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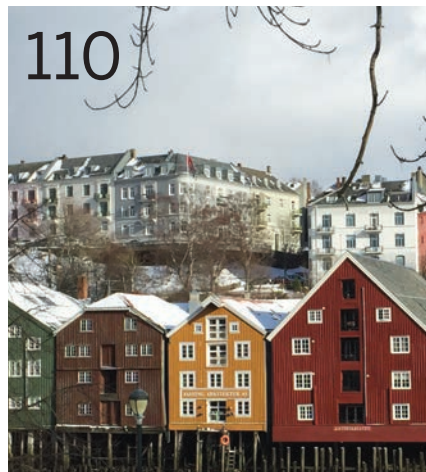
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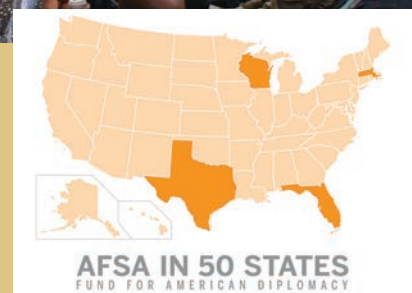
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On the Cover: U.S. Ambassador to Turkey John R. Bass, a career Foreign Service officer, and General Joseph F. Dunford Jr., chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, attend a meeting with Turkey's senior military leadership in Ankara on Nov. 6, 2016. Photo: U.S. DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE/D. MYLES CULLEN.

Getting Out in Front

BY BARBARA STEPHENSON

I was recently invited by the U.S. Global Leadership Coalition to speak at an event about the vital role the Foreign Service plays in sustaining America's global leadership. As careful readers of AFSA's 2016 Annual Report will know, cementing a closer strategic partnership with USGLC is one of AFSA's top outreach goals for 2017.

I am always happy to report progress, but especially so at times like this when the Foreign Service needs partners like USGLC to help make the case for a strong Foreign Service. There is no place like my monthly column to review the case and repeat our key messages:

Nine in 10 Americans support strong U.S. global leadership. Such leadership is unthinkable without a strong professional Foreign Service deployed around the world protecting and defending America's people, interests and values.

Since the end of World War II, the United States has enjoyed a position of unprecedented global leadership, which was built on a foundation of military might, economic prowess, good governance and tremendous cultural appeal—and the diplomatic prowess to channel that power, hard and soft, into keeping us safe and prosperous at home.

American leadership is being challenged by adversaries who want to see us fail; we cannot let



Being asked to choose between hard power and soft power strikes me as akin to being asked by hotel staff, when I urgently need to sew on a button before a meeting, whether I would prefer a needle or thread.

that happen. We need to reassure allies, contain our enemies and remain engaged around the globe. If the United States retreats, we leave a vacuum that will be filled by others who do not share our interests or values. Walking that back—reclaiming American global leadership, once lost—would be a daunting and uncertain task.

How then do we, in the face of budget cuts, avoid retreat? We collectively take seriously our role as stewards of this great organization, the U.S. Foreign Service. We seize the opportunities of the transition to streamline and refocus on core diplomatic priorities; we adopt comprehensive risk management policies so we can get out and do our jobs; and we reintroduce ourselves as the lean, high-performing, cost-effective and responsive tool of national security that we are.

I recap all this because I am determined to use my presidency to help the Foreign Service do a better job of explaining to the American people what we do and why it matters. I increasingly realize, however, the magnitude of the challenge. As I acknowledge in the Annual Report, "Members of the Foreign Service are famously reticent about tooting their

own horns. After all, American diplomats pride themselves on coaxing a partner overseas to 'yes' without leaving a trace of their advocacy."

The very skill set that makes us such an effective diplomatic force representing and channeling American power while serving abroad (often best approached with humility and understatement) can be a handicap at home when we try to articulate our case.

Which brings me back to AFSA's strategic partnership with USGLC, and to the focus of this edition of the *FSJ*, the role of the military in foreign policy. While we are working on improving our own ability to speak up for our institution, we need to make the most of friends and partners who are eager to make the case for us, including the 120 generals and admirals who signed a letter in April praising the Foreign Service.

One of those admirals shared the stage with me at the USGLC event, and he did a terrific job of explaining how much he as a visitor to a foreign country depended on the "enduring platform"—aka the U.S. embassy—to do his job. With budget choices being framed as either "hard power" or "soft power,"

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

Every host country and every situation is different, and we count on you, the career Foreign Service, to understand the local context better than anyone else.

I was pleased to hear the admiral argue against that false choice. He explained how the hard power he commanded depended on the soft power the embassy and the career Foreign Service deliver around the world.

I am still searching for the perfect metaphor to describe the partnership between the Foreign Service and our military colleagues. Being asked to choose between hard power and soft power strikes me as akin to being asked by hotel staff, when I urgently need to sew on a button before a meeting, whether I would prefer a needle or thread.

But that metaphor is too simplistic to capture the richness of what can be achieved by expertly combining soft and hard power. When I taught the Ambassadorial Seminar, I used to speak about the role of the chief of mission as orchestra conductor. It is your job, I would tell new ambassadors, to bring your entire interagency team together around a single sheet of music, a shared strategic vision.

When I was ambassador to Panama, my team worked closely with the U.S. Southern Command to develop a strategy for addressing the alarming rise in drug trafficking, which had suddenly caused the murder rate in Panama to double. We agreed on a desired outcome: Panama's Darien province (home to a dense rainforest bordering Colombia) would be free of FARC guerillas who were behind the drug trafficking.

We sought—and received—funding for our strategy. The FBI provided indictments that were unsealed at just

the right moment. USAID helped divert indigenous youth from drug trafficking by providing an alternative—a forestry school in the Darien, an alternative to moving to the city.

SOUTHCOM provided funding for coast guard stations to enable Panamanian forces to respond instantly to reports (usually from U.S. counter-narcotics patrols) of attempted landings by drug boats. SOUTHCOM also provided MIST support—a “military information support team” from its Special Forces component.

Is this a set-up to a cautionary tale about the bad things that can happen when an ambassador invites military partners—Special Forces, at that!—into her country? To the contrary. Because we had developed a clear strategy that all partners understood (no mean feat), we were able to insert tailored language into the memorandum of agreement with the MIST.

The MIST team understood its mission, brought significant resources to bear that would have otherwise been unavailable and worked very well under chief-of-mission authority. It was instrumental in achieving our shared goal, captured in an OIG report a few years after I left: “Now that the Darien is free of FARC guerillas ... ”

I look forward every year to the update I receive at Christmas from the Navy captain who headed our milgroup in Panama and helped me forge this highly productive partnership with SOUTHCOM. Many of us remember this experience of multifaceted interagency collaboration as a career highlight.

I urge you to read the perspectives in this edition of the *FSJ* to think about how you can make the most of the potential offered by partnering with the military, the potential of the marriage of soft and hard power.

Every host country and every situation is different, and we count on you, the career Foreign Service, to understand the local context better than anyone else. We also count on you to frame an effective interagency strategy—it's called the “Integrated Country Strategy” for a reason—that brings all agencies at post, including DOD, into the effort.

Many if not most of the cautionary tales I have heard on the theme of bad things that happen when DOD gets involved could have been averted or at least mitigated by a COM-led effort to frame a strategy in partnership with Defense.

Combatant commands often have significant resources; and, if you don't produce a plan for bringing them to bear effectively in your country, they will. Trying later to explain why the plan hatched many miles away at the combatant command will not work where you live and work—now there's a time sink that is frustrating for all concerned and usually leaves relationships strained.

So head that off by getting out in front and—here is my last metaphor, I promise!—leading the parade. As I used to tell new ambassadors, it may well be that your combatant command is resourced and staffed to hold a parade in your country. You can either get out in front, plan the route, choose the participants, and decide the order and the timing of the parade—or you can walk behind the elephants. The view is much better from the front.

Remember, America's global leadership role rests in large measure on your shoulders. ■

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Where Diplomacy and Defense Meet

BY SHAWN DORMAN

At this moment, when so-called soft-power budgets for State and USAID are threatened with major cuts, we find military leaders to be the ones pushing back hardest in defense of diplomacy and development.

This month we present perspectives on the ways that diplomacy, development and defense overlap. We are not calling this set of articles a “focus,” but rather “perspectives.” It became clear in reviewing the articles that there is almost no truly objective way to approach the subject.

Every author brings a particular lens to writing on civilian-military relations and the appropriate balance between civilian and military activity and initiatives in foreign policy. All the pieces we share here represent individual perspectives from authors with an understanding and unique experiences working with the military.

In his opening article, “Special Operations and Diplomacy: A Unique Nexus,” Senior FSO Steve Kashkett offers an overview of how the expanded work and mission of U.S. Special Operations today—the “indirect” activities such as providing medical services, disaster relief, agricultural development—intersect with the work and mission of U.S. diplomacy. The Foreign Service would be well advised, in Kash-

kett’s view, to embrace this convergence.

Ambassador Wanda Nesbitt served as senior vice president of the National



Shawn Dorman is the editor of The Foreign Service Journal.

We find military leaders to be the ones pushing back hardest in defense of diplomacy and development.

Defense University from 2013 to 2016. Her advice to Foreign Service colleagues is clearly stated in the title of her article, “Working with the Military: Let’s Take Full Advantage of Opportunities.” (Excerpts from a find in the *FSJ* Archive, “Education for the National Security,” provide a relevant snapshot from 1960.)

In “Killer Drones and the Militarization of U.S. Foreign Policy,” former FSO and Army colonel Ann Wright offers a scathing review of the U.S. government’s use of unmanned aerial vehicles to conduct targeted killings since 9/11. Seeming to offer an efficient middle way between war and peace, she argues, the drone program actually has significant, negative long-term consequences for U.S. policy and for communities in places where these killings occur.

With a critique of State Department priorities and missed opportunities since the end of the Cold War, Ambassador (ret.) Larry Butler shares suggestions for the way forward in “Creeping Militarization of Foreign Policy or Creeping State Department Irrelevance?” Ambassador (ret.) Ryan Crocker’s country team in Iraq 2007, he says, is a model of how cooperation can work.

Finally, in a fascinating piece from the *FSJ* Archive, “Defense and Security: Opposite Sides of the Same Coin,” we

share a 1988 interview with former FSO and then-Secretary of Defense Frank Carlucci. He explains how the line between State and Defense becomes increasingly blurred and why that’s not a bad thing, and describes the “never been better” working relationship between State, Defense and the National Security Council at the time.

You will not agree with all you read in this issue, and we look forward to your responses to the perspectives shared. Send letters or follow-on articles to journal@afsa.org.

I close with a reminder to check out the digital archive of 99 years of *The Foreign Service Journal* at www.afsa.org/archive. We launched the online archive at a May 11 event at AFSA headquarters.

The *Journal* over time offers a unique window into diplomatic history as it unfolds. Now it’s all online and discoverable, a bridge from the past to the future, offering a chance to learn from the past, see what’s been tried before, how certain issues come around again and again, see how much things change and how little.

The archive can be accessed by academics and other researchers worldwide, and should raise awareness and appreciation for the critical role of the Foreign Service and U.S. diplomacy.

Also, the more you click on the archive, the better the search will become, so please, click away, share and enjoy! ■

DS for Law Enforcement

Kudos on your March edition featuring the Bureau of Diplomatic Security. The role of DS as a law enforcement agency is often overshadowed by its security mission, yet the two are intertwined. The articles by former Assistant Secretary Greg Starr, acting Assistant Secretary Bill Miller and others highlight the wide variety of missions DS undertakes, as well as their importance to national security.

As Ronnie Catipon noted in his article (“Law Enforcement as an Instrument of National Power”), assistant regional security officer-investigators (ARSO-Is) combine DS’ investigative prowess, in-depth knowledge of visas and passports, and an unparalleled overseas presence to investigate and prosecute cases involving terrorism, human trafficking and smuggling, money laundering and other types of transnational organized crime.

ARSO-Is also train local police, immigration officials, airline/airport personnel and many others not only to recognize these crimes and their severity, but also to follow proper procedures when conducting arrests and prosecutions.

In 2016 these efforts led to more than 1,500 arrests (including 70 cases involving human trafficking), the return of 272 fugitives to the United States to face justice, and the refusal or revocation of 14,000 visas.

All of the work ARSO-Is do contributes directly to the Integrated Country Strategy of just about every mission in the world. Preventing members of transnational criminal organizations from entering the United States, stopping foreign terrorist fighters from reaching their destinations and building the capacity of foreign law enforcement partners are not just law enforcement goals, they are U.S. foreign policy goals.

Finally, the ARSO-I program rep-

resents an extremely successful partnership between the bureaus of Diplomatic Security and Consular Affairs (CA currently administers the funds for approximately one-third of all ARSO-I positions).

Among many other things, ARSO-Is help their consular colleagues fight fraud, return American fugitives to the United States, coordinate with local police to arrest document vendors and assist American citizens in trouble.

ARSO-Is—and all DS agents—are as much diplomats as they are federal agents. Thank you for recognizing their contributions to our national security and foreign policy.

Ed Allen

Overseas Criminal Investigations

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Refocusing the Mission

An overly judgmental, reactionary and awkward display of what many perceive as disloyalty by State Department employees to our new president (POTUS), despite solemn claims about “defending the Constitution,” is now experiencing the wrath of blowback. We see threats to our funding, staffing and even our sense of mission.

After reading the superlative *Foreign Service Journal* article by Senior FSO Keith Mines in the January-February issue, “Mr. President, You Have Partners at State to Help Navigate the World’s Shoals,” I nearly came to tears. That is because I realized how our new POTUS probably did not see that outstanding article, but was instead challenged by the now infamous Dissent Channel message.



The timing of both communications was very unfortunate, but the damage from the latter has been done. It effectively banished from the president’s view the bright minds and rich talent, as the Mines article reflects, that make up the Foreign Service.

What was displayed instead was behavior more akin to an acerebral organism than a storied institution that historically serves as chief foreign policy adviser to the POTUS.

The rebuilding will not be easy, but it must be accomplished. Hopefully, our newly focused leadership will show the way. Hopefully, the Foreign Service can refocus its mission and, along with that, recapture its glory.

Timothy C. Lawson

Senior FSO, retired

Hua Hin, Thailand

Regarding “Real” Dissent

In his April letter (“Dissenting from the Current Trend”), Jonathan Peccia deplores the “current trend toward group dissents, aired in public.”

That is a curious complaint given the fact that mass protests within the Foreign Service, including hundreds of resignations over the Vietnam War, were what led the State Department to establish the Dissent Channel in 1971.

Nor was that the only time such groundswells have gone public. From my own days as an FSO, I recall a group dissent that became very public, over the Clinton administration’s initial reluctance to intervene in Bosnia.

Mr. Peccia also casts aspersions on the State Department employees who used the Dissent Channel in January to point out the folly of President Donald Trump’s discriminatory executive order cutting off immigration from seven

Muslim-majority nations (later pared back to six) and suspending processing of all refugee applications worldwide.

The fact that nearly every judge who heard legal challenges to that initial measure blocked its implementation, citing arguments similar to the ones these courageous dissenters adduced, would seem to suggest that they had solid grounds for speaking out.

But Mr. Peccia assures us that they were motivated only by “risk-free self-aggrandizement, not an honest attempt to shift policy.” He also insinuates that they leaked their dissent to the media as part of their quest for glory.

Yet unless he possesses telepathic and detective skills hitherto unknown to diplomacy, Mr. Peccia does not have any way of knowing whether either of those assertions is accurate.

Equally troubling, Mr. Peccia declares: “Real dissent, requiring the timely response of the Secretary of State, should be the prerogative of the most proximate implementer, not of any of us who happen to have an opinion.”

Leaving aside the reality that the State Department’s leadership has rarely responded to Dissent Channel messages with policy changes, I marvel at Mr. Peccia’s ability to compartmentalize professional responsibility. To apply his axiom to this particular dissent, only consular officers and desk officers for the affected countries need concern themselves with the disturbing implications of the Trump policy. That can’t be right.

But Mr. Peccia saves his *pièce de résistance* for last: “State might be the oldest Cabinet agency, but the height of our seat at the table is adjustable. It is incumbent on all of us to refrain from weakening our position through well-meaning but poorly executed dissent.”

News flash: Our many critics within

the Trump administration and Congress already dislike and distrust the Foreign Service, precisely because we *are* loyal to the oath we took as professional public servants to uphold the Constitution—not any president or political party.

Saluting and implementing policies that are harmful to the national interest, and quite possibly illegal or unconstitutional, to curry favor with the powers that be will not gain us respect, let alone a better seat at the table. It will simply confirm the canard that Foreign Service members are no more principled, courageous or honorable than political appointees.

Apparently Mr. Peccia thinks that’s a deal worth making. I hope and pray that his active-duty colleagues disagree, and continue to dissent when necessary.

Steven Alan Honley
Former FSO
Washington, D.C.

Making Better Use of Opportunities and Resources

With the change of administration we are presented with a rare opportunity to avail ourselves of the Senate confirmation process to secure a nominee’s commitment to address concerns in each of the foreign affairs agencies.

To demonstrate how this could work, I approached my senator’s staff (Tim Kaine of Virginia) as a constituent, and then Sen. Kaine entered questions “For the Record” (which require a written response) on diplomatic security at the confirmation hearing of Mr. Rex Tillerson as Secretary of State.

The primary question dealt with the need for the Department of State to develop policy and procedures for risk management assessment involving all stakeholders, a recommendation set forth in a June 25, 2014, Government Account-

ability Office report.

Secretary Tillerson committed himself to undertake just such an effort. We must now follow up on this commitment.

Further, we need to press on the need to develop a stakeholder-coordinated advance planned response—on a regional- and country-specific basis—to address the next attack on a diplomatic facility or personnel.

Though this approach is proven to work, it is not clear that AFSA management is prepared or willing to use it to advance this and other key issues confronting the Foreign Service.

In early 2015, I attended a meeting arranged by AFSA with senior Diplomatic Security staff who denied that shortcomings such as those documented by GAO existed in their operations.

Two years later, as Greg Starr retired from his position as assistant secretary for DS, he urged the adoption of a comprehensive risk management framework—a GAO recommendation put forth under his watch in 2014 that has still not been closed by the GAO.

In addition to the Senate confirmation hearing process option, AFSA can use its labor relations negotiating rights to pursue needed change.

Under these rights, AFSA can negotiate on “work environment conditions” to address the adequacy of Diplomatic Security risk assessments and the shortcomings that pose a danger to Foreign Service members.

One can only hope that AFSA management will take a more aggressive approach to these longstanding issues. For a complete view of the issues cited by GAO that are still outstanding, please go to www.gao.gov and search “Diplomatic Security.”

James (Jim) Meenan
FSO, retired
Fairfax, Virginia

Academy of Diplomacy on the Budget

I appreciated the *Journal's* April Talking Points item reporting on various speeches and comments in defense of proper funding for the State Department budget. The American Academy of Diplomacy also weighed in.

In March we sent identical letters to Senators Cardin, Corker, Graham, Leahy, McConnell and Schumer; and to Representatives Engel, Lowey, McCarthy, Pelosi, Rogers and Royce signed by myself and our chairman, former Under Secretary for Political Affairs Ambassador Thomas Pickering.

We were joined in this by the Council of American Ambassadors, an organization representing former non-career ambassadors from both parties. The signatures of its chairman, Ambassador Bruce S. Gelb, and Chairman Emeritus Ambassador William J. vanden Heuvel, gave the letter a strong endorsement outside the career ranks.

Some excerpts from our letter follow:

"[We] believe the proposed magnitude of the cuts to the State Department budget pose serious risks to American security. ...

"Diplomacy is most often the first line of America's defense. When the Islamic State suddenly appeared in Mali, it was our embassy that was able to recommend action based on knowing the difference between terrorists and local political actors who needed support.

"When Ebola in West Africa threatened a worldwide pandemic, it was our Foreign Service that remained in place to establish the bases for and support the multiagency health efforts deployed to stop the disease outbreak.

"It is to our embassies that American citizens turn for security and evacuation abroad. Our embassies' commercial work supports U.S. companies and citizen

entrepreneurs in selling abroad. ...

"Our contributions to refugees and development are critical to avoid humanitarian crises from spiraling into conflicts that would draw in the United States and promote violent extremism. ...

"U.S. public diplomacy fights radicalism. Educational exchanges over the years have enabled hundreds of thousands of foreign students truly to understand Americans and American culture. ...

"These few examples should show why so many American military leaders are deeply opposed to the current budget proposals. They recognize that when diplomacy is not permitted to do its job the chances of Americans dying in war increase. ...

"The Academy, representing the most experienced and distinguished former American diplomats, both career and non-career, and the Council have never opposed all cuts to the State Department budget.

"The Academy's detailed study *American Diplomacy at Risk* (2015) proposed many reductions. We believe streamlining is possible, and we can make proposals to that end. However, the current budget proposals will damage American national security and should be rejected."

The Academy is continuing to put forth ideas for rational restructuring of the State Department. We believe that our ranks include a large reservoir of experience that could usefully be drawn on as the State Department considers how to reorganize. We have offered our services in any way the department may choose. ■

Ronald E. Neumann
Ambassador, retired
President, American Academy of
Diplomacy
Arlington, Virginia



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Happy 70th Birthday, Marshall Plan!

On June 5, 1947, while accepting an honorary degree from Harvard University, Secretary of State George C. Marshall announced the Truman administration's intention to submit legislation to Congress to help the devastated nations of Europe and their citizens recover from the ravages of World War II. Formally known as the European Recovery Program, it was quickly dubbed the Marshall Plan.

The remarkably brief speech was the product of three career members of the U.S. Foreign Service. It was drafted by FSO Chip Bohlen, a Russia specialist and interpreter who used memoranda from George F. Kennan, then the director of the State Department's Policy Planning Staff, and Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs William Clayton.

In keeping with his legendary modesty, Marshall instructed his staff to tell Harvard not to publicize his appearance or let on that he was about to announce a historic initiative—for which he would receive the Nobel Peace Prize in 1949.

After accepting his degree, Marshall briefly sketched the dire state of Europe before declaring:

It is logical that the United States should do whatever it is able to do to assist in the return of normal economic health in the world, without which there can be no political stability and no assured peace. Our policy is directed not against any country or doctrine, but against hunger, poverty, desperation and chaos. Its purpose should be the revival of a working economy in the world, so as to permit the emergence of political and social conditions in which free institutions can exist.

An essential part of any successful action on the part of the United States is an understanding on the part of the

Contemporary Quote

“Senator, the [U.S. Special Operations Command] relationship to the State Department is indescribably critical... We are in 80 different countries, and we look to have the most enhanced relationships possible with every one of those countries through our country team. If that is not the baseline for our United States Government approach, then we are flawed from the start.”

—U.S. Special Operations Commander General Raymond A. Thomas III, in an exchange with Senator Elizabeth Warren (D-Mass.), during his Senate Armed Services Committee appearance on May 4.

people of America of the character of the problem and the remedies to be applied. Political passion and prejudice should have no part. With foresight, and a willingness on the part of our people to face up to the vast responsibility which history has clearly placed upon our country, the difficulties I have outlined can and will be overcome.

The German Marshall Fund of the United States is celebrating the 70th anniversary of that historic speech in a variety of ways. On its website you'll find a slew of informative backgrounders on the speech, the legislation it spawned, the relief it delivered to 18 European states and the example for the future the program set—both for U.S. foreign assistance and diplomacy.

You can also watch an inspirational video, “The Spirit of the Marshall Plan.”

The GMF underlines the continuing relevance of this exemplary diplomatic achievement: “Breaking Western Europe's cycle of conflict and rebuilding economies devastated by World War II was an immense task, and the Marshall Plan is a concrete example of the scale of change made possible by bold thinking and international cooperation. [That spirit] is as needed now as it was 70 years

ago. The values that the Marshall Plan represents and that the GMF is dedicated to promoting—democracy, free enterprise, universal respect for all—are as essential in addressing today's challenges as they were in 1947.”

—Steven Alan Honley, Contributing Editor

Muppets Against Terrorism

In Turkey, Jordan, Iraq and Lebanon, some two million Syrian children live in refugee camps to escape the horrors of the civil war. Aid organizations are struggling to ensure that they get the basic necessities—food, shelter and safety.

