THE FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

PUBLISHED BY THE AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION

MAY 2019

THE DIPLOMACY IMPERATIVE

A Q&A WITH WILLIAM J. BURNS

PROFESSIONAL DIPLOMATS LEADERSHIP AND LESSONS

THE STATE OF STATE

PATRIOTS COLONY
At Williamsburg

"It's like living on a cruise ship without leaving the dock"

COMMENT FROM A PATRIOTS COLONY RESIDENT

MAINTENANCE-FREE INDEPENDENT LIVING WITH FIRST-CLASS AMENITIES

Discover life on your own terms, in the historic charm of Colonial Williamsburg. Enjoy living in a serene, wooded setting while being close to the excitement of the beach, shopping, arts and culture. You'll find warm and friendly neighbors who share the same life experiences and are passionate about leaving rank at the gate.

- ★ Myriad of gourmet dining options
- ★ Social and cultural activities calendar
- ★ State-of-the-art fitness center
- ★ On-site medical center
- ★ Part of Riverside Health System's continuum of care

PRESIDENTS PAVILION

Our new expansion of luxury independent living residences are now open.

NOW OPEN

PET FRIENDLY

Schedule a personal tour today, 866-557-8814 | patriotscolony.org

Patriots Colony's Independent Living residences are exclusive to former military officers, federal civil employees and their spouses or widow (ers). As part of Riverside Health System, on-site care services (assisted living, memory care, short-term rehabilitation and nursing home) are open to everyone.

INDEPENDENT LIVING ★ ASSISTED LIVING ★ MEMORY CARE ★ SKILLED NURSING

COVERED FROM SEA TO SHINING SEA.

We've covered the Foreign Service abroad since 1947, and now we have you covered at home, too.

Auto - customized coverage options for total peace of mind at special rates

Home - cover your property stateside whether you own your home or rent — even an option for landlords

Umbrella - additional personal liability that acts as a safety net to protect your assets

clements.com/FSJ | 1.800.872.0067

PROUDLY SERVING THE FOREIGN SERVICE SINCE 1947

clements WORLDWIDE

THE FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

DEFINING DIPLOMACY for 100 YEARS

A CENTURY OF JOURNALS

www.afsa.org/fsj

READ AROUND THE WORLD

Give your contacts, your friends & family an inside look at diplomacy with a GIFT SUBSCRIPTION to

THE FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

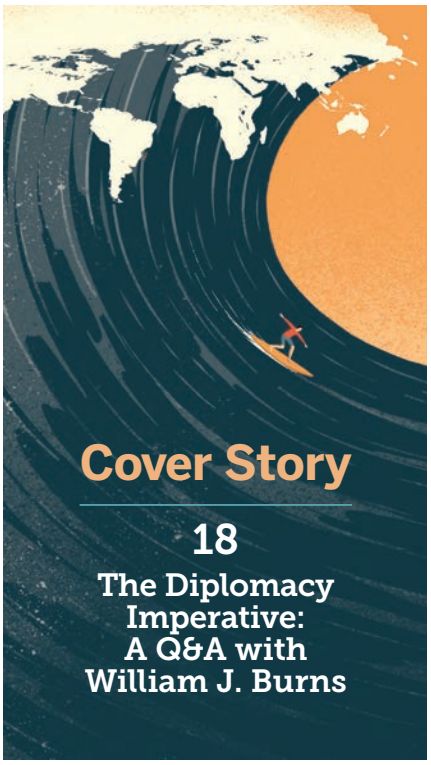
Visit www.afsa.org/subscribe-fsj for details and to sign up, or email journal@afsa.org

Visit the online archive at www.afsa.org/fsj-archive

THE FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

May 2019 Volume 96, No. 4

Focus on Professional Diplomats: Leadership & Lessons



DAVIDE BONAZZI

Cover Story

Feature

FS Know-How

THE FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

Perspectives

Departments

Marketplace

AFSA NEWS

THE OFFICIAL RECORD OF THE AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION

On the Cover—Diplomatic challenges, digital art by Davide Bonazzi.

The State of State: Putting the Back Channel Up Front

BY BARBARA STEPHENSON

I am so pleased that this edition of the *FSJ* contains an interview with Bill Burns. For those of you who have missed the voice of Ambassador Burns—I know I have—there is cause for celebration. His book is now finished—and at the top of *The Washington Post*'s nonfiction best-seller list, no less—and he is back in the public eye making the case for American diplomacy. AFSA was proud to host him on April 10 to talk about *The Back Channel: A Memoir of American Diplomacy and the Case for Its Renewal.*

The Back Channel is getting excellent reviews, and *The Washington Post* review by David Ignatius, who writes regularly on national security issues, is no exception. He finds much to admire in this "masterful diplomatic memoir," but the line in the review that has most stuck with me, been hardest to shake, is Ignatius' conclusion that the State Department is "gutted" and that, much as a reader wishes Burns were still in government, one "wonders if even he could make much of a difference."

That is a sobering, even jarring assessment of an institution to which I have proudly and gladly devoted myself for more than three decades. So, what is the state of the State Department?

That is a topic retired members of the U.S. Foreign Service have been addressing all over the country as part of the Foreign Policy Association's Great Decisions series, many of them drawing on background material and talking points provided by AFSA. We have given serious thought to "the state of State," and I'd like to use this, one of my few remaining columns as AFSA president, to frame the issues facing our institution.

First, the good news. The hiring freeze kept in place by Secretary of State Rex Tillerson was lifted as soon as Secretary of State Mike Pompeo arrived, and new members of the Foreign Service are once again filling our ranks, with A-100 and specialist classes reporting for duty even during the government shutdown.

Strong bipartisan majorities in Congress have made clear they do not support weakening American diplomatic capability. Congress instructed the department in Fiscal Year 2018 appropriations to resume hiring; even stronger language in the FY 2019 appropriations prohibits the department and USAID from falling below specified staffing floors and encourages the department to hire above those numbers.

What is more, Sec. Pompeo stated in his March 27 testimony before the House Foreign Affairs Committee: "By the end of this year, we'll have at or near more FSOs than ever in the history of the United States of America."

Department workforce figures show State is well on its way to restoring FSO bench strength, particularly in the mid-ranks. There were more officers in each of the mid-ranks—FS-1, FS-2 and FS-3—in December 2018 than in December 2016.

The mid-level staffing deficit is now behind us, and the hiring freeze was lifted in time to preserve the health of State's mid-ranks. This bodes well for the future of our institution, and it also sets us up to restore core diplomatic staffing at embassies right now.

That is, with our healthy mid-ranks and the $84 million plus-up for "overseas programs" contained in the FY 2019 appropriations, State is in a position to address the deficit in overseas positions identified by the Overseas Staffing Board and described in such vivid detail by FS members serving in understaffed embassies—especially those facing daunting competition from China and other rising powers.

As Sec. Pompeo said to HFAC, it is time "to get those folks out there so we can deliver American diplomacy in every corner of the world"—including in Africa, where American diplomats working on economic and commercial issues are regularly outnumbered by Chinese counterparts five to one.

If State's mid-ranks are in such good shape, why does a well-respected writer like Ignatius describe State as "gutted"? The problem, of course, is at the top. State's senior ranks are, by all accounts, seriously depleted.

The same workforce figures that provide such a reassuring picture of the health of our mid-ranks highlight the weakened leadership bench: from December 2016

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

to December 2018, the number of Career Ministers (three-star equivalents) fell from 33 to 19; Minister Counselors (two-star equivalents) fell from 470 to 376; and the number of Counselors (one-star equivalents) fell from 459 to 391.

In his interview, Bill Burns neatly draws the connection between senior vacancies and depleted ranks: "There are too many senior vacancies, and too few opportunities for career professionals." As I explain to members of Congress, the media and the public when I talk about the state of State, these two issues—unprecedented senior vacancies and depleted senior ranks—are interconnected.

The best way to retain top talent, especially in a mission-driven organization like the U.S. Foreign Service, is to give that top talent a mission, to assign senior officers to senior positions. Leave highly talented officers on the sidelines for too long, and they will, reluctantly, decide that it is time to move on.

The vacancies are, as national attention to the issue suggests, an immediate problem: Vacant senior positions weaken State, the Foreign Service and embassies, and undermine operational effectiveness all around the world. And they also fuel the problem of depleted senior Foreign Service ranks at State, encouraging still more highly talented and deeply experienced officers to give up and depart, further weakening the corps.

Opportunities for career professionals are further squeezed by extraordinary numbers of political appointees filling senior positions. Only one assistant secretary position is currently filled by a career FSO, and only half of current ambassadors are drawn from the career Foreign Service, when the historical norm is closer to 70 percent.

So how do other leading diplomatic services deal with this challenge? They don't!

Reporting on a comparative study of eight leading diplomatic services that AFSA sponsored to glean best practices, Jeremi Suri and Robert Hutchings observe: "In all eight countries, ambassadorial posts are almost entirely reserved for career diplomats. Most ambassadors to key posts have prior experience as ambassadors, speak the local language fluently and have served in senior levels in their home ministries."

Suri and Hutchings conclude: "The United States is an extreme outlier in the number of political appointees who serve as ambassadors and senior leaders in the State Department."

In addition to reducing opportunities for career diplomats, the extraordinary number of political appointees presents other challenges for "a career foreign service, characterized by excellence and professionalism," which Congress mandated in the Foreign Service Act of 1980 as "essential in the national interest to assist the President and the Secretary of State in conducting the foreign affairs of the United States."

Such a Foreign Service, I often say, must operate above the partisan fray. Yet Amb. Burns warns that "a particularly pernicious practice has surfaced, in which individual mid-level employees are blacklisted because they worked on controversial issues in the previous administration."

This practice extends to the senior ranks and is yet another factor contributing to the depleted leadership bench. Career professionals who were particularly effective in achieving the foreign policy goals of the previous administration might also be, if given the chance, particularly effective at achieving a new administration's foreign policy goals.

Sidelining effective career professionals is hardly a recipe for building a strong institution. What is more, the practice, Burns observes in response to a question about falling interest in the FSO test, contributes to "a pretty uninspiring recruitment campaign."

As hard as it is to read that State is "gutted," I remain grateful that national attention continues to be paid to the state of American diplomacy. Amb. Burns ends his interview by quoting de Tocqueville: "The greatness of America lies not in being more enlightened than any other nation, but rather in her ability to repair her faults."

Like Burns, I wish our institution were not being so severely tested, but I would still bet on us to repair our faults and rebound. ■

BY THE NUMBERS

- Four out of six under secretary positions are *not* filled; only two are (P and T).
- Nine out of 24 assistant secretary positions are *not* filled, including four of the six geographic bureaus (EAP, NEA, SCA, EUR); the latter two do not have a nominee.
- 28 ambassador positions are vacant and have no nominee, including Brazil, Chile, Cuba, Estonia, Georgia, Honduras, Jordan, Pakistan, Panama, Qatar, Singapore, Thailand and the United Nations.
- At least 20 additional ambassador positions are vacant, but a nominee has been announced; Egypt, El Salvador, Ireland, Libya, Mexico, Morocco, South Africa, Sweden, Turkey and the United Arab Emirates are among them.
- At USAID, only four of 11 Senate-confirmed appointees are in place.
- Only one career FSO is serving at the under secretary level (Hale/P) and one at the assistant secretary level (Perez/DGHR).

THE FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

Editor-in-Chief, Director of Publications
Shawn Dorman: dorman@afsa.org

Senior Editor
Susan Brady Maitra: maitra@afsa.org

Managing Editor
Kathryn Owens: owens@afsa.org

Associate Editor
Donna Gorman: gorman@afsa.org

Publications Coordinator
Dmitry Filipoff: filipoff@afsa.org

Advertising Manager
Allan Saunders: ads@afsa.org

Art Director
Caryn Suko Smith

Editorial Board
Alexis Ludwig, Chair
James "Jim" Bever
Fred Boll
Angela Bond
Karen Brown Cleveland
Shawn Kobb
Harry Kopp
John G. Rendeiro Jr.
Priyadarshi "Pri" Sen
Dinah Zeltser-Winant

THE MAGAZINE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS PROFESSIONALS

The Foreign Service Journal (ISSN 0146-3543), 2101 E Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20037-2990 is published monthly, with combined January-February and July-August issues, by the American Foreign Service Association (AFSA), a private, nonprofit organization. Material appearing herein represents the opinions of the writers and does not necessarily represent the views of the *Journal*, the Editorial Board or AFSA. Writer queries and submissions are invited, preferably by email. The *Journal* is not responsible for unsolicited manuscripts, photos or illustrations. Advertising inquiries are invited. All advertising is subject to the publisher's approval. AFSA reserves the right to reject advertising that is not in keeping with its standards and objectives. The appearance of advertisements herein does not imply endorsement of goods or services offered. Opinions expressed in advertisements are the views of the advertisers and do not necessarily represent AFSA views or policy. *Journal* subscription: AFSA member–$20, included in annual dues; student–$30; others–$50; Single issue–$4.50. For foreign surface mail, add $18 per year; foreign airmail, $36 per year. Periodical postage paid at Washington, D.C., and at additional mailing offices. Indexed by the Public Affairs Information Services (PAIS).

Email: journal@afsa.org
Phone: (202) 338-4045
Fax: (202) 338-8244
Web: www.afsa.org/fsj

PRINTED IN THE U.S.A.

Postmaster: Send address changes to
AFSA, Attn: Address Change
2101 E Street NW
Washington DC 20037-2990

CONTACTS

www.afsa.org

AFSA Headquarters:
(202) 338-4045; Fax (202) 338-6820
State Department AFSA Office:
(202) 647-8160; Fax (202) 647-0265
USAID AFSA Office:
(202) 712-1941; Fax (202) 216-3710
FCS AFSA Office:
(202) 482-9088; Fax (202) 482-9087

GOVERNING BOARD
President
Hon. Barbara Stephenson: stephenson@afsa.org
Secretary
Hon. Tom Boyatt: tdboyatt@gmail.com
Treasurer
Hon. Earl Anthony "Tony" Wayne: WayneEA@gmail.com
State Vice President
Ken Kero-Mentz: keromentzka@state.gov
USAID Vice President
Jeff Levine: jlevine@usaid.gov
FCS Vice President
Daniel Crocker: Daniel.Crocker@trade.gov
FAS Vice President
Kimberly Svec Sawatzki: kim.sawatzki@usda.gov
Retiree Vice President
John K. Naland: nalandfamily@yahoo.com
State Representatives
Karen Brown Cleveland
Don Jacobson
Deborah Mennuti
Roy Perrin
Lillian Wahl-Tuco
USAID Representative
William C. Hansen
FCS Alternate Representative
Lola Gulomova
FAS Alternate Representative
Thom Wright
USAGM Representative
Steve Herman
APHIS Representative
Jeffery Austin
Retiree Representatives
Hon. Alphonse "Al" La Porta
Philip A. Shull

STAFF
Chief Operating Officer
Russ Capps: capps@afsa.org
Senior Adviser, Strategic Communications
Lynne Platt: platt@afsa.org
Office Coordinator
Therese Thomas: thomas@afsa.org
Staff Assistant
Allysa Reimer: reimer@afsa.org

ADVOCACY
Director of Advocacy
Kim Greenplate: greenplate@afsa.org

BUSINESS DEPARTMENT
Director of Finance and Facilities
Femi Oshobukola: oshobukola@afsa.org
Controller
Kalpna Srimal: srimal@afsa.org
Controller, Accounts Payable and Administration
Cory Nishi: cnishi@afsa.org
Administrative Assistant and Office Manager
Ana Lopez: lopez@afsa.org
Scholarships and Events Coordinator
Theo Horn: horn@afsa.org

COMMUNICATIONS AND MEMBERSHIP
Director of Communications and Membership
Ásgeir Sigfússon: sigfusson@afsa.org
Communications and Marketing Manager
Allan Saunders: saunders@afsa.org
Manager, Retiree Outreach and Engagement
Christine Miele: miele@afsa.org
Online Communications Manager
Jeff Lau: lau@afsa.org
Member Accounts Specialist
Ashley Dunn: dunn@afsa.org
Awards Coordinator
Perri Green: green@afsa.org
Retirement Benefits Counselor
Dolores Brown: brown@afsa.org

LABOR MANAGEMENT
General Counsel
Sharon Papp: PappS@state.gov
Deputy General Counsel
Raeka Safai: SafaiR@state.gov
Senior Staff Attorneys
Zlatana Badrich: BadrichZ@state.gov
Neera Parikh: ParikhNA@state.gov
Labor Management Counselor
Colleen Fallon-Lenaghan: FallonLenaghanC@state.gov
Senior Labor Management Advisor
James Yorke: YorkeJ@state.gov
Labor Management Coordinator
Patrick Bradley: BradleyPG@state.gov
Grievance Counselors
Heather Townsend: TownsendHA@state.gov
Labor Management Advisor
Michael R. Wallace: WallaceMR2@state.gov
Law Clerk
Benjamin Phillips: PhillipsBE@state.gov

PROFESSIONAL POLICY ISSUES
Director of Professional Policy Issues
Julie Nutter: nutter@afsa.org

The Foreign Service Career … *in the Balance*

BY SHAWN DORMAN

Bill Burns, the diplomat's diplomat, left the Foreign Service in 2014 after 33 years. Now president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, he spent the last couple years not speaking publicly about the state of State and the deconstruction of diplomacy, not speaking publicly much at all.

So, we were delighted when Ambassador Burns agreed to do a Q&A with the *FSJ*. His new book and his voice help make us all more articulate about the value of diplomacy today.

This month we look at the Foreign Service as a career: the challenges and lessons that come with this complicated, difficult and exciting life of public service.

We hear about how the U.S. Foreign Service found its voice in the late 1960s in Harry Kopp's "Role Models: Lessons for Today from AFSA's Past," offering inspiration for the next generation of leaders. In "Service in Tandem for State," Kathryn Fitrell and Kanishka Gangopadhyay have suggestions for better management of tandem assignments.

A DS agent shares lessons from his personal journey with PTSD. We hear from an FSO managing Parkinson's while serving, and an Indian American FSO on questions of identity. In "From Generation to Generation," FSO Alexis Ludwig shares insights he received as a young officer, while FSO (ret.) Jonathan Rickert reminds us that the best policy is "If You Mess Up, Fess Up."

As we considered how to frame this collection of articles, I came across an exercise I did many years ago weighing up the plusses and minuses of an FS career. I think it still rings true, and so I share it here. ■

PLUS	MINUS
• Having the chance to serve your country and make a difference.	• Having to endorse policies with which you may disagree.
• Witnessing history in the making.	• History in the making can be dangerous.
• Changing jobs every few years.	• Changing jobs every few years.
• Having the chance to think and write about current world issues.	• Often feeling that what you write goes into a black hole.
• Traveling to amazing places.	• Contracting rare illnesses.
• U.S. diplomats are usually treated with high regard overseas.	• You represent the USG 24/7 overseas; anything you say can be taken as official.
• You'll meet important, interesting people.	• Most people want something from you.
• Wonderful colleagues, esprit de corps.	• Some truly terrible managers.
• Learning new things every day.	• Things may never get totally comfortable.
• You'll rarely be bored in a job.	• By the time you know what you're doing, it's time to move on.
• Each assignment takes you into the unknown.	• Each assignment takes you into the unknown.
• You could be ambassador someday.	• You probably won't ever be an ambassador.
• Your partner can find unusual and interesting work opportunities overseas.	• Your partner's career will always come second to yours.
• The lifestyle encourages a close family.	• You are far from home and will miss "being there" for important events.
• You have friends all over the world.	• Your friends are always all over the world.
• You'll do things you never thought you'd do.	• There may have been good reasons for not doing some of those things.
• You'll have amazing stories to tell.	• Not many people want to hear your stories.
• Foreign Service life is rewarding, challenging and exciting.	• Almost no one back home will understand what you do.
• You gain a world perspective.	• You no longer entirely "fit in" back home.

Shawn Dorman is the editor of The Foreign Service Journal.

HAVE YOU VOTED?

Support your association. Vote in the 2019 AFSA election!

Members in good standing as of March 28 can visit the secure online ballot site **www.directvote.net/AFSA** and request that an email containing unique login credentials be sent to them or call (952) 974-2339. Visit **www.afsa.org/elections** for more information.

Voting deadline:
8 a.m. EDT, Wednesday, June 12

Rapid-Response Chefs

I appreciated your spotlight on culinary diplomacy in the March *FSJ*. As the articles make clear, culinary diplomacy is a powerful tool for building relationships and engaging new audiences.

To this, I would simply add that culinary diplomacy does not have to be as complicated as developing a reality show or as formal as a fine dining experience. In fact, like most forms of public diplomacy, the low-key approach is often the best one. American chefs are equally well suited to small, intimate programs as they are for big-splash events.

With that in mind, the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs Cultural Programs Division started a pilot program this year to make chefs available through our rapid-response Arts Envoy exchange, which sends U.S. artists overseas for targeted short-term engagements.

We work closely with leading food organizations to identify chefs who can help us advance specific policy goals, such as food security and economic empowerment. Since Arts Envoy covers most of the costs, culinary diplomacy will be accessible to more posts than ever before.

Our first chef envoy, Tiffany Derry, traveled to Mumbai earlier this year, and we have several additional programs scheduled for the coming months in Mexico and North Africa.

Jay R. Raman
FSO
Director, Cultural Programs Division
Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs
Washington, D.C.

I Wanted to Sell Pork

Tania Teschke's March article "Ancestral Food Traditions for Modern Foreign Service Life" took me back. I am a retired Foreign Service U.S. Information Agency wife. My husband served in USIA from 1956 to 1983, mainly in South Asia.

Not allowed to work, I did what the superior officer's wife told me to do, or what I wanted to do. While serving in Madras from 1968 to 1971, I realized expats and diplomats' wives in India missed pork.

A Christian man I met at the riding club raised pigs, and I wanted to sell pork. A young Hindu man I knew wanted to become a vet. Between the two of them I learned how to market pork, an experience that would later help me when running my Spruce Mountain Blueberries business selling chutney and jam.

The Christian man had the pigs killed and the Hindu man—never touching the pigs—showed me how to cut the meat. And yet one more friend—a Hindu Indian airline pilot—arranged for the pork to be flown to New Delhi and other places by Christian pilots.

A far cry from today.

Molly Sholes
Spruce Mountain Blueberries
West Rockport, Maine

Looking Back

Recent exchanges with former Foreign Service colleagues from my retirement perch in the Midwest led to a few reflections on how much things have changed since my active-duty days.

In 1970, people smoked in our embassy offices. There were government-issued ashtrays, including large free-standing ones.

In 1970, virtually every embassy section had an American secretary, always a woman. There were no administrative assistants.

In 1970, there were far fewer representatives at U.S. embassies from outside the foreign affairs agencies of the Foreign Service. And we didn't have State Department security officers at all posts.

Administrative (now called management) officers were tasked with the care and feeding of the Marine Security Guard detachments.

In 1970, homosexuality was grounds for removal of a security clearance, transfer and probable dismissal.

In 1970, you had to be between 20 and 31 to take the Foreign Service exam. If you had served in the Peace Corps or military, you could add those years served to extend the upper limit.

In 1970, the Foreign Service was still very much a male preserve. My A-100 orientation class included just one female officer in a cohort of about 45.

Since then, the Foreign Service has changed along with our broader society.

John Treacy
FSO, retired
Evanston, Ill.

CORRECTION

In the April Reflections column, "The Achille Lauro Affair, 1985" by Tom Longo, an error was inadvertently introduced in the second sentence of the print edition. The passage in question reads: "Essential was Italy's commitment to deploy some INF (Intermediate-Range Nuclear Force) missiles on her soil for NATO to counter the Soviets' installation of SS-20 missiles in Western Europe." Of course, the last two words should have read "*Eastern* Europe." We regret the error.

TALKING POINTS

Yet Another Attempt to Cut Foreign Affairs Budget

The Trump administration's FY 2020 budget proposal, presented March 11, once again requests a double-digit cut in the funding for international affairs. Both Republican and Democratic lawmakers have pronounced it "dead on arrival," and say that they will reject the cuts, as they have for the past two years.

The White House has set the budget for the State Department and USAID at about $42.8 billion, down from about $55.8 billion. The proposed 23 percent cut in funds for the State Department is concentrated in the area of international organizations and programs.

Among other things, the budget request proposes a reorganization of humanitarian assistance, namely merging the bulk of State's Migration and Refugee Assistance account with two USAID accounts: Food for Peace and International Disaster Assistance.

The new consolidated account would be called International Humanitarian Assistance and would "support all aspects of humanitarian assistance," according to State's fiscal 2020 congressional budget justification.

"The request restructures our overseas humanitarian programming to enable the United States to respond seamlessly to evolving humanitarian needs," said Eric Ueland, who heads State's Office of U.S. Foreign Assistance, at a State Department press briefing March 11.

While longtime humanitarian assistance practitioners say the proposal has some merits, they do not trust the Trump administration's ultimate intentions and thus oppose it, *Roll Call* reported on March 22.

Contemporary Quote

"As former commanders of U.S. Southern Command, we have seen firsthand that the challenges in the region cannot be solved by the military alone but require strengthening investments in development and diplomacy. … Improving conditions in Honduras, Guatemala and El Salvador is a critical way to address the root cause of migration and prevent the humanitarian crisis at our border. This is a solution to many of the drivers that cause people to leave their country and move north. Cutting aid to the region will only increase the drivees and will be even more costly to deal with on our border."

—Statement by former combatant commanders of the U.S. Southern Command, Generals Bantz Craddock, James Hill, Barry McCaffrey, Charles Wilhelm and Admiral James Stavridis, April 8.

GAO Releases Report on U.N. Peacekeeping Operations

On March 19 the Government Accountability Office released a report on worldwide United Nations peacekeeping operations. The report, GAO-19-224, is subtitled: "State Should Take Additional Steps to Work with the U.N. to Improve Effectiveness and Performance Information."

"As of December 2018, the U.N. had 14 ongoing peacekeeping operations with approximately 103,000 personnel. The United States is the single largest financial contributor to these operations," the report states.

In compiling the report, GAO analyzed U.N. and U.S. documents and interviewed U.N. and U.S. officials. GAO also interviewed officials at peacekeeping operations in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Haiti, Kosovo and Lebanon.

In reviewing the Department of State's assessments as of December 2018 and in discussions with State officials, GAO found that U.N. peacekeeping operations generally do not fully meet U.S. principles for effective peacekeeping, which include host country consent and an exit strategy, among others.

GAO recommends that the State Department take additional steps to ensure that U.N. peacekeeping operations meet principles of effectiveness, that the U.N. provides information on the estimated costs of mandated tasks, and that the U.N. addresses member states' concerns about the quality of performance information.

The State Department agreed with GAO's recommendations.

The New "For Country Caucus" Speaks Up for Diplomacy

On March 19 four members of U.S. Congress announced in a *Washington Post* op-ed that they have formed the "For Country Caucus" to "provide principled military veteran members a platform to work in a nonpartisan way and create a more productive government."

The founding caucus members—Representatives Jimmy Panetta (D-Calif.), Don Bacon (R-Neb.), Chrissy Houlahan (D-Pa.) and Michael Waltz (R-Fla.)—are all military veterans. In the op-ed they point out that veteran representation in Congress "is near a historic low of 18 percent"—down from some 70 percent several decades ago.

The group intends to work with veter-

ans and others on issues and policies in traditionally nonpartisan areas, including public service, veterans' issues and national security.

On March 26 the caucus signed on to a March 10 letter delivered to Congress by a delegation of more than 140 retired three- and four-star generals and admirals urging Congress to protect the budget for diplomacy and foreign assistance.

In a press release announcing the endorsement, For Country Caucus members wrote: "We have seen firsthand just how important these civilian tools of diplomacy and development are to protecting our country—and ultimately reducing the burden on our service members. With all of the threats that America faces overseas, it takes a comprehensive arsenal of national security tools to keep our country safe."

President Trump Orders Aid to Central America Cut

On March 29 President Donald Trump announced that the United States would cease all foreign assistance funds to the "Northern Triangle" governments of El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras as punishment for failing to prevent their citizens from migrating to the United States.

A State Department spokesman told Reuters on March 30 that it was carrying out Trump's directive, adding that it would "engage Congress in the process"— an apparent acknowledgement that it will need lawmakers' approval to end funding that a congressional aide estimated would total about $700 million.

WIKIMEDIA COMMONS/CC BY-SA 3.0

The "Northern Triangle" of Central America: Guatemala, El Salvador and Honduras.

The president ordered a halt to spending underway under Fiscal Year 2017 funds (which had only reached the point of expenditure recently, due to multiple

50 Years Ago

Social Origins and Characteristics

Probably no other professional group in the United States has as strong and persistent an image of being closely tied to particular social and regional origins as the FSO corps.

The idea that diplomatic careers are the preserve of the sons of the upper classes in the northeastern United States, mostly graduates of the Ivy League colleges, has its root, of course, in historical fact. Warren Ilchman states that before the Rogers Act of 1924 combined the Diplomatic and Consular Services, the diplomats had very definite feelings of "social superiority" over the consuls. "The man who entered the Diplomatic Service, with very few exceptions, had private means of support. Flowing from this were a host of social prejudices."

Since the wage scale was inadequate, private means were necessary. Doubtless an important attraction for men of private means to enter the Diplomatic Service was the cultural affinity of upper class Americans, particularly those on the eastern seaboard, for Europe. The profession of diplomacy had been developed and established in Europe, and Europe was the world center of diplomacy. ...

The reality has changed substantially, but the image of the diplomat as the effete easterner has persisted, for several probable reasons.

My purpose ... is to examine the reality of the social origins and characteristics of FSOs in comparison, where comparable data is available, to other groups—graduating college seniors, military leaders, civilian federal executives, business leaders and the total U.S. population.

—John E. Harr, in an article in the May 1969 FSJ *based on a chapter from his book,* The Professional Diplomat *(Princeton University Press, 1969).*

Heard on the Hill

Squaring the Budget Request with the Challenge from China

The State Department's proposed budget… requests the largest drop for any cabinet department by total dollars, and by percentage, it's 24 percent.

And yet at the same time, we have seen over a period of the last few years an increase in the Chinese diplomatic budget. So from 2011 to 2017, China nearly doubled its budget. I know you know these numbers. Their spending increased by 12.3 percent in 2018. Just last month before the Chinese parliament, Beijing presented a budget for 2019 that would increase foreign affairs spending by another 7.4 percent.

American diplomats are already outnumbered five to one by Chinese diplomats doing economic and commercial work in Africa and elsewhere, and we hear from ambassadors of many of these countries who say to members of Congress, they would rather do business with the U.S., but they can't find us.

—Sen. Jeanne Shaheen (D-N.H.), questioning Secretary of State Mike Pompeo at the Senate Appropriations Committee's Subcommittee on State, Foreign Operations, and Related Programs hearing, "Review of the FY 2020 Budget Request for the State Department," April 9.

The Problem of Unfilled Positions

We need our people out there, working with our security partners, advancing human rights and the rule of law, and pushing for American business. These are things we simply cannot do well enough by sitting at a desk behind several layers of security in an embassy. First and foremost, though, the department needs to be fully staffed.

—Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman James Risch (R-Idaho), from his opening statement to the full committee hearing, "Review of the FY 2020 State Department Budget Request," April 10.

The Problem of Timely Nominations, Properly Vetted

We cannot confirm diplomats that we do not have. All too often, the committee has received nominations late or not at all. The Trump administration took nearly two years before it nominate[d] General Abizaid, leaving a gaping hole in our diplomatic posture to Saudi Arabia and the region.

The United States and our allies continue to face tremendous challenges around the world. We must continue to lead on the international stage and work in collaboration with international partners to achieve our shared security goals.

But to have our diplomats in place, they must be nominated in a timely fashion and vetted properly.

—Senator Bob Menendez (D-N.J.), ranking member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, speaking on the Senate floor, March 27.

Diplomacy in Support of Business

The bipartisan Championing American Business Through Diplomacy Act will bolster U.S. economic and commercial diplomacy, help facilitate greater market access for our companies in emerging markets, and rededicate the Foreign Service to one of its founding missions: to support U.S. business.

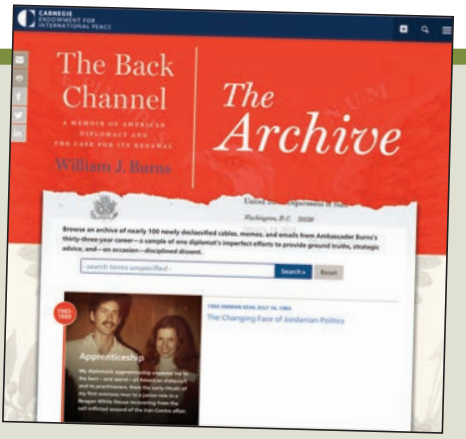
—Ranking Member of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs Michael McCaul (R-Texas), introducing the Championing American Business Through Diplomacy Act to the House of Representatives, March 13.

Bipartisan Support for Diplomacy and Development

The United States is strongest on the global stage when we conduct a foreign policy rooted in core American values—support for democracy, human rights, and the rule of law—and when we use the tools of diplomacy and development in conjunction with like-minded friends and allies.

—Chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs Eliot Engel (D-N.Y.), in his statement, "Engel & McCaul Offer Legislation Reaffirming the Pillars of American Foreign Policy," introducing three pieces of legislation to the House of Representatives, March 13.

SITE OF THE MONTH: *THE BACK CHANNEL* ARCHIVE



An unusual and fascinating website has been launched for sharing newly declassified cables in conjunction with release of *The Back Channel: A Memoir of American Diplomacy and the Case for Its Renewal*, the new book by Ambassador (ret.) William J. Burns.

Burnsbackchannel.com, hosted by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (where Burns serves as president), contains a searchable archive of nearly 100 declassified cables, memos and emails written during Amb. Burns' 33-year Foreign Service career with the State Department. (See p. 18 for the *FSJ* interview with Amb. Burns.)

The first document in the archive, a cable written from Amman in 1984, details "The Changing Face of Jordanian Politics." Later cables from Jordan continue to document the situation in the country and region: "A Young Man in a Hurry," for example, explains the changes that unfolded in the 100 days since the death of King Hussein and the installation of his son Abdullah as king.

In a secret memo written a few days after Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait in 1990, Amb. Burns outlined options for containing the Iraqi leader, beginning with "multilateral political and economic pressure." He then spent several pages detailing how to make these options work.

A 1994 secret cable from Embassy Moscow details Russia's "increasingly assertive" foreign policy moves and describes the political and social upheaval in Russia following the 1991 collapse of the Soviet Union. "Even with the most positive of outlooks, there can be no ignoring the sobering list of potential problems on the horizon," the cable reads. In it Burns advises to better prioritize among the list of concerns, as we can no longer expect to "have it our way," and recommends looking for "creative ways to accommodate the compelling Russian urge for a seat at the great power table."

The site also includes memos and cables from Tunis, Tehran, Damascus and other hotspots across the globe, as well as global scene setters to welcome incoming Secretaries of State.

requirements by Congress) and also of Fiscal Year 2018 funding.

The decision's application to prior-year funds will cause significant disruption of ongoing programs administered by NGOs, private sector implementers and government agencies—many designed to help address the root causes of migration. The activities are in areas such as community gang prevention, police training and agricultural value chain improvements.

Congress is likely to request an accounting of what accounts will be affected, and whether this reversal of funding applies to specific legislative earmarks funding bills.

Meanwhile, the policy debate may also include questions over the metric for judging success in the programs already in place, which were designed to have long-term impact on the key migration drivers of violence (especially from gangs) and unemployment.

State Department Plans to Merge Bureaus to Counter Disinformation

On April 12 *The Washington Post* reported on State Department plans to merge the Bureau of Public Affairs, which oversees domestic communications concerning the Secretary and the department, with the Bureau of International Information Programs, which is responsible for messaging overseas.

The two bureaus will be combined into one new Bureau of Global Public Affairs.

Announced by Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs Michelle Guida, the merger is intended to help counter disinformation campaigns by Russia, China and others by combining domestic and overseas communications, allowing the department to disseminate information rapidly across social media platforms.

The two branches have traditionally been kept separate because of the Smith-Mundt Act of 1948, which prohibits the U.S. government from developing propaganda targeting Americans. But the Act has become obsolete in the internet era, when news stories and tweets have an instant worldwide reach,

and has hindered department communications by adding a layer of bureaucracy to official messaging.

Details of the merger will be outlined for State Department employees in mid-April.

Closing in on State's "Ethos"

On April 4, Secretary of State Mike Pompeo sent an internal message to department employees saying that as he approaches the one-year anniversary of his appointment as Secretary, he remains determined to get the department swaggering again.

"We are closing in on defining our own 'ethos'—the qualities that reflect the spirit and excellence of the U.S. Department of State and all of us who serve our country as part of this team," Sec. Pompeo wrote. "This 'ethos' will be captured in an inspirational and aspirational statement. And it will serve as the foundation for our training, how we recognize superior performance, how we develop our next generation of leaders, and more."

Officials working on the project with Pompeo told *The Washington Times* that it will be a blueprint for breaking what the Secretary sees as decades-old barriers between services within the State Department, as well as a plan for how to more effectively train and educate incoming officials and generally restore confidence inside Foggy Bottom. ■

This edition of Talking Points was compiled by Donna Gorman, Shawn Dorman and Susan Maitra.

COVER STORY

DAVIDE BONAZZI

THE Diplomacy IMPERATIVE

A Q&A with William J. Burns

Ambassador William J. Burns retired in 2014 after a 33-year diplomatic career with the rank of Career Ambassador, the highest rank in the U.S. Foreign Service. He became Deputy Secretary of State in July 2011, only the second serving career diplomat in history to do so. From 2008 to 2011, he served as under secretary of State for political affairs. He was ambassador to Russia from 2005 until 2008, assistant secretary of State for Near Eastern affairs from 2001 until 2005 and ambassador to Jordan from 1998 until 2001.

He has served in a number of other posts since entering the Foreign Service in 1982: executive secretary of the State Department and special assistant to Secretaries Warren Christopher and Madeleine Albright; minister-counselor for political affairs at the U.S. embassy in Moscow; acting director and principal deputy director of the State Department's Policy Planning Staff; and special assistant to the president and senior director for Near East and South Asian affairs at the National Security Council.

Ambassador Burns speaks Russian, Arabic and French, and is the recipient of numerous presidential, Department of State and other awards. He earned a bachelor's degree in history from La Salle University and master's and doctoral degrees in international relations from Oxford University, where he studied as a Marshall Scholar. He and his wife, Lisa, have two daughters.

Ambassador Burns is president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the oldest international affairs think-tank in the United States. He was last interviewed by The Foreign Service Journal *in 2014, on the eve of his retirement. In February we caught up with Amb. Burns ahead of the publication of his new book,* The Back Channel: A Memoir of American Diplomacy and the Case for Its Renewal.

—Shawn Dorman, Editor

FSJ *Editor Shawn Dorman:* *You've spoken about how today's Foreign Service faces a more "disordered" world. What do you see as the top priority issues the United States should focus on today?*

Ambassador William J. Burns: The overarching challenge for U.S. foreign policy today, it seems to me, is to adapt to an international landscape in which American dominance is fading. To put it bluntly, America is no longer the only big kid on the geopolitical block. That's not meant to be a declinist argument. In fact, I'm still bullish about America's place in the century unfolding before us. We can't turn the clock back to the post–Cold War unipolar moment. But over at least the next few decades, we can remain the world's pivotal power—best placed among our friends and rivals to navigate a more crowded, complicated and competitive world. We still have a better hand to play than any of our main competitors, if we play it wisely.

That means doing a better job managing the return of great power rivalry, as a rising China asserts itself and Russia continues to demonstrate that declining powers can be even more disruptive than rising ones. We'll have to deal with the breakdown of regional order in places like the Middle East, where conflicts can quickly metastasize and disorder seems contagious. And we'll also have to deal more thoughtfully with the pace of technological innovation. Advances in artificial intelligence and synthetic biology, for example, could continue to outpace international efforts to maximize their benefits, minimize their downsides and develop workable international rules of the road.

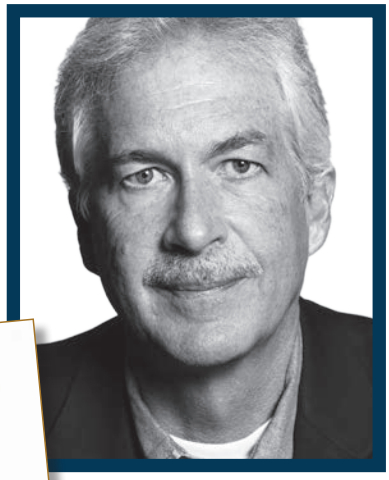
My argument in *The Back Channel* is that we will not be able to do any of that on our own or with big sticks alone. That makes diplomacy—backed up by military and economic leverage and the power of our example—more important than ever.

FSJ: *Are you concerned about the so-called "militarization" of foreign policy? What is the right balance between military force and diplomacy?*

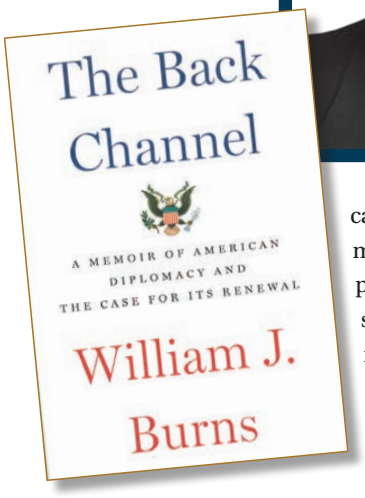
WJB: We all ought to be concerned. Defense and military leaders are not shy about highlighting the debilitating tendency—across administrations of both parties—to invert the roles of force and diplomacy. We've all quoted Secretary of Defense Bob Gates' line about the military having more musicians than we have Foreign Service officers, and Jim Mattis' point about needing to "buy more ammunition" if we continue to underinvest in diplomacy. But that hasn't made much of a dent, I'm afraid.

Of course, we ought to ensure that our military is stronger than anyone else's, that our tool of last resort is potent and durable. And of course, force or the threat of force has an important role to play in the conduct of diplomacy. We've all benefited from having the U.S. military focus the minds of those who sat across the table from us. The military success of Desert Storm was a pretty effective backdrop for Secretary [James] Baker's persuasive skills in the run-up to the Madrid peace talks, and the potential use of force was similarly essential to Secretary [John] Kerry's diplomacy with Iran.

But time and time again, we've seen how overreliance on military tools can lead us into policy quicksand. Time and time again, we've fallen into the trap of overusing—or prematurely using—force. That comes at much greater cost in American blood and treasure, and tends to make diplomacy a distorted and under-resourced afterthought.



BRIGITTE LACOMBE



In the forever wars of the post-9/11 era, the "great inversion" [of force and diplomacy] also tended to thrust State Department professionals into nation-building roles that are beyond the capacity of American diplomats, or any other external power. While our colleagues served with courage and ingenuity, the fact remains that we're the American Foreign Service, not the British Colonial Service.

FSJ: *Do you agree with Director of National Intelligence Dan Coats who said recently that "we were asleep" during the last 15 years while China was rising rapidly? How should the Foreign Service manage competition from China?*

WJB: I wouldn't say that we were asleep, but we were certainly distracted. One of the most significant opportunity costs of the post-9/11 period has been the failure to invest as energetically and imaginatively as we should have in places like the Asia-Pacific region, a region that will remain the geopolitical and geoeconomic center of gravity as far out as I can see into the future. The Asia rebalance in the Obama administration was a logical response, but we continually found ourselves sucked back into the morass of

our misadventures in the Middle East. Imagine if a bigger part of the time, energy and resources spent on the Global War on Terror had instead been spent on giving form to an affirmative vision for America's role in Asia. We would be in a much stronger place to shape developments in the region and compete more effectively. Instead, all too often, we find ourselves on the defensive, playing catch-up.

But as I try to make clear in the book, we still have significant assets and advantages to draw on in the region—especially our alliances, which distinguish us from lonelier powers like China, or Russia for that matter. Managing competition with China will be the central task of American statecraft for decades to come. That's what navigating great power rivalry is all about—maneuvering in the gray area between peace and war; exhibiting a healthy grasp of the limits of the possible; building leverage; exploring common ground where we can find it; and pushing back firmly and persistently where we can't.

I don't think we're doomed to conflict with China, but there are real risks ahead. Adroit American diplomacy will be more crucial here than anywhere else—not only directly with the Chinese, but with a wider web of players across Asia. They may not all want to contain China, but they all want to ensure that its rise doesn't come at their expense.

FSJ: *With the United States' decision to withdraw from the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty, and Russia saying it will follow suit, are we heading for a new arms race? Is there anything U.S. diplomats can do to mitigate this?*

WJB: We're heading into very rough waters. However profound our differences—and they truly are profound—the United States and Russia have unique capabilities and unique responsibilities to reduce global nuclear threats. It's cold-bloodedly in both our interests to do so, and certainly in the interests of the wider international community.

Russia had been violating the INF Treaty for a number of years. We may ultimately have had no alternative but to leave the treaty; I just wish we had worked more creatively to lay out our case for Russian violations, reassure our allies and explore ways to fix the problem.

My broader hope is that the collapse of INF doesn't foreshadow the demise of what's left of the U.S.-Russia arms control architecture. It would be especially dangerous to let the New START Treaty lapse in 2021. We ought to be engaging the Russians now on New START, and in serious strategic stability talks, particularly given the increasingly uncertain entanglement of nuclear systems with advanced conventional weaponry, missile defense and cyber tools.

COURTESY OF GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PRESS INFORMATION BUREAU

Deputy Secretary of State William Burns greets Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi at Andrews Air Force Base during his first visit to the United States on Sept. 29, 2014.

FSJ: *You were instrumental in negotiating the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action with Iran. Now that the United States has pulled out of the agreement, what advice do you have for U.S. officials trying to forge a diplomatic path forward for dealing with Tehran?*

WJB: I'm not undecided on this one. It was an historic mistake to abandon the JCPOA, one more reminder that it's easier to tear down diplomacy than to build it. We spent years painstakingly corralling an international coalition, and building economic and political leverage. Then we applied it in direct diplomacy with Iran, working closely with our international partners. As in any complicated diplomatic effort, we didn't produce a perfect agreement. "Perfect" is rarely on the menu in diplomacy. What we did produce was the best of the available alternatives, an agreement unprecedented in its verification provisions and intrusiveness, sharply constraining Iran's civilian nuclear program over a long period, and preventing it from developing a nuclear weapon.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE

William Burns (at left), then special assistant to the president and senior director for Near East and South Asian affairs at the National Security Council, meets with President Ronald Reagan, Secretary of State George Shultz, National Security Adviser Colin Powell and other senior advisers in the Oval Office in December 1988.

Now we've thrown that away, at least as a matter of American policy, and we're isolating ourselves instead of isolating the Iranian regime. Withdrawal makes it harder, not easier, to deal with Iran's threatening behavior throughout the Middle East, and it further erodes international confidence in America's willingness to hold up our end of diplomatic bargains. It creates even more fissures in relations with our closest European allies—in effect doing Vladimir Putin's work for him. So other than that, I think withdrawal from the deal was a great idea.

As for America's diplomats, they are faithfully implementing the new policy, as they should be. But I hope that we'll still be alert for opportunities for hard-nosed diplomatic engagement with Tehran where it suits both of our interests. That's certainly the case in Afghanistan, where Iran has a stake and the capacity to either help or hinder the political settlement that this administration is rightly working to reach.

FSJ: *In light of all the other U.S. government players (Department of Defense, National Security Council and numerous agencies) in Washington, D.C., and overseas, what is the best role for State? Should the State Department be the lead agency for formulating and implementing foreign policy?*

WJB: For better or worse, we will never again enjoy the monopoly we once had—or imagined we had—in foreign policymaking and execution. We have to come to terms with that. There are simply too many players, too many issues and too few resources. But State ought to be the conductor of the foreign policy orchestra. That means bringing together the soft power of ideas, economic incentives and sanctions, intelligence-gathering and covert action, military assistance, and the threat of force to achieve policy aims. State has a unique coordinating role in mobilizing the levers of American influence, and unique capacity to understand and navigate foreign landscapes. Led by strong ambassadors, embassy country teams remain an especially good mechanism. We've proven we can play all those roles effectively, when given the chance.

FSJ: *When you retired from the State Department, you published your "10 Parting Thoughts for America's Diplomats" in* Foreign Policy. *It's a great list, worth repeating: Know where you come from. It's not always about us. Master the fundamentals. Stay ahead of the curve. Promote economic renewal. Connect leverage to strategy. Don't just admire the problem—offer a solution. Speak truth to power. Accept risk. Remain optimistic.*

Looking back at the four years since you wrote that list, would you add any lessons to it?

WJB: One of the occupational hazards for recovering diplomats like me is an addiction to offering more and more unsolicited advice. I think that earlier list still holds up pretty well. But picking up on the image of diplomats as gardeners that George Shultz and George Kennan both used, highlighting the constant

challenge of pruning and cultivating on the international landscape, one of the things I regret is that those of us in leadership positions at the department didn't do more to tend our own messy plot of ground and do some serious institutional weeding.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Deputy Secretary of State William Burns in Kyiv at the makeshift memorial honoring slain Maidan protesters on Feb. 25, 2014.

Taking the initiative is important in diplomacy, but it's equally important in bureaucratic reform. We could have done a lot more over the years to transcend our own tribal divisions, get out of our own way bureaucratically, and demonstrate the power and purpose of diplomacy. It's much better for State to renew itself from within than to allow itself to become the subject of reforms from the outside, especially reforms devised by those who do not always have the institution's best interests in mind or understand what sets us apart.

FSJ: *What are the essential ingredients for a successful diplomat? Has that changed in recent years?*

WJB: I am a firm believer that the fundamentals of our craft are not all that different from what they've always been: smart policy judgment, language skills, and a sure feel for foreign landscapes and domestic priorities. Diplomats are translators of the world to Washington and Washington to the world, responsible for building and fixing relations. That requires, and has always required, a nuanced grasp of history and culture, hard-nosed negotiating skill, and the capacity to convey American interests to other governments in ways that they can see as consistent with their own—or at least in ways that drive home to them the consequences of undermining us.

We have tended sometimes in recent years to discount and dismiss those core skills, and to chase various fads. Don't get me wrong. As I said in that *Foreign Policy* piece, we absolutely have to stay ahead of the curve and learn new skills, new tools and new issues. The revolution in technology, the existential threat posed by climate change, the growing significance of engaging not just with governments but across societies, and the central role of economic issues in foreign policy, among other challenges, demand that we add new skill sets. But all that has to come on top of a solid foundation, not instead of it.

FSJ: *In your estimation, what are the greatest challenges facing the U.S. Foreign Service as an institution?*

WJB: There are lots of practical reforms that your readers understand as well as I do, from making the personnel system more flexible, to revamping the evaluation process to make it more honest and useful, to doing more to support families overseas and create opportunities for two-career couples.

A bigger institutional challenge, it seems to me, is making us more nimble and adept at helping to shape policy and execute it. I say this with plenty of humility, because I have been as guilty as anyone at State in sometimes slipping into passive-aggressive bureaucratic mode. But the truth is that, while individual diplomats and foreign affairs professionals can be incredibly innovative and entrepreneurial, at home and abroad, the department as an institution is rarely accused of being too agile or too full of initiative.

During my last months as Deputy Secretary, I remember receiving a half-page memo on a mundane policy issue—with a page and a half of clearances attached to it. Every imaginable office in the department had reviewed it, as well as a few that severely strained my imagination. A serious effort at de-layering the department, one that pushed responsibility downward in Washington and outward to ambassadors in the field, could markedly improve the workings of a bureaucracy that is too lumbering and conservative.

Taking those kinds of steps, on our own steam, is also the best way to make the argument to the White House and Congress that diplomacy is worth a more central role and adequate resources.

FSJ: *For decades, the Foreign Service has drawn thousands of applications to join each year, with acceptance rates remaining very low, at 2 or 3 percent. We understand that the number of applications for the Foreign Service Officer Test has dropped during the past two years. Does that concern you? If so, how would you address it?*

WJB: That drop-off absolutely concerns me, after nearly two decades of steadily rising applications. And it's not a mystery, unfortunately.

This is an era in which diplomacy is all too often dismissed by political leaders. Public service is belittled, with government shutdowns the cavalier consequence of political conflicts. The State Department is seen by some as a den of deep-state recalcitrants. There are too many senior vacancies, and too few senior opportunities for career professionals. Painfully slow progress toward greater diversity in the Foreign Service in recent years has gone into reverse. A particularly pernicious practice has sur-

faced, in which individual mid-level employees are blacklisted because they worked on controversial issues in the previous administration. That all adds up to a pretty uninspiring recruitment campaign.

It will take time and effort to reverse those trendlines. We're digging a hole for ourselves right now, at precisely the moment when diplomacy ought to matter more than ever; but there's every reason to believe that we'll find our way up and out of that hole. That's why I urge young people (and some not so young) to try to join the Foreign or Civil Service now. They'll have an important opportunity to help renew diplomacy.

Alexis de Tocqueville wrote nearly two centuries ago that "the greatness of America lies not in being more enlightened than any other nation, but rather in her ability to repair her faults." I wish we weren't testing our capacity for self-repair so severely, but I'd bet a lot that we'll rebound.

FSJ: *Are you optimistic about the future of diplomacy and the Foreign Service?*

WJB: I am.

I wrote *The Back Channel* not as an elegy for diplomacy, but as a reminder of its significance and promise, and of the wider value of public service. I try to illuminate our profession, which is filled with honorable, committed and patriotic Americans. It's the nature of our profession to operate much of the time in back channels, out of sight and out of mind. We're mostly engaged in preventive care, working to forestall conflicts and quietly build partnerships or limit the range of adversaries. We don't often bask in the kind of surgical triumphs that the U.S. military can achieve.

We need to do a better job of making the case in our own society, of showing that smart diplomacy not only begins at home, in a strong political and economic system, but ends there, too, in more jobs, more prosperity, a healthier environment and better security. There's a compelling case for American diplomacy as our tool of first resort in this new and more competitive era, a case that can win more respect and support from our fellow citizens and attract a new generation of the best that our society has to offer.

Role Models
Lessons for Today from AFSA's Past

Here's how the U.S. Foreign Service found its voice in the late 1960s. It's up to today's AFSA members to keep it relevant.

BY HARRY W. KOPP

I have been writing about the Foreign Service and the American Foreign Service Association for a long time, and I have a confession to make: For most of my years on active duty, which ran from 1967 to 1985, I was not an AFSA member.

Around 1972, when it became clear that AFSA would represent members of the U.S. Foreign Service in employee-management negotiations, I canceled my membership. I believed then that a commissioned officer, which I was, should not belong to a labor union. For me, the interests of the Foreign Service of the United States and the interests of the Department of State (my agency) were essentially the same. I looked to the Director General and the department's managers to resolve such conflicts as might arise.

I was wrong about that. Worse, I was stupid wrong. I knew that in the 1950s the State Department, rather than respond to the Red-baiting, gay-bashing Senator Joseph McCarthy (R-Wisc.) with courage and basic decency, had instead attacked its own employees. And I knew that President Richard Nixon's White House had it in for State Department employees who, even in private, expressed doubts about the war in Vietnam. I knew

Harry W. Kopp is the author of The Voice of the Foreign Service: A History of the American Foreign Service Association *and other works. He is a frequent contributor to* The Foreign Service Journal *and serves on its editorial board.*

also that many members of the Service, especially younger ones, believed that policymakers undervalued their professionalism and denigrated their profession.

But even with all those examples, I still trusted the department in the end to take care of the Foreign Service.

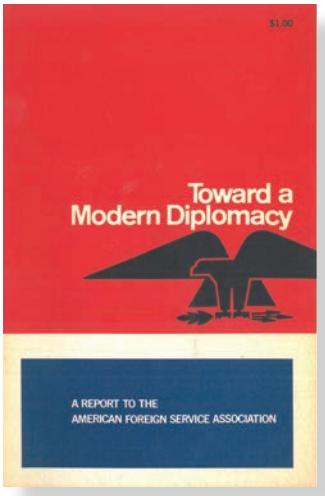
Reform at AFSA

Fortunately, others were not so naive. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, a small group of Foreign Service officers, young enough on average to be called Young Turks, came to believe that a strong Foreign Service required an independent attitude and an independent voice. The structures they developed to support the Service—sometimes against efforts by the agencies in which it functioned—are still in place. Their energy and foresight, their achievements and their failures, teach lessons for today.

AFSA ARCHIVES

The "Bray Board," headed by reformer Charles W. Bray III, steered AFSA from January through December of 1970. The board participated in *Toward A Modern Diplomacy* and prepared the way for AFSA's later victories in representation elections and negotiations with management. Pictured here, from left to right, are: George B. Lambrakis, Alan Carter, Erland Heginbotham, Barbara Good, Richard T. Davies III, Bray, William G. Bradford, Princeton Lyman, William Harrop and Robert Nevitt.

The changes these officers brought about came in two distinct phases. The first began in 1967, when a junior officer named Lannon Walker, back in Washington after his first tour overseas, discovered that others shared his frustration with the trivial role the Service played in policy. They soon formed a group, meeting often at the home of Foreign Service officer Charles Bray, to develop a program for reform.



The Young Turks were late to the party. In 1965, several Old Turks, working in AFSA under the patronage of its president, Under Secretary of State U. Alexis Johnson, had formed a Committee on Career Principles to develop a blueprint for "strengthening the Foreign Service as an instrument of foreign policy." The committee's central idea—not new to them, they conceded—was an independent Foreign Service, managed by a Director General outside the Department of State.

This Foreign Service of the United States would be able to move its people easily among the several foreign affairs agencies and would have the flexibility, through a reserve system, to adjust its staffing levels up or down on short notice. The details of their plan were at once bold, perceptive and (in retrospect) starry-eyed fanciful.

Their work did not receive the attention it deserved. AFSA had no capacity to operate as an engine of change. Its attention span was limited; by custom the president was one of the department's highest-ranking officers, and both he (for they were all male) and the chairman of the executive board served only one-year terms. Moreover, AFSA's claim to speak for the Service was dubious; its membership was less than half of those eligible to join.

The Old Turks needed the Young Turks to shake things up, and shake things up they did. The group around Walker (age 31) and Bray (age 32) recognized AFSA's weakness, but saw its potential. So, they engineered an electoral coup. Up until 1967, AFSA's board and officers were chosen not by the membership directly, but by a college of 18 electors. Walker put together a group of 18 officers to run for the electoral college as a slate pledged to select board members from among themselves. All 18 won.

The Young Turks' Campaign

How did that happen? The Young Turks conducted a prodigious organizing effort, of course, with worldwide reach. But just as important was a shift in the group's focus. Their campaign platform said almost nothing about the role of the Service in the conduct of foreign affairs. It was clear, however, about the role of AFSA in protecting its members. AFSA "can and should be heard" on personnel and administrative issues, the platform declared, and members should be able to bring their "grievances and problems to the association." Faced with the need to appeal for votes, the Group of 18 shifted its vision away from the professional organization that AFSA was and toward the union it would become.

AFSA NEWS/AUGUST 1993

F.A. "Tex" Harris served as AFSA president from 1993 to 1997.

It would be hard to overstate the passion and energy of the Young Turks. All were on active duty, with demanding, high-pressure jobs in the department, the U.S. Agency for International Development, or the now-extinct United States Information Agency. Charlie Bray, assigned to the office of the deputy under secretary for political affairs, took a year's leave without pay to work on AFSA matters—during which time he was supported by donations solicited from the families of Christian Herter, W. Averell Harriman and William Rivkin (a former secretary of state, special envoy and three-time ambassador, respectively; AFSA would soon create and name its first three constructive dissent awards for them). Lannon Walker, with a day job in the executive secretariat, was fortunate to have a wife who "would come down to pick me up at midnight."

The enthusiasm of these reformers was catching. More than 80 active-duty members of the Service volunteered to work on a revision of the Old Turks' report. Walker raised money from John D. Rockefeller III to finance its publication under the title *Toward a Modern Diplomacy*. (The report, 60 pages of tiny type,

REFORM AND ACHIEVEMENT

AFSA reformers clashed often with the State Department, but their careers did not suffer. Many became chiefs of mission or rose to senior positions in Washington.

Group of 18 (1967)

Adrian A. Basora*
Robert Blackburn
Charles W. Bray*†
L. Dean Brown ***†
Robert T. Curran
Richard S. Dawson
Morris Draper *
Theodore L. Eliot Jr. *††
Philip Habib *††
Harmon Kirby*
Harry K. Lennon
Thomas W. McElhiney *†
Michael A. Michaud
Daniel O. Newberry *
Charles E. Rushing
Lannon Walker ***
Frank S. Wile
Larry C. Williamson **

AFSA Board (1970)

William G. Bradford*
Charles W. Bray*†
Alan Carter
Richard T. Davies*
Donald Easum**†
Theodore L. Eliot Jr. *††
Barbara Good
William C. Harrop *****†
Erland H. Heginbotham†
C. William Kontos*
George Lambrakis
Princeton Lyman***†
Robert L. M. Nevitt
John E. Reinhardt*†

AFSA Board (1972)

Thomas D. Boyatt **
Herman J. Cohen **†
Barbara Good
F. Allen (Tex) Harris
William C. Harrop *****†
James L. Holmes Jr.
William R. Lenderking Jr.
David W. Loving
Linda Lowenstein
Samuel C. Thornburg
John J. Tuohey

* Ambassador/Chief of mission
† Assistant secretary equivalent or higher
—*HWK*

is available online in *The Foreign Service Journal* archive as Part Two of the November 1968 issue.)

The report attracted attention, including a detailed *New York Times* story, "Foreign Service Group Hopes to Gain Reforms Under Nixon" (Dec. 6, 1968, p. 2). Its grand ideas about the role of the Foreign Service did not advance, but the report's concern with the life and work of Service members resonated in the ranks and caught the attention of the department's managers.

Yet the lasting contribution of the Young Turks was not their quixotic call for an independent Foreign Service. Their real legacy was the reform of AFSA itself, which under their leadership became more democratic, more attentive to the daily concerns of the entire Service, and more prepared to challenge the department and its managers. One can draw a straight line from the 1967 electoral coup to AFSA's transformation, six years later, into an employee union.

AFSA's Union Movement

Over those six years, a mostly new group of AFSA activists—call them Young Turks II—negotiated, organized and campaigned to make AFSA the exclusive representative of Foreign Service employees in every Foreign Service agency. By 1969, the AFSA leadership was directly elected. And by 1972, it had turned over completely—no member of the Group of 18 remained.

Yet the two groups of reformers had much in common: they were balanced (State, USAID and USIA were all represented); they were volunteers (State Department funds would not support a position at AFSA until 1982); and they were focused far more on the needs of the membership than on the power or prestige of the Service as an institution. The board that took office in 1970 said it clearly: "The mandate is unmistakable," the board wrote in the *Journal*. "The bedrock of AFSA's concerns lies in the bread-and-butter issues which affect the conditions of work and daily life of every member."

In 1969, President Richard Nixon's administration by executive order relaxed restraints on participation by federal employees in labor unions, and what had been a quiet debate inside AFSA's leadership came into the open. Anti-union sentiment and pro-union militancy battled within AFSA's membership, with many of the more militant members attracted to the organizational efforts of the American Federation of Government Employees.

> The Old Turks needed the Young Turks to shake things up, and shake things up they did.

AFSA ARCHIVES

Ambassador Tom Boyatt testifies on Capitol Hill in 2007.

In that contest the department's top management officer, Deputy Under Secretary William Macomber, favored AFSA. After difficult negotiations, in late 1971 the White House issued a new executive order that defined most Foreign Service members with supervisory responsibilities as employees (labor), not management. The shift increased the number of voters likely to prefer AFSA to the American Federation of Government Employees as their employee representative. Organizing elections took place at State, USAID and USIA in 1973. AFSA won all three.

When he reported to the membership in 1974, AFSA President Tom Boyatt had plenty to brag about. Membership was up in every Foreign Service agency. There were bread-and-butter victories: retirement benefits for Foreign Service personnel in USAID; overtime for secretaries and communicators; a kindergarten allowance; more air freight for single employees; and other gains won from Congress, the agencies and post administrators.

Defense of professionalism, however, was the heart of his report. AFSA's union role, he said, had enhanced its capacity to pursue professional ends. AFSA had proposed legislation requiring ambassadorial nominees to report their political contributions and protecting promotion lists against political manipulation: it passed. It defended Foreign Service personnel in Chile against charges that they had failed to protect American citizens during a military coup: members of Congress spoke up to praise the performance of the embassy in Santiago.

Certainly the challenges we face today are as dire as those of the 1960s and 1970s.

AFSA finally broke with the shameful past and honored the "China hands"—Foreign Service officers whose honest reporting from that country in the 1940s led to the destruction of their careers by Senator Joseph McCarthy and his allies. *The New York Times* marked AFSA's tribute to them with an article and an editorial ("Vindication on China," Feb. 4, 1973).

Members of the Foreign Service are willing, Boyatt said, "to undergo tremendous sacrifice for this nation," but "we will never again permit McCarthyism or any other threat to impinge on our integrity or to silence our dedication to serving the national interest."

Who Will Speak for the Service Today?

The reformers never lost their conviction that the Foreign Service, speaking as one through its union and professional association, could protect its institutional values and improve the work and lives of its members.

After their retirement from active duty, Tex Harris, Tom Boyatt, Bill Harrop, Hank Cohen and others served multiple terms on AFSA's Governing Board. They were lobbyists for the Service on Capitol Hill and educators of the public. These men began their active service more than 50 years ago, but their vision for AFSA remains as compelling as it was a half-century ago.

Ever since the days recounted here, the American Foreign Service Association has been the champion of the men and women of the Service. Who speaks for the Service, if not AFSA? Not the under secretary for management, nor even the Director General or Secretary of State. No one now would be as naive as I once was, content to rely on the department to shield the Foreign Service from abuse.

Certainly the challenges we face today are as dire as those of the 1960s and 1970s. Over the past two years, the value of the Service as an institution has been called into doubt. Its work has been denigrated, its professionalism devalued, its effort derided, its stature diminished, its funding threatened.

AFSA attends to the Foreign Service as an institution. It acts as a custodian of Foreign Service virtues, among them intelligence, judgment, integrity, courage, patriotism and sacrifice. It is up to you, AFSA's members, to ensure by your effort and vigilance that AFSA succeeds.

Serving in Tandem for State

The number of tandems in the Foreign Service is growing. State could make better use of their tremendous potential.

BY KATHRYN FITRELL AND KANISHKA GANGOPADHYAY

During his confirmation hearing in April 2018, Secretary of State Mike Pompeo talked about "unleashing talent" at the State Department. His plan to accomplish this included an immediate lifting of the hiring freeze, which would allow the department to once again hire into the Foreign Service and Civil Service, as well as opening positions for eligible family members (EFMs).

Secretary Pompeo could tap into the department talent pool in another significant way by maximizing the enormous potential of tandem couples. Tandems represent nearly 15 percent

Kathryn Fitrell has been a tandem Foreign Service officer since 2003 (and a Foreign Service spouse since 1996). She has served or lived in Denmark, Ghana, Zambia, Guatemala, Mauritius, Portugal and Ethiopia. She is currently the public affairs adviser in the Office of the Coordinator for Cyber Issues in Washington, D.C. Kathryn and her husband, Troy, have a 19-year-old daughter and 16-year-old son.

Kanishka Gangopadhyay met his future wife during A-100 in 2005 and became part of an official tandem couple in 2007. Since becoming tandems, he and his wife have served together in Mumbai, Pristina and Washington, D.C. They are currently serving in Cotonou, where Kanishka is the public affairs officer. He and his wife are raising three boys, ages 6, 3 and 2.

The authors thank their colleagues from the Working in Tandem board for their contributions to this article.

The idiom "square peg, round hole" often applies when it comes to securing travel orders and allowances for tandems.

of today's Foreign Service workforce, according to the Bureau of Human Resources. Unfortunately, recent trends suggest that tandems are encountering greater challenges to serve. For example, in the summer 2019 bidding cycle, 40 percent of surveyed tandem officers reported that they were unable to secure positions at the same overseas post as their tandem spouse. If the Department of State is to attract, support and retain a truly agile and skilled workforce, and if we are indeed to "out-work" and "out-hustle" our competitors as the Secretary envisions, then we need to maximize the potential of all our people—including tandems.

There are both tangible and intangible benefits for the organization when spouses can pursue dual Foreign Service career tracks together at U.S. missions abroad. The "two-for-one deal" that tandems offer creates value for the American taxpayer. According to Fiscal Year 2016 estimates, the average cost of a direct hire (USDH) position overseas is more than $400,000 per year. Assigning a tandem couple together overseas realizes savings on various allowances, including more than $40,000 per year on housing alone. And keeping tandem families living and serving together can have a positive impact on their morale, just as it does for non-tandem families.

A common catchphrase of many tandems is "We'll serve anywhere, if we can serve together." If the State Department works to ensure tandems can stay together at post, the payoff for the department will be significant.

Working in Tandem

Formed in October 2016, Working in Tandem has more than 700 members, making it one of State's largest employee organizations. The group helps the department develop creative and inclusive solutions to the unique challenges facing tandem couples. Working with department and American Foreign Service Association leadership, WiT raises issues of concern and advocates for policies that will improve the recruitment, retention and morale of tandem officers. While tandems can share information in less formal discussion forums (e.g., Facebook and Yahoo groups) and in official ones such as HR's recent tandem blog, WiT is the first group officially designated to represent tandem employees to the department.

At the end of 2018, the WiT Executive Board conducted its second membership survey to identify the most pressing issues facing tandem professionals. There was strong consensus among respondents about the best ways to alleviate some of the challenges. Many of these priorities, listed below, represent significant cost savings for the department and are in sync with the Secretary's stated vision of supporting the families behind the Foreign Service.

Expand Domestic Employee Telework Overseas opportunities. DETOs provide the best opportunity for both spouses to be employed overseas together if only one is assigned to a post. While officers stay productively employed, bureaus can meet their staffing needs. DETOs leverage the time difference from D.C. to extend a Washington-based office's coverage across the globe, increasing productivity, customer service and responsiveness to needs of posts on the other side of the globe. DETOs can save money in travel costs because of their proximity to constituent posts; and because they telework, they require no additional office space. They can also handle the more time-consuming, product-oriented tasks of an office.

DETOs, however, are underutilized by most bureaus, although Consular Affairs, African Affairs and International Information Programs have historically authorized more DETOs than other bureaus. During the 2019 bid cycle, there were just eight DETO-eligible jobs listed on HR's tandem blog. According to HR, there are about 20 members of the Foreign Service on DETOs currently, and that number is not expected to significantly increase this summer.

Harmonize disparate administrative policies and procedures. Currently tandems who have had to find creative solutions to keep their families together, such as leave without pay (LWOP) or a DETO assignment, also face complications in obtaining travel orders and benefits, or even simply logging into OpenNet. The idiom "square peg, round hole" often applies when it comes to securing travel orders and allowances for tandems who are on LWOP or working under a DETO arrangement.

For example, tandem officers returning to D.C. for training after half of the couple has been on either a DETO or LWOP assignment are both precluded from receiving per diem. Due to an HR standard operating procedure (SOP) document (listed on HR's intranet site) stating that tandems must be in the same status and the fact that LWOPs and DETOs are "administratively" assigned to D.C., tandem couples transitioning out of LWOP or

BRIAN AGGELER

The Tandem Tussle.

DETO status must return to any training on permanent change of station (PCS) status, even if such training lasts less than six months.

This contradicts the Foreign Service Act, which states that tours less than six months should be considered temporary rather than full assignments. In addition to the significant financial burden placed on tandem employees, the department must also incur the full costs of a PCS, including shipment and unpacking of all effects.

Coordinate bidding across bureaus and agencies. Multiple respondents to the 2018 WiT member survey reported that the 2019 bidding cycle was harder than ever, with entry-level/mid-level, interagency and specialist/generalist couples noting that a lack of harmony between systems led to increased stress (at best) or a desire to leave the Foreign Service (at worst). As one interagency tandem put it, bidding has become "a sloppy dance of trying to keep our family together."

Specialist/generalist couples have noted that career development officers (CDOs) across cones would coordinate when prodded by their clients themselves, while entry-level/mid-level tandems note that finding mid-level jobs for their spouses—even at high-hardship, high-danger posts—is a daunting process. Differing bid cycle timing for the Bureau of Diplomatic Security, USAID and other offices only adds to the difficulty. Asking CDOs or their equivalents in other agencies to coordinate actions related to tandems could lend a welcome element of transparency to what is already a challenging process.

Reconsider authorized and ordered departure policies for tandems and single parents. The department should institutionalize policies and procedures that permit tandem and single-parent employees to escort minor or other dependent EFMs to safety during an evacuation whenever possible. USDH tandems and single parents with minor dependents or other dependents needing assistance currently are unable to evacuate with their EFMs when departures are authorized or ordered for EFMs only. The current policy states that officers must identify an official American employee or American family member to accompany minor children. USDH employees do not always have a trusted colleague or family member able or willing to assume this responsibility. There are also circumstances, such as in the case of nursing mothers, where there is no suitable alternate caregiver. This practice causes undue hardship for tandems, single parents and their families.

TANDEMS IN HISTORY

It was not until the early 1970s that tandems were permitted in the Foreign Service. Though the first woman, Lucile Atcherson, joined the U.S. Diplomatic Service in 1922, women were expected to resign when they married.

A department policy directive in 1971 ended that practice, and women who had resigned were given the opportunity to re-apply. About 40 women rejoined in the first five years.

Carol Rose and Peter Wood were the first married couple in the same orientation class in December 1974; they were assigned together to Hermosillo, Mexico.

And before "tandem" had its current meaning, Carol Laise and Ellsworth Bunker were an early and famous such couple. After their marriage in 1967, they served simultaneously as ambassadors, she in Nepal and he in South Vietnam.

Neither Laise nor Bunker was a member of the Foreign Service, however: Laise was a civil servant and Bunker a political appointee. President Lyndon Johnson offered Bunker a special government plane to facilitate monthly visits to Laise and entice him to take the post of ambassador.

Today, nearly 15 percent of the Foreign Service workforce is tandem couples.

—KF & KG

The Future for Tandems

As technology advances, there are far more opportunities for creative work arrangements and rational policies for a flexible organization that cares about families. In recent years, the department has made strides on some tandem issues. HR has formed a tandem working group—including participants from regional and functional bureaus, the Office of the Legal Advisor and HR—and WiT has a seat at that table. The Bureau of Consular Affairs improved its policy on passport endorsements. The new 01B endorsement allows for a more accurate reflection of the legal status of many tandem employees who have different status at post (e.g., one is on a DETO or LWOP, while the other is assigned). The endorsement allows the nonassigned spouse to have the same privileges and immunities as other eligible family members while still being able to use the passport for work-related travel, and it reduces administrative waste by not requiring multiple passports.

> The "two-for-one deal" that tandems offer creates value for the American taxpayer.

AFSA has been a strong partner, advocating for the Director General's office to expand and promote DETOs to keep tandem families together so they can contribute to the important work of the department. When LWOP is the only option, AFSA has been an invaluable partner in promoting the easing of administrative restrictions so tandems can stay connected on OpenNet and get back to paid status quickly. AFSA also noted a dramatic increase in the number and length of anti-nepotism reviews (ANRs) mandated for tandems in recent years and sought clarity on behalf of WiT from the DG's office. The creation of a new position in HR/CDA helped bring the time to adjudicate an ANR down from as much as six months to as little as two months. It's a step in the right direction, but there remains a need for more transparent guidance on when ANRs are required. AFSA is also studying the legality of the department's SOP mandating that tandem couples must be in the same status when assigned to D.C.

There is still much to be done. WiT survey results showed that tandem employees regularly serve separated tours or accept positions that stall career advancement to prevent family separation. Like all members of the Foreign Service, tandems want the opportunity to represent the U.S. government while keeping their families together. As WiT's vision statement says: "Retaining the best employees and staying competitive in today's dynamic work environment require the department to invest in its employees and ensure they can balance their work and personal lives."

Treating PTSD

Learning Firsthand How to Manage

If you have symptoms of PTSD, don't wait to get help. Take it from an FS member who's been there.

BY JAMES EUSANIO

As the United States continues to fight its longest wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, more Americans have become familiar with the terms post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and traumatic brain injury. Unfortunately, these two invisible wounds affect thousands of U.S. warfighters engaged in conflicts overseas.

But PTSD is not reserved for members of the military. Anyone who has survived a traumatic situation can experience PTSD, including State Department employees, who often work in difficult and stressful conditions.

I learned this firsthand.

James Eusanio is a paramedic and combat veteran who has served his country since 1989. He has focused on treating casualties in combat and tactical law enforcement operations. He joined the State Department's Diplomatic Security Service Office of Mobile Security Deployments (MSD) in 1999. In addition to supporting MSD operations around the world, he introduced tactical combat casualty care into DSS medical training programs. He is currently the medical program manager for MSD. The recipient of several merit awards, he is part of Diplomatic Security's Peer Support Group and works closely with Employee Counseling Services.

On our drive to the U.S. embassy, we encountered bodies in the road and people suffering and begging for assistance. It was an apocalyptic nightmare.

The Call to Help Haiti

In January 2010, I received a call. I would be part of the team that was going to Haiti to assist in the earthquake rescue effort. My initial reaction was excitement. This is why I became a medical professional, to help people. Less than three hours after I received that call, I boarded a C-130 in Miami, and we flew to Haiti. Landing in Port-au-Prince, I surveyed the airport. It had received significant damage to its infrastructure from the earthquake, and was unable to sustain operations without U.S. military support. The rest of the city fared no better. On our drive to the U.S. embassy, we encountered bodies in the road and people suffering and begging for assistance. It was an apocalyptic nightmare. I expected to see this; I'd thought I was mentally prepared for it.

COURTESY OF JAMES EUSANIO

James Eusanio (in rear) and others assisting in the recovery efforts have just finished loading a casualty onto the helicopter to be medically evacuated. Port-au-Prince, January 2010.

When we arrived at the embassy, I linked up with the Air Force Special Operations Surgical Support Team and began treating casualties. At first it was routine things, the stuff I was expecting to see—broken bones, broken spinal columns with paralysis and similar injuries. But the number of wounded kept pouring in. The flow didn't seem as if it was going to stop. The casualty collection point was saturated with wounded American and Haitian civilians. We set up improvised surgical rooms and a makeshift intensive care unit in an attempt to keep up; the need was overwhelming, and our team was inundated. I took quick five-minute breaks as I could, but I had no time to grieve or process the situation and what I was seeing. We had work to do.

I had been working on adults for hours when a baby was brought into the casualty collection point. The child was relatively healthy, just a little dehydrated. I gave her a makeshift bottle of water, and she was on her way. Then it was like the dam broke. Child after child streamed in, with injuries ranging from internal bleeding and burns to broken bones and other damage. And then the orphans came into the embassy. They were scared, they were hungry, and some needed medical attention.

I saw my 1-year-old son in each and every child that I treated. I now know that this was when my invisible wounds were inflicted, but I would not recognize it for years. We were in Haiti for two weeks. When I left, I felt like I was not finished; there was more to do. But I was happy to get home and see my family.

Memories Out of Nowhere

Over the next year, I experienced more heartache: my father passed away, and my mother's health began to deteriorate. As I look back, I remember having thoughts of Haiti jump into my mind out of nowhere. I would work very hard to suppress those memories. As time went on, however, I became more and more depressed and agitated. My angry outbursts came more often. I was stressed all the time, and I couldn't feel anything positive. When people would ask me how I was doing, I would reply, "I'm fine."

But the memories kept popping into my mind. The harder I tried to repress them, the worse my situation became. Despite my emotional downward spiral, I did not ask for help. I was worried about the stigma and the repercussions it could have on my job. I was always taught to repress my emotions as a man and push through whatever was bothering me. For four years I battled, getting more depressed and angry. I became withdrawn, I lost my sense of humor, I no longer enjoyed the things I used to. Finally my wife, a firefighter paramedic, recognized that I was suffering from depression. She gave me an ultimatum: go see the doctor "or else."

COURTESY OF JAMES EUSANIO

Diplomatic Security Service Tactical Emergency Medical Support Program Manager James Eusanio provides medical support and emergency assistance for DSS Mobile Security Deployments training in Blackstone, Virginia, in August 2017.

I was diagnosed with depression and given medications that helped a bit, but the symptoms came back. I finally sought the treatment of a psychiatrist and was diagnosed with PTSD. Fearful that my diagnosis would threaten my security clearance, I sought treatment outside the State Department. My psychiatrist treated me with Eye Movement Desensitization and Reprocessing. It worked very well, and I felt great for a few years. I thought I was cured.

Then, stress at work increased, causing my symptoms to resurface. I turned to the State Department's Employee Counseling Services. The staff was phenomenal! One of the ECS counselors diagnosed me with PTSD—again. How was this possible?

It's Not a Failure to Cope

Not everyone with PTSD is cured. And in my particular situation, I will more than likely be dealing with this for the rest of my life. ECS put me in touch with an outside provider who confirmed my diagnosis, and reassured me that there was no other medical reason for me to feel the way I did. The ECS provider did a wonderful job, and I finished my treatment with her and again felt great.

The Diplomatic Security Peer Support Group, run by Mark Danzig, was instrumental in assisting me, as well. When my PTSD symptoms came back, I filed and was approved for assistance by the department's Office of Workers' Compensation Programs. I am now seeing another provider who is starting me on EMDR again, along with other treatments including hypnosis, brain mapping and cognitive feedback. I have only seen her twice so far, but things are going great.

PTSD is not a failure to cope; it is a neurobiological response to an event, an injury just like any other.

Over the last eight years, I've learned more about emotional health and resilience than I ever thought I would. PTSD is not a failure to cope; it is a neurobiological response to an event, and it's an injury just like any other. I know now that I was not mentally prepared to deal with what I saw in Haiti, especially the injured children. My wife and I had our son in February 2009, just months before I deployed to Haiti; and I saw him in every child I treated. I will forever remember each of them and all of the horrors I saw.

Many who suffer from PTSD or other brain injuries have the same reactions and concerns that I did. They worry about losing their security clearances or being seen as weak or unable to perform their jobs. I continue to hold my clearance and my job; and these days I am devoting a lot of my time to reducing the negative stigma of PTSD through articles like this, being open about my experience and helping people find the right assistance.

If you are suffering, don't wait as I did. Help is only a phone call away.

Resources

Employee Consultation Services
Phone: (703) 812-2257
Email: MEDCS@state.gov
Intranet: http://med.m.state.sbu/mhs/ecs/default.aspx

Diplomatic Security Peer Support Group
Intranet: https://intranet.ds.state.sbu/DS/EX/PSG/default.aspx

My Parkinson's Story
Managing Medical Challenges in the FS

Optimism and determination saw this FSO through a career he loved after being diagnosed with a debilitating illness.

BY PAUL ROHRLICH

My wife and I moved to Canada in 1998 with our two toddlers. It was a stressful relocation from the tropical breezes and sun of Haiti to the arctic winds of Ottawa. Between the moves in and out of temporary housing, it took quite a while to get settled and get used to our new home.

In late 1999 and early 2000, I began to notice a twitch in my left hand. I also experienced painful leg cramps that woke me at night. These symptoms began to interfere with my writing (I'm left-handed) and my sleep. I had always been the picture of good health—active, athletic, clean eating and a non-smoker—so I wasn't initially alarmed. I chalked these problems up to the tension and fatigue that accompanied a move to a new position, a new house and new country, all while raising two extremely energetic boys. But as the involuntary movements became more

Paul Rohrlich is a retired State Department FSO whose recent posts include Paris, Reykjavík and Tel Aviv, where he was the environment, science, technology and health counselor. During 28 years in the Foreign Service, he also served in Kinshasa, Tokyo, Antananarivo, Port-au-Prince, Ottawa and Brussels. In Washington, D.C., he served in the Office of Development Finance. He has authored several academic articles and co-authored the book Peace and Disputed Sovereignty *(University Press of America, 2002). He is married to Susan Sandler, who is the deputy special envoy for Holocaust issues, and has two children.*

pronounced, I finally raised it with my doctors and, throughout 2000, went through a battery of evaluations and tests.

In early 2001, I finally learned the results. That gray, bleak February day, typical of winter in Ottawa, seemed a fitting setting for the doctor's equally bleak verdict. My twitching left thumb and muscle cramps were likely multiple sclerosis (MS), he said, and I would need more tests. He had done a CAT scan, X-rays and a variety of other tests to rule out amyotrophic lateral sclerosis (ALS) and brain tumors, but this diagnosis still left me shell-shocked. I couldn't quite believe it.

Finally, he ruled out MS and declared definitively that I suffered from early-onset Parkinson's disease (PD). I knew about Parkinson's: it was an old people's disease, one that affected my Great-Aunt Esther, whose handwriting got shakier with each passing birthday card. But I was only 44 years old, with a young family (my wife, two sons ages 4 and 5), a promising career that I truly enjoyed and lots to look forward to in life. I asked him to double-check that he had the right lab report.

Aside from the initial trauma on receiving this news, my wife and I realized we didn't really know much about this disease. And whether and when to tell others about my diagnosis was an immediate concern. As a Foreign Service officer for the U.S. Department of State, I had served in Zaire (now the Democratic Republic of the Congo), Japan, