.S. forces have literally come to the rescue of besieged American diplomats and their families. A cohort of FSOs spent their first assignment in Vietnam, many working directly with the military in the Civil Operations and Revolutionary Development Support program known as CORDS. More recently, the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan gave almost the entire FS cadre a closer look at the military when many members of the Foreign Service worked with provincial reconstruction teams or other military units. Currently the military's Combined Joint Task Force–Horn of Africa offers ample evidence of embassies and the military working well together.



Ted Strickler, a retired senior FSO, is a graduate of the National War College and the Department of Defense's Capstone program. He was the first political adviser at the U.S. Strategic Command and is currently an interagency subject matter expert for Army experimentation at the

U.S. Army's Mission Command Battle Lab at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas.

The views and opinions expressed in this article are entirely the author's own and do not represent official U.S. military policy.

The Foreign Service takes pride in its foreign cultural expertise and language proficiency. Similar preparation is needed when working with the U.S. military. To be effective in those situations, FS members require a good understanding of military procedures, organization and culture along with a minimum 2+ fluency in the military's jargon and acronym-laced lexicon. The following 10 points skim the surface of what the Foreign Service needs to know when working with the U.S. military today.

1 THE BASICS Since the National Security Act of 1947 was amended in 1949, U.S. military forces have been organized under the Secretary of Defense in three military departments: the Department of the Army, Department of the Air Force and Department of the Navy (which includes the U.S. Marine Corps). The Coast Guard is the responsibility of the Department of Homeland Security. The secretary of each military department and the chief of staff of each Service (known as the commandant in the Marines and chief of naval operations in the Navy) are responsible for recruiting, training and equipping the force and dealing with attendant budget issues. The secretaries of the military departments then provide forces to combatant commanders as directed by the Secretary of Defense but have no command authority or operational control over how the combatant commanders use or deploy those forces.

There are nine combatant commands (COCOMs), as defined

The military is accustomed to and proficient at doing things on a grand scale, but this can only be accomplished with detailed advanced planning.

and established by the Unified Command Plan issued by the Secretary of Defense. They fall into two categories—geographic and functional. The six geographic COCOMs are: U.S. Northern Command, U.S. Southern Command, U.S. Africa Command, U.S. Pacific Command, U.S. Central Command and U.S. European Command. The three functional combatant commands are: U.S. Transportation Command, U.S. Strategic Command and U.S. Special Operations Command. These commands are responsible for operational control of military personnel and units in combat as well as during peacetime activities, such as theater security cooperation programs. The U.S. Special Operations Command is a hybrid organization, which has responsibility and authority for the “organize, train and equip” function, as well as command authority for operationally engaged troops.

2 SIZE MATTERS The U.S. military is big, if not enormous. The Army, Navy, Air Force and Marine Corps currently have a combined total strength of about 1.3 million uniformed personnel, plus well over 600,000 civilian employees. Including National Guard and Reserve forces adds about another 825,000 uniformed personnel to the total. The State Department’s roster of approximately 14,000 career Foreign Service members and nearly 11,000 Civil Service members pales in comparison.

U.S. Military Active-Duty Strength (May 31, 2015)

Army	490,326
Navy	326,253
Marine Corps	183,510
Air Force	310,917
Coast Guard	40,075
Total	1,351,236

Source: Defense Manpower Data Center

This immense disparity in size has several consequences for the Foreign Service. Given the nature of its missions, the military is accustomed to and proficient at doing things on a grand scale, but this can only be accomplished with detailed advanced planning. This planning imperative at times will appear to diplomats to be overdone, especially since “winging it” is an honored Foreign Service tradition.

Another consequence of size is the need for extensive coordination within and among military organizations. This is accomplished at the COCOMs, for example, with an extensive framework of coordinating boards, bureaus, cells and working groups. Supporting such extensive coordination may easily overwhelm embassy staffing, and a more selective apportionment of embassy resources may not satisfy the military’s coordination appetite.

Size alone gives the military a voice in nearly every foreign policy issue. It is organized on a global basis with geographic combatant commanders focused on their individual area of responsibility (AOR). The Navy and the Air Force provide a global and regional conventional reach and are the custodians of the nation’s nuclear forces. The military’s Global Response Force, drawn primarily from the Army’s 82nd Airborne Division, stands ready to respond to immediate crisis situations. And the nation’s military cyber defensive and offensive capabilities are handled by the U.S. Cyber Command under the U.S. Strategic Command.

The challenge for the Foreign Service is to provide the leadership to incorporate this dynamic capability into a coherent, coordinated foreign policy. To use military terminology, State’s diplomatic efforts need to be “supported” by the military, which is preconditioned by its culture and training to understand this type of supported/supporting relationship. The FS needs to expand this essential cooperation, hopefully drawing on the 25 percent of its members who have prior military experience to help grow and nurture the relationship.

3 DOCTRINE COUNTS To anyone who has never served in the military, especially the Army, the concept and role of doctrine will be entirely alien. For an Army soldier, however, doctrine is a combination of the Bible and the *Boy Scout Handbook*. It codifies current Army concepts, provides a set of fundamental principles, establishes policies and procedures, details tactics and techniques, attempts to inspire, and mandates a common lexicon of warfighting terms and concepts. To understand the military and its methods and jargon, FS personnel will need at least a passing acquaintance with doctrine. But be prepared for an extensive amount of reading. Army doc-

The military contends with an extensive amount of legal and regulatory strictures: international law, domestic legislation, military regulations and operational rules.

trine alone consists of 16 Army Doctrine Publications (ADPs), 16 Army Doctrine Reference Publications (ADRP), more than 100 Army Techniques Publications (ATPs) and more than 200 Field Manuals (FMs). By comparison, the Foreign Affairs Manual and the Foreign Affairs Handbook are an easy read.

4 THE MILITARY AS A PROFESSION Much has been written about apparent differences between FSOs and their military counterparts. The Venus/Mars distinction was described 25 years ago. Many now believe that depiction is outdated, but differences do still exist. The military, for example, tends to see things in black and white, while the Foreign Service is more sensitive to shades of grey. Military characterizations frequently are in absolute terms; FS personnel are more comfortable with nuance and subtlety. One inescapable difference remains: the military is a true profession, while the Foreign Service could be described as a pseudo profession, with elitism passing for professionalism. (Ambassador Charles Ray's article on what constitutes a profession and the need for a professional Foreign Service in the July-August issue of the *FSJ* brings this issue front and center and hopefully galvanizes needed action.)

An important element of a military professional common to all the services is the mastery and credentialing of essential military skills and abilities. In addition, military members are subject to continual professional development and education throughout their careers, attending military schools such as the Command and General Staff College as majors and the Army, Naval, Air Force, Marine Corps and National War Colleges as colonels. Correspondence and Internet-based courses also abound. It is, therefore, not surprising that most military officers have an advanced degree. Many have two or more.

5 LEGAL RESTRAINTS The military contends with an extensive amount of legal and regulatory strictures: international law, domestic legislation, military regulations and operational rules. These are enforced with a separate judicial system known as the Uniform Code of Military Justice. Consequently, all commanders, unlike ambassadors, have lawyers on their staff to help navigate this massive legalese and to help administer the UCMJ.

Unfortunately, the Army is at times captured by the legal process itself. What has evolved is a belief by many in the Army that almost every proposed action or activity requires explicit legal authorization or approval from someone higher in the chain of command. This cautious approach contrasts with the view of rules and regulations held both by the Navy and the Foreign Service. For those two organizations the view is reversed, with activities or actions usually considered favorably for implementation unless explicitly prohibited in writing. This caution may explain an initial circumspect reaction by a commander to the ambassador's request or suggestion due to the need to first check with the lawyers.

6 TENSION IN THE RANKS Congress created the U.S. Special Operations Command in 1987 and deliberately gave it distinct, Service-like responsibilities, making it unique among the nine COCOMs. Unlike the others, it is the responsibility of the USSOCOM commander to organize, train and equip special operations forces (SOF) for current and future requirements in addition to commanding their day-to-day operational missions. The USSOCOM congressional charter overrides the historical division of responsibility between commanders and the secretaries of the military departments (Army, Navy and Air Force), giving USSOCOM greater bureaucratic independence and operational freedom. Some now see the U.S. military as consisting of the five traditional service branches, plus the hybrid USSOCOM operating as a de facto sixth branch.

This bureaucratic independence in Washington is mirrored with command independence in combat as well as peacetime missions. Traditionally, in an area of operations (AO) there would be an Army or Marine Corps commander in charge of all land forces reporting to the geographic COCOM. With the advent of USSOCOM, there are now two separate land commanders sharing responsibility for land operations. With SOF under a separate command, a conventional commander's view of the AO may have significant blank spots, making it more difficult to integrate capabilities and avoid fratricide. Having two separate commanders in the same AO increases significantly

From the military's perspective, State's biggest shortfall is a failure to provide military planners and commanders with achievable political objectives.

the coordination required. Complicating this coordination is the "black ops" or compartmentalized nature of many SOF missions, which precludes sharing all operational details with other commanders. The Army and SOF do work to overcome this tension, but each case provides unique coordination challenges which may gain the attention of the ambassador.

7 THE ARMY'S IDENTITY CRISIS The Army is the oldest service, established by the Continental Congress on June 14, 1775. For the next two centuries its purpose and mission were clearly understood by the public, congressional committees and its soldiers. The Army had a role, and usually a critical one, as the "force of decision" in every major conflict during that period. Times and the potential threats facing the United States have changed, and the Army is now concerned that its central role in the defense of the nation is being challenged, giving the other military branches—especially the Marine Corps and USSOCOM—an advantage in public support and congressional funding. The Army's response has been to become a more agile and expeditionary force in an effort to meet today's range of threats.

But that comes at a price. Does it cut back on the number of tanks and other heavy equipment to gain deployment speed at the expense of firepower and maneuverability? It is not an easy question, and the Army continues to explore it. Pending cuts in the number of Army soldiers and uncertain congressional support make shaping the force of the future even more difficult.

8 WHAT THE AIRFORCE AND NAVY WANT FROM STATE The Air Force and Navy have similar needs. Each is concerned with access and use of host nation facilities, ports and air fields for military and humanitarian missions. The Navy also seeks to maintain freedom of navigation in disputed or contested areas such as the Black Sea and the South

China Sea. State Department and embassy involvement in negotiating access and related agreements is critical in meeting these Air Force and Navy operational requirements.

9 WHAT THE ARMY WANTS FROM STATE The Army wants two things from State. First, it wants greater State involvement in planning for and handling civil affairs responsibilities during and after combat operations. War games—or "experiments," in Army jargon—have identified a need for increased numbers of civil affairs units capable of dealing with the myriad issues once combat forces have moved on. However, many in the Army would like the civil affairs responsibility turned over largely to State and USAID altogether. The Army wants the two organizations to be responsible for reestablishing the full range of local government institutions and the conditions needed to promote private enterprise. To help meet its advance planning requirements, the Army wants Foreign Service help in developing more explicit and measurable policies and practices to guide civil affairs efforts.

Second, it wants our embassies to support its program of regionally aligned forces (RAF). The RAF units operate in what the military calls the Shaping Phase or Phase 0 of its planning continuum. For the Foreign Service, this is a period of normal, routine, non-crisis conditions. The RAF concept calls for units to be forward-deployed, stationed and operating in a COCOM's area of responsibility with the full knowledge and consent of the respective ambassador. These units conduct operational missions, bilateral and multilateral exercises and theater security cooperation activities. The expectation is that the RAF program will provide military units and personnel with a better understanding of local cultures and languages, thus enabling stronger relationships with host nation militaries. Finally, the Army expects the RAF to foster a better, closer integration between the Army and State's ambassadors and country teams abroad.

10 THE EXPECTATIONS GAP The military wants State to live up to its perceived responsibilities and provide needed policy guidance to help shape the range of military operations. From the military's perspective, State's biggest shortfall is a failure to provide military planners and commanders with achievable political objectives. Without those clearly defined political objectives, the military will focus on strictly military objectives and establish a military definition of victory. In addition, it expects State to stay closely engaged during hostilities to provide guidance on how to adjust to and exploit the developing political situation, knowing that merely killing bad

A TRIBUTE TO AMBASSADOR CUNNINGHAM AND U.S. DIPLOMATS FROM COMMANDANT OF THE MARINE CORPS JOSEPH F. DUNFORD JR.

Excerpted from remarks delivered on May 29 at an Evening Parade at Marine Barracks in Washington, D.C., in honor of Ambassador James B. Cunningham, former U.S. ambassador to Afghanistan. Gen. Dunford served as commander of the International Security Assistance Force and the U.S. Forces–Afghanistan from 2013 to 2014.

Tonight, the Marine Corps is honoring Jim Cunningham for his extraordinary service as a diplomat. But we're also recognizing the special relationship between the Marine Corps and the State Department.

In 1778, a Marine detachment accompanied our diplomatic mission to the French royal court. Today, Marines proudly serve at 173 of our embassies and consulates. Since 9/11, Marines have served side by side with the brave men and women of our diplomatic corps in places like Baghdad, Ramadi, Fallujah, Lashkar Gah, Sangin and Kabul. Most recently, Marines assisted our mission in Yemen with an orderly departure.

The American people have at least some understanding of the sacrifice of military service. But few appreciate the extraordinary contribution and sacrifice made by our diplomatic corps.

When those of us in uniform come home, we'll frequently have people thank us for our service. There might even be a band or a parade. Most often, our diplomats simply move from one difficult posting to another without fanfare.

I want all of you who serve or have served in the State Department to know that your Marines recognize and appreciate your extraordinary contribution in advancing America's interests, and the sacrifices you have made to do that. You all have the absolute admiration, appreciation and affection of your Marines.

Ambassador Jim Cunningham recently retired after over 40 years of service. In Marine terms, he has served in every clime and place—from Hong Kong, the United States Mission to the United Nations in New York, Brussels and Rome to Israel and, most recently, Kabul.

I had the honor of serving with Jim Cunningham during his last posting. I watched him deal with a wide range of challenges—from the difficult relationship with President [Hamid] Karzai; the loss of a bright, young diplomat, Anne



U.S. Marines with the Silent Drill Platoon perform during the May 29 Evening Parade at Marine Barracks in Washington, D.C.

Smedinghoff; an attack on our consulate in Herat and negotiation of the Bilateral Security Agreement to the elections of 2014.

He tirelessly and at great personal risk traveled all over Afghanistan to advance our interests and help the Afghan people rebuild their country. I can say with confidence that no single American did more to secure a bilateral agreement with Afghanistan or to support the transition to post-Karzai government than Jim Cunningham.

Those of us fortunate to have a front-row seat learned to appreciate Amb. Cunningham's keen intellect, strong leadership and unwavering commitment to the mission and to our people. His endurance and resilience over three years in Kabul was truly extraordinary.

We also learned to appreciate his compassion. Amb. Cunningham stood with us many times in the middle of a cold night with a tear in his eye as we conducted a dignified transfer of a Marine, soldier, sailor or airman.

Amb. Cunningham, tonight I want you to know that your Marines are very proud to have served with you. ■

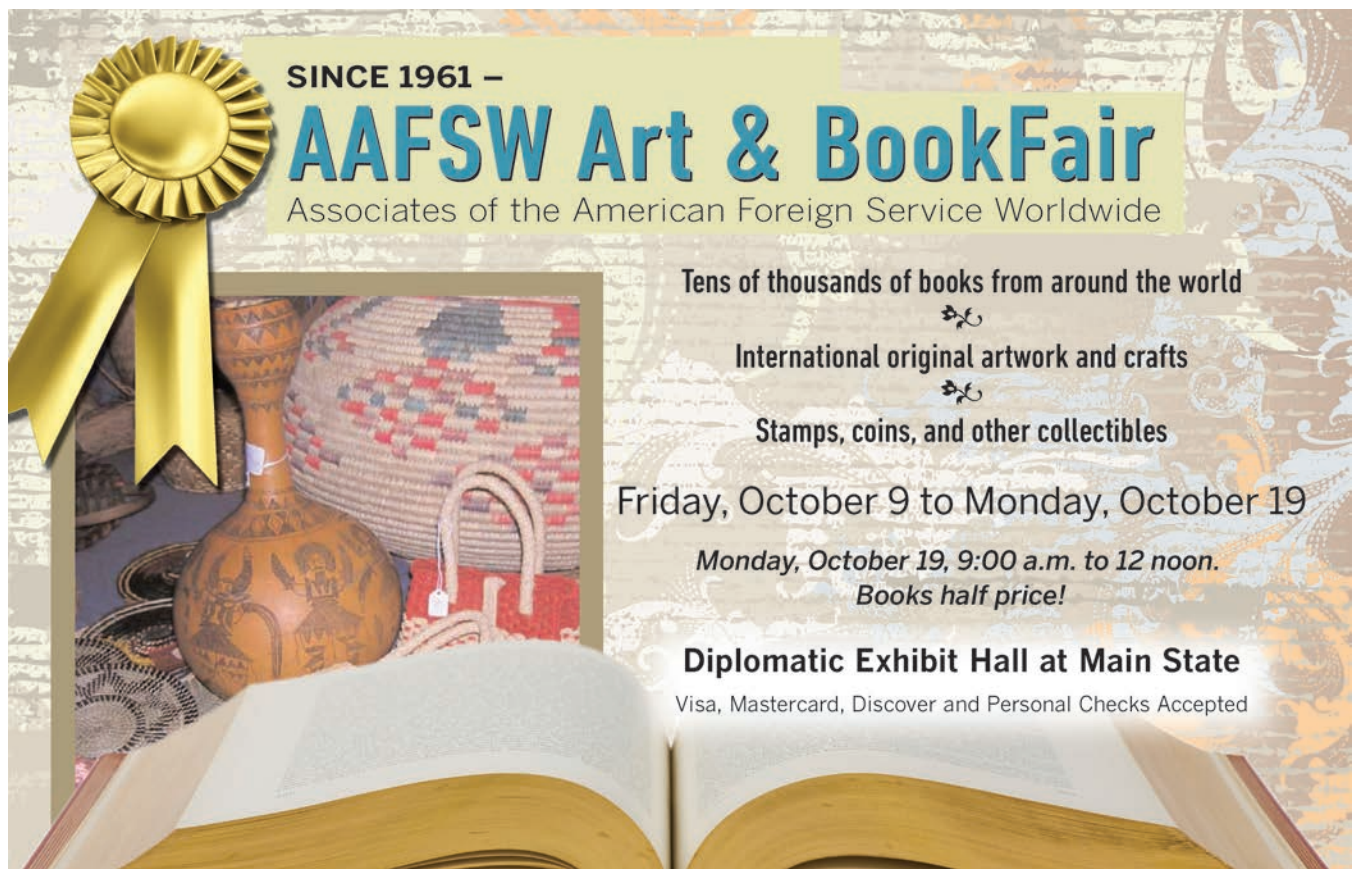
guys will be insufficient to achieve a sustainable, stable outcome. As combat operations wind down, the military expects State to provide the leadership to enable a legitimate and functioning civil authority to help obviate the need for a continuing U.S. armed presence. The military—and the Army, in particular—see State as being able to fill in many of these gaps and blanks. Doing this with increased State involvement in planning for and executing military operations would be welcomed warmly by our colleagues in uniform.

Conclusion

It is evident that diplomacy and the conduct of America's foreign policy are no longer the sole domain of the Department of State and its diplomats in the Foreign Service. But if diplomacy has multiple players, then it is essential to know the other team members well and to become more proficient at team play. One way to accomplish this with the military is to take full advantage of its extensive educational and training opportunities, and to further support its planning efforts. As noted above,

the disparity in size makes this difficult for the Foreign Service. But with a realignment of FS priorities, giving greater emphasis to continuing professional education, the military stands ready to welcome increased numbers from the Foreign Service to its existing programs.

Further, it can be argued that a military assignment of either an educational or operational nature should be a requirement for deputy chief of mission and ambassadorial assignments. With the military's Geographic Combatant Commanders having overlapping area responsibilities with State Department regional bureaus and embassies abroad, with SOF and RAF presence becoming more ubiquitous, and with the Navy and Air Force maintaining global reach, the military's nearly universal presence and impact are inescapable. Dealing with this reality and incorporating it into our overall diplomatic effort may well define America's foreign policy for the future. A better appreciation by the Foreign Service of the U.S. military based on more integrated working relationships, shared planning and common educational experiences will help move this effort forward. ■

A promotional poster for the AAFSW Art & BookFair. The background is a collage of various items including a large orange ceramic vase, a woven basket, a fan, and an open book at the bottom. A large gold ribbon bow is on the left. The text is arranged in a central column with decorative flourishes between some items.

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Members of the U.S. Army, 3rd Zone, Afghan Border Police Security Forces Advisement Team, shield themselves from the dust and rocks blown by a UH-60 Black Hawk taking off behind them at an unknown location in southern Afghanistan in 2011.



WIKIMEDIA COMMONS/USAF MASTER SGT. JEFFREY ALLEN

THE DUST of Kandahar

A Senior FSO recounts his experience working alongside the U.S. military in southern Afghanistan.

BY JONATHAN S. ADDLETON

In the fall of 2012, at the age of 55, I experienced for the first time the reality of war. This experience did not involve wearing a uniform or carrying a gun. But for 12 months I worked alongside those who did.

Sometimes I traveled “outside the wire,” walking through potential kill zones in some of the most violent parts of Afghanistan. On one cruel day in early April 2013 I survived a suicide bomber’s attack in Zabul that killed a fellow diplomat, my Afghan-American translator and three American soldiers.

We often rode in Black Hawk helicopters. The female waist gunner on one flight from Kandahar to Spin Boldak was young

and small, almost as young and small as my daughter who had just started her final year of high school.

Sometimes we traveled by convoy, protected by the heavy metal of a dust-colored Mine Resistant Ambush Proof vehicle. Each time I boarded an MRAP, the thought briefly crossed my mind that this vehicle might well become my tomb.

On other occasions we walked to our appointments, donning helmets and protective armor to meet Afghan officials, visit schools and inspect irrigation works. American soldiers from the Third Infantry Division out of Fort Stewart, Georgia, provided security.

It was the youth of those around us that was so striking. One lieutenant who directed my security on several trips to Kandahar

It was the youth of those around us that was so striking. I was tempted to ask one young private: "Do you have a note from your parents giving you permission to participate in this war?"

had only recently graduated from West Point. One private seemed so young that I was tempted to ask him: "Do you have a note from your parents giving you permission to participate in this war?"



As the senior civilian representative for the U.S. embassy in southern Afghanistan from August 2012 until August 2013, I covered four provinces with a collective population of more than three million people, scattered over an area the size of Kentucky or South Korea that was mostly desert.

The work of embassy staff attached to Regional Command-South focused on Kandahar and included Maiwand, Zaray and the Horn of Panjwai, an area that straddles grape orchards and pomegranate fields, as well as the main highway west to Herat. Dozens of American and Canadian soldiers, as well as hundreds of Taliban members, lost their lives there.

Spin Boldak to the southeast bordered Pakistan. A central



Jonathan S. Addleton, a career Foreign Service officer with the U.S. Agency for International Development since 1984, is the USAID mission director to India. Previously, he served on detail to State as senior civilian representative to Southern Afghanistan based in Kandahar (2012-2013)

and U.S. ambassador to Mongolia (2009-2012). He has written several books including Undermining the Center (Oxford University Press, 1992), Some Far and Distant Place (University of Georgia Press, 1997) and Mongolia and the United States: A Diplomatic History (Hong Kong University Press, 2013). Last year he received AFSA's Christian A. Herter Award for constructive dissent and intellectual courage by a Senior Foreign Service officer.

point in the heroin smuggling network, it was a vibrant and violent town on the main trade route through Quetta to Karachi on the Arabian Sea. Most of the long border between Afghanistan and Pakistan was open and easily crossed, punctuated at almost every point by small valleys, narrow ravines and high mountains. It was through these mountains that the insurgency organized multiple "rat lines," bringing in explosives, young recruits and supplies from Pakistan.

As civilians, we found ourselves working in several very different, but overlapping, worlds. The first centered on the official American presence in Kandahar and the region surrounding it, known in Pushto as "Loya Kandahar." More than 130 of us represented Embassy Kabul in that part of Afghanistan, living and working in 14 different locations as a combination of Provincial Reconstruction Teams and District Support Teams. During the course of that single year our number dwindled to less than 40, all assigned to one location at Kandahar Air Field. Today there are no embassy officers serving in southern Afghanistan at all.

Like the soldiers who surrounded us, we ate in crowded mess halls, worked behind barbed wire fences and lived in small hooches, some of which were built into what had once been metal shipping containers. Our members included political officers, agricultural experts, lawyers and aid workers.

A few were fellow career members of the Foreign Service, but most were temporary hires recruited to carry out a specific task for a limited period of time. Many had recently served in Iraq or parts of Africa. One was a former judge, another had worked as a congressional staffer, and a third grew up as the son of Mennonite missionaries to Zambia.

Another world involved liaising with the international military forces then serving in southern Afghanistan. The soldiers were led by Major General Robert "Abe" Abrams, who headed Regional Command South from his headquarters at Kandahar Air Field. He was assisted by three generals, all "one-stars": Chris Hughes, Pat White and Mark Brewer, an Australian. They, in turn, led several battlefield commanders known as "battle space owners," all of them colonels.

Their mandate was to assist and train the Afghan National Army as it increasingly assumed control of the region. The Afghans were commanded by General Abdul Hamid, a soft-spoken but highly professional career soldier. Trained in the Soviet Union, he had fought in Moscow's own long war in Afghanistan and had been a prisoner of the Taliban. The senior American officers respected Gen. Hamid and his soldiers, confident that they could withstand the onslaught of the Taliban when international forces finally departed.



Working with the military brought the realities of war very close to home. During the year I was in Afghanistan, I attended dozens of Purple Heart pinning ceremonies at the Kandahar trauma center, ramp ceremonies at Kandahar Air Field and memorial services on bases scattered across southern Afghanistan.

One Purple Heart ceremony involved a soldier who lost three limbs; another, a recent West Point graduate originally from South Korea, who had two legs blown away. When paying tribute to wounded soldiers, Gen. Abrams typically described the Kandahar health unit as “the best trauma center in the world.” He also praised the stricken soldiers for their sense of duty and self-sacrifice, adding that their only task now was to recover, heal and be made whole.

The ramp ceremonies were always held alongside military aircraft at Kandahar Air Field. Sometimes they took place under a hot and almost unbearable sun, but most often they happened late at night or very early in the morning, when the sky seemed to stretch like a dark quilt above us, broken only by the tiny sparkling pinpricks of a thousand stars. The setting made all of us seem very small and insignificant, as if nothing that we did mattered.

Sometimes the outline of a full moon cast a brighter light on the scene below, as hundreds of soldiers from many nations gathered in quiet solemnity to pay final respects. Each time, the flag-covered metal iceboxes containing last remains were carried on a caisson pulled by an MRAP, then shouldered by fellow soldiers to a waiting transport plane for the long journey home. The air crew always stood at attention outside their airplane, arms lifted in a somber salute. Almost every service included a reading from Scripture, a brief summary of the soldier’s life and the sorrowful sounds of a taped version of the bagpipes playing “Amazing Grace.”

The casualties came from every part of the United States, their names pointing to parents and grandparents from all over the world: Asia, Africa, Latin America, Europe. One detachment of soldiers in Zabul served in the Alaska National Guard, some having grown up in small communities north of the Arctic Circle. The names stitched on their uniforms included “White Feather” and “Boy Scout.” Other soldiers were more recent immigrants from places like Uzbekistan and Nepal.

One ramp ceremony was for a teenager from New York whose parents were not happy when he joined the armed forces, and even less thrilled when he became a Navy SEAL.

After the last roll call and a rendition of “Day Is Done” (taps) on a bugle that seemed to quaver with every note, we walked in silence to the front of the tent.

Another was in honor of a young soldier blown up the day before by an improvised explosive device. The soldiers lifting his flag-draped metal box were trailed by a black dog. Following respectfully a short distance behind his late master, the dog walked gamely with his new handler, head cocked to one side as if waiting for the sharp crack of another explosion.

The more formal memorial services held on distant bases were very moving. The chaplain would offer a few words of comfort, on occasion making the case for mercy and forgiveness. The late soldier’s commander, usually a lieutenant or a sergeant, then shared brief reflections followed by recollections from fellow soldiers—some humorous, most serious, all heartbreaking.

After the last roll call and a rendition of “Day Is Done” (taps) on a bugle that seemed to quaver with every note, we walked in silence to the front of the tent. There we paused at the upturned rifle, helmet and boots arranged as a temporary shrine, lingering briefly to touch the small metal dog tag worn only days before in battle. The boots were always brown, caked with the ubiquitous dust of Kandahar.



On a less somber note, we had opportunities to connect, often in surprising ways, with the people and places of Afghanistan. Some clearly sympathized with the Taliban and looked forward to their return. Others dreaded it, either out of genuine fear for their lives or because it meant the flow of foreign funds would stop, or both.

Afghans were always happy to talk: anytime, anywhere and with anybody. Once, an imam who was sympathetic to the Taliban embraced me as I departed, saying, “I have no voice and no one listens to me.” This is the message that he wanted the world to hear: Without justice, there will never be peace in



STAFF SGT. ASHLEY BELL, MISSISSIPPI NATIONAL GUARD/COURTESY OF JONATHAN ADDLETON

Jonathan Addleton at Kandahar Air Field. The USAID FSO served on detail to the State Department as the senior civilian representative for the U.S. embassy in southern Afghanistan from August 2012 until August 2013.

Afghanistan. For him, justice meant the end of corruption as well as the establishment of Sharia law across the country.

On another occasion I met with the head of the religious affairs department in Kandahar. He had served as the Taliban shadow governor in Kunduz before joining the government and had just returned from fulfilling the hajj, the obligatory pilgrimage to Mecca.

"Did you meet any of your old comrades from the Taliban in Mecca?" I asked.

"Oh, yes, I saw several of them."

"What did they say to you?"

"They asked why I had crossed over to the infidels."

"And what did you say to them?"

"I asked them why they had joined up with the Pakistanis."

My major contacts included Shah Wali Karzai, titular head of the Popolzai tribe and half brother to Afghanistan's then-president, Hamid Karzai. He lived in a new housing development on the edge of Kandahar. The roast lamb and pomegranate juice that he served in his large, yet not especially ostentatious home was delicious.

I met often with three of the four governors in the region: Tooryalai Wesa (Kandahar), Sher Mohammed Akhundzada (Uruzgan) and Mohammed Ashraf Naseri (Zabul); we rarely met with leaders from the more remote fourth province (Dai-kundi), a largely mountainous and mostly peaceful area inhabited by Hazaras who traced their ancestry back to the soldiers of Genghis Khan.

We also met from time to time with Haji Dastageeri, a soft-spoken yet charismatic tribal leader with a black beard, black turban and hairy feet, who had somehow managed to maintain cordial relations with the Taliban, al-Qaida and the Americans. He was one of the richest men in southern Afghanistan, owning a construction company in a place where the demand for building and rebuilding was insatiable.

Our other contacts included judges, lawyers, mullahs, merchants, human rights activists, security officials and the warden of Sarposa Prison. On one occasion we drank tea with the "Keeper of the Cloak," who looked after a famous garment locked inside three progressively smaller metal trunks in a shrine near the governor's palace in Kandahar. The threadbare cloak had reportedly once

Once, an imam who was sympathetic to the Taliban embraced me as I departed, saying, "I have no voice and no one listens to me."


been worn by the Prophet Muhammad—and waved before a crowd of thousands by Taliban leader Mullah Mohammed Omar during his rise to power in the 1990s.

Our efforts at outreach followed in the footsteps of those who preceded us. But now, more than a decade after we had helped Afghans overthrow the Taliban, our task had evolved to paving the way for our own pending departure while dispelling any sense of "abandonment." We told our local contacts that it was now time for them to write their own narrative and achieve their nation's destiny. America and its allies would continue to lend a helping hand where possible, but it was now up to Afghans to fight for themselves.

As our own casualties declined, the butcher's bill for the Afghan security forces increased. By early 2013, four out of every five soldiers killed on the battlefield were Afghan, not American, Australian or Romanian.




Civilian casualties also reflected this grim trend that continued long after I departed. Parvez Najib, Governor Wesa's chief of staff, was killed in March 2014, barely six months after I left Kandahar—blown up by a suicide bomber at the Shah Wali shrine in Khakrez district, west of Kandahar. Eight months after that the deputy governor, an acclaimed 32-year-old poet named Qadim Patyal, was murdered in a Kandahar classroom, leaving small children behind. I had often met with him. His final Facebook post was a couplet against hate.

I still don't know how I escaped a violent death during the Taliban attack in Zabul on April 6, 2013, surrounded as I was by death and violence at every turn. Five of us flew up early that morning to meet our civilian colleagues on the Zabul Provincial Reconstruction Team, discuss education issues with Governor Naseri and visit a local school. Two members of our group were from Kabul, three from Kandahar. I was the oldest. Anne Smedinghoff was only 25, young for an FSO who was




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Not a day goes by when I don't relive what happened on that cloudless morning, recalling every moment as it unfolded, reliving endlessly what might have been.

already well into her second overseas assignment.

We talked briefly on the tarmac as we waited for our helicopter against the early morning sun, the sky a perfect blue. This was Anne's first trip to Kandahar, and we were meeting for the first time. She mentioned that during a recent vacation, she had cycled across Jordan. I also chatted with my translator, Nasemi, who was supporting a large extended family stretching from New York to New Zealand. His own parents had only recently migrated to New Jersey.

Within hours both Anne and Nasemi were dead. Two other civilian State Department employees—Abbasi, an Afghan-American working in the embassy public affairs section in Kabul, and Kelly Hunt, who headed our public affairs section in Kandahar—were injured, Kelly critically.

Three soldiers walking beside us were also killed that day: Staff Sergeant Christopher Ward, a Floridian who led the protective detail; Sergeant Delfin Santos, the youngest of 17 children, born in the Philippines and raised in California; and Corporal Wilbel Robles-Santa, who grew up in Puerto Rico and left a wife and two young children behind. All three were born in 1988.

I fell to the ground and rolled into a shallow ditch when I heard the first of two explosions. The engine block landed not far from where I had been standing. As I prepared to die, I wondered what my family would be told. Later, I held Anne's hand and then Kelly's hand, first as they were taken on stretchers to the nearest first aid station, and then as they were taken to a helicopter for the short flight to Forward Operating Base Apache for further treatment.

I returned to Kandahar alone in the early afternoon, picked up by the same helicopter that had dropped the five of us off earlier in the day. "Is that it?" the crew chief asked, looking first at me and then at his flight manifest with its longer list of names. "Are you the only one?"

Not a day goes by when I don't relive what happened on that cloudless morning, recalling every moment as it unfolded, reliving endlessly what might have been. I wish a dust storm had blown up out of nowhere, causing all flights to be canceled. I wish the outcome had been different. I wish I had been killed instead. But I somehow did survive, alone among the living.

The next day I attended the ramp ceremony for my colleagues, accompanying their remains on the long journey home. We started with five flag-draped aluminum boxes in Kandahar and added four more in Bagram, bringing the American death toll for that day to nine. The song played at the Bagram ceremony was "Abide with Me" rather than "Amazing Grace." There was yet another ramp ceremony when we landed in Frankfurt, a chaplain entering into the belly of the military aircraft and offering a prayer.

Prior to our arrival at Dover, the control tower responded to our request for landing by announcing to all the airplanes swirling above Chesapeake Bay that dark morning: "Cleared for landing: American heroes coming home."

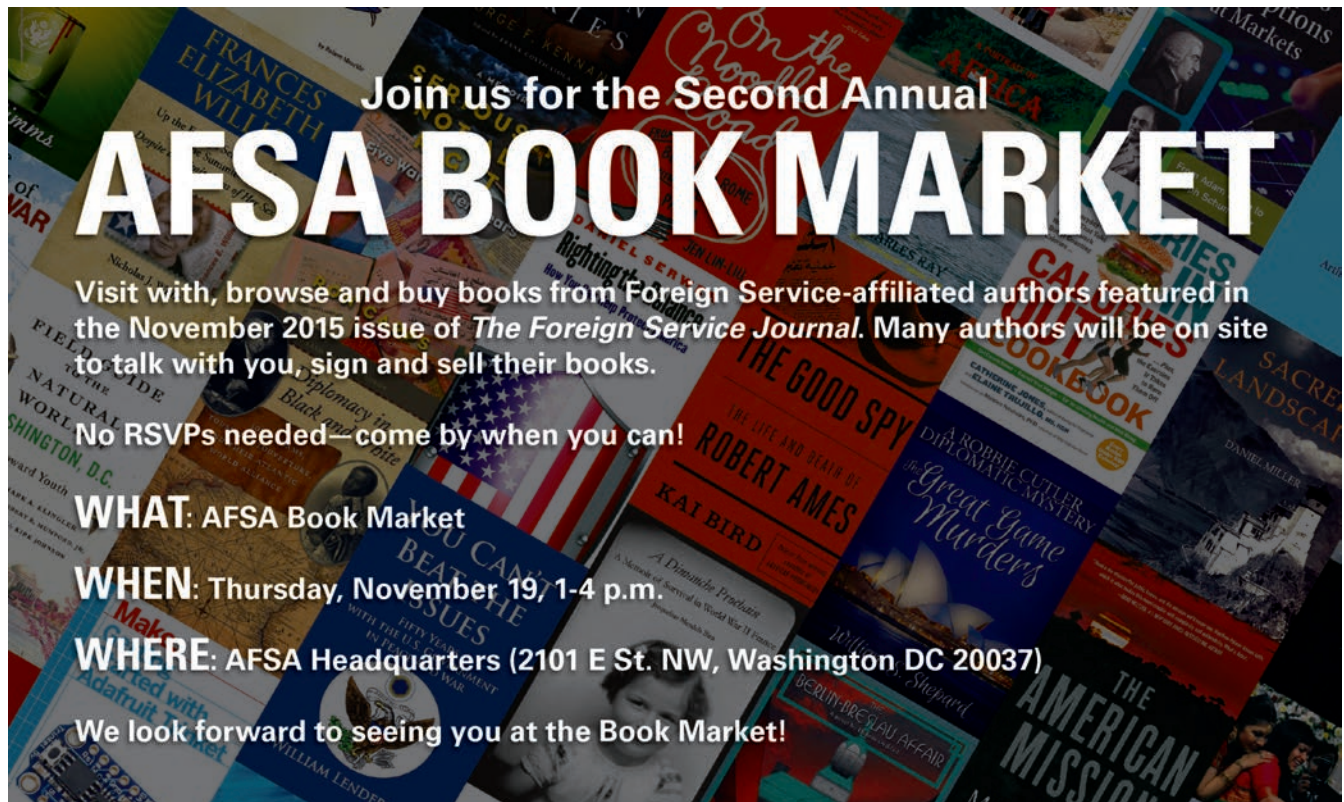
Three days later, I returned to Kandahar for the remaining

20 weeks of my tour. But I have never quite left Afghanistan behind, and probably never will.



At odd moments random memories from that year return unprompted: the rush of hot air through an open Black Hawk door; the winter fires from encampments below; the taste of cardamom tea in a musty government office in Kandahar; the smell of roses in the small garden outside; the dust kicked up by a Special Forces platoon returning in off-road vehicles at dusk to Tarin Kot; the gentle rustle of the wind blowing through a stand of pine trees on a lonely hill in Zabul; the brilliant night sky above Alexander's Castle in Qalat.

Always I recall the awful finality of that single bugler playing "Day Is Done" to conclude yet another memorial service, for yet another young American soldier dying far away from home. It is impossible to ever forget those few forlorn notes, echoing hauntingly across the Horn of Panjwai, off a brown and desolate mountaintop above a remote and now-abandoned military outpost, somewhere in southern Afghanistan. ■



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THE VALUE OF MILITARY TRAINING FOR DIPLOMATS: A Personal Story

Understanding our military, its role and its importance in interagency decision-making, should be a high priority for diplomats—especially for those beginning their careers.

BY GEORGE M. STAPLES

When colleagues first approached me to suggest I write for this issue of *The Foreign Service Journal* about my military background and how it affected my Foreign Service career, I was reluctant.

But as I reflected on the subject, I decided I could offer some observations that might prove useful to the new generation of Foreign Service personnel who, for the most part, have never done military service or had much contact with members of the armed forces.



George M. Staples served from 1981 to 2007 as a Foreign Service officer after spending eight years in the Air Force and two years in the private sector. His diplomatic assignments included posts in Central and South America, the Caribbean, the Middle East and Africa, and at NATO, where he was the diplomatic adviser to Supreme Allied Commander Europe (SACEUR) General James Jones. He served as ambassador to Rwanda, Cameroon and Equatorial Guinea. Ambassador Staples' last assignment was as director general of the Foreign Service. He now teaches and consults at the University of Kentucky's Patterson School of International Diplomacy and Commerce.

I graduated from college in 1970 with a political science degree—and as a second lieutenant in the U.S. Air Force following three years in the Air Force Reserve Officers' Training Corps. It was not until later, though, that I realized just how much that training I'd received, both in AFROTC and during my eight years as an Air Force officer, would benefit me throughout my State Department career.

Leadership and Motivation

Many people have the impression, probably from TV and the movies, that the military services are hierarchal organizations run by senior officers who give orders to subordinates who immediately say "Yes, sir!" and then salute and do as they've been told. Nothing could be farther from the truth, however.

While orders or directives are expected to be followed once a decision has been made, military leaders at all levels are encouraged throughout their careers to lead by example, seek the input from everyone assigned to work on a project, recognize when a decision isn't producing the expected results, and have the courage to bury the ego and correct course. These expectations place a premium on developing strong interpersonal skills, and finding ways to acknowledge and reward individuals to generate unit pride and build teamwork.

Military officers begin from the start of their basic training to read about and study principles of leadership from both military and civilian sources. In my college ROTC program the guest

speakers included psychologists and corporate executives who explained what leadership meant to them and how good leaders had contributed to their companies and society's well-being.

We role-played scenarios on dealing with difficult people and motivating those who only wanted to do the minimum. And we learned early on that if we weren't attentive to our personnel, then our enlisted staff and junior officers might leave, costing the service well-trained people who might be hard to replace.

The fastest way for a senior military commander to be disciplined or even fired is for an inspection team to report that the organization has low morale due to poor leadership. The same thing can happen when a State Department Inspector General team uncovers problems at an embassy that is poorly led by an ambassador and deputy chief of mission. Until recently, inspectors were mandated to write a special performance report on ambassadors and DCMs that carried much weight on promotion panels, for better or worse. In the case of a career officer, a bad report would make it difficult, if not impossible, to be assigned to a follow-on senior position. As director general, I received briefings on bad post inspections and, as required, consulted with the bureau assistant secretary to see if removal from post and/or referral to a suitability review board was warranted. (Those cases, which thankfully were rare, more often involved political appointees.)

Training and Continuing Education Requirements

All branches of the U.S. armed forces put a premium on training, whether it is professional development courses that must be completed at each stage in one's career or technical proficiency programs required to ensure officers stay abreast of developments concerning, for example, equipment modifications. Just as the Foreign Service Institute has the A-100 course for FSOs and similar introductory training for specialists, the armed services have their own "basic" training regimens, which are followed by further specialized training.

The difference is that the military requires completion of certain courses as a precondition for promotion, reassignment to a job with more responsibility, or even as a requirement for reenlistment or continuation of a career. In my case, as a junior captain I had to complete course work at the Squadron Officer School, either by attending a facility or via correspondence, if I ever expected to be promoted to the rank of major. And Air Force majors know that they have to attend the Air Command and Staff College if they expect to be promoted to lieutenant colonel or colonel, and one day be selected to attend a war college or other high-level institution. Similar requirements exist in the other services, as well.

Military officers begin from the start of their basic training to read about and study principles of leadership from both military and civilian sources.

These courses stress managerial skills along with leadership development, and also focus on how policy decisions are made at high levels of our government. They offer a broader perspective on the military's national security role and train mid-level and senior officers for positions at headquarters, in the Pentagon, or as senior military advisers on Capitol Hill, at embassies, etc. I completed Squadron Officers School at Maxwell Air Force Base in Alabama, and also took Air Command and Staff College classes by correspondence. The knowledge I gained was invaluable, giving me, among other things, an early understanding of the importance of the interagency decision-making process and consensus-building techniques.

Nothing like these programs was ever offered during the first 10 years of my Foreign Service career. In fact, aside from Spanish-language training immediately following A-100, I never returned to FSI for anything until I took the deputy chief of mission course a decade later! Today, thankfully, this has changed. Foreign Service personnel can take a broad and impressive array of professional development courses that, if not directed to do so like the military, they are expected to take as part of their own career advancement. In 2014, State introduced a Career Development Program that established certain course requirements for promotion to the Senior Foreign Service.

There's another aspect to the military's approach to training that sets it apart from the State Department. Every military organization has a base or post education office that offers more than just the required professional development courses. That resource helped me obtain my master's degree in business during a two-year assignment at Andrews Air Force Base, which helped a lot when I did commercial work throughout my diplomatic career.

Military personnel deployed on unaccompanied assign-

VETERANS@STATE

Former military personnel make up about 20 percent of the State Department Foreign Service, according to the department's Bureau of Human Resources. State currently employs more than 7,100 veterans both as contractors and as federal employees, about 3,200 of them as members of the Foreign Service.

The Veterans@state employee affinity group represents this large and diverse unit. With 573 members, the group serves as a link among military veterans at the department, as well as between veterans and State's diversity management program, human resources staff and senior management.

Veterans@State strives to promote the full and equal participation of veterans in internal networking, career development and community service. The group assists in veteran retention, recruitment, morale, skill development and training initiatives. In addition to advocating for the rights of military veterans, the group helps to spread awareness of the qualities and contributions veterans bring to work at the State Department.

The group is active in a number of areas, including:

- Offering guest speaker series.
- Supporting the Wounded Warrior Program, the Center for Women Veterans and the Veterans Employment Initiative.
- Facilitating community service (e.g., Homeless Veterans Initiative, Operation Stand Down, WWII Honor Flight, Vietnam Veterans Memorial).
- Hosting an electronic forum for networking and information exchange.

- Sponsoring the Department of State "Day Room" at Walter Reed Hospital in Bethesda, Maryland.
- Partnering with the interagency community on veteran activities.

To ensure the long-term success of veterans employed at the State Department, Veterans@State focuses on:

- Establishing a vibrant and active community of current and former military veterans and supporters of veterans at State.
- Providing guidance and support to members on opportunities for training, rotations and career development by way of panels, forums, etc.
- Establishing a sponsorship program for new military veterans.
- Connecting military veterans with other State employees for mentoring.
- Informing supervisors and employees about the program and opportunities.
- Promoting outreach with senior officials in the department.
- Encouraging timely advancement.
- Educating the department workforce on the contributions veterans bring to the workforce.
- Advocating for increased veteran employment.
- Collaborating with the Department of State Employee Assistance Program to improve veterans' retention and positive work experience.

For more information, email Veterans@state.gov.

—Brittany DeLong, Assistant Editor

ments, especially to combat areas, can continue working toward a degree, even as their family members back home have similar opportunities and assistance. Post education offices assist dependents with enrollment in off-campus programs at an array of educational institutions; college counseling programs are available for teens; and guidance counselors are available for service members and their families.

The message was very clear to me more than 30 years ago and still resonates today: Education should be pursued continually by

everyone in the military community, and learning should always be valued as a means to broaden perspectives, increase knowledge, and strengthen and update existing talents.

Interagency Experience

I alluded earlier to the benefit of military training as a valuable means of early exposure to interagency decision-making. Working with personnel from different military services gave me important insights into how to write effective memos, negotiate and,

where necessary, present leaders with a *fait accompli* to get what I wanted (yes, I admit it!).

I also learned the meaning of “turf”—and not the kind made famous in the Astrodome. Any time you’re in a meeting with representatives of different agencies, one way to analyze what’s really under discussion is to recognize what turf is being protected or advanced, and modify your negotiating strategy accordingly. I learned these lessons as a new lieutenant and captain years before joining the State Department. My experience has been that junior military officers have many more opportunities to gain this experience than new FSOs, who normally begin their careers overseas in consular and reporting jobs and aren’t exposed to the interagency community until a Washington assignment comes along.

The other major fact about interagency work today is that on key policy issues, the big players at the table will surely be Defense Department representatives, whose knowledge and experience give them the inside track on shaping and implementing foreign policy. This asymmetry is compounded by the lack of senior State Department leaders with military experience. How many State personnel today would truly be comfortable participating in a meeting at the Pentagon? Imagine being seated at a table with high-ranking officers from different services, flanked in the second row by officers of lesser rank or civilians serving as note takers or advisers.

For those like me, and the senior FSOs I knew when I first joined the State Department, almost all of whom had served in the military, that was no big deal. We would immediately recognize the different ranks and know the difference between an Air Force or Army captain and a Navy captain, and recognize at least some of the acronyms used in the discussion. Not having this background, feeling a bit outnumbered, and being unsure of what particular service’s interests are being promoted or defended, can be a daunting challenge, to say the least.

Some Practical Suggestions

Four decades into the era of an all-volunteer military, it is likely that those assuming senior State Department positions in the future may not have the background that I had when I joined the Foreign Service in 1981. In some ways that might be a good thing, but understanding the role of our military and its importance in interagency decision-making should remain a high priority for diplomats—especially for those beginning their careers.

So how can this happen today? Here are some ideas.

First, do what we already do well when we prepare for any challenge: read, read and then read some more. The past decade has seen numerous books about the military’s role in Iraq and



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Never pass up a chance to sit in on a meeting where military personnel are at the table helping formulate recommendations on how to resolve a problem.

Afghanistan, and the decisions that were made on how to fight those wars. Going further back, there are countless books and articles about the Vietnam War, which resonate for me when I reflect on the wasted years of training and equipping a military that in 1975 capitulated, in many places without a fight.

These sources can help us figure out what went wrong and how we missed it. Perhaps we did not pay enough attention to culture, history, corruption? Understanding these issues leads to the question of how and when we should even use our forces, and therein lies the nexus of diplomacy in the military engagement process.

The second thing to do, especially if you're a junior person at an embassy, is to get to know your military colleagues. If you have had little or no contact with anyone serving in uniform, go to your defense attaché, introduce yourself and just say you'd like to learn more about what his or her office does in the country where you're serving. You'll probably get a warm welcome, a briefing and, along the way, the chance to get to know the office staff, their backgrounds and what they like or dislike about military service. You will probably discover that your military colleagues are well-traveled, well-educated, and have useful information and contacts to share.

Finally, never pass up a chance to sit in on a meeting where military personnel are at the table helping formulate recommendations on how to resolve a problem. Observe and listen carefully! To serve effectively one day as a senior diplomat, it's essential to gain as thorough an understanding as possible of our colleagues in uniform and the way they approach national security issues.

Of course, these steps are just a start toward gaining a better understanding of our military, its history and role in policy formulation. But they are sure to increase your knowledge of our military, which will help your career as much today as it did mine. ■

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EXECUTIVE ORDER 13518: Veterans Employment Initiative

On November 9, 2009, President Barack Obama signed Executive Order 13518 establishing the “Veterans Employment Initiative” to boost employment of military veterans, especially from Iraq and Afghanistan, in the federal government. From 2009 through 2013, based on the most current data from the Office of Personnel Management, there was a 7 percent increase in the number of veterans hired by the federal government, and veterans’ participation in the federal workforce jumped from about 26 percent to more than 30 percent. Four of the five foreign affairs agencies (State, USAID, Commerce and Agriculture) are parties to the initiative, but in at least one case—the State Department—the Foreign Service is excluded from OPM’s data. Here are excerpts from the executive order, which can be viewed in its entirety at <http://1.usa.gov/1UhXGTu>.

By the authority vested in me by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, including section 301 of title 3 of the United States Code, I hereby order as follows:

Section 1. Policy. Veterans have served and sacrificed in defense of our Nation. When they complete their service, we must do everything in our power to assist them in re-entering civilian life and finding employment. ...

Section 2. Council on Veterans Employment. There is hereby established an interagency Council on Veterans Employment (Council), to be co-chaired by the Secretaries of Labor and Veterans Affairs. The director of the Office of Personnel Management shall serve as vice chair of the Council.

(a) Mission and Function of the Council. The Council shall:

- (i) advise and assist the president and the director of OPM in establishing a coordinated governmentwide effort to increase the number of veterans employed by the federal government by enhancing recruitment and training;
- (ii) serve as a national forum for promoting veterans’ employment opportunities in the executive branch; and

- (iii) establish performance measures to assess the effectiveness of, and submit an annual report to the president on the status of, the Veterans Employment Initiative described in Section 3 of this order.

(b) Membership of the Council. The Council shall consist of the heads of the following agencies and such other executive branch agencies as the President may designate:

- (i) the Department of State
- (ii) the Department of the Treasury
- (iii) the Department of Defense
- (iv) the Department of Justice
- (v) the Department of the Interior
- (vi) the Department of Agriculture
- (vii) the Department of Commerce
- (viii) the Department of Labor
- (ix) the Department of Health and Human Services
- (x) the Department of Housing and Urban Development
- (xi) the Department of Transportation
- (xii) the Department of Energy
- (xiii) the Department of Education
- (xiv) the Department of Veterans Affairs
- (xv) the Department of Homeland Security
- (xvi) the Environmental Protection Agency
- (xvii) the National Aeronautics and Space Administration

- (xviii) the Agency for International Development
- (xix) the General Services Administration
- (xx) the National Science Foundation
- (xxi) the Nuclear Regulatory Commission
- (xxii) the Office of Personnel Management
- (xxiii) the Small Business Administration
- (xxiv) the Social Security Administration

...

Section 3. Veterans Employment Initiative. The agencies represented on the Council shall participate in a Veterans Employment Initiative. Under the Initiative, each participating agency shall, to the extent permitted by law:

- (a) develop an agency-specific Operational Plan for promoting employment opportunities for veterans, consistent with the governmentwide Veterans Recruitment and Employment Strategic Plan described in Section 4 of this order, merit system principles, the agency's strategic human capital plan, and other applicable workforce planning strategies and initiatives;
- (b) within 120 days of the date of this order, establish a Veterans Employment Program Office, or designate an agency officer or employee with full-time responsibility for its Veterans Employment Program, to be responsible for enhancing employment opportunities for veterans within the agency, consistent with law and merit system principles, including developing and implementing the agency's Operational Plan, veterans recruitment programs, and training programs for veterans with disabilities, and for coordinating employment counseling to help match the career aspirations of veterans to the needs of the agency;
- (c) provide mandatory annual training to agency human resources personnel and hiring managers concerning veterans' employment, including training on veterans' preferences and special authorities for the hiring of veterans;
- (d) identify key occupations for which the agency will provide job counseling and training to better enable veterans to meet agency staffing needs associated with those occupations; and
- (e) coordinate with the Departments of Defense and Veterans Affairs to promote further development and application of technology designed to assist transitioning service members and veterans with disabilities.

Section 4. Additional Responsibilities of the Director of the Office of Personnel Management. The Director of OPM shall, in consultation with the Council and to the extent permitted by law:

(a) develop a governmentwide Veterans Recruitment and Employment Strategic Plan, to be updated at least every three years, addressing barriers to the employment of veterans in the executive branch and focusing on:

- (i) identifying actions that agency leaders should take to improve employment opportunities for veterans;
- (ii) developing the skills of transitioning military service members and veterans;
- (iii) marketing the federal government as an employer of choice to transitioning service members and veterans;
- (iv) marketing the talent, experience, and dedication of transitioning service members and veterans to federal agencies; and
- (v) disseminating federal employment information to veterans and hiring officials;
- (b) provide governmentwide leadership in recruitment and employment of veterans in the executive branch;
- (c) identify key occupations, focusing on positions in high-demand occupations where talent is needed to meet governmentwide staffing needs, for which the federal government will provide job counseling and training under section 5(a) of this order to veterans and transitioning military service personnel;
- (d) develop mandatory training for both human resources personnel and hiring managers on veterans' employment, including veterans' preference and special hiring authorities;
- (e) compile and post on the OPM website governmentwide statistics on the hiring of veterans; and
- (f) within one year of the date of this order and with the advice of the Council, provide recommendations to the president on improving the ability of veterans' preference laws to meet the needs of the new generation of veterans, especially those transitioning from the conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan, and the needs of federal hiring officials.

Section 5. Responsibilities of the Secretaries of Defense, Labor, Veterans Affairs, and Homeland Security. The Secretaries of Defense, Labor, Veterans Affairs, and Homeland Security shall take the following actions, to the extent permitted by law:

- (a) The Secretaries of Defense, Labor, Veterans Affairs, and Homeland Security shall, in consultation with OPM, develop and implement counseling and training programs to align veterans' and transitioning service members' skills and career aspirations to federal employment opportunities, targeting federal occupations that are projected to have heavy recruitment needs. ■

A Closer Look at Advancing World Food Security

In agriculture, our free trade and commodity export agendas conflict with our development agenda, and the result is food insecurity. Here is the case for a change in focus.

BY MICHAEL MCCLELLAN

World food security is rightly a high priority for the United States. While the large U.S. commodity sector and industrial agriculture clearly reap the benefits of our commodity food aid, support of global trade and export promotion, such short-term “aid” does not help other countries to develop their own food security. In fact, as it stands, our free trade and commodity export agendas are in conflict with our development agenda—and this conflict ultimately leads to food dependency, not food security.

Instead of a focus on promoting commodity exports and

the adoption of biotech and industrial farming products and techniques pitched by American agribusiness, our focus should be on people, land and communities. Because it relies more on development of local food sources than on a global trading system that primarily benefits large corporations, such an approach will build food security abroad.

Our objective should not be to “feed the world,” but rather to “enable the world to feed itself.” In doing so, we will set an example for other rich nations to follow in supporting sustainable farming globally.

Advancing Food Security

To truly advance our food security agenda, and improve America’s image abroad in the bargain, we need to adopt a five-part agenda that:

1. promotes sustainable and environmentally responsible stewardship of the land;
2. minimizes cash inputs such as fertilizers, pesticides, herbicides and imported equipment;
3. keeps people on the land through support for small-scale farms and does not displace them into urban areas;
4. fosters reliance on traditional, nonpatented seeds and local “heritage” livestock breeds; and
5. promotes a better environment through improvement of soils, improved water usage and better carbon sequestration.



Michael McClellan is a retired Senior Foreign Service officer who most recently served as deputy chief of mission in Juba, South Sudan. Prior to that, he served for 28 years as a public diplomacy officer in Yemen, Egypt, Russia, Serbia, Germany, Kosovo, Ireland, Iraq (twice) and Ethiopia. He is now the diplomat-in-residence for Western Kentucky University in Bowling Green, Kentucky, where he also has a small, organic farm. A version of this article appeared in the Summer 2014 Small Farmer’s Journal.

Our objective should not be to “feed the world,” but rather to “enable the world to feed itself.”

In short, American foreign policy should promote organic, small-scale, diversified, sustainable farming practices and not large-scale, commodity-focused agriculture that relies on chemical inputs, expensive machinery, and genetically modified seeds and other biotech practices that place production and efficiency above all else.

President Barack Obama’s “Feed the Future” initiative is a good step in the right direction, but it contrasts with other U.S. government programs that prioritize promotion of trade and exports. The U.S. Agency for International Development and the Peace Corps have several programs that promote small-scale farming, particularly women in farming, as well as organic and sustainable practices. But these programs are weak in comparison with other efforts—such as trade agreements like the Trans-Pacific Partnership—that promote the use of genetically modified organisms (GMO) and other patented seeds, chemical fertilizers, herbicides, pesticides and other costly inputs as part of global trade promotion.

Consider how American agriculture has evolved since World War II, and how it affected Americans throughout our nation’s rural areas and small towns. Growing up in rural Kentucky, I saw firsthand how farmers and small towns were hit hard by the “industrial” model of agriculture. This so-called modern agriculture was shaped mainly by corporate profitability and the incessant drive for productivity and efficiency.

What we have today across the United States are farms and farmers saddled with debt and dependent on patented seeds, both GMO and hybrid, that must be bought every year; a heavy reliance on expensive machinery that encourages large-scale farming; and dependence on chemical inputs such as herbicides, insecticides and fertilizers with potentially deleterious long-term effects. It is a farming model that relies on cash inputs from the farmer and that makes him or her dependent on large corporations and money lenders that are no longer community-based.

The “Get Big or Get Out” Model

This business model stems from the “get big or get out” philosophy first promulgated by Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft

Benson in the 1950s and reinforced two decades later by Secretary Earl Butz, who told American farmers to “adapt or die.” The policy pitted farmers against their neighbors and destroyed many of the bonds that had held rural communities together; one neighbor’s failure was a growth opportunity for another. There is even research underway now in the agroindustrial complex to enable “farming without farmers,” using remotely controlled farm machinery directed by GPS and satellite mapping so that machine operation can take place around the clock without any human controls in the field. In other words, drone warfare meets farming.

The result of these practices is visible in a vast region of America’s heartland that is today largely depopulated, littered with decaying ghost towns bereft of people and small businesses. There is a devastating loss of topsoil across what was once one of the world’s richest agricultural areas. Depleted aquifers can no longer supply irrigation and drinking water. Water pollution from fertilizers and other chemical runoff has poisoned countless creeks, rivers, ponds, lakes and possibly created a massive “dead zone” in the Gulf of Mexico. And there is flooding across the country in areas that did not flood before because the soil can no longer absorb the rain that farmers rely on to grow crops.

Sadly, the increase in farmer suicides in many countries, including our own, has been directly related to this inability to “adapt,” as farmers become debt-ridden and even poisoned by the deluge of chemicals they are encouraged to use but not taught to handle responsibly. In addition, rural communities are often powerless to fight coal mining, timber interests and natural gas companies that treat once-vibrant rural farm areas as colonies to be depleted of natural resources at any cost and without regard for the environment or the people there.

Is this what we want in the rest of the world? Is it in America’s interest for Africa, Asia, Eastern Europe, Latin America and other farming regions of the world to deplete their soil and water, drive their people off the land into the cities and turn their prime farmland into large-scale commodity croplands that rapidly lose fertility, while serving mainly to generate export revenue rather than feed the local population?



MICHAEL MCCLELLAN

Millions of cattle could be put to work as draft animals on small farms in South Sudan. Doing so requires low cash inputs and low-level technology. And, typically, according to *Tillers International*, it will double or triple a small farm's output over hand labor.

No, it is not. The post-World War II model of American agriculture is only destined to make other countries increasingly dependent on foreign aid, leaving them with a weakened farming and rural infrastructure that cannot support the population. Nor is it in the interest of U.S. foreign policy to foster urban migration, driving people off the land into teeming cities with no jobs, but plenty of drugs, crime and HIV/AIDS. More “efficient” farming, in fact, often creates increased unemployment, which only leads to other problems that our assistance must then try to manage.

Our foreign policy agricultural agenda should not tell farmers around the world to “adapt or die.” Rather, we should be helping them to survive and thrive.

Good Farming...and Its Opposite

Good farming improves the land and keeps people on the land. The Chinese have farmed their land for more than 4,000 years, as have many other cultures around the world, and their

soils were fertile until the advent of “modern” farming practices in recent years. Even periodic famines in China, Ethiopia and other countries throughout history were due more to politics and lack of infrastructure than to actual food deficits. Many modern practices “mine” the soil of nutrients and minerals rather than rebuilding and growing topsoil.

Good farms are diversified, usually with a mix of crops and livestock, with nutrients added to the soil naturally. Good farms are managed by men and women who love their land and want to pass it on in good shape to their children. Good farming is a challenging, intellectual skill that requires knowledge of botany, biology, chemistry, climate, animal husbandry and even business and accounting.

Good farming, as it has been done for thousands of years around the world and is done today in the United States on small, diversified, organic farms, makes the land better and better with each passing year. There are Amish farms in Pennsylvania that have been farmed for more than 200 years by

It is not in the interest of U.S. foreign policy to foster urban migration, driving people off the land into teeming cities with no jobs, but plenty of drugs, crime and HIV/AIDS.

the same families, and the land is incredibly rich and verdant as a result of their sustainable, often organic, and responsible practices.

Contrast this with farms across the South and Midwest that are mono-cropped year after year with soybeans, corn and cotton, using GMO and hybrid seeds, herbicides, pesticides and chemical fertilizers that kill much of the life in the soil and pollute the groundwater and nearby bodies of water. The topsoil is steadily depleted, year after year after year. Most of this corn and soybean crop is grown to support large-scale meat production that abuses animals and pollutes the surrounding air, water and soil with toxic manure runoff that could be avoided if the animals were dispersed through free ranging and grass feeding. Such natural ways of producing meat animals are still the norm in most of the world.

The last thing the United States should be doing is encouraging other countries to make the same mistakes we did by exporting practices that serve only to enrich a few large corporations at the expense of countless small farmers and devastate the agricultural heartland of a country. Any member of the Foreign Service who has lived in Africa and eaten locally produced meat and eggs can probably tell you that they taste much better than typical U.S. supermarket fare, thanks to traditional grazing practices and natural animal foods.

The Economics of Appropriate Technology

If our foreign policy objective is truly to make sure the world is fed, we should promote an agenda that will keep farmers on the land and keep the land in the hands of responsible stewards who will improve it with each passing year. We should

The New Holland Tractor: A Cautionary Tale

In 2013, while driving through South Sudan, we came upon a small shop that had a beautiful, 70-horsepower New Holland tractor sitting beside it. The tractor was obviously new, the tires had no scratches or other marks on them, but it was covered in cobwebs. It had probably never been used. The man at the shop said it had been sitting there for about a year after a government official dropped it off.

This tractor, like many other tractors dotting the South Sudanese countryside, was a gift of some country's foreign aid program (thankfully, it was not a U.S. donation). Priced at roughly \$35,000 new, the final cost was probably closer to \$70,000 after accounting for shipping and delivery.

At best, that tractor may help one farmer—until it breaks down because of poor operator skills, lack of spare

parts or fuel, and lack of maintenance.

Had that same \$70,000 been invested in draft power—much more appropriate technology for South Sudan's farmers—at least 30 farmers could have been set up with the full complement of tools to cultivate their land with oxen, thereby doubling or even tripling their agricultural output.

Furthermore, most or all of those implements could be manufactured in South Sudan. That would, in turn, support small businesses and shops across the country, developing a light industry that would provide urban jobs and service technicians with work for years to come. This process would strengthen rural communities and lift many rural residents out of poverty.

—M.M.



COURTESY OF USAID

In the Magwi region of South Sudan, Michael McClellan, then DCM in Juba, plows with oxen, the cattle typical of the area.

promote organic farming approaches that rely on low-cost or no-cost inputs and that are sustainable and natural. We should not encourage farmers to take on debt or to buy expensive inputs—or pay for those inputs ourselves with grants and loan incentives through foreign aid funds. Instead, we should work with farmers to use appropriate-scale technologies, natural fertilizers and crop rotations, and a diversity of crops and livestock to ensure better protection against natural disasters, bad weather and pestilence.

At the same time, the United States should promote the licensing and production of small-scale farm technology from U.S. companies so that small American companies and the jobs they provide also benefit from international food assistance. Significant advances have been made in recent years in draft-powered farming (i.e., using horses and oxen instead of tractors), and these advances could and should be licensed for manufacture by small companies and entrepreneurs abroad, thereby encouraging manufacturing and job creation in developing countries.

By focusing on the farmers themselves, and what we can do to sustain and improve their work, U.S. agricultural policy can spend far less money and do more to promote food security abroad than we can through our current approach. We should promote knowledge and training in using appropriate-scale technologies, the use of non-patented seeds that will adapt to local growing conditions, good animal husbandry so every

region of the world will develop the most appropriate livestock for its climate and terrain, and the use of natural fertilizers and supplements that do not degrade the soil or pollute groundwater.

Our public diplomacy will also advance a more positive image of the United States by sharing the wealth of knowledge of America's organic farmers through citizen exchanges and field visits, advancing the knowledge of sustainable and organic farming through support for agriculture schools worldwide, and

preparing and translating books and manuals that will help farmers.

In July, I spoke to more than 200 Amish farmers at the annual "Horse Progress Days" celebration in Daviess County, Indiana, about the importance of sharing their knowledge and experience of working with draft animals with farmers abroad. When I asked them if they would be willing to host international visitors for home stays and cultural exchange, every man and woman in the room raised their hand—clearly there is no lack of support for such citizen exchanges in the sustainable farming community.

A Win-Win for All

The approach outlined here will advance our nation's food security goals and environmental policies globally. It will advance democratic institutions through the empowerment of a large, global land-owning and entrepreneurial class. It will help mitigate many ethnic conflicts in the developing world by preventing the displacement of large numbers of people into urban areas with no jobs. And it will grow more people-to-people linkages between the United States and the rest of the world.

Some large corporations may not benefit from this change, but many smaller American companies that produce small-scale farming equipment and natural fertilizers and supplements will, and the resultant goodwill for the United States and greater food security abroad will be a win-win for both donors and recipients. ■

World's Fairs Today A Visit to Milan, Lessons for Dubai

The world's fair has evolved from an industrial exposition into the Olympics of public diplomacy, and the United States should be there.

BY MATTHEW ASADA

We still have those?!" a congressional staffer remarked incredulously when I mentioned my recent trip to the world's fair in Milan. For many American foreign affairs practitioners, world's fairs, also known as international expositions, are quaint 20th century relics of little 21st-century value. However, while the United States has been cutting back on its participation in recent decades—missing the 2000 fair altogether—the rest of the world has gotten increasingly involved. For those who have never been to a fair, it's like Epcot on steroids, albeit with diplomats and pavilions focused on current global challenges.

The world's fair has evolved from an industrial exposition into a public diplomacy platform. At a time when American leader-

ship and commitment are in question, and American values, such as economic opportunity and democracy, are under attack, the United States needs to be present at these fairs—the Olympic games of public diplomacy.

Most millennials have never visited a world's fair. My first experience was to the Daejeon Expo in 1993. Seven years later, I visited the 2000 fair in Hanover while an intern at Consulate General Frankfurt. I have visited every major world's fair since: Aichi 2005; Shanghai 2010; and Milan 2015. The absence of a U.S. pavilion in Hanover and my subsequent expo visits have impressed upon me the importance of these events and our continued participation in them.

History of the World's Fair

The first generally recognized world's fair was held in London in 1851. Cities vied to host the fair as a matter of prestige, branding and economic development; participating countries built architecturally stunning pavilions to display their latest technological and cultural innovations. Notable fairs include Philadelphia 1876, Chicago 1893 and 1933, Paris 1900, Barcelona 1929, New York City 1939 and 1964-1965, and Osaka 1970. Each fair left behind iconic architecture, such as the Eiffel Tower in Paris, the Space Needle in Seattle and the Unisphere in New York City.



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Political Science Association congressional fellow. The views expressed in this article are his own and not necessarily those of the Department of State or the U.S. government.



COURTESY OF MATTHEW ASADA

Russia's pavilion at the Milan expo. Each participating country celebrates a national day during the fair, which usually consists of a high-ranking visit, flag ceremony, tour of the national pavilion, cultural program and parade. The author's visit to Milan coincided with the Russian national day event, at which Russian President Vladimir Putin and Italian Prime Minister Matteo Renzi spoke.

In 1928, countries founded the Bureau of International Expositions to administer the organization and certification of fairs. Since 1996, the bureau has authorized a major international exposition, otherwise known as a “registered” world’s fair, to be held every five years. Smaller, minor expositions—or “recognized” fairs—are held in intervening years. According to the BIE, a world expo is meant to showcase “the social, economic, cultural and technology achievements of human beings.”

The United States has hosted 20 major and minor fairs, the first in 1853 in New York City. Several U.S. cities have expressed interest in hosting future fairs; however, these cities may have to wait for some time, since BIE member states are given priority. Though the United States was a founding member, Secretary of State Colin Powell officially withdrew U.S. membership in 2001 after Congress failed to authorize and appropriate BIE dues. Until the 1990s, responsibility for requesting and administering congressional appropriations for U.S. participation in world’s fairs had been the purview of the United States Information Agency.

Congress Limits U.S. Participation

Following the end of the Cold War, members of Congress began to question the need for world’s fairs. Notwithstanding efforts by Presidents Ronald Reagan and George H.W. Bush to

secure funding for U.S. participation in the 1992 World’s Fair in Seville, Democrats objected and only appropriated \$18 million of the \$45 million requested. The reduction forced USIA to drastically revise its plans for the pavilion, and the United States had to make do with an underwhelming pavilion consisting of two geodesic domes—veterans of the European exhibitions circuit—that were dug out of storage. That year, by comparison, the United Kingdom spent \$40 million on its pavilion.

In light of the experience in Seville and bipartisan interest in balancing the budget, Congress prohibited federal expenditures on a U.S. pavilion without express congressional authorization and appropriation in 1994. Despite this ban, Tony Coelho, U.S. commissioner general for the 1998 World Expo in Portugal, secured \$6.7 million in federal funds from other agencies that covered more than 80 percent of the costs for the U.S. pavilion in Lisbon.

In 2000, Congress loosened restrictions to allow federal funding of administrative expenses for U.S. participation in Expo Hannover 2000, but upheld the State Department ban on construction and operating costs. Congress viewed the U.S. pavilion as a private-sector responsibility, ignoring the public diplomacy angle and the prevailing practice of other governments providing public financing. Private companies preferred to be thought of as “international”



COURTESY OF MATTHEW ASADA

In Milan, the U.S. pavilion's open-wall structure and green design, informative messaging and personable staff impressed. As in Shanghai, President Obama's life-size video message was a hit.

as opposed to American, investing in their own stand-alone, corporate exhibits rather than in the U.S. pavilion. There was also concern that expenditures would be misdirected to BIE.

Despite efforts by U.S. Ambassador to Germany John Kornblum and U.S. Commissioner General William Rollnick, and personal requests from German Chancellor Gerhard Schröder to President Bill Clinton, the U.S. pavilion was unable to raise sufficient private or public funds to participate in Hannover. It was the first fair that the United States had missed since they began in 1851. The German government, fair attendees and other participating countries noticed the U.S. absence. One German state legislator remarked, "Many Germans see this as part of a larger pattern. The feeling is that always when it comes to multinational efforts, the United States has no money."

The Rest of the World Steps up Engagement

Meanwhile, the rest of the world was stepping up its engagement. Participants no longer viewed the events as industrial trade fairs, but as opportunities to present their foreign policies and brand their countries, promote cultural understanding and address global challenges. Japan spent \$3.3 billion to host Expo Aichi 2005, the theme of which was "Nature's Wisdom." The expo drew 121 participating countries and 22 million visitors. The

The United States has hosted 20 major and minor fairs, the first in 1853 in New York City.

United States, however, had a limited pavilion due to its ongoing funding challenges.

One year before Expo Shanghai 2010, it looked as though the United States might miss out again on the opportunity to present a first-class showing, or any showing for that matter. However, Secretary of State Hillary Clinton made it a personal priority to secure U.S. participation in the fair. Ultimately, the Secretary and Commissioner General Jose Villarreal succeeded in raising more than \$61 million for the U.S. pavilion and organizing participation in a record-breaking nine months. While some criticized the reliance on corporate sponsors and their resultant influence on exhibit content, the United States made it to Shanghai.

China spent \$48 billion on the 2010 fair, more money than it spent on the 2008 Summer Olympic Games in Beijing. Its theme was "Better City, Better Life." With 190 countries participating and 73 million visitors, Shanghai broke Osaka's 1970 attendance record. More than 7.3 million visitors came through the U.S. pavilion; most were Chinese nationals, many of whom had never been to, nor would probably ever visit, the United States.

Secretary of State John Kerry similarly prioritized U.S. participation in the 2015 World's Fair in Milan, "Feeding the Planet, Energy for Life." The United States expected three to five million of the fair's total 25 to 30 million visitors to visit the U.S. pavilion during the fair's six months of operation.

Organizational Architecture behind the U.S. Pavilion

The Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs assumed responsibility for U.S. participation in world's fairs after the 1999 merger of USIA with the Department of State. At that time, USIA disbanded its five-person office that had been responsible for developing exhibit content, managing relations with the BIE and providing logistical support for the pavilion itself.

For Milan, in a first for U.S. government expo-logistics prep, ECA delegated oversight authority to a regional bureau, the Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs. Barry Levin, a retired Foreign Service officer who had worked on the smaller Expo Yeosu 2012, handled initial preparations for Milan. The pavilion

itself would be constructed, designed, organized, managed and removed by Friends of the USA Pavilion Milan 2015, a private consortium that won the department's request for proposals in July 2013.

In March 2014, Bea Camp, U.S. consul general in Shanghai at the time of the 2010 fair, was recruited as coordinator of the U.S. pavilion in Milan within EUR's Office of Public Diplomacy. As the only officer assigned in Washington to work on the expo, Camp advises the department, Consulate General Milan and the private-sector team on a range of issues, from determining appropriate content to vetting sponsors. She also coordinates the department's public messaging on U.S. participation in the expo.

In December 2014, Secretary Kerry appointed San Francisco venture capitalist and Obama fundraiser Douglas Hickey as commissioner general for the Milan Expo. Hickey, temporarily accorded the rank of ambassador, is the U.S. pavilion's chief diplomat, fundraiser and executive officer.

While other national pavilions have a robust diplomatic presence, the U.S. pavilion has just one dedicated Foreign Service officer, Elia Tello, who holds the title of deputy commissioner general. Working closely with Consulate General Milan and Embassy Rome, Tello coordinates programming and logistical support for official U.S. visitors. For instance, First Lady Michelle Obama visited the U.S. pavilion during her trip to Milan in June and underscored the importance of the fair's theme by speaking on food security, health and nutrition.

Hickey and Tello work alongside 120 bilingual American college students who, through the Student Ambassadors Program, serve as the pavilion's primary staff, greeting visitors and walking them through the exhibit.

During my June visit to the expo, I had the opportunity to speak with Commissioner General Hickey and tour the U.S. pavilion. Ambassador Hickey commented that one of the reasons people were responding so well to the fair was that it is easy to get one's head around the theme of food diplomacy. "The challenge for future fairs will be to find a relatable theme that will harness the same sort of energy." Given his professional background, he thought that innovation, technology and entrepreneurship could be promising themes. Perhaps he had his hometown in mind when he spoke; San Francisco has expressed interest in hosting the 2025 expo.

Recommendations for Dubai 2020

The next minor and major expositions will be in Astana in 2017 and Dubai in 2020, respectively. Dubai expects roughly 25 million visitors, 70 percent of them from overseas. The expo will also launch the country's Golden Jubilee celebrations. It is crucial that

Congress prohibited federal expenditures on a U.S. pavilion without express congressional authorization and appropriation in 1994.

the Department of State begin preparing immediately to maximize the public diplomacy opportunities of robust U.S. participation.

Ever since USIA consolidation, and the resulting retirement of its institutional memory, the department has had to bureaucratically reinvent the wheel every time there is a major or minor fair. This takes time and energy away from pavilion design, content

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COURTESY OF MATTHEW ASADA

Food has always been part of the expo-goers experience, but especially for this important food-centered fair. The U.S. pavilion food trucks in Milan lacked identifying decoration due to their rotating menus—a bit disappointing given the creativity displayed by other countries (the Dutch food trucks were hard to beat).

State should establish a permanent two-person unit that is then temporarily embedded into whichever regional bureau is hosting the next expo.

and programming. While ECA has authority to manage U.S. participation per the Fulbright-Hays Act of 1961, the Bureau of International Information Programs might be a more logical home given its responsibility for the U.S. government's American spaces and platforms. State should establish a permanent two-person unit in ECA or IIP that is then temporarily embedded into whichever regional bureau is hosting the next expo.

The department should consider creating more one-year domestic and overseas assignments for Foreign Service personnel to be involved in content creation and delivery of material

at the pavilion. Finally, IIP should develop a specific world's fair campaign to push out to posts to maximize coverage in local press about U.S. and host country participation.

In 2009, Congress authorized establishment of Brand USA, the United States' first tourism promotion agency. Funded by a \$10 surcharge on every international airline ticket, the agency promotes tourism to all 50 states. While Brand USA contributed to the content development and construction expenses of the U.S. pavilion in Milan, there is greater scope for collaboration in Dubai, given the shared interest in public diplomacy and tourism promotion and Brand USA's independent, non-appropriated, fee-driven revenue stream.

Finally, it is time for the State Department and the next administration to request federal funds for the construction and operation of a U.S. pavilion as part of a true public-private partnership and to rejoin the Bureau of International Expositions to increase the chances that a U.S. city will be chosen as a future host.

Now is the time for public diplomacy investments to tell our story, explain our policies and mobilize humanity to address our global challenges. This year the United States will spend tens of millions on countering violent extremism. Perhaps a small portion of that should go toward U.S. participation at the next Public Diplomacy Olympics—the 2020 World's Fair in Dubai. ■

AFSA High School Essay Winner Goes to Washington

On Sept. 3, Secretary of State John Kerry presented Thomas Keller, a high school junior from Dallas, Texas, with the 2015 American Foreign Service Association National High School Essay Contest award.

The ceremony took place in the Department of State's Diplomatic Reception Rooms. During their meeting, Sec. Kerry commended Keller on his "well-written and well-researched" essay, which presented microfinance as a critical policy tool for addressing increasingly high crime rates and poverty in Honduras.

Every year, AFSA flies the winner and his or her parents to Washington, D.C., for a day of discussions with policy-makers at State and on the Hill.

Following his appointment with the Secretary, Keller visited staff in the office of his congressional representative Congressman Pete Sessions (R-Texas) and toured the Senate Foreign Relations Committee rooms.

The trip also comes with a cash award in the amount of \$2,500 and a Semester at Sea scholarship, which Keller may use to travel the world and study once he is accepted into an accredited university. In addition, Keller's high school, The Episcopal School of Dallas, will receive 10 copies of



COURTESY OF JAMES PAN

Secretary of State John Kerry welcomes AFSA's National High School Essay Contest Award recipient, Thomas Keller, to the State Department. In his essay, Keller suggested that State assemble a team of "economists, microfinance specialists and business startup experts" to identify suitable microloan candidates in Honduras.

AFSA's popular introduction to the Foreign Service, *Inside a U.S. Embassy: Diplomacy at Work* (Foreign Service Books, 2011).

According to Keller, his visit to Washington, D.C., was a whirlwind experience: "You read about important people in text books and you see them on the news, but to actually have a conversation with them is surreal." He added, "The fact that [Secretary Kerry] took time to read my paper was amazing; he's quite the busy man."

This year's runner-up is Anuj Krishnamurthy, a recent graduate of The Lawrenceville School in Monmouth Junction, New Jersey. Krishnamurthy's essay

recommended expanding and diversifying current ties with Kazakhstan—the world's ninth largest economy—through cultural diplomacy and commercial connections. He received a scholarship to the National Student Leadership Conference's international diplomacy program in Washington, D.C.

AFSA created the National High School Essay Contest in 1999 to encourage students to learn about the work of the Foreign Service and the significance of diplomacy to national security and prosperity. The contest has increased awareness of the Foreign Service among high school students across

Continued on page 60

CALENDAR

October 7
12-2 p.m.
AFSA Governing Board Meeting

October 8
2-4 p.m.
Retirement Planning Seminar

October 9-19
AAFSW's Art & BookFair State Department Exhibit Hall

October 12
Columbus Day: AFSA Offices Closed

October 14
12-1 p.m.
Luncheon: 184th A-100 Class

October 18-22
AFSA Road Scholar Program Washington, D.C.

November 4
12-2 p.m.
AFSA Governing Board Meeting

November 11
Veterans Day: AFSA Offices Closed

November 15-19
AFSA Road Scholar Program Washington, D.C.

November 19
Second Annual AFSA Book Market

November 26 and 27
Thanksgiving: AFSA Offices Closed



Know (and Invoke) Your Rights

Thanks to the popularity of police-themed television shows, most Americans have grown up knowing about Miranda rights. But how many of you know what Weingarten rights are?

Instead of skipping ahead to the next article, indulge me and continue reading—it could have a profound effect on your career.

In 1975 the Supreme Court ruled that, “in unionized workplaces, employees have the right...to the presence of a union steward during any management inquiry that the employee reasonably believes may result in discipline.”

In the Foreign Service context, if you’ve been called in for questioning by Human Resources, Diplomatic Security or the Office of the Inspector General, and you reasonably believe that the interview could lead to disciplinary action such as a letter of reprimand, suspension without pay or termination for misconduct, you have the right to have an AFSA representative accompany you (or, if overseas, have an AFSA representative participate via speaker phone or some other similar arrangement).

These rights have become known as Weingarten rights.

The twist? By contrast with Miranda rights, the office doing the questioning does not have to inform you of your Weingarten rights. It’s up to you not only to know

them, but also to refuse to answer questions until you can secure AFSA representation.

When you invoke your Weingarten rights, the investigating official must allow a reasonable period of time for a union representative to attend the interview.

Many of you (in fact, I hope most of you) are reading this and thinking, “Fine, but I’m not planning on doing anything wrong. If I don’t have anything to hide, why should I insist on having an AFSA representative with me? Wouldn’t that make me look guilty?”

Over and over again, AFSA has seen cases where well-meaning employees consent to interviews without requesting our assistance. Perhaps they’ve been told that they aren’t the subject of the investigation, and that they’re being called in merely as witnesses. Perhaps they’ve been told that cooperating will help clear up the matter more quickly, or that the investigators have “just a few questions” for them.

Regardless of what they’ve been told, however, once that interview begins, the employee is on the hook not only for whatever behavior is being investigated, but also for potentially lying about it.

Many people, particularly those who are deeply honest and law-abiding, become extremely nervous when

If you’ve been called in for questioning by Human Resources, Diplomatic Security or the Office of the Inspector General, and you reasonably believe that the interview could lead to disciplinary action, you have the right to have an AFSA representative accompany you.

interviewed by a law enforcement official.

It can be easy to get tripped up or unintentionally give inconsistent responses, which leave employees vulnerable to charges of lying to a law enforcement officer—a separate crime in and of itself that can lead to the end of one’s career with the government as well as to prison time.

The presence of an AFSA representative during both witness and subject interviews serves several useful purposes.

The AFSA representative (1) ensures that the investigator affords the employee all of his or her rights and conducts the interview in an appropriate and professional manner; (2) requests clarification of questions and/or clarifies the employee’s answer(s); (3) confers privately with the employee, if necessary, to answer his/her questions or provide guidance; and (4) reviews sworn statements that may be requested or required.

AFSA cannot do any of the above if the employee has

not exercised his or her Weingarten rights and insisted on the presence of an AFSA representative.

While AFSA will, of course, agree to be present during subsequent interviews, for some employees there may be no second interview, depending on the information already volunteered. The initial interview may result directly in disciplinary charges, criminal charges or pressure to resign in lieu of such charges being filed.

Save yourself the stress and the legal problems and invoke your Weingarten rights from the beginning—they’re there for a reason.

For a more in-depth look at why it’s so crucial to know your rights, please see AFSA’s guidance on OIG and DS investigations at www.afsa.org/ig-and-ds-investigation-guidance. ■



Reinvigorating the FAS Esprit de Corps

Only two years ago, the Foreign Agricultural Service switched from a Foreign Service recruitment system that relied completely on internal hires to one that recruited officers from both inside and outside the federal government.

A refreshing group of talented outside hires has since been added to an equally bright cadre from inside FAS. The first wave of Foreign Service officers recruited through the new system has received basic economic and agriculture training and will start to arrive at overseas posts this year.

New Opportunities

The revamped officer-intake system offers several opportunities for FAS, the largest being an occasion to reinvigorate the focus on professionalism among FAS FSOs. Instilling a sense of pro-

fessional pride must be one of our top priorities in training our future leaders to meet internal challenges and the increasingly competitive international trading environment faced by our constituents.

In the past, new FAS employees had to work for a minimum of 18 months before they could even apply to be FSOs; many spent years as civil servants prior to joining the Foreign Service. Consequently, our small, but distinct FSO community shared a strong cultural connection to FAS, but lacked esprit de corps and a common dedication to the broader Foreign Service and its commitment to professional development.

The new groups coming into FAS provide us an opportunity to develop a fresh approach to training that will impart a strong sense of community and purpose. In many

ways, the acculturation that occurs during State's A-100 new officer training course has been missing in the FAS context, and it is encouraging that a similar system was instituted for new FAS FSO classes starting in 2013-2014.

Professional Development

However, entry-level training is not enough. FAS needs to augment this training with a systematic drive toward career-long professional development.

The first objective needs to be prioritization of continuing education in commercial diplomacy. Despite the broad skillset required for successful promotion of agricultural trade, FAS has for too long promoted officers on a too-narrow range of skills.

The second objective must be to ensure senior officers are judged on how well they foster the development of

successive generations of leaders. All too often, new FSOs are expected to "learn on the job," without senior-level mentors to educate and nurture them as future leaders. Senior officers should take an active part in better defining what commercial diplomacy means to FAS and in training new leaders to take this professional art to a higher level.

The "Foreign Service" in "Foreign Agricultural Service" will thrive and best serve our constituents only if we establish a system that continually and intentionally creates and promotes exceptional leaders. Institutionally, we need to rededicate ourselves to a consistently higher level of professional development to ensure that our future ranks are able to meet the challenges ahead. ■



AFSA Governing Board Decisions August 5, 2015

July Governing Board Minutes: On a consent motion from FAS Vice President Mark Petry, the board approved the July 1 Governing Board minutes. The motion passed unanimously.

Election Committee Applicants: On a consent motion from AFSA Treasurer Charles Ford, the board approved the appointment of FSO Christopher Green to serve on the AFSA Committee on Elections for the period August 2015–August 2016. The motion passed unanimously.

Nominations to the Foreign Service Labor Relations Board, the Foreign Service Grievance Board and the Foreign Service Impasse Disputes Panel: On a motion from State Representative Nini Hawthorne, the Governing Board agreed to adopt a policy codifying the practice of soliciting and approving nominations of qualified individuals to the FSLRB, FSGB and the Disputes Panel. The measure passed unanimously.

OPM Data Breach: The new board continued discussion and reviewed actions taken in response to the OPM cyber breaches. Several board members voiced concern over the incidents' potential impacts on the financial security and safety of Foreign Service members and their families. All agreed to continue engaging OPM and Congress to ensure FS interests are addressed. ■



Foreign Service Limited Appointments and USAID Priorities

The topic of Foreign Service Limited appointments often evokes strong emotional responses among career Foreign Service officers, to the point that some of our USAID FSL colleagues sense animosity directed toward them because of the mechanism by which they were hired.

While the American Foreign Service Association does have concerns regarding the FSL hiring mechanism, under no circumstances should these concerns be channeled into ill will toward FSL colleagues, many of whom serve alongside FSOs in some of the agency's most challenging and dangerous environments.

Rather, AFSA's main concern has to do with the following: Despite being the lead U.S. government agency working to bolster national security by ending extreme global poverty and enabling resilient, democratic societies, USAID has for far too long had to resort to bureaucratic workarounds to compensate for staffing and resource shortages in fulfilling that mission.

A Hiring System Gone Awry

The use of program-funded FSL appointments to meet critical staffing needs has its roots in the creation of a well-intentioned but now out-of-control hiring system. The reduction-in-force and hiring freezes of

the mid-1990s left USAID with roughly 950 FSOs worldwide. The numbers had so dwindled that when, in the early 2000s, the urgent call came for hundreds of FSOs to staff the new Critical Priority Country posts of Iraq and Afghanistan, USAID was woefully unprepared to meet the demand.

Consequently, Sections 303 and 309 in the Foreign Service Act of 1980—which give the Secretary authority to make limited appointments to the Service—were used as the legal basis for hiring FSLs using operating expense (OE) funds, resources used for U.S. direct hires.

This quick fix soon proved untenable, as there were insufficient OE funds to support it. In a move proving that necessity is the mother of invention, USAID sought and gained authority in the 2004 foreign operations appropriations act to use program funds when hiring FSLs. Without this added flexibility, USAID could not have staffed the CPCs; Afghanistan alone had more than 300 positions.

USAID had already been “creatively” using program funds to hire Personal Service Contractors to fill staffing gaps, but PSCs are contractors rather than direct-hire, U.S. government employees. As such, they are limited in their ability to supervise and perform inherently governmental

USAID has for far too long had to resort to bureaucratic workarounds to compensate for staffing and resource shortages.

functions. The FSL hiring mechanism solved the contractor dilemma, as FSLs are direct-hire employees of the U.S. government and therefore able to supervise and evaluate FSOs.

However, FSL appointments are temporary and not competed. Thus, those occupying them are ineligible for promotion and conversion to the Foreign Service (unless under a Civil Service-to-Foreign Service conversion), do not participate in the major bidding cycles, cannot be part of an evaluation appraisal committee and, in some cases, occupy coveted NSDD-38 slots overseas.

A Source of Burnout and Distrust

Over time, the dynamics caused by USAID's FSL system have exposed the agency to prolonged stress that is leading to burnout and distrust among its own staff.

This “temporary” program-funded hiring has allowed USAID to continue to “get by.” In 2009, USAID was given the authority to extend FSL appointments up to four years beyond their initial five-year terms. If this

continues, USAID will not be able to meet the challenges of an increasingly complex global environment. The real issue, of understaffing due to insufficient funds, must be addressed.

To understand the extent to which the use of FSL authority has strayed, consider the FSL employment statistics provided by USAID's Office of Human Capital and Talent Management (see chart).

As of March 2014, USAID FSO and FSL positions totaled 2,083, with FSL positions accounting for nearly 16 percent of them. Of the 333 FSL positions, 213 or roughly 64 percent were based in Washington, D.C. Only 86 FSL positions, or about 26 percent, were at CPC posts.

A year later, as of June 2015, FSL positions had held steady at about 16 percent of the total combined FSO and FSL slots. Of interest, however, was the fact that of the 329 FSL positions, Washington slots grew to 221, or 67 percent. FSL appointments at CPC posts decreased from 86 to 65, or approximately 20 percent. In addition, program-funded

FSL appointments increased from 227 to 244, a 7-percent jump from 2014.

The growth in Washington-based FSL jobs and their marked decrease in CPCs underscore mounting concerns that the mechanism is being used as a quick method for hiring outsiders to lead the proliferation of new agency initiatives out of D.C. The data also reveal that the majority of Washington FSL positions are not even supporting CPCs.

These trends indicate that program-funded FSL hiring is being done with little regard for the agency's overall health and future.

Short-Term Political Agendas

To make matters worse, many units set up for the new initiatives do not have FSOs in key positions. When the bulk of its leadership and policy positions are held by transient appointees, the agency runs the risk of short-term political agendas trumping USAID's core mission. This situation spawns opportunism, weakens esprit de corps within the Foreign Service and emaciates institutional memory.

A career as a USAID FSO should be well-suited for millennials, given their preference for work with real meaning and opportunities to learn new skills. Yet the fact that USAID ranked 19th out of the 25 participating medium-sized government agencies in the Partnership for Public Service's 2014 Best

Places to Work in the Federal Government rankings points to a disconnect. The clear implication is that all is not well within USAID.

Authority for program-funded FSL appointments was never intended to be permanent. Nor was it meant to go beyond the original five-year limit. It was originally envisioned as a stopgap measure to staff unfilled CPC positions overseas until sufficient FSOs could be hired. The authority has been granted for two-year increments in appropriation legislation, and keeps being rolled over unchecked.

It's time to scale back program-funded FSL authority and revisit our priorities. It is my intention to urge USAID leadership and members of Congress to take a step back from quick-fix hiring workarounds, focus on development priorities and ensure that sufficient OE funds are provided for hiring the necessary level of career FSOs to meaningfully develop, implement, manage and evaluate USAID programs.

It is critical that we deploy experienced, culturally sensitive, career FSOs to perform these functions, which are so crucial to maintaining America's front lines of peace and security.

USAID Foreign Service Limited Positions in 2014 and 2015	OE-Funded FSL Positions		Program-Funded FSL Positions		Total OE- and Program-Funded FSL Positions		Percent of Total FSL Positions	
	March 2014	June 2015	March 2014	June 2015	March 2014	June 2015	March 2014	June 2015
Washington, D.C.	18	18	195	203	213	221	64%	67%
Overseas Critical Priority Country Positions	86	65	0	0	86	65	26%	20%
Overseas Non-Critical Priority Country Positions	2	2	32	41	34	43	10%	13%
Total	106	85	227	244	333	329	100%	100%

Source: USAID Office of Human Capital and Talent Management

I agree that we must act as prudent stewards of taxpayer's funds, but this FSL shell game is not prudent. The United States directs less than 1 percent of its \$4 trillion federal budget to foreign aid. There is no reason USAID should continue hiding its OE needs. Instead,

the agency needs to redirect its "creative" efforts into supporting and justifying such needs to appropriators.

The effort is worth it, not just for the future of USAID and the Foreign Service, but for the wellbeing of the United States and its citizens. ■

NEWS BRIEF

AFSPA'S NEW LOCATION

The American Foreign Service Protective Association has moved to 1620 L Street NW, Suite 800, Washington, D.C. The new building, located at the corner of 17th and L Streets NW, is expected to accommodate the association's continued growth. For more information on AFSPA, please visit www.afspa.org. ■



COURTESY OF AFSPA



AFSA ON THE HILL

Advocating Diversity: Hispanics in the Foreign Service

Hispanics comprise more than 17 percent of the U.S. population. And although the number of Hispanics in the Foreign Service (roughly 5 percent at State and 2.5 percent at USAID) is a long way off from that mark, the American Foreign Service Association is working with multiple partners to close that gap.

According to the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training, the advent of the Alliance for Progress—a presidential initiative established in 1961 to strengthen economic cooperation between the United States and Latin American countries—prompted an influx of Hispanics into the Foreign Service.

Four years later, Joseph John Jova became the first Hispanic, career-Foreign Service ambassador and represented the United States in Honduras. He later became ambassador to the Organization of American States and to Mexico.

Today, the Service benefits from a cadre of distinguished career diplomats of Hispanic heritage, such as retired Ambassadors John Negroponte and Lino Gutierrez and active-duty Ambassador Liliana Ayalde.

The rise in the number of Hispanics in the Foreign Service has also been bolstered by allies on Capitol Hill.

FACTOIDS ON HISPANICS IN THE 114TH CONGRESS

- There are 38 Hispanics in the 114th Congress.
- Hispanics make up 7 percent of Congress.
- Thirty-four Hispanics serve in the House (25 Democrats, 9 Republicans).
- Four Hispanics serve in the Senate (3 Republicans, 1 Democrat).
- Nine of the Hispanic members of Congress are women.
- Representatives Linda Sánchez (D-Calif.) and Loretta Sánchez (D-Calif.) are sisters.
- Twenty-six Hispanics form the Congressional Hispanic Caucus. They are all Democrats.

(Source: Congressional Research Service)

To commemorate Hispanic Heritage Month, AFSA would like to highlight some of the congressional groups and educational initiatives dedicated to the advancement of Hispanics whose members strive to make significant contributions to U.S. foreign policy.

The Congressional Hispanic Caucus, founded in 1976, serves as a forum for the Hispanic members of Congress to coalesce around a collective legislative agenda. Its focus is to advance issues—domestic and international—affecting Hispanics in the United States, Puerto Rico and the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands.

Recently, AFSA worked with the office of CHC member and former chairman of

the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Senator Bob Menendez (D-N.J.), to secure language in support of additional resources for recruitment and retention of underrepresented communities in S. 1635, the Department of State Operations Authorization and Embassy Security Act, Fiscal Year 2016. The bill passed the SFRC unanimously, and a floor vote is now pending.

AFSA is also working with CHC member Representative Jose Serrano (D-N.Y.), who serves on the House Appropriations Subcommittee on State, Foreign Operations and Related Programs, toward the same goal.

In addition, educational programs have been invaluable in identifying and developing the next generation of

Hispanic leaders. In 1978, a small group of Hispanic members of Congress established the Congressional Hispanic Caucus Institute.

CHCI is founded on three cornerstones: educational attainment, leadership development and access to a powerful professional network. The institute benefits more than 1,700 young Latinos each year through its fellowships, congressional internships and scholarships.

And in 2003, the Congressional Hispanic Leadership Institute was founded by members of Congress to promote the advancement of Hispanic and Portuguese Americans through educational partnerships, leadership programs, academic seminars and other events.

Today, many members of the Foreign Service have passed through these programs, and still other alumni remain on the Hill and have proven to be valuable allies.

If you participated in CHCI or CHLI, please share your experience with us at advocacy@afsa.org.

—Javier Cuebas,
Director of Advocacy

Reforming State's Performance Management System

After engaging in an 18-month review with the Department of State's Bureau of Human Resources, the American Foreign Service Association has agreed to several reforms to the employee appraisal and selection board systems.

The new approach to performance management is intended to enhance professional development and Foreign Service effectiveness and streamline the appraisal and promotion processes.

Three major changes will go into effect in the 2015-2016 evaluation cycle:

- Introduction of a new Employee Evaluation Report form (DS-5055), which is shorter and designed to focus more on results and demonstrated examples of collaboration and less on tasks and individual precepts.

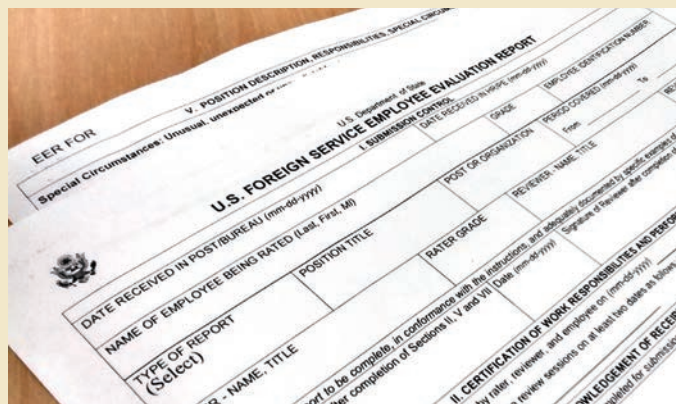
- Adoption of revamped selection board review procedures for Foreign Service officers, who will now be evaluated once in a comprehensive, full-spectrum review, rather than twice by separate

selection boards (i.e., class-wide and functional). The procedures for Foreign Service specialists are unchanged.

- Revision and better advertising of clear criteria for selecting officers in the Senior Foreign Service to receive performance pay.

The EER's increased focus on outcomes came out of an extensive HR effort to collect input from more than 100 promotion panels and 23 information-gathering sessions. HR found that concrete examples demonstrating an employee's effectiveness across the six competencies are far more persuasive than shallow vignettes highlighting only one competency when evaluating the employee's promotion potential.

According to HR officials, the department spends an estimated 82 staff years on the EER drafting, review and promotion panel process each year. The new system will dramatically reduce the time spent writing EERs and navigating the ePerformance platform (yes, even this



clunky medium will become easier in 2015-2016). The department believes that all FS employees will learn of promotion decisions a full four to six weeks faster.

Contributing to the shortened processing time is the elimination of the two-panel review system for FSOs, which will have a knock-on effect for all promotion boards, both officer and specialist. While the number of promotions for FSOs will continue to be determined by skill code and grade, based on the needs of the Service, the panel will comprise officers from every cone and will evaluate FSOs on their

classwide and functional performance.

The goal is to eliminate skill-code silos and ensure the Foreign Service is, in fact, motivating its officers to continually challenge themselves and grow professionally across a broad spectrum of competencies.

AFSA believes the changes will streamline the performance evaluation process and result in a more effective Foreign Service. The association will, however, closely monitor its rollout over the course of the next year. ■

—Maria C. Livingston,
Associate Editor

NEWS BRIEF

STAY CURRENT ON THE OPM DATA BREACH

The American Foreign Service Association is closely monitoring developments on the recent data breaches at the Office of Personnel Management and updating our website with the latest information at www.afsa.org/opm-breach.

On Aug. 9, AFSA President Ambassador Barbara Stephenson sent a letter (see www.bit.ly/1UXJ9te) to OPM Acting Director Beth Cobert regarding the reported breach. In the letter, Stephenson stressed the unique vulnerability of the Foreign Service, and again requested a briefing with OPM to discuss concerns specific to our members.

AFSA will remain engaged with this issue as long as is necessary. We encourage our members to keep checking AFSA's website, as well the OPM site, for additional information. ■

AFSA and Smithsonian Partner on Foreign Service Outreach

A critical component of the American Foreign Service Association's mission is to conduct outreach and engage the public to provide insight into the life and work of the Foreign Service.

As part of this effort, AFSA partners every year with The Smithsonian Associates—the largest museum-based educational program in the world—to present a daylong seminar on diplomacy and the Foreign Service.

This year's event, held on Aug. 11 and titled "Inside the World of Diplomacy," drew more than 100 students, professionals and retirees. The first half of the day took place at AFSA headquarters.

AFSA President Ambassador Barbara Stephenson opened by sharing her insights on a day in the life of an ambassador. Passing around her stamp-filled diplomatic passport, newspa-



AFSA President Barbara Stephenson describes the issues she worked on while serving as ambassador to Panama, including the Panama Canal expansion project and bilateral free trade agreement.

per clippings from countries where she has served and unique souvenirs she's picked up along the way, Amb. Stephenson's personal account of the Foreign Service as an exciting and rewarding career resonated with the audience.

Matthew Palmer, a career Foreign Service officer and director for multilateral affairs in State's Bureau of East

Asian and Pacific Affairs, followed suit. Speaking on the ins and outs of the Foreign Service, he offered a primer on the Department of State and the role of embassies.

In addition to regaling the crowd with his FS adventures, Palmer spoke to the need for flexibility in one's career. This flexibility is every Foreign Service member's hallmark,

given the demands and rigors of a career spent hopping from country to country and living in sometimes harsh or dangerous settings.

For Palmer, that flexibility paid off when a prized assignment was unexpectedly switched, ultimately leading to his meeting his wife at the new post.

After an engaging Q&A on U.S. foreign policy priorities, congressional appropriations and the balancing act between managing risk and effective diplomacy, the group spent the afternoon at Main State learning about the Ops Center and Foreign Service Institute.

Another successful program on the books, AFSA looks forward to continuing to partner with The Smithsonian Associates to help tell the Foreign Service's story. ■

—Maria C. Livingston,
Associate Editor

Changing of the Guard at Tales from a Small Planet

Tales from a Small Planet, the nonprofit dedicated to providing resources and post and school reports for Foreign Service families and other expats, has selected a new executive team.

Foreign Service spouse Leslie Jensen has assumed the role of executive director, and the group's new board is composed of longtime board member Patricia Linderman,

John McDaniel, Nicole Schaefer-McDaniel, Susan Shirley, Kathi Silva, Rima Vydmantis and Kristi Zilbauer.

Created in 2000 by a group of Foreign Service spouses who had previously collaborated on the *Spouses' Underground Newsletter*, Tales from a Small Planet has helped thousands of professionals and their families evaluate potential postings.



It has also provided a useful forum for sharing the joys and frustrations of a mobile lifestyle.

As the new leadership takes over, Tales is also reinvigorating its online presence. Please follow them on Facebook at

www.facebook.com/talesmag and on Twitter at @realpostreports. As always, their extensive collection of post reports is available on their website, www.talesmag.com. ■

—Ásgeir Sigfússon,
Director of Communications

AFSA BOOK NOTES

Documenting Consular History

On Aug. 19, the American Foreign Service Association hosted a Book Notes event at its headquarters featuring retired Foreign Service officer and author Charles Stuart “Stu” Kennedy.

Speaking to a packed house, Kennedy discussed the latest edition of his book *The American Consul: A History of the United States Consular Service, 1776-1924*, which was first published in 1990.

AFSA President Ambassador Barbara Stephenson welcomed the audience and introduced Kennedy, whose 30-year career took him to Frankfurt, Naples, Seoul, Athens and Saigon. After retiring in 1985, he became the oral history director at the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training.

Kennedy received the 2014 AFSA Lifetime Contributions to American Diplomacy Award for his pioneering work in creating and guiding the Foreign Affairs Oral History collection, now known as the ADST Oral History Program. He has personally interviewed more than 1,000 of the several thousand American diplomats whose stories are now available online through ADST and the Library of Congress.

Taking the stage, Kennedy—a former consular officer—began by explaining his motivations for writing the

book: to record the frequently overlooked narrative of the Consular Service. By doing so, he sought to provide a consequential prologue to traditional accounts of Foreign Service history.

According to Kennedy, U.S. embassies are relative newcomers to the diplomatic scene. Until the 1930s, embassies were less connected and influential than consular establishments, the origins of which date back to at least the 6th century B.C.

The Consular Service's role was to represent a nation's trade interests. For American consuls, this entailed taking care of seamen and shipping—at that time the primary vehicle for U.S. engagement with the rest of the world.

Drawing primarily from the archives of the State Department's Ralph J. Bunche Library, Kennedy's historical tome covers the period from 1776 to 1924, the year when the Consular and Diplomatic Services were merged to form today's U.S. Foreign Service.

Highlighting the importance of the Consular Service, Kennedy gave the audience a rundown of seminal events in consular history, demonstrating that these are often synonymous with major events in world history. For instance, he dubbed the War of 1812 a “consular war” because of



Stu Kennedy signs copies of his book *The American Consul* for attendees at the Aug. 19 Book Notes event.

the significant roles that American consuls played.

Kennedy kept the audience laughing with humorous anecdotes and pointed to a decided lack of professionalism on the part of some early American consuls. He described incidents involving heated duels and outright fraud and suggested that consular missteps in Havana hastened the onset of the Spanish-American War.

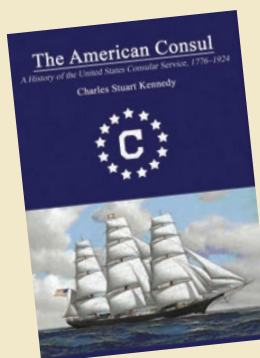
And while many consuls were brilliant, dedicated employees, the Consular Service also allowed some bad apples to taint its ranks in its early days. Kennedy explained how wealthy families often directed indolent sons to the Service in hope

that they would gain life experience. It was “this sort of dandy” that often featured as the stock character “remittance man” in the stories of late 19th century author O. Henry.

Kennedy wrapped up by explaining how the passage of the Rogers Act of 1924 changed the Consular Service, bringing it in line with the broader shift away from the political spoils system toward a professional Foreign Service.

A lively Q&A followed, with audience questions on topics ranging from the role of legations and consular involvement in the Barbary War to specific cases of consular fraud and misbehavior. ■

—Shannon Mizzi,
Editorial Intern



AFSA 2015-2016 Scholarship Aid Tops a Quarter-Million

Can a nonprofit association make a difference with \$218,000? Ask any of the college-bound students who recently learned that they are the recipients of an American Foreign Service Association Financial Aid Scholarship, and they will tell you it can.

This fall, the AFSA Scholarship Committee was pleased to bestow 64 scholarships on undergraduate children of Foreign Service employees for the 2015-2016 academic year. Awards ranged from \$3,000 to \$5,000.

Checks totaling \$108,000

Continued on page 59



The AFSA Scholarship Committee conferring \$218,000 in scholarship aid on 64 undergraduate students for the 2015-2016 school year. From left: Thomas Smitham (State), AFSA Scholarship Director Lori Dec, Bess Zelle (State), Ambassador Lange Schermerhorn (Chair), Dr. Alia El Mohandes (USAID) and AFSA Scholarship Assistant Jonathon Crawford. Not pictured: Christine Strossman (FAS) and Barbara Farrar (FCS).

ABOUT AFSA SCHOLARSHIPS

More than \$4 million in aid has been awarded to 2,200 Foreign Service children over the last 25 years.

No AFSA membership dues go to the AFSA Scholarship Program. Funding comes from a variety of sources: DACOR sponsors \$40,000 through three endowed scholarships, and AAFSW provides \$10,000 from its BookFair proceeds.

Ad hoc donations to the scholarship fund supplement trust and annual scholarship gifts, as do contributions through the AFSA Scholarship Fund Annual Appeal and the Combined Federal Campaign.

The largest portion of funding is drawn from the AFSA Scholarship Fund's \$7.4 million endowment, which has accrued from the establishment of more than 70 perpetual scholarships since 1926.

In 2015, Tracy and her family established the scholarship in his name.

The McMackle Scholarship is part of AFSA's need-based Financial Aid Scholarship Program and will be awarded for the first time in the 2016-2017 academic year. ■

—Lori Dec,
Scholarship Director

New Scholarship in Memory of FS Son

The American Foreign Service Association announces establishment of a new scholarship, the Joshua Lane-Holman McMackle Scholarship. The award is in memory of the late son of Tracy McMackle, a Foreign Service officer with the Foreign Agricultural Service and an AFSA member.

Joshua, himself the recipient of an AFSA Financial Aid Scholarship in the 2009-2010 academic year, spent most of his life abroad living in Brussels, Bonn, Berlin, Moscow and Tokyo. He returned to the United States for his junior and senior years of high school.

At the Randolph-Macon Academy in Front Royal,



AFSA Executive Director Ian Houston presents Tracy McMackle with a certificate of appreciation and an AFSA commemorative coin acknowledging establishment of the memorial scholarship in her son Joshua's name.

Virginia, Joshua learned to fly Cessna aircraft and played on the varsity basketball

team. As a student at Texas Southern University, he found it easier to say he was from Virginia than explain his life as a globetrotting dependent, hence his nickname "V.A."

In April 2010, near the end of his freshman year in college, Joshua was attending a street party near campus when he was fatally shot.

Joshua is also survived by his father, Bruce Ivan McMackle, and his sister, Mariah Syn-claire McMackle.

Scholarship Aid • Continued from page 58

for the 2015 fall semester were sent to 60 stateside and four overseas colleges during the first week of August. The remaining \$110,000 will be mailed in December to cover 2016 spring semester expenses.

These need-based awards, together with the \$42,250 in AFSA Merit Awards granted to high school seniors in May (see the July/August 2015 AFSA News), amount to more than a quarter of a million dollars (\$260,250).

This benefit is only offered to tax-dependent children, whose parents are AFSA members and active-duty, retired or deceased Foreign Service employees.

Scholarship applications for the 2016-2017 school year will be available in November. The Financial Aid Scholarship deadline is March 6, 2016. A family's assets and income will be considered when evaluating students' applications.

The deadline for the Community Service and Academic and Art Merit Awards is Feb. 6, 2016. Eligible students can apply one time only, as a high school senior. Not all candidates who apply will be given an award.

Visit www.afsa.org/scholar for more information or contact Lori Dec, AFSA Scholarship Director, at dec@afsa.org or (202) 944-5504. ■

—Lori Dec,
Scholarship Director

FSO Lucy Chang Receives 2015 George F. Kennan Award

On June 12, AFSA Foreign Commercial Service Vice President Steve Morrison presented this year's George F. Kennan Strategic Writing Award to Foreign Service Officer Lucy Chang at the National War College in Washington, D.C.

During the year-long program, three of Chang's papers were selected "best in seminar" and one was nominated for NWC's best regionally oriented strategy award.

AFSA presents the Kennan award each year to an NWC graduate whose final paper has been chosen as the best essay on strategy or policy among State Department employees.

The award is named for FSO George F. Kennan, who was the first deputy commandant of the NWC when he wrote his famous 1947 article, "The Sources of Soviet Conduct," which forever changed U.S. foreign policy.

Chang's first paper, written for her "Foundations of Strategic Thinking" course, focused on national security strategy from a Russian perspective. She identified Russia's core interests and strategic priorities in the context of a rising China, NATO



The 2015 Kennan Award recipient, Lucy Chang (center), poses with AFSA Coordinator for Special Awards and Outreach Perri Green (left) and AFSA FCS Vice President Steve Morrison (right) at the June 12 National War College graduation ceremony.

and European Union enlargement and energy security in a multipolar world. She then assessed the coherence of Russia's overall strategy for achieving those goals.

An assignment for her "War, Statecraft and the Military Instrument of Power" course, Chang's second essay analyzed the decision-making process that resulted in the failed Bay of Pigs invasion. She described the incident as "a cautionary tale for today's strategic decision-makers," with lessons concerning the proper role of military and civilian authority in strategic planning and execution, the power of bureaucratic dynamics and domestic politics, and the dangers of unexamined assumptions.

Chang wrote her final best-

in-seminar paper for her "National Security Strategy Practicum" course. In this essay, she prescribed a U.S. strategy for promoting democracy and good governance in Ukraine. She examined key challenges and threats to Ukraine's democratic development and the impact of the EuroMaidan and civil society actions on the future of

Ukrainian democracy in the face of continued Russian aggression.

Finally, Chang's individual strategic research project proposed a post-2016 transition strategy for Afghanistan, encouraging regional cooperation and integration, good governance and economic growth as a path toward a more stable, self-sufficient nation.

An FSO for 15 years and counting, Chang has served in São Paulo, Hong Kong, Kigali, Guatemala City, Lisbon, Baghdad, Bissau, Washington, D.C., and New York. In August, she began her new assignment as the political-military affairs counselor in Kabul. ■

—Casey Knerr,
Awards Intern

FAMILY MEMBER MATTERS

Transfer Trauma: Spicing Up the Medical Clearance Update

Another move, another Medical Clearance Update (form DS-3057) with its not-too-subtle questions trying to determine whether I've become or am in danger of becoming a barking lunatic while at post.

I figure, after 30 years without incident, I've earned the right to check "no" in the boxes. But for some of the questions this time around, I was tempted to answer "yes."

Question: Have you been treated for any ongoing medical or mental health condition? If yes, please explain.

Checked: No.

Wanted to answer: Yes. Perpetual anxiety from cumulative transfers.

Question: Do you have any physical or emotional

concerns that you feel should be evaluated?

Checked: No.

Wanted to answer: Oh, good God, yes. Physical? Alarming chunks of gray matter flying out of ears as I prepare for stateside pack-out. Emotional? Why, yes, I am, thank you.

Question: In your life, have you ever had any experience that was so frightening, horrible or upsetting that, in the past month, you:

(a) Have had nightmares about it or thought about it when you did not want to?

Checked: No.

Wanted to answer: That nightmare where it's departure time, and we just discovered that the movers forgot to pack up three rooms of the house. Or the

one where we're wandering around the airport tarmac trying to find the right plane. Or the other one where our pets have been slaughtered and eaten by the airport baggage handlers. Or, how about the one where we forgot to bring our young children to post and they are now alone in our empty house 15,000 miles away?

(b) Tried hard not to think about it or went out of your way not to think about it?

Checked: No.

Wanted to answer: Oh, you mean packing out? I try hard not to think about it. However, since the movers are coming in one week, I should probably start thinking about it.

(c) Were constantly on guard, watchful or easily

startled?

Checked: No.

Wanted to answer: Is that them? Did the truck just pull up a week early? Oh my God, oh my God, oh my God, no no no! Oh, wait, it's a Peapod delivery for the neighbors. Never mind.

(d) Felt numb or detached from others, activities or your surroundings?

Checked: No.

Wanted to answer: I wish. ■

Francesca Kelly is a freelance writer, editor and college application tutor. She served as AFSA News editor from 2009 to 2012 and is a frequent contributor to the Journal. She is married to Ambassador Ian Kelly, an FSO since 1985.

HS Essay Winner • Continued from page 49

the nation: This year, AFSA received more than 450 submissions from 41 states.

The contest is governed by an advisory committee chaired by retired U.S. diplomat Eugene Schmiel. The judging panel comprises high school teachers, AFSA staff and active-duty and retired Foreign Service personnel.

The winners and their essays, as well as the 21 students receiving honorable



AFSA President Ambassador Barbara Stephenson with the 2015 AFSA National High School Contest Award recipient, Thomas Keller. Keller and his parents kicked off their busy day of meeting foreign policy leaders with a welcome breakfast at AFSA headquarters.

mentions, can be found at www.afsa.org/essaycontest.

The 2016 essay topic will be posted on the website in November. If you are interested in serving as a judge or would like to learn more about the contest, please contact AFSA Special Awards and Outreach Coordinator Perri Green at green@afsa.org. ■

—Maria C. Livingston,
Associate Editor

Call for Nominations: AFSA Constructive Dissent Awards

DEADLINE: February 28, 2016

The Nomination Process

Anyone may propose a superior, peer or subordinate—or themselves—for an American Foreign Service Association constructive dissent award. The nomination must be 700 words or fewer, and must include all of the following elements:

- The name of the award for which the person is being nominated, along with the nominee's grade, agency and position;
- The nominator's name, grade, agency and position, along with a description of his or her association with the nominee; and
- A justification for nomination that describes the actions and qualities that qualify the nominee for the award. This should cite specific examples demonstrating that he or she has "exhibited extraordinary accomplishment involving initiative, integrity, intellectual courage and constructive dissent."

Additional Guidelines

- Only career or career-conditional members of the foreign affairs agencies (e.g., State, USAID, FCS, FAS, APHS or BBG) are eligible.
- An individual may be nominated more than once in different years for the same award, provided that he or she has never won that award.
- The actions attributed to the nominee must have taken place no more than four years prior to the nomination.

While messages sent via the State Department Dissent Channel and USAID's Direct Channel may be cited as the basis of a dissent nomination, they are not necessary. A nomination must be submitted directly to AFSA for consideration.

For additional information or to nominate someone using AFSA's online form, see www.afsa.org/dissent. If you have questions, contact Special Awards and Outreach Coordinator Perri Green at green@afsa.org or (202) 719-9700. ■



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We Want to Hear from You on Facebook

The American Foreign Service Association is continuously seeking ways to not only inform but engage our members. We want your feedback on issues of importance to you, your careers and your families.

We've recently posed questions to our Facebook followers to get an idea of their views and experiences on important topics.

For instance, we asked whether our followers had received personal notification following the two Office of Personnel Management data breaches; the numerous responses revealed that an overwhelming amount of members had yet to hear

anything regarding their status.

This feedback tracked with other input we'd received through email and by phone, which allowed us to have a better sense of the needs of our members as we communicated with OPM, Capitol Hill and management at the foreign affairs agencies on

the issue.

We plan to do more online outreach in the future. With about 70 percent of our members stationed overseas at any time, social media has proven to be an excellent way for us to get your perspective. We encourage all members to follow us on Facebook and get involved in the conversa-

tion. You are our eyes and ears; the more we hear from you, the better we can represent you.

Of course, social media is far from the only way to contact AFSA's staff and elected officials, who are always happy to be of assistance. A list of contacts can be found at www.afsa.org/staff.

In addition, AFSA post reps working at embassies and consulates around the world are a key conduit; find yours at www.afsa.org/postreps. You may also wish to participate in our online discussion forum at community.afsa.org. And, as always, you can email us at member@afsa.org.

We look forward to hearing from you. ■

—Ásgeir Sigfússon,
Director of Communications



Annual Foreign Service Youth Awards Ceremony

On July 10, Director General Arnold A. Chacón, the Family Liaison Office and the Foreign Service Youth Foundation hosted the 2015 Youth Awards Ceremony at the Department of State's George C. Marshall Center. Foreign Service children received awards for their art, essay writing, video production, community service and scholarly achievements.

The ceremony also recognized awardees of the Associates of American Foreign Service Worldwide Merit Scholarship Award program.

To learn more about the FSYF and AAFSW awards, visit their websites at www.fsyf.org and www.aafsw.org. ■

ART CONTEST

Ages 5-8

FIRST PLACE: Adriana Singh, Cotonou
SECOND PLACE: Annika Bitner, Jerusalem
THIRD PLACE: Luciana Belon, Paramaribo

Ages 9-12

FIRST PLACE: Moses Smith, Harare
SECOND PLACE: Jacob Newman, Mbabane
THIRD PLACE: Caroline Toyryla, Vientiane

Ages 13-18

FIRST PLACE: Cora Deininger, Washington, D.C.
SECOND PLACE: Camryn Carswell, Ramstein-Miesenbach
THIRD PLACE: Ericka Betts, Santo Domingo

ESSAY CONTEST

Middle School

FIRST PLACE: Liam Rathke, Washington, D.C.
SECOND PLACE: Elizabeth Wong, Kigali
THIRD PLACE: Stephen Harvey, Guadalajara

High School

FIRST PLACE: Ari Albalak, Bridgetown
SECOND PLACE: Cassidy Chang, Gaborone
THIRD PLACE: Diego Rubey, Bogota

KIDVID CONTEST

FIRST PLACE (TIE):
Madeline Faber, Moscow
Daphne Valen and Sloane Valen, Vancouver
HONORABLE MENTIONS
Aurelius Barrus and Daniel Razick, Georgetown
Joshua Hendriksen, Amman
Caroline and Gabriela Ousley Naseman, Chennai

COMMUNITY SERVICE AWARDS

Joshua Smith-Sreen, Nairobi
Gregor Chisholm, Amman
Shannon O'Meara, Nassau (Honorable Mention)

ACADEMIC MERIT AWARDS

FIRST PLACE: Claire Young, Seoul
SECOND PLACE: Erik Enstrom Schofer, Vienna

AAFSW MERIT SCHOLARSHIP AWARDS

HIGH SCHOOL/GAP YEAR MERIT AWARD:
Patrick Odium
COLLEGE MERIT AWARD: Meredith Hilton
BEST ESSAY AWARD: Sofia Tipton
JUDY FELT MEMORIAL VOLUNTEERISM AWARD:
Kendall Thompson

TLG Summer Intern Catches the Foreign Service Itch

Each year, the Thursday Luncheon Group and the American Foreign Service Association partner to encourage African-American involvement in U.S. foreign policy by sponsoring a summer intern at the Department of State.

This year's intern, Memphis native Candace Johnson, expressed gratitude for the opportunities and new experiences she's had through this internship. "Maybe this shouldn't have come as a surprise, but everyone has been so welcoming," Johnson says.

"Had I not been the TLG intern, I don't think so many people would have reached out to me and been so kind."

Johnson is working for the India desk in the Bureau of South and Central Asian Affairs, on the bilateral and strategic affairs team. Her daily duties include helping to resolve visa issues and organize bilateral meetings between Indian and U.S. government officials regarding business, investment and commercial relations.

According to Johnson, the highlight of her internship was participating in a high-level meeting in September with the external affairs



On Aug. 13, AFSA President Ambassador Barbara Stephenson welcomed Candace Johnson to AFSA headquarters where they discussed her aspiration to join the Foreign Service.

AFSA/AMY JONES

minister of India.

Of her time at Foggy Bottom, she comments: "This summer has reaffirmed my desire to work for the government, particularly as an FSO." She likes the idea of working with an organization for 30 years, but also getting to experience something new every two or three years.

"This internship is 'nine-to-five,' but I've never felt like it was," says Johnson. "It's interesting, and I welcome that. I never look at the clock and ask, 'How many more hours do I have to go?'"

For more information on AFSA-supported internship opportunities, please visit www.afsa.org/tlg.

—Amy Jones,

Communications Intern



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The Barnacles of Foreign Assistance

Memoirs of an Agent for Change in International Development: My Flight Path into the 21st Century

Ludwig Rudel, Arlington Hall Press, 2014, \$17.95, softcover, 340 pages.

REVIEWED BY MARIA C. LIVINGSTON

In a year when the United Nations and its member states are trying to come to agreement on a post-2015 development agenda (as a sequel to the U.N. Millennium Development Goals, which are due to sunset at the end of this year), Ludwig Rudel's historical narrative, *Memoirs of an Agent for Change in International Development*, provides much food for thought.

Rudel, whose family fled the Holocaust during World War II, spent nearly 25 years as a Foreign Service officer with the U.S. Agency for International Development, joining in 1954 when the aid organization was known as the International Cooperation Agency. His career took him to such far-flung posts as Iran, Turkey, India, Pakistan and Egypt.

Writing for his heirs and development professionals alike, Rudel goes back and forth between describing the political and economic events that determined his career path and sharing the intimate and sometimes messy details of his life choices.

A son and brother first, Rudel became a husband and father along the way, all while donning his faithful public servant's hat as he evaluated technical assistance projects, designed export promotion schemes and helped manage PL480 grain import programs.

From developing a lifelong friendship with a contact in the Turkish Ministry of Commerce to dealing with an ailing parent from 8,000 miles away, and from being mistaken for a spy to seeking one's place

in expat communities through amateur theater and flight school, Rudel's memoirs are the substance of real life. Any Foreign Service reader will no doubt relate to and appreciate his commentary on the quirks and perks of the Foreign Service experience.

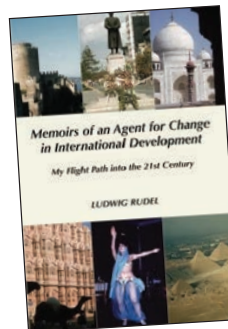
The former economic-assistance hand does not pull any punches, either. With the security of more than 30 years between his active-duty days and today, Rudel is particularly vocal in his view that the CIA and British MI6 were not behind the 1953 ouster of Iranian Prime Minister Mohammad Mosaddegh: "The shah had absolute control and power in Iran. He appointed Mosaddegh to the position of prime minister in 1951. He then dismissed him in 1953 and remained in power. How can that be described as a coup?"

The assertion will certainly ring hollow for many readers—not to mention that it flies in the face of volumes of now-declassified government documents and memoirs of individuals involved in the coup. But it is not in this type of second-guessing that the book's merit lies.

It is instead Rudel's account of one especially painful episode—the crush of betrayal when cuts to USAID budgets led to his firing shortly before he was set to retire—that brings the book's most useful contribution to the dialogue on foreign assistance into focus.

Prompted by the euphoria that pervaded the post-World War II approach to reconstruction in war-scarred Europe, the author jumped on the economic assistance bandwagon at a time when the ICA's mandate was viewed as temporary and when there was a genuine expectation that the agency would work itself out of a job within 10 short years.

Rudel waxes nostalgic for the days



when U.S. benevolence was broadly supported at home and welcomed by foreign countries and their citizenry. Yet, as his time in the Service wore on, this excitement and expectation would succumb to two unanticipated trends.

First, developing countries would come to view

foreign aid as an entitlement, rather than a fleeting act of goodwill to facilitate transition to political and economic independence. Second, untethered public support among Americans and ipso facto congressional funding for foreign assistance would plummet as discontent over the Vietnam War increased.

Rudel likens the politicization of foreign aid to affixing "barnacles" to USAID's once-glistening ship.

By the 1970s, a more seasoned Rudel finds himself working the United Nations "conference circuit." In a decidedly cynical turn, the author accuses Group of 77 countries of manipulating the multilateral "development game" to guilt wealthy countries into ever-increasing "resource transfers."

According to Rudel, the Millennium Development Goals—though worthy—are the manifestation of this trend in the new millennium. The reader may be disappointed with his completely unviable solution to the problem.

The book includes a chapter on Rudel's moonlighting as a housing developer in rural Pennsylvania. He draws lessons from his time with USAID to navigate the oft-bewildering red tape all through the course of this 30-year business venture. Barely earning enough to break even, Rudel weighs in favor of effective regulation, which he believes is necessary to offset the rise of megabanks and oligopolies that prey on consumers

and small-scale entrepreneurs.

Readers should forgive the fact that the concluding chapter is disjointed and introduces themes not previously explored in the book (e.g., immigration and climate change). At its core, Rudel's narrative represents a solid contribution to the chronicles of development assistance, the lessons of which should serve as a reference to those negotiating the post-2015 development agenda.

Maria C. Livingston is the Journal's associate editor.

Asking Important Questions

Mission Creep: The Militarization of U.S. Foreign Policy?

Gordon Adams and Shoon Murray, editors. Georgetown University Press, 2014, paperback/\$32.08, Kindle Edition/\$22.33, 256 pages.

REVIEWED BY CHARLES A. RAY

Mission Creep: The Militarization of U.S. Foreign Policy? addresses the growing role of the Department of Defense and the military in the conduct of activities abroad that traditionally have been under the purview of the Department of State.

With experience in the military (20 years) and as a Foreign Service officer (30 years), I have to start by saying that the question mark in the title should be removed.

There is little doubt that U.S. foreign policy since the early 1940s has been characterized by an increasing reliance on use of force, or the threat of use of force, instead of reliance on the murkier and often uncertain outcomes that traditional diplomacy achieves.

The essays in this book, some written by experienced diplomatic practitioners and some by academics, address this trend as

it's developed, primarily since the events of 9/11, when the United States embarked on the Global War on Terrorism.

The authors show how the country's senior leadership has tended to look at the military and DOD as the go-to resource to get things done abroad in the name of national security.

In her essay, "Foreign Assistance in Camouflage," Nina M. Serafino, a researcher for the Congressional Research Service, points out that, despite the common belief that DOD's encroachment on traditional diplomatic turf grew out of 9/11, it has, in fact, been a growing trend since World War II, with the creation of the President's National Security Council and the Joint Chiefs of Staff in 1947.

I would expand on Ms. Serafino's thesis, and point out that during the war, the State Department was sidelined by President Roosevelt, and that it played only a minor supporting role in implementation of the post-war Marshall Plan.

Further, a student of American history will note that, prior to the war, State concerned itself with traditional diplomacy (commerce, treaties, observing and reporting) and was ill-equipped and reluctant to take on the broad range of tasks the country faced abroad after the war. Thus, not only in security-related fields, but in commerce and agriculture, other government departments stepped in to fill the void.

After World War II the United States had to finally acknowledge that it was a world power in every sense of the word, and that it had to accept certain global responsibilities. With a preference for short-term direct action, the American character unfortunately lends itself to use of military instruments. And, when combined with a historical distrust of

diplomacy and diplomats, there should be no surprise that with the focus on national security our foreign policy would become militarized.

This book is an excellent starting point for the national debate that is long overdue on the question of the long-term consequences of assigning the military to duties that are not part of its core mission. It is not just a matter of the potential negative consequences on the military and its ability, when necessary, to fight and win the nations' wars.

Do we really want the rest of the world to see our foreign policy as being carried out by uniforms and guns? No matter how you package it, the military is perceived as a coercive instrument, and when that is the face we present to the world, it will make it harder for us to find those willing to collaborate.

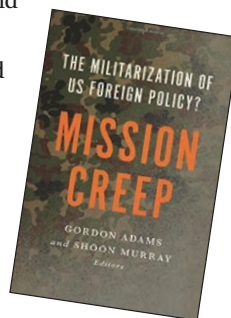
The most important essay, in my view, is the final one, by Gordon Adams, "Conclusion: Does Mission Creep Matter?"

Says Adams: "The most significant negative consequence of the militarization trend for U.S. foreign policy is the

increased risk of 'blowback.' The

more the military assumes a central role in U.S. foreign policy, the more it is turned to for non-core missions, the more the international community may come to see U.S. international engagement as wearing a uniform."

If the reader takes away nothing else from this study, that passage would make it worthwhile. ■



Ambassador (ret.) Charles A. Ray retired from the Foreign Service in 2012 after a 30-year career that included ambassadorships to Cambodia and Zimbabwe. Prior to joining the Foreign Service, Amb. Ray spent 20 years in the U.S. Army.

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Positive Energy in a Worldwide Outage

BY TODD A. JURKOWSKI

It's not new to see the staff of a U.S. embassy or consulate somewhere around the world painting and raking and clipping hedges on any given weekend as part of a community service project. But on a Thursday? In São Paulo, Brazil, one of the busiest non-immigrant visa posts in the world?

The recent worldwide, consular-systems outage brought the United States' well-oiled visa operations in South America's largest city to a halt. During the stoppage, many Foreign Service officers and locally employed (LE) staff had free time during the normal work day. Although they tried to use it to attend to non-visa-related responsibilities, additional trainings and staff-led information presentations, their energy dwindled.

In a section that prides itself on exceptional customer service, the outage was a direct hit on staff morale. Inundated with requests from applicants with urgent travel needs that could not be fulfilled—for reasons beyond the section's control—the staff grew frustrated and dispirited.

So our visa chief decided to challenge people to get out of the box and do something on a greater scale: leave the office and do good for the community.

It didn't take long for a second-tour colleague to create that opportunity. He dialed up ABBA, a São Paulo-based charity that is in the process of opening a first-

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of-its-kind shelter in the city targeting at-risk youth. Casa Liberdade, as it will be called, will be a safe house catering exclusively to girls rescued from sexual exploitation or sex trafficking.

Eight people—three FSOs and five LE staff from the consular section responded to the call for volunteers. At the shelter, they divided into two teams. One team used paint to spruce up the rooms where the girls will sleep during their time at Casa Liberdade. The other crew worked as gardeners for the day.

For those who participated, trading their computers, scanners and visa foils for paint brushes, ladders and hedge clippers was an easy decision. "It is so good to help others who don't have as much. Giving the girls a nice place to live is good for the heart," said one LE staff member.

ABBA's goal is to open Casa Liberdade later this year. Until then, there is plenty of work to be done, including remodeling a bathroom, converting a two-story apartment on the property into an office and remodeling a space where the girls can receive private counseling as part of their recovery and healing.

With these major projects still to

come, painting the walls and trimming hedges hardly seem like crucial contributions. But for the staff and volunteers at ABBA, the efforts of the consulate staff served a dual purpose. It provided additional hands to do jobs that needed to be done. More importantly, it inspired ABBA to work even harder to realize their dream.

"It definitely is motivation. It gives us encouragement that we all can do this, that we are supported and that we are not in this alone," said the shelter coordinator.

By early afternoon, the volunteer work was done, but the workday itself was not. The team arrived back at the consulate about 3 p.m. One of the volunteer FSOs scurried off to a planning meeting, a few minutes late, with his hands still sticky with sap and his clothes stained with dirt.

The rest of the crew went back to their desks, some with dried paint in their hair, others with dirt on their clothes, and helped process the few visas that had made their way through the crippled visa process that day.

In the days following, the computer systems slowly came back on line and things returned to normal in the visa section. But the group of eight will always cherish the day that they created a little positive energy during a worldwide systems outage. ■



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Mission Afghanistan's air wing, Embassy Air, in flight over TV Hill in Kabul. Embassy Air maintains a fleet comprised of both rotor-wing and fixed-wing aircraft that are the primary mode of transportation in country for Mission Afghanistan personnel. The photo was taken from another aircraft during an orientation flight, with camera settings as follows: F-stop, f/9; Exposure, 1/1250 sec; ISO, 400; and Focal Length, 95mm. ■

Wade C. Martin was the information management officer for Mission Afghanistan from 2014 to 2015. He is currently assigned as IMO to the Tri-Mission in Italy with his wife and two sons. Previous assignments include Gabon, Austria, Estonia, Indonesia and Washington, D.C.

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