But Sherrie Rollins Westin, executive vice president of Sesame Workshop (the non-profit arm of the team behind the children's program “Sesame Street”) told ForeignPolicy.com that more can be done, and she wants to use the Muppets to do it.

Working with the International Rescue Committee, a global humanitarian aid organization, Sesame Workshop has been testing programming for Syrian children in refugee camps. Bringing Muppets to refugee camps may sound like the fuzziest kind of soft power. But it could offer a glimmer of hope to chil-

Peace-building—Its Price and Its Profits

For most career Foreign Service officers peace-building is not simply a profession, it is a passion. Unfortunately, the same cannot always be said for those parliamentary bodies which must vote the appropriations needed to support peace-building activities. Parliaments, in fact, too often treat peace-building like a step-child. Too often, they are willing to vote many billions for bullets, but balk at allocating a few millions for the productive work of strengthening peace.

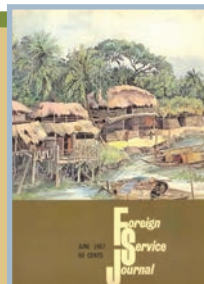
There have, however, been notable exceptions. Most significant among them was the action taken by the U.S. Congress 20 years ago when this country invited both its allies and its former enemies in history's greatest war to join that unique and magnificent partnership, known as the Marshall Plan, which was designed to rehabilitate a vast continental area—and thus, hopefully, to eradicate from it the seeds of future conflict.

America's willingness to underwrite European economic recovery was, without question, one of the most

truly generous impulses that has ever motivated any nation anywhere at any time. But as with the early Quaker missionaries—of whom it has been said that they went out into the world to do good, and wound up by doing very well—the United States derived enormous benefits from the bread it figuratively cast upon the international waters.

...Today, the United States, its former partners in the Marshall Plan and—in fact—all other advanced industrialized countries, including those of Eastern Europe, are being offered an even bigger bargain: the chance to form an effective partnership for worldwide economic and social progress with the earth's hundred and more low-income nations. The potential profits in terms of expanded prosperity and a more secure peace could dwarf those won through the European Recovery Program.

Yet the danger that this bargain will be rejected—out of apathy, indif-



ference and discouragement over the relatively slow progress toward self-sufficiency made by the developing countries thus far—is perhaps even greater than was the case with the Marshall Plan.

For the whole broadscale effort of development assistance to the world's poorer nations—an effort that is generally, but I think quite misleadingly, called “foreign aid”—has never received the full support it merits and is now showing signs of a further slippage in both popular and governmental backing. Under these circumstances, the study of the Marshall Plan's brief but brilliantly successful history is much more than an academic exercise.

—Paul G. Hoffman, administrator of the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs (1948-1950) and member of the U.S. Delegation to the United Nations (1956-1957). From 1959 to 1972, he acted as managing director of the U.N. Special Fund.

dren who have seen and experienced far too many horrors for their age.

Retired military and former government officials say that childhood education is one of the most potent and underappreciated tools for combatting terrorism. “I think it's a brilliant idea and phenomenally positive,” said David Barno, a retired U.S. Army ranger and former commander of the U.S. military mission in Afghanistan. “If we're not doing enough in aid, development, childhood education, we're going to

have to keep fighting terrorists.”

Terrorist groups use a variety of tools to recruit and groom the next generation of fighters. Sesame Street offers a real alternative, said Ammar al-Sabban, a “Muppeteer” for the Arabic version, which has been based in the United Arab Emirates since 2015.

“We get to deliver really positive messages of equality, of tolerance, of acceptance for other people,” he said. “Education is what can counter extremism.”

—Gemma Dvorak, Associate Editor

GAO Inventories State-Defense Cooperation on Security Assistance

A March report from the Government Accountability Office provides an inventory of the wide range of security-related activities conducted by the State Department and Department of Defense to build foreign partner capacity.

The State Department and DOD are engaged in more than 194 security assistance and security cooperation projects around the world today, and more than

The Department of State, by State

The Department of State is working to help the U.S. public understand the importance its work.

State's Bureau of Human Resources has produced a video, showing the work American diplomats do overseas through the eyes of 11 current employees. The video follows members of the Foreign Service stationed overseas from Kabul to London, and shows how the work they do contributes to America's foreign policy and protecting its interests.

The department is also focusing attention on what the Foreign Service does for U.S. citizens domestically. With an investment of about one percent of the federal budget, the State Department yields a large return. The Bureau for Public Affairs offers an interactive map, showing the impact the State Department has in each state.

The website lists the ways the State Department interacts with various entities in each state on jobs and the economy, partnerships with humanitarian and military organizations, education



(including the diplomats-in-residence program) and travel and security.

By selecting a specific state, users can see how the Department of State is advancing U.S. national security, promoting economic interests and providing services in that state. The interactive map is a reminder that the Department of State is not only advancing American interests overseas, but is also providing crucial services within the United States.

Such services include issuing U.S. passports, facilitating international adoptions and enabling collaborations between U.S. universities and education providers overseas, as well as opening new export opportunities for American businesses and bringing new investment to the United States.

—Gemma Dvorak,
Associate Editor

half of them require joint involvement, according to the report.

State calls such efforts “security assistance” and DOD terms them “security cooperation.” A cornerstone of U.S. defense and foreign policy, such projects have been especially important in the post-9/11 era. They aim to build the security institutions of partner nations; in turn, this promotes U.S. national security interests by strengthening alliances and preempting threats abroad.

Such activities can include exchange visits, equipment sales and transfers, joint exercises and training, to name a few. Security cooperation is the primary mission of U.S. forces operating in Afghanistan and Iraq as U.S. troops act in an advise-and-assist capacity to better enable Iraqi and Afghan security forces in their ongoing conflicts against insurgents.

State and Defense interagency cooperation is essential. Of 143 projects at the DOD, 87 of them require some level of

State Department involvement. Of State's 52 projects, 30 require some level of DOD involvement.

Some high-profile efforts involving collaboration between the two departments include “Assistance to Counter the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant,” the “Afghanistan Security Forces Fund” and “Assist in Accounting for Missing U.S. Government Personnel.”

—Dmitry Filipoff,
Publications Coordinator

Department of State Launches Employee Survey

On May 3, during an address to employees at the State Department, Secretary of State Rex Tillerson launched a “listening tour,” asking members of the Foreign Service and Civil Service for their insights on how the agency could function better.

On the same day, employees at the State Department and USAID, as well as some contractors, employed family members of State Department staff and Locally Employed staff, received an online survey aimed at identifying how best to streamline the department, clarify its mission and make it more efficient.

The Trump administration's 2018 budget proposal calls for a 30-percent cut to State's budget, and Secretary Tillerson has already indicated that some 2,300 jobs will be cut.

Open through May 12, the survey asks Foreign Service and Civil Service employees detailed questions about their jobs, as well as open-ended questions such as “What should the department stop doing?”

Among other things, the survey asks employees to select six words to describe the mission of the State Department, which will then be used to create a

“word cloud.” The idea of creating a word cloud has not played well on social media, with many mocking that aspect of the initiative.

The survey has been followed by phone interviews with 300 randomly selected employees representative of a cross-section of the State and USAID workforce.

The survey and listening tour are part of a departmental review being conducted by Insigniam, a management consulting firm. CBS has reported that the exercise will cost more than \$1.1 million.

—Gemma Dvorak, Associate Editor

SITE OF THE MONTH: www.LobeLog.com

LobeLog.com is a blog focusing on U.S. foreign policy towards the Middle East. It provides daily perspectives from a range of experts, many of whom are currently living and working in the region.

The blog is named after its founder, veteran journalist Jim Lobe, who served as the Washington, D.C., correspondent and chief of the Washington bureau of Inter Press Service (IPS) from 1980 to 1985. He has also written for a number of publications and lectures occasionally on neoconservative ideology, the Bush administration and U.S. foreign policy.

LobeLog has more than 50 regular contributors, including former Foreign Service officers from the United States, the United Kingdom and France, as well as academics and professors from universities around the world. Together, they provide a range of opinions from different viewpoints, adding to the overall understanding of a complex region.

Mark Green Nominated as USAID Administrator

On May 10, the White House nominated Mark Andrew Green to be USAID Administrator. If confirmed, the four-term Republican congressman will take over USAID at a crucial time, as global humanitarian crises are mounting and the agency faces the possibility of significant budget cuts and drastic restructuring.

Following six years in the Wisconsin State Assembly, Mark Green was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives from the 8th district of Wisconsin in 1998.



The blog is regarded as a “must-read” site on Iran by The Economist and, in 2015, became the first blog to be honored with the Arthur Ross Award for Distinguished Reporting and Analysis of Foreign Affairs by the American Academy of Diplomacy.

Users of the site can search for relevant articles by category and author, and all posts are also arranged in an archive by month. Each post has a section for comments and discussion of the topics it raises.



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He served on the House International Relations Committee and helped draft significant legislation, including the Millennium Challenge Act, the legislation establishing George W. Bush's signature President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief and the U.S. Leadership Against HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria Act.

From 2007 to 2009, Green served as the Bush administration's U.S. ambassador to Tanzania. He served two terms on the Board of Directors of the Millennium Challenge Corporation, having been appointed to that post by the Obama administration.

From 2011 through early 2013, Mr. Green served as senior director at the U.S. Global Leadership Coalition. He then became president and chief executive officer of the Initiative for Global Development, a nonprofit organization

that engages corporate leaders to reduce poverty through business growth and investment in Africa.

Mr. Green joined the International Republican Institute as president in January 2014. He also co-chairs the Consensus for Development Reform, a coalition that aims to make development policy more effective and growth-oriented.

Mr. Green's nomination was widely praised across the development community and on both sides of the aisle in Congress. Secretary of State Rex Tillerson welcomed the nomination, stating that Mr. Green would “help us prioritize where America's future development investments will be spent so that we can ensure every tax dollar advances our country's security and prosperity.” ■

—Gemma Dvorak, Associate Editor

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The Golden Rule of Professionalism

BY MATT TOMPKINS

In its opening months, the Trump administration has in many ways continued what it started in the campaign and transition. Previously unbroachable norms have been discarded, including habituated expectations of transparency and press access, a more genteel style of political discourse, and many foreign and domestic policy positions that until very recently would have been considered long-resolved areas of bipartisan consensus.

(This observation is neither to criticize nor commend. The administration has in most cases proudly claimed the moniker of unconventional, and both supporters and detractors have typically agreed.)

For many of us in the Foreign Service—and in the Civil Service writ large—this has been an unmooring experience. The ideal of an apolitical bureaucracy seems nice, but in the face of unprecedented decisions and actions that seem to go beyond simple left-right partisanship, many seem to be struggling with the impulse to resist.

In the State Department, this has translated into a newly resurgent interest in understanding the specific limitations on political advocacy imposed by the Hatch Act and the Foreign Affairs Manual to better determine in what ways we as executive branch employees are permitted to resist or advocate.

I am writing today to make a case for the opposite response: This is a time to double-down on our nonpartisan professionalism, not to test its limits. The norm and function of an apolitical bureaucracy is more important and valuable than any one leader or policy: we must be able to continue serving effectively 10 presidents and 100 controversial policies from now.

Privileged Access

We hold positions of privileged access, giving us more information and influence over the process of policy formation and implementation than normal citizens. For that privileged access to mean anything, political leaders must trust that our advice and implementation will be expert and unbiased, based on knowledge and experience rather than personal political leanings.

Public advocacy destroys that trust, ensuring that both our political masters and the voting public know that we do have a preferred “side” and implying that our level of agreement will affect the vigor with which we support, implement (or even resist) the decisions of those voted into office.

It’s easy to look at a policy that you consider to be objectively, undeniably and absolutely wrong-headed and say, “But it’s not partisan to resist *that* deci-

sion.” The problem is that by resisting a decision we disagree with, we make our policy preferences a relevant and acceptable point for discussion.

That may seem trivial when it’s a matter of advocating or resisting by simply declaring that you consider a single given policy decision to be disastrous. But what about the next time, the next president, the next Secretary? Once we’ve made it a legitimate point of consideration, who could blame newly elected officials for feeling the need to assess the level of actual or likely agreement with their policies before entrusting their implementation to the bureaucracy?

By asserting that policy implementation might be contingent on our opinion of the policy, we will have set things back 100 years to a time when the hallmark of bureaucratic dependability was political loyalty rather than professional competence.

Yes, some might say, but some of the policies and statements from this administration just go too far. They demand response. They demand resistance. In recent months, I’ve witnessed a groundswell of colleagues express that sentiment to varying degrees.

A number of them—in my Facebook feed at least—have articulated this imperative with a quote from Desmond Tutu that seems to capture well the general sentiment: “If you are neutral in situations of injustice, you have chosen the side of the oppressor.” Surely there is truth to this in a tautological sense—it is a good quote.



Matt Tompkins is currently a vice consul in Santo Domingo, and previously served in Guatemala City. Prior to joining the Foreign Service, he held intelligence and policy positions with the FBI and served as an Army officer. His Speaking Out column on nonpartisanship relating to election participation appeared in the October 2016 FSJ.

However, I can't imagine that Archbishop Tutu would have considered any government employee in apartheid-era South Africa to be "neutral" in any meaningful sense. Similarly, executive branch employees publicly engaging in or calling for "resistance" to the Trump "regime" are engaging either in very shallow advocacy or very deep hypocrisy.

No Neutrality

As executive branch employees, we are each part of the Trump administration. Anything else we do or say cannot escape that simple fact. This is not to call into question anyone's sincerity who believes that a line has been crossed, thereby creating a moral imperative for resistance—but rather to point out that if you've judged that something really is so bad as to be in the territory of moral imperatives, then the only first credible step is to stop serving the administration.

This is not a call for all of us to quietly go along with every decision a political leader makes. Our responsibility (and right, and privilege) is to inform, advise and persuade our political leaders on what we consider to be the best decisions, drawing on the full breadth of our collective experience, knowledge and expertise. At the extreme, this includes a responsibility to make use of the Dissent Channel when we believe an already-made policy decision to be fundamentally unsound.

But the most recent publicized use of the Dissent Channel—in response to the January executive order on visa policy, "Protecting the Nation from Foreign Terrorist Entry into the United States," commonly known as "the travel ban"—highlights the distinction between the policy advocacy within the system that is our responsibility, and the policy advocacy in public that is our doom.

The Dissent Channel cable itself was an

excellent example of the proper role of the professional bureaucracy. Drawing from a wide range of knowledge and expertise, those responsible for the implementation of a new policy worked within the well-established channel to articulate clearly and compellingly the many likely negative ramifications of the policy.

However, the full text of the cable, along with the fact that it had collected close to 1,000 signatories, leaked to the media, apparently before the cable itself had even been submitted. This kind of leak (as with the leaking of the Syria dissent cable in 2016) undermines the Dissent Channel system. It gives the appearance—accurate or not—that the formal memorandizing of dissent was largely undertaken for the purpose of public advocacy via the leak.

That puts the political leadership of the administration on the defensive publicly, inevitably affecting any response to the cable within the now-preempted established process. Under the FAM, individual Foreign Service officers can't write a press release articulating their disagreement with administration policy as a means of either public advocacy or political pressure. But leaking a Dissent Channel cable has the same effect while cloaking it under the auspices of a formal, protected process.

So there are certain types of within-the-system policy advocacy that are our right—and actually our job—with the Dissent Channel process being the most extreme variation. On the flip side are the activities clearly prohibited by the Hatch Act or the FAM. In drawing a line somewhere in between them, just what higher standard of public nonpartisanship am I calling for?

It's something I'll call the Golden Rule of Nonpartisanship: serve under leaders you oppose as you would have others

serve under leaders you support; implement policies with which you disagree as you would have others implement policies with which you agree.

Nonpartisanship's Golden Rule

In this construct, I would consider the Hatch Act and FAM akin to the Ten Commandments. As a list of behaviors that are prohibited or prescribed, the Ten Commandments are a pretty good baseline for societal behavior.

But if you're looking for an ideal moral code, things like "don't kill" and "don't steal" set a pretty low bar for social norms. The Golden Rule—to treat others as you would have them treat you—may be lacking in detail, but it at least sets a more elevated, ideal objective.

Similarly, the rules found in the FAM and Hatch Act are important to keep the Foreign Service officially nonpartisan, but ultimately do nothing more than tell us what is technically prohibited or required. This leaves a world of behavior, speech and activities that are technically permitted, but not necessarily wise if we care to maintain a productive and effective working relationship between the professional Foreign and Civil Service and our political leaders.

My formulation of the Golden Rule in terms of both policy and leader is deliberate, and highlights the various permitted behaviors that I think we should nonetheless circumscribe for the long-term health of the bureaucracy.

In the office, our implementation of even the most personally repugnant policies should do nothing to betray our opinion of them. No officer should try to maintain "personal credibility" or save face by ensuring that subordinates, local staff or external interlocutors know that they are implementing that policy under duress.

Doing so may have the desired effect of letting those personal contacts know that one is “with them” in recognizing that a given decision is foolhardy, counterproductive or distasteful. But in the long run, each of us is a part of one organization, and this kind of mixed messaging undermines our ability to operate effectively.

Our subordinates end up confused whether to follow the official policy with focused effort or follow leaders’ telegraphed preferences with a slow, minimized effort to check the block. External contacts don’t know whether to prepare for and respond to the officially stated policy or the personally delivered preference.

As for faithful service under opposed leaders, this is probably the most difficult

standard. It is clearly permissible to forward or share a critical news article, meme or satirical clip, or to use a hashtag like #resist or #NotMyPresident. And no one instance of these seemingly trivial behaviors is going to be seized upon as an act of insubordination or disloyalty.

But in the aggregate, each of these things and any number of similar statements and actions clarify a preference. For anyone in a position to perceive that preference—from appointed leaders and managers to members of the voting public to colleagues and foreign audiences—it inevitably calls into question the extent to which orders will be followed, decisions will be implemented or the government is working with any unity of purpose.

For us to engage publicly in either advocacy or resistance means that we have an agenda. That perception of a bureaucracy with its own agenda—as opposed to one implementing the policies of the day with indiscriminate diligence, even when the policies have done a 180-degree turn—will make any future political leaders with an alternate agenda view government servants as a problem rather than a tool.

The bureaucracy should be like a screwdriver, equally useful to build a house or a cruise missile. We might hope we’re used for houses rather than missiles, but until a leader tries to use us to stab someone rather than turn a screw, it’s our job to be equally useful for all tasks. ■

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Special Operations and Diplomacy: A Unique Nexus

There has been a growing convergence of interest between diplomacy and special operations since the 9/11 terror attacks.

BY STEVEN KASHKETT



For most of us in the Foreign Service, one of the most striking developments in the 16 years since the 9/11 terror attacks has been a dramatic increase in synergy between the Department of State and the U.S. military. Coordination of our military and diplomatic activities overseas has become a guiding principle.

The shared role of the military and State Department civilians in managing the prolonged wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, the broadening of U.S. military operations across a variety of foreign areas, and the growing ascendancy of the military in foreign policy decision-making have all contributed to the realization that State and Defense must work together more effectively. Nowhere is this more evident than in the world of special operations.

Embedded State foreign policy advisers (POLADs) are now



Steve Kashkett is a Senior Foreign Service officer who served as the senior POLAD to U.S. Special Operations Command from 2012 to 2013. He has also served as deputy chief of mission in Prague; principal officer in Tijuana and Halifax; political officer in Beirut, Paris, Haiti and Jerusalem; and in numerous assignments in Washington, D.C. He is a former AFSA State vice president.

The views expressed in this article are the author's own and do not reflect the view of the Department of State, the Department of Defense or the U.S. government.

assigned throughout the special operations community within the U.S. military. This diplomatic presence extends not just to the U.S. Special Operations Command (SOCOM) based at MacDill AFB in Tampa, Florida, which oversees all special operations forces (SOF) worldwide, but also to the headquarters of each of the functional component special operations commands for the four branches of the military and to the theater special operations commands in each region of the world. At the same time, SOCOM has assigned its own dedicated SOF liaison officers to the State Department and more than two dozen U.S. embassies.

The convergence of interest between diplomacy and special operations can best be explained by understanding the unique—and often publicly misconstrued—activities that SOF elements undertake abroad.

U.S. Special Operations: Myth and Reality

Hollywood movies paint a picture of special operations as nothing but direct action: killing terrorists in nighttime raids, rescuing hostages, conducting drone strikes, blowing up facilities behind enemy lines and undertaking similar commando operations. To be sure, our SOF operators do conduct these kinds of kinetic, “tip-of-the-spear” direct actions, which remain at the heart of the SOF mission and have taken the spotlight since 9/11. But there is much more to U.S. special operations.

Particularly over the past two decades, the U.S. special operations community has expanded its focus on cultivating relationships by using training and “soft” power initiatives to build partnerships between SOF forces and key local constituencies in other

countries. Admiral William H. McRaven, the visionary SOCOM commander from 2011 to 2014, placed the highest emphasis on developing what has come to be called the “Global SOF Network” to link together the capabilities, expertise and collaborative efforts of the special operations forces of dozens of like-minded nations. An essential feature of this strategy is building trust through a wide range of “indirect” activities.

Today, U.S. special operators are engaged in this indirect approach on a daily basis in more than 100 countries. (The exact number of countries with an SOF presence is classified, but some reports assert that it is considerably greater than 100; 138 is the number cited in a Jan. 5 article in *The Nation*, “American Special Operations Forces Are Deployed to 70 Percent of the World’s Countries.”) Training SOF partners to build their capacity and fostering long-term relationships with them remains a central feature of the indirect approach. U.S. special operations expertise is unparalleled and highly sought after by foreign militaries, police forces and internal security organizations. Our elite special operators possess skills, tactics, specially designed equipment, and intelligence gathering know-how that can transform a foreign government’s own capabilities.

SOF training missions take place on a frequent basis, with the aim of creating friendly foreign partner SOF forces that can acquire the capacity to deal with regional threats themselves, without directly involving U.S. forces. Although much of this “sustained engagement” remains outside the public spotlight, there is no doubt that in places like Colombia, the Philippines, the Sahel countries of Central Africa and certain Middle Eastern states, training and assistance from U.S. personnel has made a decisive difference in the fight against extremist networks.

Like the ethos of career diplomats, the SOF philosophy recognizes the value of nurturing ties to foreign cultures, and acknowledges the stability value of addressing the critical needs of civilians. As a result, U.S. special operations units around the world carry out a much broader civil affairs mission, which can include providing medical and public health services in underserved areas, assisting with agricultural and economic development at the village level, delivering disaster relief and furnishing humanitarian aid. Substantial assistance efforts by U.S. special operations were particularly noteworthy in Haiti and Nepal following major earthquakes in 2010 and 2015, respectively, and even in Japan after the 2011 earthquake and subsequent tsunami.

SOF teams deployed to various countries include doctors,



Afghan National Army soldiers watch as a Special Forces soldier kicks in the door to a home before clearing the house during a village search in Zabul province in September 2004. Afghan National Army soldiers assisted the Special Forces soldiers in the search for Taliban fighters in the remote village.

veterinarians, engineers and logistics experts. There are numerous recent examples. In 2016, a team of SOF veterinarians conducted a seminar for local herders in Niger during which some 674 cattle, 464 goats, 52 camels and five donkeys received preventive treatment. In Georgia last year, SOF medical personnel conducted an assessment of health facilities to determine services available to refugees. In other countries, SOF teams carried out vaccinations and helped with rural development projects. *Diplomatic Courier* describes it this way in a 2013 article: “It is useful to think of SOF as the hard edge to soft power; their skills are the yin to the yang, and their activities regularly demonstrate that troops cannot be there solely to train and teach, or only to pursue kinetic solutions.”

Acquiring a sufficiently comprehensive picture of the “operating environment” on the ground to be able to anticipate changes that might favor extremism, as well as to enhance stability, win the hearts and minds of local leaders and local communities, and thereby reduce the conditions in which terrorist networks can thrive, are equally vital goals of the SOF’s soft-power activities. National security expert Linda Robinson explains it this way in the Nov.-Dec. 2012 *Foreign Affairs*: “The long-term relationships fostered by the indirect approach are conduits for understanding and influence. They are the basis for partnerships through which the United States can help other countries solve their own problems and contribute to increased security in their regions. In some cases, the partnerships grow into alliances, as other



U.S. AIR FORCE/MASTER SGT. KEN BERGMANN

U.S. Army soldiers from the 3rd Special Forces Group help inspect Malian army soldiers' weapons at their garrison in Tombouctou, Mali, in September 2007, during an exercise to foster relationships of peace, security and cooperation among the trans-Sahara nations. The exercise was part of the Trans-Sahara Counterterrorism Partnership, an integrated, multiagency effort of the U.S. State Department, U.S. Agency for International Development and the U.S. Defense Department.

countries become willing to assist the United States in security missions elsewhere.”

Testifying before a congressional committee in 2013, Admiral McRaven stated: “The direct approach alone is not the solution to the challenges our nation faces today, as it ultimately only buys time and space for the indirect approach. ... In the end, it will be such continuous indirect operations that will prove decisive in the global security arena.”

Embassies and SOF: Bound Together

This wide range of activity, usually implemented by small SOF units with a light footprint, has expanded the U.S. special operations presence throughout virtually every region of the world, in many cases into countries where we have no conventional military forces. In the age of “Chief-of-Mission Authority”—the golden rule that since the 1950s has required all U.S. government personnel and activities in a foreign country to be approved by the ambassador—SOF operations inevitably necessitate close coordination with U.S. embassies. With few exceptions, for both direct action and indirect activities, SOF commanders are required to get the ambassador’s concurrence, seek the embassy’s clearance for the entry of SOF personnel and then keep the country team briefed on the status of the mission. Enforcing this rule is becoming a major task for embassies.

Direct action missions overseas take place only in exceptional circumstances outside of established war zones, but the campaign to disrupt violent extremist networks in critical threat countries has made them useful in recent years in places like Yemen, Mali, Libya, Somalia and Syria. It has also become quite commonplace for American military personnel to provide advice, intelligence and logistical support for strikes conducted by host-country SOF elements. In such instances, coordination with the State Department and the local U.S. embassy is vital because of the potential for public fallout and impact on the bilateral relationship.

Numerous cases highlight the need for close diplomatic-military coordination on kinetic actions that will take place on foreign soil, as well as the potential for serious friction and adverse effects on U.S. foreign policy objectives. Operation

Neptune Spear, the 2011 SOF raid in which Osama bin Laden was killed, accomplished its purpose but sparked a protracted crisis in U.S.-Pakistan relations. An operation by a Navy SEAL team targeting the Islamic State group in Yemen late last year caused a backlash.

Public knowledge that the United States is involved with direct action missions by foreign partner special operations forces in an undeclared conflict zone—whether in the form of advice, intelligence sharing or actual combat support—can lead to negative repercussions within the country and the region. Many foreign partners prefer to keep their relationship with U.S. special operations out of public view for this reason, which helps explain why the details of so many of these partnerships remain classified. The State Department and its embassies have a strong incentive, therefore, to be kept fully in the loop and to retain the ultimate decision-making authority over these activities.

Even the choice of which foreign SOF partners to cultivate is subject to political sensitivities and foreign policy considerations. Throughout Latin America in recent decades, U.S. special operations engagement with partner forces in countries with poor human rights records deepened historical suspicion and distrust of the United States, sparking concern that those regimes were using what they learned from U.S. commando training against internal political opponents. In the minds of some critics,

this cooperation with Latin American militaries made SOF synonymous with support for unsavory dictators.

Today, U.S. special operators go to great lengths to avoid such perceptions, but close coordination of their activities with the State Department is critical to this

effort. As Linda Robinson observes in *Foreign Affairs*, “Navigating the failings of partner governments, as well as civil strife and complex sectarian, ideological, or tribal conflicts, is extraordinarily difficult; and given the high risk of blowback, the United States must constantly assess whether special operations partnerships with non-U.S. forces are, on balance, advancing or compromising U.S. interests.” Despite attempts to enhance their political awareness through specialized training, SOF personnel can sometimes be tone-deaf to the foreign policy context in which they operate in so many different countries, and to the consequences for broader U.S. objectives. Career diplomats serving in those countries, who understand the local history and political

Like the ethos of career diplomats, the SOF philosophy recognizes the value of nurturing ties to foreign cultures.

culture—as well as POLADS themselves, who often have experience in the same regions or countries—are uniquely qualified to provide the necessary guidance.

Some indirect activities by special operations units overlap materially with what State and USAID programs

are designed to accomplish in a country. Especially when working in the areas of economic development, public health and humanitarian assistance, SOF efforts inevitably stray into the space traditionally occupied by U.S. civilian foreign affairs agencies. For many, this kind of work is an essential part of diplomacy and therefore should stay under the control of civilian agencies. But the unfortunate reality is that while the special operations community has ample and growing resources, State and USAID have always labored within significant budget constraints and now face the threat of massive outright cuts.

Ambassadors must acknowledge that the best hope for preserving our ability to use “soft power” in many areas may well



The author in a helicopter with the SOCOM commander over the Honduran jungle in 2013.

COURTESY OF STEVE KASHKETT

be to embrace the indirect activities of U.S. special operations forces. Both sides need to recognize the importance of coordinating and deconflicting their respective activities. Our special operations leadership is keenly aware that, as one recent

State POLAD to SOCOM put it, they “could be whacking moles from now to eternity if we don’t address the root causes and fertile ground from which violent extremism emerges”—and that there can be little progress in this effort without State and USAID. This is why SOF leaders are among the most compelling advocates for State and USAID appropriations. Given that the SOF budget is likely to far outstrip civilian agencies’ funding under the current administration, however, there can be little doubt that developmental and humanitarian projects by special operations units will take on greater prominence as a tool of U.S. foreign policy.

Special Operations: Wave of the Future?

At a time when the most pressing danger to U.S. national security comes from international terrorism and asymmetric threats from extremist networks spread across multiple countries—and when so much of our diplomacy revolves around building coalitions to combat these threats—special operations will inevitably have an increasingly central role in U.S. foreign policy. SOF have the primary mission of countering terrorism and violent extremism, as well as preventing the spread of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons. And this places it front and center in so much of what our diplomats are doing these days. Furthermore, foreign governments place enormous value on the assistance that elite U.S. special operators can provide in countering these threats. The offer of U.S. SOF support has frequently become a “deliverable” in negotiations with allies and even adversaries; in some instances, it is the most valuable asset we can offer.

By contrast with the conventional military, SOF often function in a dimension that shadows traditional diplomacy and provides additional

By contrast with the conventional military, SOF often function in a dimension that shadows traditional diplomacy.

options for dealing with thorny problems. General Joseph Votel, who served as SOCOM commander from 2014 to 2016, set forth this thinking in a January 2016 essay in *JFQ: Joint Force Quarterly*, “Unconventional Warfare in the Gray Zone.”

Gen. Votel articulates

the role of SOF this way: “While ‘Gray Zone’ refers to a space in the peace-conflict continuum, the methods for engaging our adversaries in that environment have much in common with the political warfare that was predominant during the Cold War years. Political warfare is played out in that space between diplomacy and open warfare, where traditional statecraft is inadequate or ineffective and large-scale conventional military options are not suitable or are deemed inappropriate for a variety of reasons. ... SOF are optimized to provide the pre-eminent military contribution to a national political warfare capability because of their inherent proficiency in low-visibility, small-footprint and politically sensitive operations. SOF provide national decision-makers strategic options for protecting and advancing U.S. national interests without committing major combat forces to costly, long-term contingency operations.”



A U.S. Special Forces soldier distributes toothbrushes to a group of children as part of a public health campaign.

Adversaries increasingly operate in this “gray zone.” Examples include Russia’s aggressive dissemination of disinformation through social media and other means, China’s deployment of military vessels disguised as civilian fishing boats and Iran’s harassment activities in the Strait of Hormuz that fall short of overt military provocations. All of these countries try to hide their recruitment of proxy forces in conflicts around the world. Significantly, General Votel was invited as a special guest to address SOF efforts in the “gray zone” and SOF-embassy relations at last year’s State Department chief-of-mission conference. A fellow speaker, the U.S. ambassador to Ukraine, praised the effectiveness of special operations activities in counter-ing Russian propaganda in that country.

Because of its speed, flexibility, and specialized skills and weapons—distinctive capabilities for addressing the “gray zone” and subnational threats that have been pre-eminent since the beginning of the 21st century—it can be argued that special operations represents the wave of the future. While the conventional, general purpose forces of the U.S. military still have a number of important missions in preserving the peace around the world, a full-blown conventional war against the conventional military of a foreign power seems unlikely. Special operations played a far greater role in the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq than in any previous war, and the SOF “tip of the spear” raids and other pinpoint strikes were the keys to many of the successes that took place.

As Gen. Votel has observed: “In the autumn of 2001, a small SOF element and interagency team, supported by carrier- and land-based airstrikes, brought down the illegitimate Taliban government in Afghanistan that had been providing sanctuary for al-Qaida. This strikingly successful unconventional warfare operation was carried out with a U.S. ‘boots on the ground’ presence of roughly 350 SOF and 110 interagency operatives, working alongside an indigenous force of some 15,000 Afghan irregulars.”

Against this backdrop, it is logical for U.S. diplomats to see the



U.S. MARINE CORPS SGT. RYAN DAVIS

Marines from a Special Operations Company of the 1st Marine Special Operations Battalion meet with local leaders in the town of Qal’eh-ye Gaz in Afghanistan’s Helmand province to assist with medical needs and discuss their issues with anti-coalition forces operating in the area in August 2007.

Numerous cases highlight the need for close diplomatic-military coordination on kinetic actions that will take place on foreign soil.

special operations community as a highly adaptable, singularly capable natural ally—and as a primary partner in the civilian-military diplomacy of the future. There are undeniably many risks and potential pitfalls ahead. It will be a challenge

for the State Department and its career officers to retain primacy over the formulation and implementation of foreign policy in an era when quasi-autonomous military SOF teams are present in more than 100 countries and possess far greater operating resources. The personnel numbers alone are daunting: there are some 70,000 U.S. special operators worldwide, compared to fewer than 10,000 Foreign Service officers.

Some fear that the expansion of well-funded U.S. special operations activities into nearly 70 percent of the countries of the world will somehow overwhelm traditional civilian diplomacy and render it obsolete. This concern overlooks the fact that SOF is ill-equipped to replace many of the key functions of embassies: maintaining a high-level dialogue with host governments on vital bilateral issues, reporting and analyzing political-economic developments, providing assistance to U.S. citizens abroad, and conducting the public outreach and educational and cultural exchanges that embody U.S. public diplomacy. Special operations teams will not usurp these roles.

But in a world where asymmetric, non-state extremist networks and unconventional “gray zone” warfare represent the greatest threat to international security, SOF will have a growing role to play as a foreign policy instrument alongside traditional diplomacy. ■

Working with the U.S. Military: Let's Take Full Advantage of Opportunities

The challenge for the State Department is not necessarily to reduce the role of the Department of Defense in foreign affairs, but to strengthen our own voice.

BY WANDA NESBITT

“War is the continuation of politics by other means.” This famous quote from the 19th-century Prussian General

Carl von Clausewitz in *On War* (1832) is well known to officers throughout the U.S. military. My guess is that a smaller percentage of Foreign Service officers are familiar with it, although it is as relevant for us as it is for those in uniform. Why is it relevant? Because military force is one of several elements of national power that a nation can use to achieve its foreign policy goals.



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The views expressed in this article are the author's own and do not reflect the view of the Department of State, the Department of Defense or the U.S. government.

(Others include economics and trade; information and public diplomacy; negotiation and foreign aid.)

As we mull over and debate the “militarization of foreign policy,” it may be useful to remember that our best statesmen and diplomats did not shy away from the military but were well-versed in the use of force—and could persuasively articulate when its use was appropriate and when it was not. Ambassador (ret.) Ron Neumann immediately comes to mind as someone who excelled at this.

Now president of the American Academy of Diplomacy, Amb. Neumann served as chief of mission in Afghanistan from 2005 to 2007, working closely with the U.S. military on cooperation between Afghanistan and Pakistan at a particularly sensitive time. He also advocated for change in how the U.S. government conducts foreign policy in fragile states, arguing that the role of ambassadors should be strengthened in conflict states in “Fixing Fragile States” (co-authored with retired Admirals Dennis Blair and Eric Olson, and published in the Sept.-Oct. 2014 edition of *The National Interest*).

In today's world, where the desire for immediate solutions to complex yet frightening developments (e.g., the spread of the Islamic State group) is so strong, it is not hard to understand the temptation to focus on the use of force, despite widespread recognition that force alone will not solve the problem. In my view, the challenge for State is not necessarily to weaken or reduce the role of the Department of Defense, but to strengthen our voice and ensure that our expertise is recognized as equally valid. One of the things we need to do to reach that goal is encourage more officers to develop a deep



U.S. DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

A National Defense University convocation ceremony in 2014.

understanding of the military, and then to utilize those officers effectively.

State Goes to School

Multiple opportunities for State personnel to study or work alongside DOD personnel already exist, but as an institution we often do not make the most of those opportunities or capitalize on the skills, abilities and insights that our officers gain from spending a year in a military environment. Let's look, for instance, at the National Defense University, with which I have recent, firsthand experience, having served as its senior vice president from October 2013 to July 2016.

NDU is unique, even within Defense. It is sometimes referred to as "The Chairman's University" because it operates under the guidance of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (CJCS) and is required to have all the military services represented in roughly equal numbers. This is especially valuable for State Department personnel assigned to NDU, because it means that one is exposed to all of the different service cultures as opposed to just one dominant culture as

would be the case, for instance, at the Army War College or the Naval War College.

NDU also hosts 90 to 100 foreign military officers each year, many of whom go on to become service chiefs and ministers of defense. Officers from USAID, the intelligence community, Department of Homeland Security, Commerce and several other agencies also comprise the student body. The result

We can only guess at how many disagreements between State and DOD never reached a crisis level because the people involved understood each other's cultures.

is an incredibly diverse environment that exposes students to multiple agency and international perspectives. The students, all of whom are mid-career professionals, are encouraged to broaden their horizons, challenge their assumptions and build new networks. The yearlong master's degree

programs offered by each of NDU's five colleges represent "joint" education in the broadest sense.

NDU also offers the largest number of opportunities for State personnel at the FS-1/GS-15 level to get training outside of the department, although "education" is a more appropriate term. The distinction is compelling and was explained to me this way: Training involves teaching someone how to do

DECEMBER 1960: Education For the National Security

BY JAMES J. BLAKE



ne of the most important developments in foreign policy since World War II has been its general recasting into the mold of national security. Today few significant areas of America's foreign relations are without their national security aspects: regional

alliances, foreign aid, the status of forces and trade policy come most readily to mind, but there are others. The result is that the military, economic and political components of our foreign relations today are far more closely associated than was ever the case before World War II.

Similarly, our own policies and actions in the fields of economics, science and civil defense—to name only a few—have come to have an important bearing on our international posture. In such changed circumstances the comprehensive study of national security problems by senior military educational institutions has become of increasing interest to the Department of State and the Foreign Service.

Evidence of this enhanced interest was the appointment for the first time in 1959 of a State Department Representative and Foreign Affairs Adviser to the Commandant of the Industrial College of the Armed Forces. The appointment was in recognition of the fact that the College had become, since its establishment in 1948 in Washington, D. C., one of the most important senior military educational institutions. ...

Throughout the 10 months of its resident course, a searching and critical analysis is made by its students, who are generally in the grade of colonel or Navy captain and are drawn from among the highest qualified officers of the four Services, of the

overall readiness of the nation for international emergencies, as well as Cold War situations.

This year 149 students, including 27 civilians, of whom three are Foreign Service officers, are engaged in making this analysis. By June 1961, they will have heard some 200 lectures on the national security, viewed in its military, diplomatic and economic aspects; each will have prepared a written thesis on a personally selected aspect of national security policy; and all will have worked together in small seminar groups to develop an agreed solution to a major "final problem" arising out of the major types of international conflict situations facing the United States.

In addition to the lectures and student research program, the course of studies at the College includes visits to military and industrial areas within the United States as well as a program of visits to selected foreign countries. ...

For the civilian student taking the resident course, and particularly for the Foreign Service officer, the lectures by the Defense Department officials on international problems are often challenging and stimulating, representing as they sometimes do, a different but always thoughtful emphasis of the American military and diplomatic posture. One of the most impressive features of these presentations is that they rarely seem to represent the thinking of that stereotype, "the military mind." Instead, they are almost always characterized by an integrated view of all of the factors—military, economic, social and political—that constitute the equation of national security. The encouragement of this integrated approach to national policy is the most important objective of the College. ...

Insofar as the Department of State is concerned, the greatest impact of the College on matters of immediate concern to the department is, of course, through the regular 10-month course at Fort McNair. Here, in excellent surroundings that would be difficult to duplicate in the Washington area, senior military officers and selected civilian officials are given an opportunity to stand back and appraise the posture of the United States in the world today.

During those 10 months, every effort is made to stimulate creative thought and understanding on the part of students regarding the complex problems of national security without regard to service or departmental requirements or positions—only the national interest. ... ■

The late Ambassador James J. Blake retired from the Foreign Service in 1981 after a 34-year career during which he served overseas in Brussels, Calcutta (now Kolkata) and Tripoli, as well as Reykjavik, where he was U.S. ambassador. In Washington, he served as deputy assistant secretary for African affairs and on the Army staff in the Pentagon as a political-military officer concerned with strategic planning, among other assignments. He graduated from the Industrial College of the Armed Forces in 1961 and earned a master's degree from The George Washington University in 1962.

This excerpt is from his December 1960 FSJ article, which did not include an author biographical note.

a specific task or carry out a clearly defined role or mission, whereas education broadens knowledge and thinking. While I was there, the NDU provost often said: “We don’t teach people what to think; we teach them how to think.” NDU prides itself on producing strategic thinkers: a few of its well-known graduates include former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and Secretary of State Colin Powell, former National Security Advisor Brent Scowcroft and Martin Dempsey, who retired as chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff in 2016.

State’s presence at each of NDU’s five colleges

is significant. On average, the State Department sends 20-25 officers to the National War College and an equal number to the Eisenhower School (formerly the Industrial College of the Armed Forces) each year. A much smaller number (2-3) go to the College of International Security Affairs, which focuses on counterterrorism, and to the Joint Forces Staff College in Norfolk, Virginia. In addition to students, State has faculty slots in each school and holds the number-two leadership position at the University, the National War College, the Eisenhower School and CISA. Altogether, the State contingent at NDU easily numbers 60-70 per year.

Making the Most of the Investment

State personnel benefit tremendously from this experience. Classroom discussions offer an opportunity to explore issues (e.g., how to diminish the influence of the Islamic State group) from a new perspective and to hear what others—especially military officers—think about these challenges. Personal interactions outside of class provide an opportunity to get to know people our officers might otherwise never come across and to build relationships that often prove to be invaluable later down the line. (If you are interested in bidding on a year at NDU, look for 17 State 41364, Long-Term Training Opportunities, which gives details on how to apply.)

There are countless stories of FSOs who graduated from NDU—whether from the National War College, the Eisenhower School or another component—and encountered a classmate five to 10 years later in an interagency setting. In almost every case, their shared experience as NDU students facilitated discussion and made it easier to resolve issues. We can only guess at how many disagree-

ments between State and DOD never reached a crisis level because the people involved understood each other’s cultures and were able to work out their differences.

A year at NDU represents a substantial investment by the State Department in officers expected to go on to leadership roles. So

Creative thinking and a more strategic approach to how we fill certain assignments could put us on a stronger footing in terms of the relationship with DOD.

it is almost astounding that we do not make a concerted effort to reap the benefits of this investment by ensuring that the knowledge and experience our students acquire is utilized in a deliberate manner. Long overdue improvements to the selection process for senior training have been made

recently, but more could be done. One idea involves setting aside a small number of slots, perhaps two per year, for officers willing to commit to focus on political-military issues or take an important assignment as a foreign policy adviser (known as a POLAD) to a military service chief or commander.

I met with State FSO students every year while at NDU and found them frustrated that our personnel system seemed incapable of finding a way to recognize the added value they bring out of the assignment. Linked assignments are probably a bridge too far, but steps forward could include equating a year at institutions like NDU to interagency experience and requiring the deputy chief of mission and principal officer selection committee to give candidates with this experience higher consideration for posts with a large U.S. military presence. Over time, this might encourage new norms, such as an expectation that service school graduates will be more competitive for positions that have a significant political-military component.

Creative thinking and a more strategic approach to how we fill certain assignments could put us on a stronger footing in terms of the relationship with DOD. This would absolutely require a commitment from the seventh floor, and not just from the Director General’s office. It might be difficult and controversial, but conscious change is needed if we are to make the most of opportunities that already exist.

What We Can Teach the Military

Another factor that we pay insufficient attention to is the degree to which we can positively influence our military colleagues’ perceptions of the State Department and the Foreign Service. While it is critical to have individual FSOs benefit from

joint and interagency programs, the goodwill that State as an institution derives from those interactions should also not be underestimated. I was surprised that many of the military officers I met at NDU knew very little about the State Department, and found that many of my FSO colleagues had exactly the same impression.

What I found, however, was that the more military officers came to know and understand us, the more likely they were to respect and value the role we play. Having senior officers assigned to NDU is valuable, and our contributions can make a significant difference. For example, we often invited officials from State to speak to students about

a particular policy issue, and those sessions can be extremely beneficial to the military officers. Nevertheless, State often fails to take full advantage of opportunities that are practically on our doorstep.

NDU is a 20-minute drive from Main State (when traffic isn't lousy), yet it is remarkably difficult to get senior State officials to speak there. In the absence of a senior representative, for example, I routinely stepped in to talk to officers in the CAPSTONE course about chief-of-mission authority and how our embassies abroad operate successfully. Useful—but perhaps not the best use of an opportunity to influence the next generation of DOD leaders. For readers not familiar with it, CAPSTONE is a mandatory, six-week course for newly promoted flag rank officers (OC-equivalent).

In keeping with NDU's joint education mandate, each class includes a roughly equal representation of officers from the Army, Navy, Air Force and Marine Corps, and a handful of civilian counterparts. From a strategic perspective, however, the CAPSTONE program is unique in that these classes represent the future of the U.S. military. The men and women in this program will one day be combatant commanders, filling critical positions at DOD and on the Joint Staff. In CAPSTONE they routinely hear from the top military brass, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, agency heads or their deputies and well-known figures in the intelligence community. Yet it was a rarity for anyone from our seventh floor to address this group. The reasons are understandable: packed schedules, long-planned visits from foreign dignitaries, competing

speaking engagements, etc. Nonetheless, State could and should use this opportunity to influence the next generation of senior military leaders to much greater effect.

The CAPSTONE course is held four times each year; we should give much more attention to the messages we want to send this group. Building relationships and encouraging officers to bond with a new cohort of peers at the senior ranks is one of the goals of CAPSTONE. State could send an officer to every CAPSTONE class, but we haven't done so for several years because the course is not free. And the cost is significant: \$12,000 to \$13,000 for six

weeks. The long-term benefits, however, could be quite substantial if we view CAPSTONE as an opportunity for State to develop a contingent of officers who can build and sustain relationships with DOD. Participants would have to be carefully selected, ideally with a focus on likely future assignments. Giving the opportunity to attend CAPSTONE to somebody who might one day become a deputy assistant secretary

in the Bureau of Political and Military Affairs or a POLAD to the CENTCOM commander might be well worth the investment.

The Way Forward

In sum, multiple opportunities already exist for the State Department to deepen personal relationships with U.S. military officers and strengthen institutional links with DOD. Academic settings such as NDU offer one vehicle for doing so and also provide opportunities for State to influence the thinking of future military leaders. Making maximum use of these opportunities is a challenge that will require a sustained commitment from the highest levels of the State Department.

But one way State can counteract the "militarization of foreign policy" is to reexamine in a rigorous and honest manner how we motivate Foreign Service personnel to better understand the military, how we utilize officers who already possess that understanding and how we can take full advantage of opportunities—such as the ones at NDU—to demonstrate that a multifaceted approach to achieving U.S. foreign policy goals is far better than one that relies too heavily on just one of the tools in the box. ■

One way State can counteract the "militarization of foreign policy" is to re-examine how we motivate Foreign Service personnel to better understand the military and how we utilize officers who already possess that understanding.

Killer Drones and the Militarization of U.S. Foreign Policy

In the eyes of many around the world, diplomacy has taken a back seat to military operations in U.S. foreign policy. The drone program is a prime example.

BY ANN WRIGHT

The militarization of U.S. foreign policy certainly didn't start with President Donald J. Trump; in fact, it goes back several decades. However, if Trump's first 100 days in office are any indication, he has no intention of slowing down the trend.

During a single week in April, the Trump administration fired 59 Tomahawk missiles into a Syrian airfield, and dropped the largest bomb in the U.S. arsenal on suspected ISIS tunnels in Afghanistan. This 21,600-pound incendiary percussion device that had never been used in combat—the Massive Ordnance Air Blast or MOAB, colloquially known as the “Mother of All Bombs”—was used in the

Achin district of Afghanistan, where Special Forces Staff Sergeant Mark De Alencar had been killed a week earlier. (The bomb was tested only twice, at Elgin Air Base, Florida, in 2003.)

To underscore the new administration's preference for force over diplomacy, the decision to experiment with the explosive power of the mega-bomb was taken unilaterally by General John Nicholson, the commanding general of U.S. forces in Afghanistan. In praising that decision, Pres. Trump declared that he had given “total authorization” to the U.S. military to conduct whatever missions they wanted, anywhere in the world—which presumably means without consulting the interagency national security committee.

It is also telling that Pres. Trump chose generals for two key national security positions traditionally filled by civilians: the Secretary of Defense and the National Security Advisor. Yet three months into his administration, he has left unfilled hundreds of senior civilian governmental positions at State, Defense and elsewhere.

An Increasingly Shaky Ban

While Pres. Trump has not yet enunciated a policy on the subject of political assassinations, there has so far been no indication that he plans to change the practice of relying on drone killings established by his recent predecessors.

Back in 1976, however, President Gerald Ford set a very different example when he issued his Executive Order 11095. This proclaimed that “No employee of the United States government shall engage in, or conspire to engage in, political assassination.”



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The views expressed in this article are the author's own and do not reflect the view of the Department of State, the Department of Defense or the U.S. government.



WIKIMEDIA COMMONS/RICKY BEST

The MQ-9 Reaper, a combat drone, in flight. Inset: Members of the New York Air National Guard's 1174th Fighter Wing Maintenance Group place chalks on a MQ-9 Reaper after it returned from a winter training mission at Wheeler Sack Army Airfield, Fort Drum, N.Y., Feb. 14, 2012.

He instituted this prohibition after investigations by the Church Committee (the Senate Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities, chaired by Sen. Frank Church, D-Idaho) and the Pike Committee (its House counterpart, chaired by Rep. Otis G. Pike, D-N.Y.) had revealed the extent of the Central Intelligence Agency's assassination operations against foreign leaders in the 1960s and 1970s.

With a few exceptions, the next several presidents upheld the ban. But in 1986, President Ronald Reagan ordered an attack on Libyan strongman Muammar Gaddafi's home in Tripoli, in retaliation for the bombing of a nightclub in Berlin that killed a U.S. serviceman and two German citizens and injured 229. In just 12 minutes, American planes dropped 60 tons of U.S. bombs on the house, though they failed to kill Gaddafi.

Twelve years later, in 1998, President Bill Clinton ordered the firing of 80 cruise missiles on al-Qaida facilities in Afghanistan and Sudan, in retaliation for the bombings of U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania. The Clinton administration justified the action by asserting that the proscription against assassination did not cover individuals whom the U.S. government had determined were connected to terrorism.

Days after al-Qaida carried out its Sept. 11, 2001, attacks on the United States, President George W. Bush signed an intelligence "finding" allowing the Central Intelligence Agency to engage in "lethal covert operations" to kill Osama bin Laden and destroy his terrorist network. White House and CIA lawyers argued that this order was constitutional on two grounds. First, they embraced the Clinton administration's position that E.O. 11905 did not preclude the

United States' taking action against terrorists. More sweepingly, they declared that the ban on political assassination did not apply during wartime.

Send in the Drones

The Bush administration's wholesale rejection of the ban on targeted killing or political assassinations reversed a quarter-century of bipartisan U.S. foreign policy. It also opened the door to the use of unmanned aerial vehicles to conduct targeted killings (a euphemism for assassinations).

The U.S. Air Force had been flying unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs), since the 1960s, but only as unmanned surveillance platforms. Following 9/11, however, the Department of Defense and the Central Intelligence Agency weaponized "drones" (as they were quickly dubbed) to kill both leaders and foot soldiers of al-Qaida and the Taliban.

The United States set up bases in Afghanistan and Pakistan

for that purpose, but after a series of drone attacks that killed civilians, including a large group gathered for a wedding, the Pakistani government ordered in 2011 that the U.S. drones and U.S. military personnel be removed from its Shamsi Air Base. However, targeted assassinations continued to be conducted in Pakistan by

The Bush administration's wholesale rejection of the ban on targeted killing opened the door to the use of unmanned aerial vehicles to conduct targeted killings.

drones based outside the country.

In 2009, President Barack Obama picked up where his predecessor had left off. As public and congressional concern increased about the use of aircraft controlled by CIA and military operators located 10,000 miles away from the people they were ordered to kill, the White House was forced to officially acknowl-

edge the targeted killing program and to describe how persons became targets of the program.

Instead of scaling the program back, however, the Obama administration doubled down. It essentially designated all military-age males in a foreign strike zone as combatants, and therefore potential targets of what it termed “signature strikes.” Even more disturbing, it declared that strikes aimed at specific, high-value terrorists, known as “personality strikes,” could include American citizens.

That theoretical possibility soon became a grim reality. In April 2010, Pres. Obama authorized the CIA to “target” Anwar al-Awlaki, an American citizen and a former imam at a Virginia mosque, for assassination. Less than a decade before, the Office of the Secretary of the Army had invited the imam to participate in an interfaith service following 9/11. But al-Awlaki later became an outspoken critic of the “war on terror,” moved to his father’s homeland of Yemen, and helped al-Qaida recruit members.

On Sept. 30, 2011, a drone strike killed al-Awlaki and another American, Samir Khan—who was traveling with him in Yemen. U.S. drones killed al-Awlaki’s 16-year-old son, Abdulrahman al-Awlaki, an American citizen, 10 days later in an attack on a group of young men around a campfire. The Obama administration never made clear whether the 16-year-old son was targeted individually because he was al-Awlaki’s son or if he was the victim of a “signature” strike, fitting the description of a young military-age male. However, during a White House press conference, a reporter asked Obama spokesman Robert Gibbs how he could defend the killings, and especially the death of a U.S.-citizen minor who was “targeted without due process, without trial.”

Gibbs’ response did nothing to help the U.S. image in the Muslim world: “I would suggest that you should have had a far more responsible father if they are truly concerned about the well-being of their children. I don’t think becoming an al-Qaida jihadist terrorist is the best way to go about doing your business.”

On Jan. 29, 2017, al-Awlaki’s 8-year-old daughter, Nawar al-Awlaki, was killed in a U.S. commando attack in Yemen ordered by Obama’s successor, Donald Trump.

Meanwhile, the media continued to report incidents of civilians being killed in drone strikes across the region, which frequently target wedding parties and funerals. Many inhabitants of the region along the Afghan-Pakistan border could hear the buzz of drones circling their area around the clock, causing psychological trauma for all those who live in the area, especially children.

The Obama administration was strongly criticized for the

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tactic of “double-tap”—hitting a target home or vehicle with a Hellfire missile, and then firing a second missile into the group that came to the aid of those who had been wounded in the first attack. Many times, those who ran to help rescue persons trapped inside collapsed buildings or flaming cars were local citizens, not militants.

Drones allow presidents to punt on questions of war and peace by choosing an option that appears to offer a middle course, but actually has a variety of long-term consequences for U.S. policy.

personnel, both uniformed and civilian, are from the tribal regions on the border of Afghanistan and Pakistan where U.S. drone strikes have focused. They take revenge for the deaths of their families and friends by killing their U.S. military trainers.

Anger against drones has surfaced in the United States as well. On May 1, 2010, Pakistani-American Faisal Shahzad attempted to set off

An Increasingly Counterproductive Tactic

The rationale traditionally offered for using drones is that they eliminate the need for “boots on the ground”—whether members of the armed forces or CIA paramilitary personnel—in dangerous environments, thereby preventing loss of U.S. lives. U.S. officials also claim that the intelligence UAVs gather through lengthy surveillance makes their strikes more precise, reducing the number of civilian casualties. (Left unsaid, but almost certainly another powerful motivator, is the fact that the use of drones means that no suspected militants would be taken alive, thus avoiding the political and other complications of detention.)

Even if these claims are true, however, they do not address the impact of the tactic on U.S. foreign policy. Of broadest concern is the fact that drones allow presidents to punt on questions of war and peace by choosing an option that appears to offer a middle course, but actually has a variety of long-term consequences for U.S. policy, as well as for the communities on the receiving end.

By taking the risk of loss of U.S. personnel out of the picture, Washington policymakers may be tempted to use force to resolve a security dilemma rather than negotiating with the parties involved. Moreover, by their very nature, UAVs may be more likely to provoke retaliation against America than conventional weapons systems. To many in the Middle East and South Asia, drones represent a weakness of the U.S. government and its military, not a strength. Shouldn’t brave warriors fight on the ground, they ask, instead of hiding behind a faceless drone in the sky, operated by a young person in a chair many thousands of miles away?

Since 2007, at least 150 NATO personnel have been the victims of “insider attacks” by members of the Afghan military and national police forces being trained by the coalition. Many of the Afghans who commit such “green on blue” killings of American

a car bomb in Times Square. In his guilty plea, Shahzad justified targeting civilians by telling the judge, “When the drone hits in Afghanistan and Iraq, they don’t see children, they don’t see anybody. They kill women, children; they kill everybody. They’re killing all Muslims.”

As of 2012 the U.S. Air Force was recruiting more drone pilots than pilots for traditional aircraft—between 2012 and 2014, they planned to add 2,500 pilots and support people to the drone program. That is nearly twice the number of diplomats the State Department hires in a two-year period.

Congressional and media concern over the program led to the Obama administration’s acknowledgment of the regular Tuesday meetings led by the president to identify targets for the assassination list. In the international media, “Terror Tuesdays” became an expression of U.S. foreign policy.

Not Too Late

To many around the world, U.S. foreign policy has been dominated for the past 16 years by military actions in the Middle East and South Asia, and large land and sea military exercises in Northeast Asia. On the world stage, American efforts in the areas of economics, trade, cultural issues and human rights appear to have taken a back seat to the waging of continuous wars.

Continuing the use of drone warfare to carry out assassinations will only exacerbate foreign distrust of American intentions and trustworthiness. It thereby plays into the hands of the very opponents we are trying to defeat.

During his campaign, Donald Trump pledged he would always put “America First,” and said he wanted to get out of the business of regime change. It is not too late for him to keep that promise by learning from his predecessors’ mistakes and reversing the continued militarization of U.S. foreign policy. ■

Creeping Militarization of Foreign Policy or Creeping State Department Irrelevance?

State has ceded some turf to the military, but it's not too late to regain it and rebalance the civilian-military equation in U.S. foreign affairs.

BY LARRY BUTLER

Since the fall of the Berlin Wall we have seen a steady outpouring of books and articles lamenting the trend in Washington to see foreign policy through a military lens: Rosa Brooks' *How Everything Became War and the Military Became Everything*, Lorelei Kelly's *Unbalanced Security: The Divide between State and Defense*, and Gordon Adams and Shoon Murray's *Mission Creep—The Militarization of U.S. Foreign Policy*, among others.

Why might one have this view? Is it that the Defense Department's huge budget, personnel and other capabilities give it an advantage? Is it due to how the military is organized—with geographic combatant commands that have effective control over policy and activities across their areas of responsibility,

A solely military response is not sufficient. We want to increasingly involve other elements of the U.S. government and the international community, recognizing that it is only through a combination of capabilities that we will achieve and sustain our strongest deterrence posture.

—General Joseph Votel,
Commander, U.S. Central Command,
March 9, 2017

whereas State's regional bureaus are misaligned with military counterparts and assistant secretaries deal via turf-conscious bilateral ambassadors numbering up to 40 or more, and have little say over how USAID spends its money?

Has Foggy Bottom lost relevance in the foreign affairs arena by emphasizing soft-power social agendas (e.g., the creation of special envoys for various religions, LGBTQ, the Holocaust, global



Ambassador (ret.) Larry Butler served nearly 38 years in the Foreign Service in the Balkans, Scandinavia, South America and the Middle East. He was the deputy assistant secretary of State for Iraq during the 2007-2009 surge, the U.S. ambassador in Macedonia from 2002 to 2005 and acting chief of mission in the former Yugoslavia in 1996. An economic-coned officer, he found his calling in crisis prevention and management, which included a three-month Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe mission in Kosovo and a tour as principal deputy high representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as three back-to-back tours as a foreign policy adviser with NATO, U.S. forces in Iraq and at the U.S. European Command in Germany. He also served as the latter's civilian deputy to the commander. Since retiring from the Foreign Service he has worked in support of military training exercises, providing expertise on how to work with embassy country teams and international partners.

The views expressed in this article are the author's own and do not reflect the view of the Department of State, the Department of Defense or the U.S. government.

youth and global women's affairs) that are distinctly American over hard-power national security interests (e.g., strong international security and healthy economic systems that protect allies and provide opportunities for American businesses)? Or is it, perhaps, simply that the Foreign Service is either late in arriving or missing from the field where the military is operating?

The answer, of course, is all of the above. But there are two broad aspects of the problem that I believe are fundamental: first, the proliferation of priorities at the State Department following the end of the Cold War; and second, the missed opportunities at State during the past 20 years of joint operations with the military to institutionalize the kind of professional and personal relationships that would enable the smaller Foreign Service to exert leadership in the foreign policy arena at home and abroad.

A Proliferation of Priorities

The end of the Cold War and the so-called "end of history" marked a shift for the State Department. We hired a more diverse Foreign Service that, in turn, took on a broader range of narrower activities that more resemble small-picture social engineering than traditional, big-picture diplomacy. At the same time, State reallocated existing resources to create an alphabet soup of new under secretaries, functional bureaus, offices and special envoys. At its peak during the Obama administration, there were more than 50 of the latter. As Ambassador Jim Jeffrey observes in a March 3 piece in *Foreign Policy*, neither the 2010 nor the 2015 Quadrennial Diplomacy

The U.S. armed forces remain the only military establishment with global power projection capabilities and experience in managing multinational coalitions. Generals and admirals bestride the highly militarized foreign policy apparatus of the United States government. This caps a longstanding trend. Americans so thoroughly identify "power" as exclusively military in nature that it has been necessary to invent an academic concept of "soft power" to embrace measures short of war like diplomacy.

—Ambassador Chas Freeman, March 9, 2017

and Development Review focuses on "traditional" diplomacy. The department has diffused its energy too broadly to the neglect of fundamentals, and this, in turn, left a vacuum that the military has had to fill.

New State Department priorities include such things as this, for example. In Muslim-majority Indonesia in 2014 and 2015, not long before the deadly January 2016 extremist terrorist attack on Starbucks and other locations rocked the capital, Jakarta, our consulate in Surabaya produced impressive Hispanic heritage month YouTube videos of its celebrations, which included spending money to bring Los Angeles artists to paint murals on the walls of a local school and sponsor fun runs for local girls. Similarly, in March the U.S. embassy in Macedonia—a country with simmering interethnic tensions and endemic corruption that hasn't had a government since elections in early December 2016—flew in a lawyer from the Office of the Special Counsel to lecture locals on the Hatch Act, even as refugees streamed north from Greece and European-born Islamic State group fighters returned from Syrian battlefields.

In religiously conservative Uganda, a U.S. Army commander there to train units in combating the Lord's Resistance Army and al-Shabaab in Somalia had to deal with backlash from an

angry counterpart when the U.S. embassy flew the rainbow flag high over Kampala in a righteous response to that country's persecution of the LGBTQ community. That subsequently set back efforts to combat other forms of violent abuses of human rights in eastern Africa.

One general commented, "If everything is a priority for the State Department, nothing is."

On its own, each example represents admirable commitment by the Foreign Service to human rights, social progress and good governance policy efforts. But collectively, that commitment ignores the opportunity cost of not prioritizing activities more immediate to countering violent extremism, promoting economic prosperity and strengthening the security necessary to address higher-order human rights and civic goals.



Ambassador Larry Butler (in black jacket) with soldiers of the French Operational Mentoring Liaison Team on a hilltop outpost south of Surobi, Afghanistan, in December 2008.

The proliferation of activities that pander to U.S. domestic special interests and divert resources from other work, and whose effectiveness cannot easily be measured, is one aspect of the creeping irrelevance of American diplomacy. This problem has been compounded by the Foreign Service's apparent unwillingness or inability to work with the U.S. military when they need us the most.



A group of foreign policy advisers (POLADs) with Commander of the U.S. European Command Admiral James Stavridis at the U.S. European Command's Component Commander's Conference in Naples on Jan. 11, 2013. First row, from left: the late Jonita Whitaker, U.S. Naval Forces Europe POLAD; Adm. Stavridis; Lee MacTaggart, U.S. Marine Forces Europe POLAD; Greg Marchese, U.S. Special Operations Command Europe POLAD. Second row, from left: Colonel Pat Hoffman, XO to Amb. Butler; Matt Boyse, U.S. Army Europe POLAD; Brent Bohne, U.S. Air Force Europe POLAD; and Ambassador Larry Butler, U.S. European Command POLAD.

Missing in Action

Since retiring in 2013 from my position as the civilian deputy to the commander of EUCOM, I occasionally help prepare American military units to deal with U.S. embassies in operations abroad. This brings me into contact with officers getting ready to go back to the Middle East and Afghanistan, as well as Europe. At an event earlier this year, I was talking to a Marine heading to a task force operating in western Iraq. He knew I had served as a foreign policy adviser (POLAD) in Iraq, and complained that he did not think there would be a State Department officer out with his task force. He outlined all the (civilian) areas where such a person was needed to advise and guide the task force.

Listening in was a two-star Army general, a battalion commander in Afghanistan in the early years of that conflict. He noted the absence of the State Department in his province at that time, and explained how valuable POLADs and State-led provincial reconstruction teams (PRTs) had been to him later on in Iraq.

One of my duties at EUCOM was to ensure we were as supportive of our embassies as possible, going so far as to develop our theater and country plans based on each embassy's Integrated Country Strategy. We extended invitations to ambassadors and deputy chiefs of mission to visit, as well as arranging regional gatherings to develop personal relationships we could draw on in times of crisis. ("You cannot surge trust" is a military adage.)

Yet not every embassy seemed to see the value in investing time with EUCOM. In one case, an important Nordic embassy did not find it convenient to participate in a regional tabletop exercise designed to help us think about how we would defend the Baltic republics in the event of Russian aggression.

During World War II and the Cold War, the military could

count on the presence of talented American diplomats nearly everywhere. The best example is that of Robert Murphy, the illustrious American diplomat who was on the ground in North Africa before and after we invaded. Dozens of State and USAID FSOs served in combat zones in Vietnam, some paying for that service with their lives. Those of us who served behind the Iron Curtain, in the Balkans, Africa, Central America and other tough places have similar stories of working solo or alongside our military in dangerous places. One Army officer commented that nothing creates credibility and cements respect among the military more than an FSO who "shares the mud" with them.

Nature Abhors a Vacuum

Fast forward to the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. The State Department was not just slow in deploying capable personnel to these two war zones, leaving the military to fend for itself in developing governance and restarting economies, but faced strong internal opposition to participating alongside the military—which only accelerated the militarization of foreign policy.

The year 2007 was angst-filled for the Foreign Service. "An Uneasy Partnership—The Foreign Service and the Military" was the focus of the March *Foreign Service Journal*. The *Journal* ended the year with a cover story questioning whether State was still in charge of its embassies. As Iraq's security situation worsened from 2005 to 2007, the need for Foreign Service talent had increased.

When I came on board in January 2007 as State's deputy assistant secretary (DAS) for Iraq, we urgently needed to staff 15 new provincial reconstruction teams, one for each of the brigade combat teams being sent to the country. In addition to



Life is not an on-and-off switch. You do not need to have a military that is either in hard combat or is in the barracks. I would argue life is a rheostat. You have to dial it in. And as I think about how we create security in the 21st century, there will be times when we will apply hard power in true war and crisis. But there will be many instances...where our militaries can be part of creating 21st-century security: international, interagency, private-public, connected with competent communication.

—Admiral James G. Stavridis, in his *Accidental Admiral: A Sailor Takes Command at NATO* (2014)

having to find qualified FSOs as team leads, we needed specialized skill sets, such as municipal water engineers or local government budget specialists, that don't exist within State; and we needed time and help in recruiting them from the outside.

The obvious source for that assistance was the department's Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization (S/CRS, now the Bureau of Conflict and Stabilization Operations). Even though the White House had put out a directive that every agency would pitch in, S/CRS leadership claimed it was unable to assist as it was too busy elsewhere. The solution was to ask the Defense Department to provide the initial tranche of 129 experts from the ranks of the National Guard or active Reserve, pending replacements. When Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice briefed Congress on this on Feb. 7, 2007, the Pentagon went ballistic. At weekly NSC Deputies Committee meetings, I was beat up by DOD counterparts for not being able to replace those persons fast enough.

In the end, we managed to provide the staffing because the Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs Executive Directorate staff stepped up to the challenge by shifting Human Resources personnel over to the Iraq effort and recruiting the needed skilled personnel via USA Jobs. But the demand only increased. Even as the civilian component of the "surge" in Iraq started flowing, we were struggling to recruit the replacements for the embassy and other PRTs for summer 2008, at a time when AFSA leadership and others were openly negative about the risks and perceived burdens of service in Iraq. In addition, pulling positions from around the world to fill Iraq jobs was putting a strain on embassies in all regions.

This culminated in the disastrous Oct. 30, 2007, town hall meeting convened by the Director General on the topic of directed assignments, which made headlines (when one attendee called Iraq service "a potential death sentence") and

cemented the military's perception of a Foreign Service lacking the commitment and discipline to serve in hard and dangerous places. Even though there were no directed assignments because enough volunteers did, in fact, come forward, if one were to identify one single event that caused the U.S. military to look at the Foreign Service as unwilling and absent partners, it was that town hall.

The Foreign Service's Finest Hour

By the end of that very difficult year, the State Department had recovered some status with the military because it deployed the additional provincial reconstruction teams, FSO-led and staffed by a mix of military and USAID/civilian experts, embedded within U.S. Army brigade combat teams, plus dozens of POLADs serving in military units in Iraq over the course of the conflict. This was the Foreign Service at its finest. Those FSOs and Civil Service professionals serving alongside division and brigade command staffs generated high regard for American diplomats among their comrades in uniform.

At the same time, the Bureau of Political-Military Affairs oversaw a dramatic expansion of the POLAD program—from about two dozen, mostly former chief-of-mission FSOs, to nearly 90, ranging from mid- to senior-ranked FSOs representing all functional cones. The result was that the U.S. military started to get used to seeing FSOs, and not just when serving in or visiting embassies or maybe in combat operations. The tide of foreign policy militarization was turning as more and more FSOs learned how to leverage military assets to State's benefit.

If there was any downside to this, it is that the Foreign Service was drawing not on a talent pool of capable officers but a puddle—something Ambassador Jim Jeffrey alluded to in his March 3 *Foreign Policy* article. Not every FSO POLAD could bring the desired experience, knowledge or interpersonal skills

Ambassador Ryan Crocker's Country Team in Iraq

Diplomacy is the art of letting the other guy have your way. Ryan Crocker arrived in Baghdad as the new U.S. ambassador in 2007 with General David Petraeus. Petraeus saw his command grow to more than 150,000 troops during the surge, while Crocker headed a much smaller (though large by State Department standards) mission with perhaps 2,000 diplomats, provincial reconstruction team members and support staff. In addition to a huge advantage in terms of personnel, Petraeus' commanders had piles of their own money to spread around without embassy or USAID oversight, giving them even more influence in the field.

Despite working from a disadvantaged position, Ambassador Crocker skillfully established himself as Petraeus' supporting peer, leading the general to proclaim Crocker his "wingman." Rather than take offense at the imagery of being the junior partner, Crocker

communicated to his deputies, who included at least five former ambassadors, that the embassy would follow the military's lead given that it was bearing the brunt of beating back the al-Qaida-led insurgency.

Amb. Crocker thus developed *wasta* (clout, in Arabic) with the military. He understood that Petraeus' success increased his own political leverage with Iraq's leaders—something every diplomat should understand and try to replicate. This *wasta* devolved to his country team and FSO PRT heads, enabling them to influence what the military was doing in areas normally the purview of the embassy, such as engaging with Iraqi provincial councils.

Among other things, Crocker drew on his *wasta* to block a ploy proposed by members of Petraeus' staff to hijack control over how U.S. money was being spent by replicating the embassy's economic assistance and tran-

sition office. Initially operating on its own in Iraq, Defense had begun improvising. One outcome was the DOD Task Force for Business Stability Operations—not exactly a military skill set, and known in Iraq as the Brinkley Group, after its first leader.

In May 2007, *The Washington Post* highlighted the State-versus-DOD controversy over this small organization, noting that TFBSO had its own view of how to restart Iraq's economy (get the moribund state-owned enterprises going), which was diametrically opposed to what Embassy Baghdad was doing, and worked independent of embassy or USAID oversight.

Crocker's tenure is a case study in developing a personal relationship that rebalances the diplomatic-military relationship.

This became an example of a failure of unity of effort across all elements of national power. If one believed TFBSO press state-ments of the day, Americans would be buying Iraqi-made toilets in Walmart today. However, one would be hard pressed to find any evi-

dence that TFBSO was ever present in Iraq, much less find an Iraqi toilet in an American store. Amb. Crocker politely informed Gen. Petraeus that the embassy had this setting on the smart power dial covered, and TFBSO went away. (It later migrated to Afghanistan, where it also succeeded in provoking controversy.)

Crocker's tenure in Iraq is a textbook case study of developing a personal relationship that rebalances the diplomatic-military relationship. The postscript to this is the strained relationship that Crocker and Petraeus' successors had to endure, with the U.S. effort in Iraq going off the rails for a year until it was reset when another strong State-DOD team arrived in the form of Ambassador Jim Jeffrey and General Lloyd Austin.

—Larry Butler

needed to succeed. That is a nice way of saying we fielded some duds, which was sometimes worse than not fielding anyone.

Added to the challenge of finding qualified FSOs to bid on these jobs is the fact that POLAD service is not seen as career-enhancing—an open secret that was underscored in 2013 in an unfortunate, pre-EER season DG cable that lumped those assignments together with academic training or diplomat-in-residence positions as akin to taking a year off.

All good things do come to an end. By the time U.S. forces withdrew from Iraq at the end of 2011, a new high point had been reached in FSO-military engagement. Concomitantly, however, influence with the military receded rapidly because we failed to lock in a sustainable level of interaction. With up-or-out personnel systems common to both the military and the Foreign Service, the cohort of people with experience in working with their respective services is shrinking and not being replenished. Today the only places where rising FSOs can develop lasting relationships with military counterparts are either in POLAD assignments or in the military's senior service schools, where only a dozen or so FSOs spend a year. That adds up to about 100 FSOs per year, a fraction of the size of the Service, in meaningful interaction with the military.

Today, astonishingly, not all of the U.S. division and corps headquarters rotating in and out of Iraq, Kuwait and Jordan have been assigned FSO POLADs. Nor have the smaller units operating inside Iraq or Syria, or those going to Europe as part of our European Reassurance Initiative for allies concerned about Russian intentions.

What State Can Do Now

If the State Department wants to claw back some of the turf it has ceded to the military, it is going to have to dig deep to find the positions and people to deploy with the military and to foster an organizational climate that encourages and rewards its people for investing a year or two to serve with the military's current and future leaders.

I would recommend the following specific actions:

- Build relationships in advance—the center of gravity for

We could knock off all the ISIL and Boko Haram this afternoon; but by the end of the week...those ranks would be filled... Many people, especially those in uniform, have said we can't kill our way to victory here... The short answer is no, we cannot [win the war without soft power].

—General Thomas Waldhauser,
Commander, U.S. Africa Command,
March 9, 2017

State-DOD interaction is with the geographic and functional combatant commands, the partnered State National Guard and the Army division assigned as the regionally aligned force. Every chief of mission should visit the division headquarters that covers his or her country, as well as the adjutant general of their country's partnered State National Guard, before leaving Washington. Make a call on the combatant commander a priority during the first 100 days at post.

- The State Department should prioritize recruiting senior officers who still have five to 10 years left on active duty to serve as deputy commanders in the three combatant commands that have them (EUCOM, AFRICOM and SOUTHCOM) and as POLADs at

all combatant commands; those who do well should be prioritized for onward chief-of-mission or geographic bureau leadership positions.

- Recruit, train and deploy FS-2s and FS-3s who were recently high-ranked by promotion boards to serve with every task force, division and corps-level headquarters that operates in combat

operations.

- Invite combatant commanders to provide input to COM evaluations; this will give ambassadors incentive to develop productive relationships and influence.
- Re-establish the flag/general officer deputy assistant secretary position in the Bureau of Political-Military Affairs.
- Double the number of FSOs attending the military's mid- and senior-level service schools; give priority to FSOs who have served as POLADs or in other positions with the military.
- Make joint service with the military a bonus in consideration for promotion and a prerequisite for assignment to leadership (DCM and COM) positions. ■

Those FSOs and Civil Service professionals serving alongside division and brigade command staffs generated high regard for American diplomats among their comrades-in-uniform.

FROM THE FSJ ARCHIVES

SEPTEMBER 1988: Defense and Security: Opposite Sides of the Same Coin

A Conversation with Frank Carlucci

The secretary of Defense comments on the relationship between Defense and State.

Mr. Secretary, how do you think your Foreign Service career has helped shape your approach to problems that you face at the Pentagon?

A large part of this job is engaging in a form of international diplomacy. Indeed, the line between Defense and State becomes increasingly blurred as the means of communication improve, a steady stream of visitors come through Washington, and we're all traveling around the world.

Just to take two examples. I spent most of today meeting with the new German defense minister. While we spent a fair amount of time on purely military and procurement matters, most of our time was spent discussing changes in the Soviet Union and negotiating strategy for START and conventional arms reductions. These are a form of diplomacy. Another example: When I was in Japan, my host at dinner was the Japanese foreign minister. So I have spent a lot of time on this job serving in a diplomatic role.

In recent crisis situations, such as Panama and the Persian Gulf, State and Defense have each made policy recommendations in accord with the other's primary instrument of policy, with Defense supporting diplomatic overtures and State advocating military commitments. Is this apparent institutional role reversal becoming more and more common?

First of all, you have to look at situations like Panama in their broader policy context. One of the reasons you have a National

Security Council is that, in 1947, President Truman and the nation recognized the need for a forum in which issues of diplomacy and national security can come together because they are opposite sides of the same coin.

When the State Department deliberates on a course of action or when they negotiate, they have to be aware of the underlying military strategy. Similarly, when the State Department talks of the possible need to use the military in any contingency, Defense has to look at it in terms of achieving the goal, its cost, the level of readiness, and what lives will be at risk. Obviously, in such cases, Defense expresses a view. So, there's nothing unnatural about each department talking about the skills and resources of the other.

You are one of only a handful of civilians with diplomatic experience to serve as the president's national security advisor. Why do you think Foreign Service officers have so seldom held this particular post?

Basically, the national security advisor is a staff job, and it's very much a president's individual choice. The question of why presidents select certain individuals as opposed to other individuals is almost impossible to answer.

There have been Foreign Service officers in many, many NSC jobs, including the current deputy national security advisor, John Negroponte. I doubt very much that any president takes into consideration whether somebody is a military man or a Foreign

Frank Carlucci, a former Career Minister in the Foreign Service, served as assistant to the president for national security affairs before becoming secretary of Defense in November 1987. Carlucci joined the Department of State in 1956 and was posted to Johannesburg, Kinshasa, Zanzibar and Rio de Janeiro. In his long government career, he has served as director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, deputy director of the Office of Management and Budget, under secretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and deputy director of Central Intelligence. In 1976, he was appointed ambassador to Portugal.

This June interview was conducted by David A. Sadoff, a presidential management intern with the State Department, presently detailed to the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Export Enforcement.

Service officer when making the choice. It certainly wasn't the case when Colin Powell succeeded me. The president looked upon him as an individual. He had worked with him; he had confidence in him. I don't think that there is any institutional bias in the White House against picking FSOs as national security advisors. On the other hand, the various presidents, from time to time, have expressed views about the Foreign Service, not all of which have been complimentary.

To the best of your knowledge, how has Cabinet-level decision-making involving the State Department, the Defense Department and the National Security Council changed in the past two years? What is the role of ideology today?

All I can do is address the current situation. I think most people are agreed that the working relationships between State, Defense and the National Security Council have never been better. When we are in town, [Secretary of State] George [Shultz], [National Security Council Chairman] Colin [Powell] and I meet every morning at 7 a.m. Nobody else is in the room, which is unusual in itself. I can't recall this ever happening before. We compare notes every day, and on Mondays we talk about longer-range matters. We are in constant communication. This doesn't mean we agree all the time. Where we disagree, we sort it out in private. So, my own feeling is that the relationships are now excellent.

As far as ideology is concerned, it's the president who sets the tone for the administration; it's his responsibility to deal with the broad policy issues, the public posture and the role of ideology. The secretaries of Defense and State, and the national security advisor are not independent entities; we are appointed by the president to respond to his guidance.

Given the enormous and sprawling nature of government departments, what thoughts do you—as the head of the largest of these—have on controlling policy activities across a wide array of complex issues?

The key throughout my years has been to appoint good people, and change them if they don't work out. What you have to do once you move into one of these jobs is to make your personnel moves quickly, because if you don't, you get caught up in the day-to-day business and never make them.

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SEPTEMBER 1988



Secretary of Defense Carlisle speaks to the press on the deck of the guided missile cruiser USS San Jacinto.

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I've been a little handicapped in this job because of the prolonged confirmation process and it being so late in the administration. I haven't been able to make a large number of changes. I have made some. Anyone who comes into an agency—even a modest-sized one—thinking he can run it all by himself is in for a very rough time.

Also, to the degree that you can, you have to make sure that the lines of responsibility and accountability are clear. That's always a problem in government because Congress—like to interfere with those lines. There's hardly a bill that comes out of Congress that doesn't have some operational change for the Defense Department.

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Also, to the degree that you can, you have to make sure that the lines of responsibility and accountability are clear. That's always a problem in government because Congress—particularly with the Department of Defense—

likes to interfere with those lines. There's hardly a bill that comes out of Congress that doesn't have some operational change for the Defense Department. Finally, you need to motivate your people so that they can assume the full degree of responsibility they are accorded.

Fifteen years ago you said that some of the finest management talent in the world serves in the federal government. Would you make the same claim today?

I think yes. I think we have very fine management talent, but I have to say in all candor that sometimes I think we're losing it. It's very hard to get people to serve in the government today. It's much harder than it was 15 years ago. There's the question of compensation, which is a very real question. There's the question of divestiture. There's the question of constant exposure to public criticism.

But probably most serious of all is that the process itself has become so complicated. It's very difficult to get somebody through the process, and it becomes increasingly hard to achieve your goals. Most people come into the government because they're goal-oriented, they have a certain amount of idealism, a certain amount of conviction, and want to achieve something.

Now, today, with the tension between the executive and legislative branches, with all the regulations and legislation, and the tendency for every policy decision to become public before it is necessarily finalized or can be defended, it is very difficult to accomplish things. Also, there's the tendency of some politicians in both parties to make government employees political scapegoats. I think we have good people, but we need to worry about retaining them.

Having held top-level positions in both the federal government and private industry, what do you think are the salient differences in the management skills needed in the two sectors?

Once you reach a decision in the private sector, that's the end of the process. In the government, by contrast, once you reach a decision, that's the beginning of the process. At that point, you need to convince a plethora of people that your decision is right before it can be implemented. The government moves much more by consensus than the private sector does.

Second, in the private sector, you have much more of a free hand in personnel decisions. If I wanted to hire or fire somebody, I could do it. Here in the government that becomes much more difficult.

Third, people are very much driven by the profit motive in the private sector: everything has a standard criterion. In government, there is no single criterion; it's an exercise in judgment. A single standard is an advantage in the sense that everything is clear; it's a disadvantage in that it's a rather narrow motivation. In government, people tend to be motivated by broader issues.

Indeed, that's one of the advantages of serving in government. However, both sectors are challenging in their own way.

As your term in the Reagan administration approaches its end, how would you most like to be remembered as secretary of defense?

I haven't tried to attain any single dramatic achievement; that isn't particularly my style. But there are a number of things we've tried to do that I hope could be followed up on. We've tried to set very clear priorities even in a period of declining budgets. We've sought to emphasize quality: quality of people, quality of training, quality of the weapons systems, and quality of the procurement process.

These priorities have been reflected in the budget with emphasis on people, readiness, sustainability, and on producing weapons systems at efficient rates. We have started an initiative in the procurement area which I hope will catch on.

I think we've managed to strengthen our alliances not just during my period, but over the period of my predecessor, and we now have very strong alliances with a number of countries. ■



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AFSA Honors Foreign Service Colleagues



Secretary of State Rex Tillerson gives remarks at the AFSA memorial ceremony on May 5.

On May 5, the American Foreign Service Association held its annual ceremony to honor those colleagues who gave their lives while serving the United States abroad. AFSA President Ambassador Barbara Stephenson presided, and Secretary of State Rex W. Tillerson delivered remarks at the event.

In 1996, the U.S. Senate passed a resolution, signed by 54 co-sponsors from both parties, naming the first Friday in May as Foreign Service Day. The tradition of gathering at AFSA's memorial plaques to honor fallen colleagues dates

back more than 80 years.

This year, for the first time in 13 years, no new name was added to the memorial plaques. But as Amb. Stephenson noted in her remarks, the 248 names already etched in to the marble plaques attest that not everyone makes it home safely.

"We know that America's crucial global leadership role depends in large measure on effective diplomacy and on us, the people who run 270 diplomatic missions around the world," Amb. Stephenson said. "To lead, we must be present; and to be present, we

must do everything we can to manage the risks inherent in our overseas deployment."

Emphasizing the importance of working together, Amb. Stephenson was particularly pleased to welcome the leadership of every agency with a Foreign Service workforce to the memorial event, including Acting USAID Administrator Wade Warren, Acting Director General of the Foreign Commercial Service Judy Reinke, Associate Administrator of the Foreign Agricultural Service Bryce Quick, CEO of the Broadcasting Board of Governors John

Lansing, and Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service Senior Staff Foreign Service Officer Dr. John Shaw.

Under Secretary for Political Affairs Thomas Shannon and Acting Under Secretary for Public Affairs and Public Diplomacy D. Bruce Wharton attended, as well as many career Foreign Service colleagues currently serving in acting assistant secretary roles. FSO Katie Nutt led the crowd in a moving rendition of The Star Spangled Banner.

On any given day, approximately two-thirds of the members of the U.S. Foreign



AFSA President Ambassador Barbara Stephenson speaks at the association's memorial ceremony on Foreign Service Day.



AFSA members, staff and guests listen to AFSA President Ambassador Barbara Stephenson speak at a reception held at the association's headquarters building.

Service are serving overseas. Inviting those at the ceremony to join in a moment of silence, Amb. Stephenson noted that many embassies and consulates around the world—from Apia, Samoa, to Libreville, Gabon—had also held their own ceremonies honoring their Foreign Service colleagues (see page 58.)

Following the presentation of the colors by the United States Armed Forces Color Guard, Secretary of State Rex Tillerson paid tribute to those named on the AFSA memorial plaques. “Each of these names represents a unique, individual life,” the Secretary said. “These men and women had families and loved ones they left behind, dreams unfulfilled, plans unrealized.”

While there is inherent risk to the work of the Foreign Service in advancing America's interests, he continued, diplomats and foreign affairs

professionals choose to serve, even knowing that risk: “These 248 men and women died as they lived, in service to others. Today, the department honors their memory and contributions, and a grateful nation expresses profound appreciation for their courage and their commitment.”

At the conclusion of the ceremony, a wreath was placed at the memorial plaque, as a moment of silence was observed.

AFSA was honored by the presence of major news media, including the *Washington Post*, *The New York Times* and CNN, as we reintroduced the Foreign Service and provided a timely reminder that the Stars and Stripes flies high in 270 locations around the world thanks to the men and women of the Foreign Service.

Following the memorial event at the Department of

State, AFSA held a reception at the AFSA headquarters building where Amb. Stephenson welcomed close to 100 members and guests.

In remarks to the group, she reminded them that 90 percent of Americans support strong American global leadership and that global leadership is unthinkable without a strong, professional Foreign

Service deployed around the world. Amb. Stephenson confirmed that the Foreign Service stands ready to deliver diplomatic wins for the United States and for the American people, noting that two-thirds of current FS members joined after the tragic Sept. 11, 2001, attack. ■

—Gemma Dvorak,
Associate Editor

CALENDAR

June 7
12-1:30 p.m.
AFSA Governing Board Meeting

June 8
8 a.m.
AFSA Election
Voting Deadline

June 11-16
AFSA Road Scholar Program:
“Foreign Policy
for the 21st Century”
Chautauqua, N.Y.

June 20
4-6 p.m.
AFSA Awards
Ceremony

July 4
Independence Day:
AFSA Offices Closed

July 5
12-1:30 p.m.
AFSA Governing
Board Meeting

July 7
10 a.m.-12 p.m.
FSYF Youth Awards Ceremony

July 13
12-1:30 p.m.
AFSA Book Notes:
Enemy of the Good

July 15
New Governing Board
Takes Office

August 1-3
AFSA at Minnesota
Farm Fest
Redwood Falls, Minn.

Moments of Silence Around the World

On May 5, AFSA encouraged embassies and consulates worldwide to join with them in observing a moment of silence in memory of fallen Foreign Service colleagues. Here we feature some of the memorial ceremonies held worldwide.

From top left, Kathmandu, Nepal; Prague, Czech Republic; Majuro, Marshall Islands; Santiago, Chile ; Dakar, Senegal; Apia, Samoa and Belfast, Northern Ireland.





On Launching a Rewarding Career

Thanks to the recruitment lunches that AFSA hosts, I've met hundreds of entry-level personnel over the last two years.

Some have reached out to me for advice, and responding to such requests has crystallized my thinking about what new Foreign Service employees should keep in mind as they launch what will hopefully be an incredibly rewarding (both personally and professionally) career.

I am putting some of my thoughts in writing here in the hope that our more junior colleagues may find them useful.

First, don't try to game the system. I've seen people work themselves into a near-panic trying to calculate which job(s) they "must" take in order to be promoted.

Go where you (and your family, if applicable) will be happy. If you're happy, you do better work, and when you do your best work, you thrive, making it easier for others to notice you. If you get promoted, that's wonderful. If you don't, it's a moment of disappointment, followed by a return to your otherwise happy and fulfilling life.

On the other hand, if you go somewhere you don't really want to be because you view it as a means to getting promoted, but then you do not get that promo-

tion, you risk ending up not only unhappy, but also bitter or resentful. Which scenario would you prefer?

You are the only person who has to live your life, so make decisions that suit you. Conventional wisdom may tell you that you *have* to do a desk job, that you *have* to come back to Washington, D.C., for your third tour, or that you *have* to serve in D.C. to become a deputy chief of mission.

Each of these so-called rules has been broken by at least one successful member of the Senior Foreign Service.

If the timing isn't right for you (or your family) to come back to Washington, then don't. So what if it slows down your promotion rate? What do you care more about, your happiness or your grade level? The former should not depend on the latter.

Stop rushing and enjoy the journey. Some of the best Foreign Service jobs out there are at the FS-2 level, including some amazing details and training opportunities.

If you slow down and take advantage of the lessons you can learn along the way, by the time you eventually reach the senior ranks, you'll be much better prepared and have much wider experience than someone who shot up through the ranks but had virtually no supervi-

Set yourself up for future success by allowing yourself time to grow and develop as a leader and manager.

sory experience by the time he or she became a principal officer.

Set yourself up for future success by allowing yourself time to grow and develop as a leader and manager.

Your supervisor(s) can be more important than where you work. There are a few mentors whom I would enthusiastically work for again, no matter how unappealing the location.

This holds true even on your first or second tour. Working for one of those individuals can shape the rest of your career, not only in terms of whom you model yourself after, but also in terms of who speaks up on your behalf as you seek out later assignments.

Don't just look at locations on your bid lists—ask around about your potential bosses.

Remain open to changing your plans. I joined the Foreign Service as an Arabist, convinced that I would spend my entire career in

Arab countries. Twenty-five years later, I've spent about a third in the Arab world, a third in South Asia and a third in Europe.

Thrice I lobbied so hard for a job that it bordered on humiliating, only to end up with a completely different job that wasn't even on my radar screen. Each of those "surprise" jobs turned out to be exactly the right place for me—I just didn't know that until I got there.

Some of the above advice is easier said than done, but this final tidbit isn't: have fun!

Just because you're doing important work in difficult and/or dangerous places doesn't mean that you can't enjoy the experience. If you do so even a fraction as much as I have, you're in for a wonderful career. ■



Views and opinions expressed in this column are solely those of the AFSA FCS VP.
Contact: steve.morrison@trade.gov or (202) 482-9088

Let's Talk (Commercial) Dialogues

According to the International Trade Administration, “commercial dialogues” exist to provide opportunities for the United States and its trading partners to explore each other’s regulations and business climate and resolve by pragmatic means what might otherwise develop into a trade dispute.

But are commercial dialogues getting the job done, helping to settle some deep-seated trade problem or barrier, or are they just another excuse to travel?

U.S. bilateral commercial dialogues began, arguably, in 1983 with the establishment of the U.S.-China Joint Commission on Commerce and Trade. Since then, commercial dialogues have cropped up all over the place including Europe, Latin America and Asia.

Even Africa has gotten into the game with two dialogues in place and possibly one more to come soon, if a proposed U.S.-Nigeria commercial dialogue gets up and running.

Vision 2020, a self-help group of like-minded “futurist” colleagues, is attempting to establish how many commercial dialogues currently exist between the United States and our trading partners.

They are asking important questions about the agreement, such as: How is the work being done at post tied to the mission of the ITA? What are the benefits to U.S. trade? What are the financial, resource and staffing costs associated with these efforts?

The answers to these questions will give future leaders a framework to decide whether to go forward with current or new commercial dialogues.

Vision 2020 is also assessing ITA partner, senior management and private sector involvement to ensure that future dialogues have the full backing of key stakeholders.

Commercial dialogues are sometimes referenced in Country Commercial Guides prepared by embassies; they appear in forward job plans and EERs; and, until recently, they used to figure promi-

nently in ITA industry, regional and country quad charts (remember those?).

But in the last few years commercial dialogues have gotten a bad reputation. In some cases, FCS staff at post determined that having an official dialogue would not benefit the host country or the United States, but ITA management in Washington, D.C., overrode those concerns.

Some say commercial dialogues are being used as an excuse for increased headquarters travel. “Hands-on” in-country work, the critics argue, should be reserved for officers at post and not used as a justification for unnecessary and often duplicative travel by HQ staff.

A “sunset” provision for commercial dialogues is also being discussed. After all, the dialogue is a means to an end, not an accomplishment itself, proponents say. They see a need to regularly assess whether the dialogue continues to serve the ITA mission and remains the best mechanism to advance our

objectives.

As the Trump administration demands new approaches to leveling the playing field for U.S. business, commercial dialogues could be one vehicle.

Already, there seems to be a new eagerness for host country officials to meet with their U.S. counterparts, as recently confirmed Secretary of Commerce Wilbur Ross experienced on a trip to Japan.

Perhaps now is the best time to have that stock-taking of when and where commercial dialogues work best or, as one former under secretary put it, “whether the juice is worth the squeeze.”

To that end, I invite your input. What has been your experience of commercial dialogues? How have they affected your work—positively or negatively—promoting U.S. exports or investment into the United States?

Please send your responses to me at Steve. Morrison@trade.gov. ■

NEWS BRIEF

WRITE FOR THE JOURNAL!

We welcome your writing on any topic of concern to the FS community, or choose among the focus topics (available on the AFSA website, www.afsa.org/edcalendar).

The *Journal* is always seeking strong Speaking Out submissions (1,500-1,800 words), Reflections (700 words) and features (1,500-2,000 words). See Author Guidelines for more detail www.afsa.org/fsj-author-guidelines.

We also invite you to share your thoughts on *Journal* articles by sending a letter to the editor.

Please send feedback and submissions to journal@afsa.org. ■



AFSA Congratulates Job Search Program Graduates

On March 31, AFSA hosted a reception for graduates of the first Job Search Program of the year.

AFSA President Ambassador Barbara Stephenson congratulated the class and thanked them for their years of service.

She highlighted the importance of a strong network and community in retirement, and noted that AFSA's resources, including the Retiree Directory, are some of the best ways to maintain and grow your connections to the Foreign Service family.

Amb. Stephenson also encouraged JSP graduates to join AFSA's campaign to educate others about what the Foreign Service does and why it matters.

"You have lived this life, you know what it means. We

need your voices," she told the group. "You are the most effective voice for arguing that the Foreign Service is essential to continued American global leadership."

Any Foreign Service graduate of the program interested in sharing the story of the Foreign Service should consider signing up with AFSA's Speaker's Bureau.

AFSA can provide talking points and other resources for retirees (and active-duty members) who speak at high schools, colleges and community groups.

Switching from active-duty to retiree membership with AFSA is not an automatic process, so members approach-



AFSA President Ambassador Barbara Stephenson and James Benson, vice president of DACOR, welcome and congratulate graduates of the Job Search Program at a reception at the Foreign Service Institute on March 31.



AFSA Member Services Director Janet Hedrick helps a Job Search Program graduate sign up for retiree membership.

ing retirement should contact Member Services (member@afsa.org) to ensure that they do not lose out on the benefits of being an AFSA member. Membership includes access to our online forum, dedicated retiree counseling, a bimonthly newsletter and the Retiree Directory, as well as a subscription to *The Foreign Service Journal*. ■

—Gemma Dvorak,
Associate Editor



AFSA Governing Board Meeting, April 5, 2017

Consent Agenda: The Governing Board approved the consent agenda items, which were: (1) the Mar. 1 Governing Board meeting minutes; (2) acceptance of the resignation of Retiree Representative Dean Haas.

Minutes Approval Committee: With no objection, the board created a Minutes Approval Committee to review and approve Governing Board minutes before presentation to board members. State Representative Tricia Wingerter, FCS Representative Suzanne Platt and Retiree Representative John Limbert were appointed to the committee.

Staff Matters: Executive Director Ian Houston thanked AFSA Governance Specialist Patrick Bradley for his work and congratulated him on his new role as Labor Management Specialist.

AFSA Awards: On behalf of the Awards and Plaques Committee, State Representative Josh Glazeroff moved that the Governing Board approve the committee's recommendations for the recipients of the 2017 AFSA Awards for Constructive Dissent and Exemplary Performance. The motion was approved.

William R. Rivkin Award: Retiree Vice President Ambassador Tom Boyatt moved that the Governing Board approve the recommendation from the Rivkin family for the recipient of the 2017 William R. Rivkin Award for Constructive Dissent by a mid-level officer. The motion was approved unanimously.

The names and biographies of all award winners will appear in a future issue of *The Foreign Service Journal*. ■

AFSA Book Notes: *The Dust of Kandahar*

On April 6, AFSA continued its popular Book Notes series with a talk by Ambassador Jonathan Addleton about his book, *The Dust of Kandahar: A Diplomat Among Warriors in Afghanistan* (Naval Institute Press, 2016).

The book is a personal account of Amb. Addleton's year of service as the senior civilian representative at the U.S. mission in southern Afghanistan. A career Foreign Service officer with USAID since 1984, he retired in January 2017.

Amb. Addleton wrote *The Dust of Kandahar* in the form of a journal, to better allow readers to immerse themselves in the day-to-day experience of a tough assignment. An article he wrote for the October 2015 *Foreign Service Journal* became the book's introduction.

In writing the book, Amb. Addleton said, he sought to share the realities of the Foreign Service and show the civilian aspects of the war that he felt had been missing from previous coverage of U.S. involvement in Afghanistan.

The book underlines the international nature of U.S. work in Afghanistan, as American military personnel and diplomats worked alongside large numbers of Australian, Canadian and Romanian troops stationed in Kandahar.

Together with local religious leaders and politicians, they worked to ensure

transparent provincial elections and combat the spread of polio (which remains common in that part of the world), among other challenging tasks.

Amb. Addleton spoke movingly of the many "ramp ceremonies" he attended as the senior civilian representative for the Department of State in Kandahar, gathering at the airfield to load the coffins of fallen military personnel onto transport aircraft back to the United States.

The most poignant memory of his year in Kandahar was the tragic death of Foreign Service Officer Anne Smedinghoff, who was killed by a vehicle-borne improvised explosive device in Zabul (alongside three U.S. soldiers and a translator for the U.S. mission in Kandahar).

Amb. Addleton was with Ms. Smedinghoff when she was killed. Although he was not physically injured, the experience of the explosion and its aftermath profoundly changed him, he explained.

During the discussion, Amb. Addleton touched on a number of other topics, including how to recognize and handle post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and the difficulty of attempting "normal" consulate activities in an active war zone.

At the beginning of his talk, Amb. Addleton had asked those present to raise their hands if they had



Ambassador (ret.) Jonathan Addleton speaks about his book, *The Dust of Kandahar*, at the AFSA Book Notes event on April 6.

served a tour in Afghanistan; approximately one-third of the audience did so. Many nodded in agreement as he ended his talk: "Afghanistan never leaves you, and that's

certainly the case for me."

A video of the event is available on the AFSA website, www.afsa.org/video. ■

—Gemma Dvorak,
Associate Editor

Friends and Family Honor Anne Smedinghoff's Memory

On April 6, friends and former colleagues of the late Foreign Service Officer Anne Smedinghoff gathered at the State Department's Harry S Truman building, to celebrate her life. Anne's parents and sister Regina were also present. AFSA State Vice President Angie Bryan attended on the association's behalf.

Anne was a public diplomacy officer working in the public affairs section of U.S. Embassy Kabul, where she helped to support Afghan women and children through

sports, music and education and worked to build positive relationships between Afghans and Americans.

On April 6, 2013, Anne was one of five Americans killed in a suicide bomb attack in Qalat, Zabul Province. Her name is inscribed on the AFSA memorial wall, next to other members of the Foreign Service who have lost their lives while serving the United States abroad.

Director General of the Foreign Service Arnold Chacón read a statement



AFSA/JAMES SCHIPHORST

Family and friends of Anne Smedinghoff gather at the Department of State before a memorial service at the AFSA plaques in the C Street lobby of the Harry S Truman building.

from Secretary of State Rex Tillerson. The Secretary called the occasion “a testament to Anne’s extraordinary legacy that, every year since her tragic death in 2013, her colleagues, friends and family members have gathered at the department’s memorial plaque to remember her.”

“While not knowing Anne personally,” Sec. Tillerson wrote, “everything I’ve seen and heard suggests her life embodied our country’s most fundamental ideals.”

“As I look at all those gathered here,” Director General Chacón stated, in his own remarks, “it’s clear to me that Anne was loved deeply. She won our hearts and

minds the old-fashioned way, by giving of herself. Today a grateful department honors her distinguished service and sacrifice.”

Immediately preceding the ceremony, Anne’s family, friends and colleagues gathered for an intimate meeting in the State Department’s Delegates Lounge.

Later in the day, the Smedinghoff family attended a Book Notes event at AFSA headquarters, where Ambassador Jonathan Addleton, who was with Anne during the attack, spoke about his experiences in Afghanistan. ■

—James Schiphorst,
Awards Intern

At USAID, also on April 6, a memorial for the late Dale J. Gredler, was held. Dale was a USAID financial management specialist who died of a heart attack in 2010 en route to the United States for medical treatment. A tile bearing his name was added to the USAID memorial wall at a ceremony in 2013 and his name is inscribed on the memorial plaques at State. The event at the Ronald Reagan building was attended by his widow and two daughters, as well as friends and colleagues.

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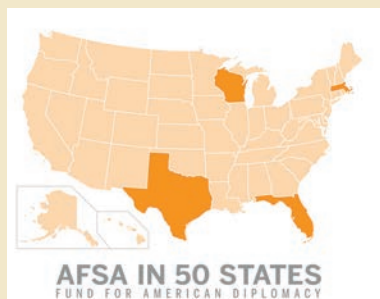
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Our Story Is Important—Keep Helping Us Tell It

The 50 States Outreach Initiative, under the banner of the Fund for American Diplomacy, continues to bring the story of the Foreign Service to the public and give our fellow

citizens the opportunity to connect with U.S. diplomats and gain an understanding of the work they do to keep America a global leader.



AFSA President Ambassador Barbara Stephenson speaks to internationally focused businesses and universities at the “Global Nights” event, hosted by the World Affairs Council of Central Florida.

Florida: AFSA President Ambassador Barbara Stephenson and Outreach Coordinator Catherine Kannenberg traveled to central Florida in early April for several outreach events.

AFSA, Global Ties U.S. and the World Affairs Council of Central Florida organized a strategy session to bring together internationally minded Floridians to explore opportunities to expand outreach, advocacy and programming at the local level in support of U.S. global engagement.

All three organizations have strong networks of local leaders in the state. Jennifer Clinton, president of Global Ties U.S., led the delegation of partners.

The session produced several proposals and encouraged AFSA retirees to participate in programs that engage their communities in global affairs—for example, speak-

ing to civic groups, mentoring, serving on boards, hosting international visitors or writing op-eds for local newspapers.

The meeting was part of a pilot initiative to energize statewide outreach and advocacy. If successful and, if resources permit, AFSA will consider extending the model to additional states.

“Global Nights,” a semi-annual networking event for internationally focused community businesses and universities hosted by WAC-Central Florida, followed the strategy sessions. After giving keynote remarks, Amb. Stephenson had a chance to talk with many of the 150 attendees and exhibitors.

Amb. Stephenson wrapped up the visit at a local PBS studio for an interview with John Bersia, a Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist and educator. Mr. Bersia hosts WUCFTV’s popular Global Perspectives

show, with a viewership of between four and five million people.

In the interview, Amb. Stephenson used examples from her career to illustrate what diplomats do—for Americans, as well as for citizens of other countries—and the vital role they play in U.S. global leadership by making common cause with other nations to advance U.S. foreign policy priorities. We will share the interview with members once it runs.

Massachusetts: In mid-April, retired Foreign Service Officer Lawrence Butler met with students at Harvard University, where he focused on the challenges posed by the Islamic State group and other militant entities to stability in the Middle East.

Later in the month, Mr. Butler participated in the first-ever Skype presentation to an

AFSA Road Scholar audience, during which he and retired FSO James Bullock talked about Iraq.

Texas: In mid-April, Ambassador (ret.) Robin Raphel traveled to Austin, Texas, for two speaking engagements.

She presented a talk on “Pakistan and Its Troublesome Neighbors” to students at the University of Texas at Austin LBJ School of Public Affairs; and she was the featured speaker at the bimonthly luncheon of The Foreign Service Group, one of the premier groups of Foreign Service retirees in the country.

Wisconsin: In early May Amb. Stephenson accepted an invitation from Global Ties, to give the keynote speech at the International Institute of Wisconsin’s annual World Citizen Awards celebration.

She focused on the

importance of citizen engagement in global issues and how diplomats and development experts complement efforts to promote peace and prosperity for the people of Wisconsin, and for all Americans.

Road Scholar: At the end of May, AFSA teamed up with Road Scholar to offer a week-long program in Washington, D.C., focused on the Foreign Service and foreign policy, with the theme "The U.S., China and Other Challenges and Opportunities in Asia."

Twelve Foreign Service speakers lectured to a group

of 25 participants, who hailed from 12 different states across the country.

Have you visited www.afsa.org/50states yet? That's where you can check in on AFSA's progress toward the goal of arranging an outreach event in every state during 2017.

If you live in a state we haven't been to this year, we look forward to your assistance in arranging a visit! ■

—Catherine Kannenberg,
Outreach Coordinator, and
Ásgeir Sigfússon, Director of
Communications



AFSA President Ambassador Barbara Stephenson (second from left) at the International Institute of Wisconsin with IIW World Citizen Award winners (l-r) Carole Ferrara, Apinya Jordan and Marilyn Douglas.

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AFSA and Smithsonian Associates Explore the Complexities of the Middle East



Dr. Elizabeth Shelton speaks about Turkey at the March 22 session of the AFSA and Smithsonian Associates series, "The New Middle East."

AFSA's outreach partnership with the Smithsonian Associates recently opened a new chapter with the presentation of "The New Middle East," a series that took place over four consecutive Wednesday evenings at AFSA headquarters. All the events were sold out, with more than 100 participants in attendance each week.

The series featured four retired Foreign Service speakers, each of whom

focused on a particular area of the Middle East and spoke extensively from their experience in the region.

On March 15, retired FSO Molly Williamson kicked off the series with a talk on Israel and Palestine and the ongoing conflict between the two. Though both unique and thought-provoking, Williamson's presentation had tremendous balance and delicacy, providing an excellent start for the series.

The March 22 session featured retired Foreign Service Officer Dr. Elizabeth Shelton, who delved into Turkey, past and present. From the fall of the Ottomans to Turkey's current struggles with democracy and its place in the world, Dr. Shelton painted a fascinating picture of a country that is in the midst of a centuries-long identity crisis. She discussed how the country's ongoing struggle to define itself is affecting the region now, and how it will do so in the coming years.

On March 29, Ambassador (ret.) John W. Limbert provided his insight on the subject of Iran. The talk centered on the United States' intricate relationship with Iran. A discussion of the background to the 2016 Iran nuclear deal framework was especially timely, given renewed U.S. tension with Tehran. Amb. Limbert also spoke of his own history

with Iran, including his 444 days as a hostage at U.S. Embassy Tehran from 1979 to 1981.

At the final event in the series, on April 5, Ambassador (ret.) Kenton Keith delivered a talk on one of the most controversial U.S. allies in the region: Saudi Arabia. Amb. Keith also addressed the other Gulf States and their increasing role on the Middle East stage.

This summer, AFSA and Smithsonian Associates will once again offer our popular one-day program, "Inside the World of Diplomacy." Information and tickets for the event are available from the Smithsonian Associates website, www.smithsonianassociates.org.

Information about future events will be available on the AFSA website at www.afsa.org/upcoming_afsa_events.aspx. ■

—Theo Horn,
Communications Intern

NEWS BRIEF

FSO MATTHEW PALMER RETURNS TO AFSA

AFSA will once again welcome Foreign Service officer and bestselling author Matthew Palmer to speak at our popular Book Notes series. He will discuss his brand-new thriller, *Enemy of the Good*, at 12 p.m. on July 13. Email events@afsa.org to register.

The book is set in the U.S. Embassy in Kyrgyzstan and follows Foreign Service Officer Kate Hollister as she navigates U.S.-Kyrgyz relations. Given a mission by the ambassador, she infiltrates an underground democracy movement; but it soon becomes clear that nothing is as it seems and Kate may need to lay her life on the line for what she knows is right.

Matthew Palmer is a 20-year veteran of the U.S. Foreign Service, currently serving as the director of the Balkans office in the State Department's Bureau of European Affairs. ■

Last Chance to Vote in the AFSA Election!

This is it, your last chance to vote for the 2017-2019 AFSA Governing Board and proposed bylaw amendments!

If you have not already done so, check out the candidates' campaign literature, proposed bylaw amendments, plus explanation, and a statement of opposition to one of the proposals, available from the AFSA website, www.afsa.org/elections.

Ballots: Ballots were distributed on April 17. If you have a valid email address on file with AFSA, an email containing a unique passcode and instructions for voting online was sent to you.



If you did not receive that email, regular members who were in good standing as of March 17 can visit the secure online ballot site, www.directvote.net/AFSA, and request that an email containing unique login credentials be sent to you.

Be sure to add **noreply@directvote.net** to your approved sender list to ensure receipt.

Printed ballots have been sent to all retired members via the U.S. Postal Service. If an online and a printed ballot are returned for the same

member, only the printed ballot will be counted.

Ballot Tally: On June 8, at 8 a.m. EDT, the printed ballots will be collected from the post office in Washington, D.C. Printed ballots must be received at the post office by that time to be counted. The online voting site will also close at 8 a.m. EDT on **June 8**.

Your vote matters and you are strongly encouraged to take this opportunity to have your say in who will represent you on the new AFSA Governing Board. The new board will take office on July 15. Thank you for your participation! ■

CALLING ALL FS AUTHORS!

In November *The Foreign Service Journal* will celebrate the wealth of literary talent within the Foreign Service community with its annual "In Their Own Write" edition. Genres include history, biography, memoirs, issues and policy, fiction and other topics.

Foreign Service-affiliated authors whose books have been published in 2016 or 2017 are invited to send us a copy of the book, along with a press release or background on it.

Deadline for submissions is Sept. 1.

For more information, please email journal@afsa.org.

Send your materials and new books to the attention of:

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New College, New Culture

Preparing for a Strong First Semester as a Third Culture Kid

TCKs deal with repatriation issues and reverse culture shock when they attend college in the United States. Here are some tips for success.

BY HANNAH MORRIS

While many high school seniors spend the summer before college reminiscing with childhood friends and working summer jobs, Foreign Service children are more likely saying final good-byes at post, visiting relatives on home leave, and choosing what to ship in their special UAB (unaccompanied baggage allotment).



Hannah Morris, a member of household in New Delhi, worked in the United States and abroad in university teaching, counseling and

admissions prior to earning a doctorate in higher education administration. Presently a member of the writing faculty at Ashoka University in New Delhi, she also provides college transition consulting services to third culture students preparing to attend college in North America and Europe, and is active in the intercultural education field.

For Foreign Service third culture kids (TCKs), preparing for college requires more than just attending orientation and buying matching dorm gear. The reality is that while many TCKs are seeking to connect with dorm mates and other students in the United States, their backgrounds may make it more challenging than they anticipate.

Navigating U.S. academic culture, relating to U.S. pop culture—and even answering the seemingly simple question, “Where are you from?”—means TCKs are dealing with the challenges of repatriation and reverse culture shock while trying to find their place and succeed in their freshman year. From feelings of uncertainty, to searching for a sense of belonging, TCKs often find it challenging to form meaningful friendships with the “American” kids they may have known from visits home or life before the Foreign Service.

Few colleges are aware of TCKs or have programming to support them as they transition back to the United States.

Repatriating students often feel isolated and lack the support system or knowledge to access resources that will help them in their time of need. Few institutions offer TCK-focused programming to ease the complexities of repatriating in order to attend college.

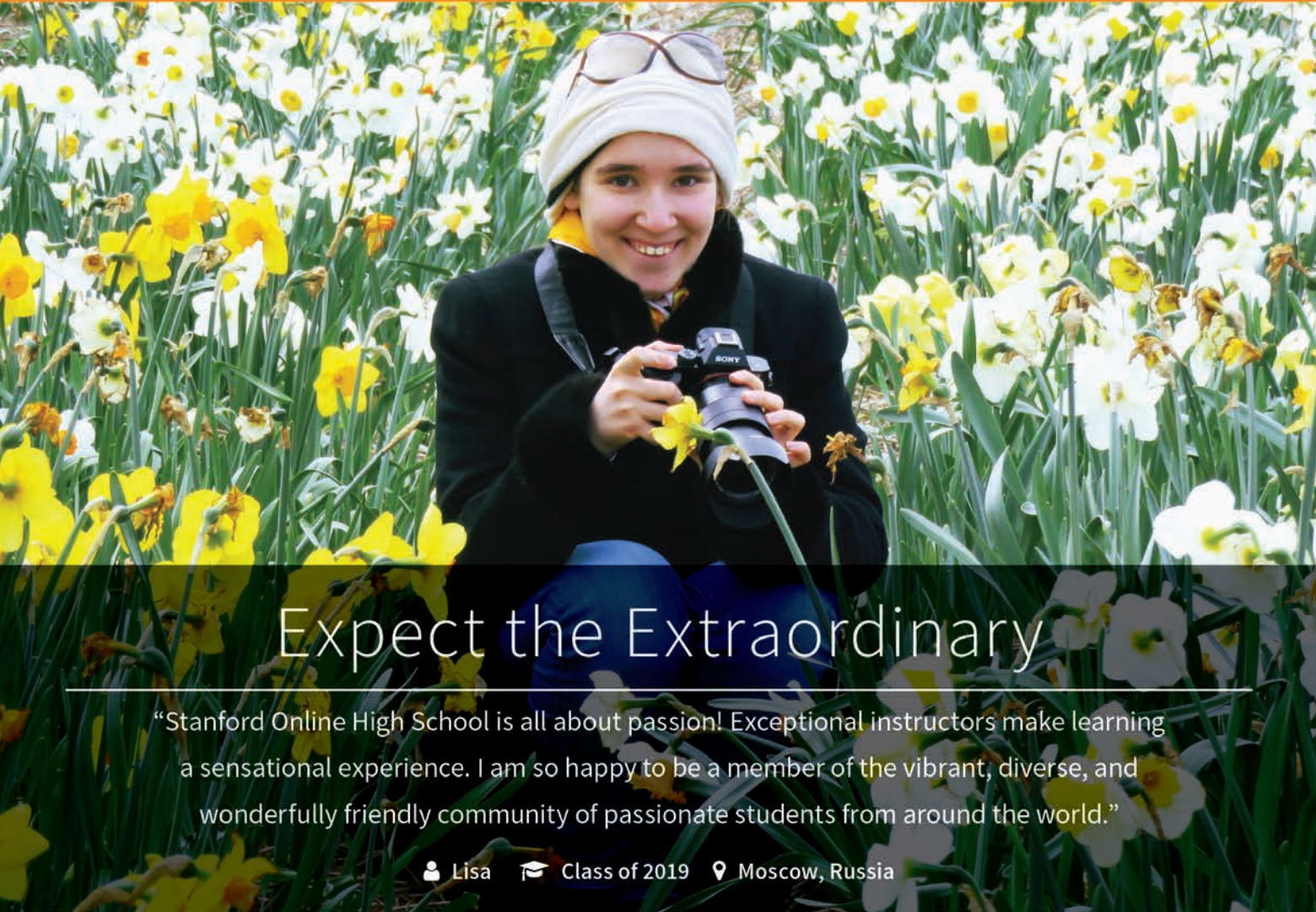
Students and their families can bridge the gap between what a TCK needs to be successful and inadequate university programming by connecting with their school’s international center; building support systems; scheduling realistic academic schedules; identifying involvement opportunities; and developing plans for handling finances, communication and emergencies.

Settling into Your New Environment

Connect with the international center. International centers are the first resource that returning global nomads should reach out to when transitioning to college in the United States. Ideally, this connection is made before college appli-

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cations are submitted or after admissions, when deciding which institution to attend.

If you are visiting the campus, stop in at the international center office. Otherwise, email the office inquiring about programming for TCKs and international students.

TCKs can both benefit from and contribute to the mission of international centers and should take advantage of the resources they have for international students. You may even find a club or TCK-specific orientation at some colleges and universities: American, Beloit, Lewis & Clark, Wooster and the University of the Pacific all offer programming designed specifically for TCKs.

Few colleges are aware of third culture kids or have programming to support them.

TCKs can benefit from international center services such as arranging for early move-in, organizing networking events focused on international topics, and pairing new students with experienced student mentors to help them adapt and acclimate to campus. In return, international centers are able to utilize TCKs' skills at navigating multicultural environments as they welcome international students to campus.

Attend the international student

orientation. Students should ask to attend the international student orientation, which focuses more on counseling (e.g., mental health counseling) and advising services to

help guide students with limited access to support networks.

According to Brian White, the associate dean of students and director of international students and scholars at Lewis & Clark College, the international student orientation cohort is often smaller than the regular orientation groups, helping students to settle into their new environment.

During these orientations, TCKs can build a social network with other students



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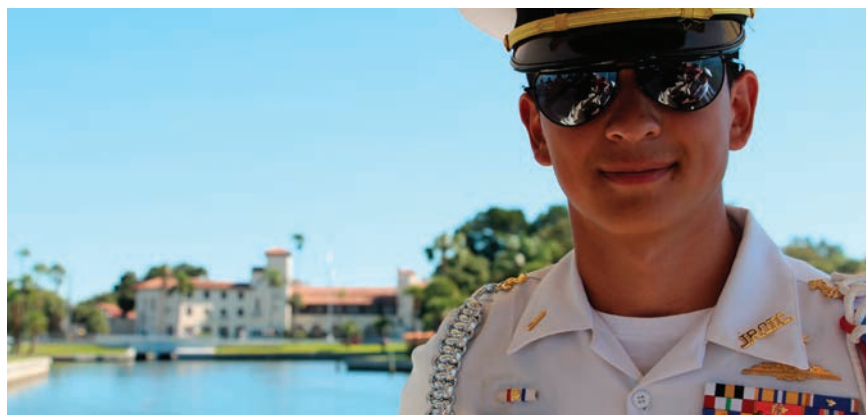
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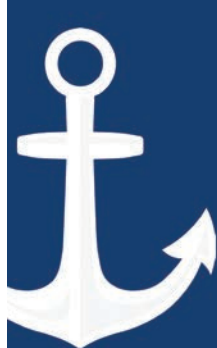
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who are not U.S.-centric and who understand the complexities of leaving your family to live in an unfamiliar culture.

Be a tourist in your new city. TCKs know how to move internationally, and the move to college should be met with the same expectations as any other move. Things will go wrong, it will be difficult to learn new roadways, and it can be hard to appreciate a climate different from the one you recently departed.

Try to embrace your new city as a tourist, advises Barbara Chen, the China admissions representative of the University of Tulsa, who recently published "Top 10 Tips: Advice for Parents of the College-Bound Expatriate," posted by the International Association for College Admission Counseling.

If you can, arrive in town early for orientation and take a few days to tour the local sites. Practice driving around town or navigating the public transport system.

Build University and Local Support Systems

TCK families tend to be close-knit, but college can cause complications for families due to intermittent internet connectivity, time zone gaps and the college lifestyle. While many college students have older friends or high school alumni already attending their institution, TCKs are less likely to have these built-in networks and should work to build them before arriving.

Identify mentors. Students should identify mentors with whom they have interacted during the admissions process. Extending an invitation to meet over Skype or for tea when they arrive on campus can help to build these relationships.

Dr. Helen Wood, a higher education and TCK researcher, says students should identify someone to whom they can turn with questions when things get confus-

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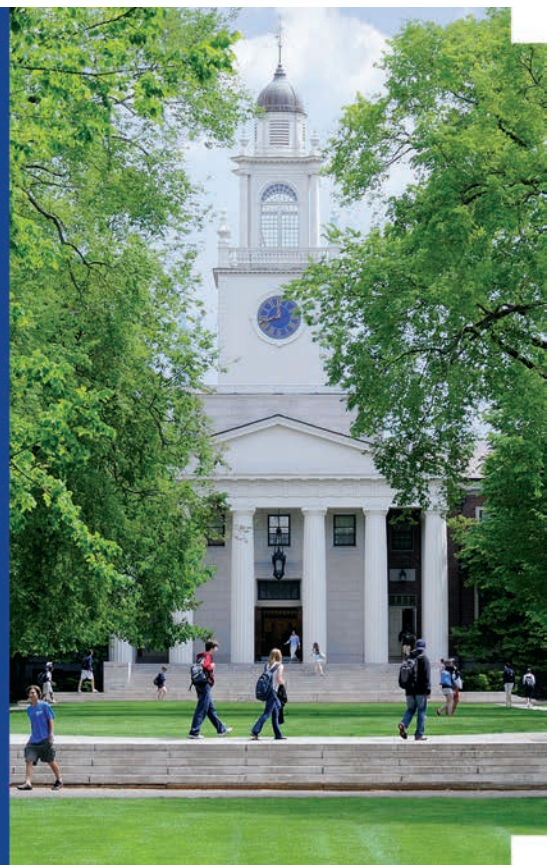
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ing. By building a mentorship early on, students will create a relationship with someone who can help them at challenging crossroads and champion them throughout their college career.

Connect with faculty. First-semester faculty members are used to students introducing themselves before the term starts, to prepare for their upcoming semester and to learn more about the course expectations.

Connecting with faculty can be a great way for TCKs to make an interesting first impression and prepare for academic success. By showing genuine interest in their courses and creating a rapport with faculty, TCKs will be more likely to benefit from faculty office hours and will feel comfortable reaching out for help when it is needed.

Seek out other TCKs. Few institutions identify TCKs, and they are easily lost in the mix, but Lewis & Clark's Brian White encourages students to seek each other out: "Anything they can [do] to identify and connect with other TCKs is helpful."

International admissions advisers are a great resource for these connections because they have met many TCKs while visiting overseas schools and may be able to introduce them to each other. Heading to campus knowing there is someone else who gets how hard it is to answer "So where are you from?" can be a great thing.

Reach out to regional family and friends. Many students choose specific regions due to strong family or friend networks; this is the time to leverage those relationships.

Contact relatives and friends early in the process to ask for their support. If possible, schedule time for dinners or lunches before school starts, so your student feels comfortable reaching out to these extended family members in times of need.

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From the FSJ Education Supplement June 2013

Thinking Through Educational Options For Your Foreign Service Child

BY REBECCA GRAPPO

It's hard to predict how a teenager will react to the idea of an international move. Some see it as a grand adventure and look forward to the change of lifestyle with eagerness and enthusiasm. Yet many parents worry that they might face the opposite reaction: open mutiny, complete with accusations of ruining the child's life. Of course, the reaction could also be somewhere in between—or both, depending on the day.

Each teenager is different, but one thing is universal: choosing a school is not only about feeding the mind, but also feeding the young person's appropriate social and emotional development. That makes it a doubly important decision, one for which consideration of the child's resilience is essential.

Though there are many benchmarks for determining the suitability of a school, it is important to keep in mind that every individual has their own



needs. A school that is great for one student may be a disaster for another.

Here are some of the things to consider:

- Size
- Curriculum
- Extracurricular activities
- Peer group
- School culture
- College counseling
- Safety

For a full discussion of each of these aspects of choosing a school, as well as a discussion of the types of schools and alternative approaches that are available to meet the particular needs of FS kids, go to afsa.org/educationarticles to access the complete article.

Rebecca Grappo is a certified educational planner and the founder of RNG International Educational consultants, LLC. Married to a retired career Foreign Service officer, she has raised their three children internationally.

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Plan Your Academics

Academics are at the core of the college experience, and while TCKs are typically academically successful, these tips can help make the first semester truly great.

Enjoy exploring. Most colleges have an exploratory or undecided option for a good reason: many 18-year-olds are still unsure of what they want to study.

Academic advisers will assist students in scheduling their first semester while at orientation and even recommend campus-related opportunities to help students in their exploration of various majors.

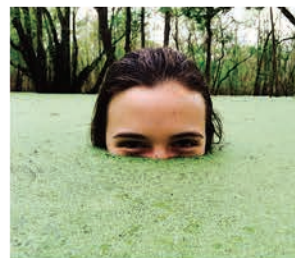
Apply for academic opportunities. College acceptance letters are just the beginning of the process. Students are encouraged to apply for further academic opportunities such as honors programs, department fellowships, scholarship programs, research assistantships and summer transition programs.

These programs typically have an academic focus, and many include benefits such as small scholarships or stipends, one-on-one mentoring and individualized college planning.

Scheduling courses and understanding “free time.” The life of a TCK can be very structured and rigid, while college can seem flexible. Understanding course work requirements—the general rule of thumb is that an hour in class requires three hours of outside work—and other commitments is important.

Dr. Wood recommends students schedule their college time wisely, because in college, “life is not structured for you.” Chen suggests students understand that academic schedules do not always align with athletics or other commitments, which can shorten holiday or summer breaks.

College success seminars. Students should register for a First Year seminar or College Success class. These one-credit



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courses typically meet once or twice a week and include both thought-provoking readings and interactive sessions with campus departments, helping students to implement academic strategies and build friendships among peers.

These classes give students an intimate setting to interact with staff or faculty members and student peer mentors, while learning about the college's resources and college success strategies.

Get Involved!

There are many ways for students to get involved, meet fellow students

TCKs can both benefit from and contribute to the mission of international centers, and should take advantage of the resources they have for international students.

and develop a first semester activity list before college starts.

Identify co-curricular activities.

Identifying service, social, sporting, religious and cultural organizations on campus that interest the student not only familiarizes them with the plethora of opportunities available on campus,

but also helps them find communities of common interest.

It is "important for students to develop interests, get out and get involved in activities that connect you with peers," advises Rebecca Grappo of RNG International Education Consultants.

Students should reach out to some of these organizations during the summer and introduce themselves. Learning about the joining process and early semester events gives students a social or service activity for their calendar, which can be paramount for students who are attending a campus where they know no one.



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Find a cultural center. Community and college cultural centers or organizations are great places for students to stay connected to the cultures, languages and foods of their past.

Update your résumé and prepare your elevator pitch. Tina Quick, author of *The Global Nomad's Guide to University Transition* (Summertime, 2010), recommends that in anticipation of meeting potential employers or friends, students “figure out your elevator speech when they ask you where you’re from.” In addition, students should dust off their college application résumé and update it—many college organizations and part-time jobs require students to have references and a detailed resume.

Preparing to make personal and pro-

fessional connections ahead of time will increase TCKs’ level of confidence and prepare them for success.

Avoid Road Bumps—Make Plans

No matter how much you plan, things will go wrong—it is important for students to have discussions about budgeting, communication and emergency processes with their parents while they are still face-to-face.

Develop a budget. It’s time to talk money and develop a budget with your student. I encourage families to use Google Drive to access and edit shared documents from around the globe, keeping finances transparent.

Have a discussion with the financial aid office about your options as a family,

develop a semester (or yearlong) budget to project and track finances. Decide who will be covering which expenses, how these expenses will be paid, how money will be transferred between accounts, and how the student will access and spend money.

Because financial aid may not be available until the third or fourth week of term, it is important that families have plans in place covering those first few weeks.

Develop a Family Communication Plan. Communication plans are the best way to ensure the entire family understands how to keep each other in the loop. Discuss communication expectations with your student. How often do you realistically expect to hear from

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them, and through what mode of communication? (Keep time-zone differences in mind, of course.)

WhatsApp group messaging or Facebook posts may be all a parent needs to know everything is okay. Scheduling Skype calls based on time zones can be helpful for TCKs who are often used to communicating with their parents on a regular basis.

Develop an Emergency Plan.

Emergency plans aren't just for go-bags anymore. When emergencies arise, it is important for families to have a plan in place.

Decide on a chain of contact in case of student or family emergencies. Who does the student call first in an emergency—the local family friend or the parent overseas? Who will alert the important

parties? What events warrant international or domestic flights from campus (e.g., family member surgery, death in the family)?

Students often skip important medical visits due to fear of scheduling appointments and dealing with insurance companies, so discuss health insurance plans and ensure students understand how to schedule their own medical services and process their insurance claims (including mental health coverage).

Enjoy a Successful and Strong First Semester

The recommendations outlined here don't *guarantee* a strong first semester. They are meant as a starting point in preparing for a successful college experience

and should be revisited throughout the semester and, indeed, the first year.

As a final note, Tina Quick's book, *The Global Nomad's Guide to University Transition*, is an excellent addition to the summer reading list for both parents and students.

When students arrive on campus excited for the term ahead and ready with ideas on how to build a community and keep their mental health a priority, they are more likely to succeed academically, socially, professionally, emotionally and physically.

And once you do finish that first year successfully, pay it back. Join or create organizations to welcome future TCKs, and share the great college experience you've worked hard to build. ■



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Facts and Updates:

Making Sense of the Department of State Education Allowance

An understanding of education allowances is crucial for Foreign Service families. Here is an introduction.

BY MARYBETH HUNTER

Many Foreign Service parents spend an enormous amount of time determining which posts have the best schools for their children. These are delicate decisions that have a large impact on family life. We hope this article will help inform families about school options, as well as the rules and regulations that govern the particulars of both school selection and cost reimbursement.

Parents serving overseas may be eligible to receive an education allowance to help cover the cost of their children's education. The education allowance is designed to assist in defraying educa-

tion costs at post that would normally be provided free of charge by public schools in the United States.

Think about what is normally provided in a public school in America, and this will give you a reasonably accurate idea of what you can expect to have reimbursed under the education allowance. Tuition and books, yes. Afterschool activities or band instruments, no.

To understand a bit more about education allowances, and to find out about recent allowance updates, the Family Liaison Office spoke with the Department of State's Office of Allowances (referred to as "Allowances" for the purpose of this article).

FLO: Which government employees are eligible for an education allowance? Do all agencies follow the Department of State education allowance regulations?

ALLOWANCES: Any U.S. direct-hire employee serving overseas with school-aged children may be eligible to receive

an education allowance under the Department of State Standardized Regulations, Section 270. All federal government agencies follow these regulations, although each agency may have its own supplemental regulations that further clarify or restrict the allowance.

FLO: How is "at post" education allowance for the school year determined? Why is the "at post" allowance for many posts listed as \$150?

ALLOWANCES: The Office of Overseas Schools (OS), one of our sister offices in the Bureau of Administration, first determines if there is at least one school at post that offers education reasonably comparable to U.S. public schools. If so, OS will designate the least expensive adequate school as the base school. Usually, this base school is a private school.

Then, Allowances establishes an "at post" education allowance rate, deter-

Continued on page 78



Marybeth Hunter is the education and youth officer in the State Department's Family Liaison Office.

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FROM THE DECEMBER 2016 FSJ EDUCATION SUPPLEMENT

Finding Money for College

BY FRANCESCA KELLY

Paying for college in the United States can be a Herculean task. But some of the burden can be reduced with scholarships. Unlike loans, scholarships and grants are gifts—and a gift is always better than a loan.

The best source of funding—“inside” funding—comes in the form of merit scholarships and need-based grants from the colleges themselves. These are often renewed each year, as long as you keep your grades up and have no disciplinary problems while in college.

It pays to research colleges with large endowments that can afford to give out more money, as well as the many excellent private colleges that are less selective than the “top tier.” They often generously award students who rank in the top 25 percent of their high school class.

Need-Based Aid

Need-based financial aid is a different story. But it’s worth reviewing the basics of this because there is increasing overlap in the forms required for both need-based and merit assistance ...

There are many additional, private (“outside”) sources for scholarship money, including a few that are geared specifically to dependents of Foreign Service employees. However, there are some things to keep in mind about outside scholarships.

Once you have received a need-based financial aid package from your college, you are required to report any outside scholarships to the financial aid office. Expect your financial aid package to be consequently reduced.

When this happens, many colleges try to reduce your loans before they reduce grant money, but make sure you are aware of each of your chosen colleges’ financial aid policies if you plan to apply for outside scholarships.

If you submit multiple private scholarship applications, it’s possible to win enough money to eliminate your loans and even cover most, if not all, of your college expenses.

Francesca Kelly, a Foreign Service spouse, is a writer, university counselor and college essay tutor. She writes frequently on education issues and is a former editor of AFSA News. The complete article appeared in the December 2016 Journal.



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Continued from page 74

mined by an analysis of school costs, such as tuition and local transportation. The post submits these costs through regular surveys to update the allowance as prices go up or down. If OS determines that no school at post is adequate, we use \$150 as a dummy/placeholder rate because the default allowance in this situation is “away from post.”

FLO: How is the “away from post” education allowance determined?

ALLOWANCES: When a school at post is deemed adequate, the “away from post” rate is identical to the “at post” rate.

An employee has freedom of choice in school selection with reimbursement up to the designated “at post” and “away from post” rates.

However, when no school at post is adequate, Allowances establishes a higher “away from post” rate to defray the cost of attending a school (often, but not always, a boarding school) away from post. The rate is based on tuition, room and board, and airfare three times a year to and from school.

FLO: Many countries have more than one school option for parents. Is the edu-

cation allowance limited to enrollment in the designated base school?

ALLOWANCES: No. An employee has freedom of choice in school selection with reimbursement up to the designated “at post” and “away from post” rates.

Such flexibility in choice of schools is important to remember, so that when decision-making time comes, you can move forward with the confidence that you can seek reimbursement even if the school is not the base school used by the U.S. mission community.

While school choice is often available, the cost of alternate choices is only

Continued on page 82



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From the *FSJ* Education Supplement June 2014

The Revamped SAT: A Much-Needed Overhaul or Cosmetic Surgery?

BY FRANCESCA KELLY

If you're a student, a parent or even a grandparent, most likely you've encountered the SAT. For much of its century-long existence, this multiple-choice test that aims to assess academic readiness for higher education has been one of the keys to college admission.

While a student's high school grade-point average is still the most important part of the college application, colleges also use SAT results in evaluating applicants.

Once called the Scholastic Aptitude Test, then the Scholastic Assessment Test, it's now simply the SAT™. For decades a two-part (Reading and Mathematics) test, the SAT incorporated a mandatory Writing section in 2005.

Recently, the College Board, the nonprofit corporation that oversees the SAT, announced that the biggest revamp in its history will be implemented in the spring of 2016. The SAT will reflect more of what is actually being learned in America's schools, and the College Board will make test preparation accessible to students of all income levels.

Here are the details:

- The entire process will be more transparent. The College Board is moving away from using obscure texts, tricky questions and unfamiliar vocabulary.
- The writing portion will become optional, and scoring will return to its pre-2005 potential total of 1,600 rather than 2,400. Each of the two required sections, Evidence-Based Reading

and Writing, and Math, will offer the traditional score range of 200-800. The optional essay score will be added separately. The optional essay will require more text-based analysis than in the past.

- Vocabulary words will be more familiar, less arcane. The College Board stresses that the test will emphasize a student's interpretation of the meaning of the word in context.

- America's important founding documents and meaningful texts will be used as a part of every SAT exam.

- The Mathematics section will be more focused, drawing from fewer math sub-genres. The College Board has renamed the three subsections of the Math component "Problem-Solving and Data Analysis," "The Heart of Algebra" and "Passport to Advanced Math." The focus will be on real-life math skills such as calculating percentages and ratios, along with a few representative geometry and trigonometry questions.

- Wrong answers will no longer be penalized.

- Free SAT test preparation will be available immediately through a joint venture with the Khan Academy.

Francesca Kelly, a Foreign Service spouse, is a writer, university counselor and college essay tutor. She writes frequently on education issues and is a former editor of AFSA News. To see the complete article, including a resources list, go to www.afsa.org/education.

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Continued from page 78

reimbursed up to prescribed limits in the DSSR. Section 272.3 discusses school selection and has a number of instructive examples. Our website also has a comprehensive FAQ section that covers this topic. Parents should know these levels of reimbursement and be mindful of the financial implications.

Likewise, an “away from post” allowance may be available, depending on the country-specific rates. The post financial management officer (FMO) can discuss post specifics and the mechanics of education allowances with parents early on to ensure they understand how the

While the Office of Allowances sets the overall policy and rates, it does not provide funding; nor does it approve the disbursement of funds.

relevant DSSR education rules apply to the facts and circumstances of each case.

FLO: *Who ultimately approves education allowance reimbursements?*

ALLOWANCES: The certifying officer at post, normally the FMO, approves education allowance reimbursements. While the Office of Allowances sets the overall


policy and rates, it does not provide funding; nor does it approve the disbursement of funds.

FLO: *Have there been recent allowance changes that families should be aware of?*

ALLOWANCES: The DSSR has been updated in the past few years to include such things as the reimbursement of school fees for the rental of computer equipment. See DSSR Section 277 for a complete list of reimbursable education expenses.

FLO: *One educational gap typically of great interest to parents is American history.*





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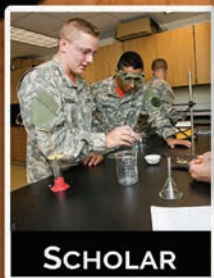
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ALLOWANCES: Expenses for a supplemental U.S. history class can be reimbursed in addition to the authorized "at post" education allowance. For example, if a parent needs to buy a U.S. history textbook and hire a private tutor to teach U.S. history because that subject is not provided at their child's school, the cost of the textbook and the tutor may be reimbursable as supplementary instruction.

The annual round trip may originate from either the school or the employee's foreign post of assignment.

See DSSR 276.9 for a complete list of circumstances in which supplementary instruction may be reimbursed. Also note that reimbursement for supplementary instruction is currently limited to \$4,100 per year.

FLO: *Are there any recent updates to the educational travel allowance?*

ALLOWANCES: Up to now, we have been talking about allowances for primary

and secondary school education under DSSR 270.

When talking about the educational travel benefit under DSSR 280, we are switching gears to talk about the one annual round trip of transportation between

the post and school a child is attending full-time, either at the secondary or post-secondary level.

Rather than the previous restriction to the United States, the school may be anywhere in the world now. Also, the annual round trip may originate from either the school or the employee's foreign post of assignment.

Parents sometimes get confused

Continued on page 96

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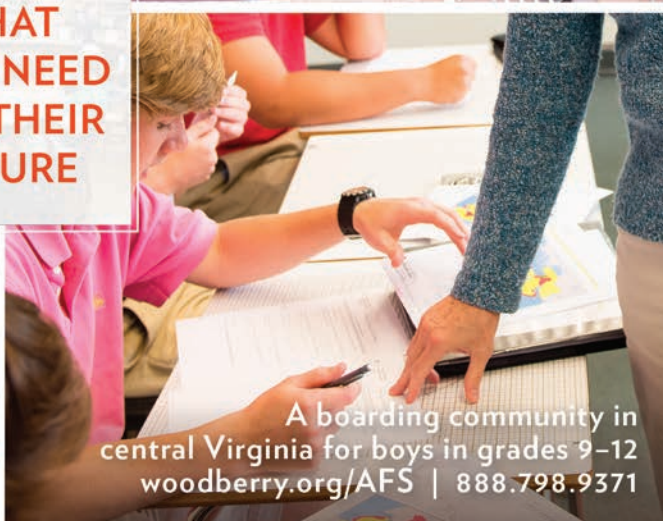
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From the FSJ Education Supplement December 2011

College Applications Checklist for 11th-Graders

BY FRANCESCA KELLY

When it comes to college admissions, junior year of high school is crunch time. This is when you're expected to take the most challenging courses, get the best grades and start racking up those SAT or ACT scores. Junior year is the last full academic year that factors into acceptance decisions from colleges. It also provides an opportunity to bring up a mediocre grade point average and polish your resumé.

In addition, you can finish—yes, finish—a whole swath of the applications process in 11th grade so that you do not get hit with a ton of pressure the next fall.

This no-nonsense, month-by-month guide from December through August of your junior year will help you get a head start on the college application process and sail through your senior year.

Francesca Kelly, a Foreign Service spouse, is a writer, university counselor and college essay tutor. She writes frequently on education issues and is a former editor of AFSA News. The complete article excerpted here is available online at www.afsa.org/educationarticles.

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School	Page Number	Enrollment	Gender Distribution M/F	Percent Boarding	Percent Int'l.	Levels Offered	AP/IB*	TABS common application	Accept ADD/LD	Miles to Int'l. Airport	International Students Orientation	Holiday Break Coverage**	Annual Tuition, Room & Board
■ ELEMENTARY													
Grace Episcopal School	70	110	51/49	NA	NA	PS-5	NA	NA	NA	3	NA	Y	19,900
■ ELEMENTARY/JUNIOR HIGH													
Hampshire Country School	79	25	All boys	100	5	3-9	N/N	N	Y	65	N	N	58,500
■ ELEMENTARY/JUNIOR/SENIOR HIGH													
The Brook Hill School	97	670	50/50	30	15	PK-12	Y/N	Y	Y	90	Y	Y	43,320
Calverton School	70	280	51/49	16	12	PK-12	Y/Y	N	Limited	70	Y	N	50,900
Fay School	64	475	50/50	32	16	K-9	NA	Y	N	25	Y	N	58,500 -71,580 ^{bd}
The Hockaday School	85	1,098	All girls	7	3	PK-12	Y/N	Y	Y	17	Y	N	54,810 -56,200
The International School of Minnesota	71	320	50/50	10	27	PS-12	Y/N	N	Limited	16	Y	Y	38,000 -43,500
Masters School	80	670	52/48	35	14	5-12	Y/Y	Y	N	18	y	N	43,050 -62,500
Saint Andrew's School	89	1,285	50/50	18	.	PK-12	Y/Y	Y	Y/Y	30	Y	N	55,700
■ JUNIOR HIGH/SENIOR HIGH													
Admiral Farragut Academy	62	300	60/40	50	30	8-12	Y/N	N	Limited	22	Y	N	50,000
Cortona Academy of Science, Technology & the Arts	87	100	50/50	25	25	7-12, GAP	Y/Y	Y	Y/Y	4	Y	Y	24,000 ^{ae}
Grand River Academy	66	100	All boys	100	35	8-12, P	N/N	Y	Y	60	Y	N	54,250
Grier School	77	315	All girls	85	45	7-12	Y/N	Y	Y	120	Y	N	52,900
Hargrave Military Academy	83	225	All boys	90	12	7-12, PG	Y/N	N	Limited	76	Y	N	33,800
Oak Hill Academy	72	150	60/40	98	23	8-12	N/N	N	Y	100	N	Y	30,756 ^{ab}
Southwestern Academy	94	175	60/40	75	75	6-12, PG	Y	Y	Limited	27	Y	Y	39,900
St. John's Northwestern Military Academy	61	250	All boys	94	36	7-12	Y	Y	Limited	35	Y	N	37,000 -43,000 ^{ab}
St. Margaret's School	65	120	All girls	70	30	8-12	Y/N	Y	Limited	50	Y	Y	48,900
Springdale Preparatory School	98	50	50/50	40	20	5-10 ^f	Y/N	Y	Y	45	Y	Y	48,500

*Advanced Placement/International Baccalaureate **Dec. 25-Jan 1. NA, not applicable ^aSibling discount ^bFinancial aid available ^cDollar value subject to exchange rate ^dAid for federal employees ^eGap year ^f2017-2018 school year ^gAccredited NEASC ^hNeed-blind admission; will meet full financial need
ⁱStandard Application Online from SSATB



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■ SENIOR HIGH													
American Hebrew Academy	63	133	50/50	90	45	9-12	Y/N	Y	Limited	6	Y	N	40,000 ^{abe}
Asheville School	69	289	50/50	80	19	9-12	Y/N	Y	N	60	Y	Y	54,900
Christ School	75	292	All boys	75	8	8-12	Y/N	Y	Limited	60	N	N	49,995
EF Academy New York	3	750	55/45	97	95	9-12	N/Y	N	Limited	38	Y	N	41,850 ^a -47,250
Fountain Valley School of Colorado	67	222	50/50	65	23	9-12	Y/N	N ⁱ	N ⁱ	75	Y	N	53,860
Gould Academy	73	250	60/40	80	30	9-12, PG	Y	Y	Y	90	Y	N	58,750
Kimball Union	86	305	60/40	66	11	9-12, PG	Y/N	Y	N	125	Y	Y	62,624
Lake Forest Academy	77	435	50/50	50	25	9-12	Y/N	Y	Limited	18	Y	Y	57,700
Madeira School	83	318	All girls	54	16	9-PG	Y/N	Y	Y	12	Y	Limited	59,990
Mercersburg Academy	81	430	52/48	85	23	9-12, PG	Y/N	N	N	93	Y	Y	58,325
Midland School	97	85	48/52	100	14	9-12	N/N	Y	N	35	Y	Y	52,200
Miss Hall's School	87	210	All girls	72	40	9-12, PG	Y/N	Y	Y	50	Y	N	57,750
Phillips Academy	64	1,150	50/50	73	9	9-12, PG	Y/N	N	Limited	26	Y	N	53,900 ^h
St. Francis High School	79	540	All boys	5	10	9-12	Y/N	N	Y	16	Y	Y	44,250
St. Mark's School	78	365	54/46	76	21	9-12	N/N	Y	N	30	N	N	59,685
Woodberry Forest School	85	385	All boys	100	10	9-12	Y/N	Y	N	73	Y	N	55,600
■ CANADA													
Ridley College	68	665	52/48	54	32	K-12, PG	N/Y	Y	Y	41	Y	Y	43,500 ^{ac}
■ OVERSEAS													
Berlin Brandenburg International School	60	700	50/50	20	65	K-12	N/Y	N	Y	15	Y	N	42,000 ^c
EF Academy Oxford	3	200	50/50	100	100	11-12	N/Y	N	N	43	Y	N	45,000 ^{ac}
EF Academy Torbay	3	265	55/45	100	100	9-12	N/Y	N	N	26	Y	N	31,700 ^{ac} -37,500
Frankfurt International School	76	1,800	50/50	NA	80	K-12	N/Y	N	Limited	19	Y	N	22,970 ^a
John F. Kennedy School Berlin	96	1,680	50/50	NA	50	K-12	Y/N	N	Limited	15	Y	N	None

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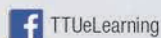
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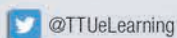
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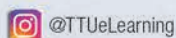
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■ OVERSEAS (CONTINUED)													
Kingham Hill School	95	304	60/40	60	22	6-12	Y/N	N g	Y	66	Y	N	23,737-54,411 ^c
Leysin American School in Switzerland	95	340	50/50	100	80	7-12, PG	N/Y	Y	Limited	75	Y	N	88,000 ^d
Okanagan Hockey Europe	87	90	All boys	100	75	9-12	N/Y			50		N	28,240 ^e
St. Stephen's School	84	295	47/53	15	62	9-12, PG	Y/Y	N	N	12	Y	N	40,850 ^e
TASIS The American School in England	93	720	48/52	27	37	PK-12	Y/Y	N	Limited	8	Y	N	51,100 ^{cd}
TASIS The American School in Switzerland	93	720	50/50	36	75	PK-12, PG	Y/Y	Limited	Limited	40	Y	N	83,000 ^d
Woodstock School	99	500	50/50	100	60	6-12	Y/Y	N	Y	150	Y	N	23,000
■ SPECIAL NEEDS													
The Gow School	82	150	87/13	87	33	6-12, PG	NA	N	Y	20	Y	Y	65,800
Landmark School	66	477	65/35	32	2	2-12	NA	N	Y	32	Y	N	55,900-73,400
Oakland School	79	50	50/50	40	7	3-8	NA	N	Y	75	N	N	49,450
■ DISTANCE LEARNING													
Brightways Learning	80	48	49/51	0	54	K-12	Y/N	.	.	NA	Y	Y	7,000-12,000
Stanford Online High School	59	Enrollment is 704 with a boy/girl distribution of 50/50. State Department covers tuition. ohs.stanford.edu WASC Accredited, diploma-granting independent school (7-12). Global and academically motivated student body, American college-preparatory education Advanced Academic program (AP and university-level courses). Student services and vibrant student life. State Department covers tuition. ohs.stanford.edu											
Texas Tech University	91	Texas Tech University Independent School District offers Kindergarten-12th grade courses and accredited high school diploma; Texas Tech University Worldwide eLearning offers online bachelors through graduate programs.											
Tigris Academy	86	Comprehensive instruction, resources, supplies, and services for homeschooled and Gifted & Talented grades k-12. www.tigrisacademy.com											
TwigaTutors	79	Guided Online Learning for FS K-8 kids in English, Math, Science and U.S. Social Studies. Certified teachers, MobyMax e-curriculum, U.S. education standards, EFM-owned, USG refunds apply. www.twigatutors.com											
U.S. History Abroad	86	Self-paced, online history lessons include songs, videos, quizzes, crafts and games for grades K-8. Register now, classes start Sept 25. www.ushistoryabroad.com											
■ OTHER													
AAFSSW	108	Publisher of <i>Raising Kids in the Foreign Service</i> . A volunteer organization that supports Foreign Service employees, spouses, partners and members of household. www.aafsw.org											
College Bound, Career Ready, LLC	80	Providing customized college counseling from freshman year to graduation. Give yourself the tools to succeed! Contact collegeboundcareerready@gmail.com or www.collegeboundcareerready.com.											
FLO		Family Liaison Office. Information and resources for Foreign Service families. Contact FLOAskEducation@state.gov											
FSYF	80	Foreign Service Youth Foundation. A support network for U.S. Foreign Service youth worldwide. www.fsyf.org											
♦Advanced Placement/International Baccalaureate ♦♦Dec. 25-Jan 1. NA, not applicable *Sibling discount ^a Financial aid available ^c Dollar value subject to exchange rate ^d Aid for federal employees ^e Gap year ^f 2017-2018 school year ^g Accredited NEASC ^h Need-blind admission; will meet full financial need ⁱ Standard Application Online from SSATB													

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FROM JUNE 2016 FSJ EDUCATION SUPPLEMENT

Applying to Boarding School: Lessons Learned

BY JOHN F. KROTZER

The reasons parents chose the boarding school route are as varied as the students themselves: unsuitable schooling at post, special needs support, gifted student opportunities and the need for stability have all been regularly cited.

In my conversations with these parents, one thing that most have in common is that boarding school was not part of their child's long-term education plan. Something happened, and suddenly boarding school was an option they needed to evaluate quickly!

Such was the case with us when we learned in 2014 that our next post was going to be Beijing. While the international schools there look great, the requisite language program my wife would enter meant that our oldest daughter would end up attending three different schools during her last three years of high school—a very unappealing proposition to any teenager.

We jointly decided that boarding school in the United States would be the best option for her, and I began to quickly learn as much as I could about the process.

I spoke with the State Department's Family Liaison Office

and the Office of Allowances, and I networked with as many boarding school parents as I could find. (The Facebook page "AAFSW Boarding School Parents," for which I am an administrator, was unfortunately not yet in existence, but is now a great network and resource.) I also did a lot of research online.

Ultimately, she applied to five schools in New England, interviewed on campus at each of them, and waited patiently. We were very optimistic, as she was an honor student with great grades, very strong test scores and lots of extracurricular success.

To our surprise, she was admitted to only one school and waitlisted at the other four. Despite all of our research, we discovered a number of key things about the boarding school application process too late. I hope a few of these lessons will be helpful to those in the Foreign Service thinking about boarding school in the future.

John F. Krotzer is a Foreign Service family member and, most recently, the community liaison officer at Consulate Mumbai. He and his family are now in Beijing. The complete article appeared in the June 2016 FSJ.

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Continued from page 84

about the difference between the educational travel benefit (DSSR 280) and the transportation component related to attending an “away from post” boarding school (DSSR 270). The latter falls under the education allowance.

One cannot claim both the education allowance and educational travel benefit for the same child at the same time.

In fact, there is no need to use the educational travel benefit for a student attending boarding school, because the “away from post” education allowance rate discussed earlier includes the cost of travel to and from the boarding school.

Education and educational travel are just two of the many allowances or benefits provided for in the DSSR.

This built-in travel cost is sometimes referred to as the “Education Allowance transportation component” to distinguish it from “Educational Travel.”

For example, a student might use the educational travel benefit when traveling from a foreign post to an accredited full time college or university, either inside or outside the United States.

FLO: *Is there anything else readers*

should know about the Office of Allowances?

ALLOWANCES: Education and educational travel are just two of the many allowances or benefits provided for in the DSSR. Our office also works with each post to evaluate

and set rates for the post (hardship) differential, post allowance (cost-of-living allowance) and overseas per diem, to name a few.

The DSSR and how it applies to a particular situation can be complicated at times, but we have an excellent collection of FAQs on our website (<https://aoprals.state.gov>). The website also has useful links to other offices and resources such as Overseas Schools, Medical Services

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(MED) and Travel and Transportation Management (TTM). Staff in these offices can answer questions that are not specifically allowance questions, but often come up in the context of allowances.

In addition, if readers have a specific question about the DSSR, they can contact us at AllowancesO@state.gov.

It is probably worth mentioning again that while our office sets policy and rates, we do not control funding; nor are we involved in the reimbursement process. Depending on the allowance, funding usually comes from the regional bureau

When claiming an allowance, your human resources officer at post can often help in putting together an application package, while the FMO is often the one responsible for approving reimbursement.

or a centrally funded account.

When it comes to claiming an allowance, your human resources officer at post can often help in putting together an application package, while the FMO is often the one responsible for approving reimbursement.

FLO's Education and Youth (E&Y) Team works closely with the Office of Allowances and can help parents find the portion of the DSSR that covers the education allowance. Contact E&Y at **FLOAskEducation@state.gov**, by phone at (202) 647-1076, or online at www.state.gov/flo/education.

Editor's Note: *The Office of Allowances deals purely with regulations and would not comment on Special Needs Education Allowance processing. The FSJ will run an update on issues surrounding SNEA processing in a future article.* ■



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FROM THE DECEMBER 2015 FSJ EDUCATION SUPPLEMENT

Multilingual Matters—How Foreign Service Students Can Make the Most of Language-Rich Experiences Abroad

BY MARYBETH HUNTER AND CHRISTINE BROWN

Any Foreign Service employee would agree that one of the joys of Foreign Service life is to experience the language of the host country. In fact, many argue that learning the native language avails Foreign Service families of countless opportunities for personal and cultural enrichment. And who among us learns that language with the most ease and gusto? That's right; it's our Foreign Service youth.

While English-speaking education is available at most posts worldwide, more and more Foreign Service families are choosing to educate their children in a language other than that spoken at home. To find out more about this trend and to uncover the advantages and challenges of educating a child in a foreign language, the Family Liaison Office spoke to Regional Education Officer and Office of Overseas Schools resident language expert, Christine Brown.

Family Liaison Office: What are the advantages and potential pitfalls of raising a bilingual child?

Christine Brown: Over the last 15 years there has been much research conducted on the benefits of learning one or more languages. Scientists have noted that new neural pathways are formed when children learn and use more than one language. It appears that the more complex the second language, the greater the neurological gain. The science suggests that learning linguistically complex languages or multiple languages from an early age into adulthood may give a profound cognitive boost.

Researchers outside the United States have also looked at the impact that learning other languages has on one's native language ability, especially in the areas of reading comprehension, executive brain functioning (memory, reasoning, problem solving) and creativity.

Marybeth Hunter is the education and youth specialist in the State Department's Family Liaison Office. Christine Brown, a regional education officer, is the Office of Overseas Schools's resident language expert. This is excerpted from their full-length interview in the December 2015 FSJ.

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I use Inside a U.S. Embassy in my classes on diplomacy. It gives the students a great sense of how diplomacy actually happens, which they don't always get from the standard texts or even from the invited practitioners.

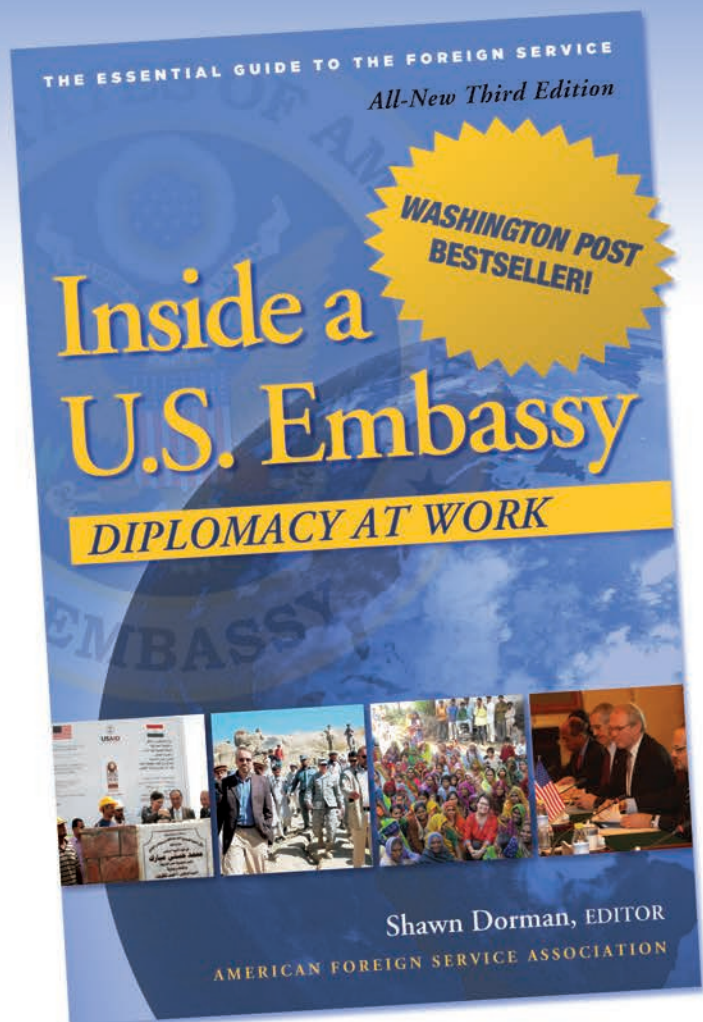
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Fated to Lead?

Earning the Rockies: How Geography Shapes America's Role in the World

Robert J. Kaplan, Random House, 2017, \$27/hardcover, \$13.99/Kindle, 224 pages.

REVIEWED BY ERIC GREEN

Who are we? Americans have asked this simple question since before we became an independent nation, and foreign policy thinkers have struggled to use the answers to explain why the United States ascended to predominance in the international order.

Robert Kaplan, the author of 16 (really!) previous books on international affairs, offers his own perspective with a short volume that is both a history of ideas and a master class in American geography.

Written as a memoir, travelogue and intellectual meditation, *Earning the Rockies* opens with Kaplan recalling childhood road trips and tales told by his truck-driving father. These kindled in him a fascination with American historical landmarks and the epic geography of Appalachia, the central rivers, the Great Plains and beyond.

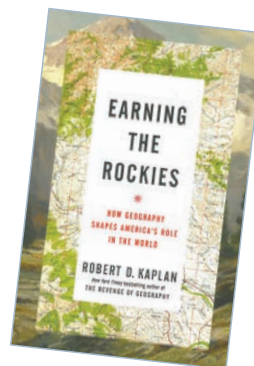
Seeking renewed inspiration, he sets off on a coast-to-coast journey to revisit the continent's landscape and to reflect on how the settlers' encounters with it remade the country into an outward-looking imperial colossus.

Kaplan reveres Bernard DeVoto, a historian of westward expansion who identified America's embrace of "Manifest Destiny" as the moment when the country's mental horizons about its place in the world expanded in the same way that our physical boundaries stretched to the Pacific.

America's expansive self-conception

comes from more, however, than a state of mind. Kaplan stresses that the United States is endowed with the "most impressive political geography in the world, or in history for that matter." The colonists were fortunate to gain possession of the last resource-rich part of the temperate zone settled during or after the Enlightenment.

In addition to our ocean boundaries and stable, friendly neighbors, the United States benefits from having more navigable inland waterways than the rest of the world combined. This helped



American tribes to today's U.S. Special Forces, and suggests that the experience of crossing the limitless prairie prepared Americans for their future vocation of policing the Pacific Ocean.

By the time Kaplan reaches San Diego, the United States is not a normal country, but a world power that has developed "longstanding obligations, which, on account of its continued economic and social dynamism relative to other powers, it keeps."

Though Kaplan ranges far outside the Beltway to explain America's role in the world, his conclusions are comfortably within mainstream establishment thinking. Kaplan is an unapologetic

Kaplan meanders west, riffing as he visits the homes of Teddy Roosevelt, Abe Lincoln and James Buchanan, Mount Rushmore and the Hoover Dam. Every landmark contributes to the story of westward expansion, bringing America closer to its geopolitical destination.

power breakneck economic development and lowered barriers to communications and migration, keeping the country cohesive even as it spread west. Other countries complain that geography has cursed them; it's given nothing but blessings to us.

Kaplan meanders west, riffing as he visits the homes of Teddy Roosevelt, Abe Lincoln and James Buchanan, Mount Rushmore and the Hoover Dam. Every landmark contributes to the story of westward expansion, bringing America closer to its geopolitical destination.

Along the way he likens the early frontiersmen who battled with Native

champion of projecting American power, rhapsodizing on the benefits of our 300-ship Navy, global diplomatic presence and more than 100 overseas military installations.

While he celebrates America's rise as a net positive for the world, Kaplan does not sugarcoat the process, pointing out the "morally ambiguous" legacy of the conquest of Mexico and the brutal treatment of Native Americans, as well as the counterproductive foreign adventures in the Philippines, Vietnam and Iraq.

Kaplan's book was completed prior to the start of the Trump administration, but it includes a few digressions on

Other countries complain that geography has cursed them; it's given nothing but blessings to us.

the Jacksonian ethos of many Americans, who are suspicious of America's ability to perfect the world, but fiercely protective lest others cross us. Kaplan believes this isolationist impulse should constrain idealistic U.S. policymakers, ensuring that America's actions abroad do not exceed the public's enthusiasm for foreign adventures.

But the central drama of the new administration's foreign policy is likely to revolve around Kaplan's core argument that America is "fated" and

"obligated" to lead; that a single thread connects Manifest Destiny to the launch of Tomahawk missiles against the Shayrat airbase in Syria.

Perhaps Providence influenced our country's development and its rise to superpower status, but humans and their institutions also play a role. These obligations are not self-fulfilling, but contingent on the active consent of our elected government representatives, an increasing number of whom appear uninterested in the commitments—

explicit or implied—to other nations or the international order.

Geography and history put our country in the pole position, but we still need to run the race. ■

FSO Eric Green is the director of the Office of Russian Affairs in State's Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs and previously served as political counselor in Moscow. He joined the Foreign Service in 1990 and has also served in the Philippines, Ukraine, Northern Ireland, Turkey and Iceland. He is a member of the Foreign Service Journal Editorial Board. The views expressed here are his own and do not necessarily reflect those of the Department of State.

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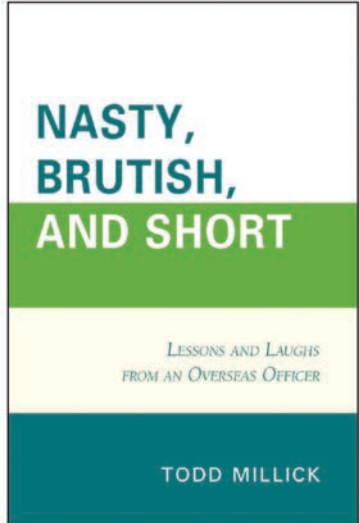



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Trondheim was founded as a coastal trading town in 997. Today, it is a dynamic research and technology hub centered around the Norwegian University of Science and Technology. I took this photo during an official visit to the city as we walked between meetings. The weather was alternating between thick snow flurries and blasts of bright sun, which made for some crisp light and deep colors.

In Trondheim I gave a speech to students, did a press interview, met the county mayor, met with an organization supporting technology start-ups and toured the local brewery, which has a joint venture with U.S.-based Brooklyn Brewery. ■

Jim DeHart, currently chargé d'affaires at U.S. Embassy Oslo, has served in Melbourne, Istanbul, Brussels and Panjshir (Afghanistan), in addition to assignments in Washington, D.C., over a 24-year FS career. He is a former chairman of the FSJ Editorial Board.



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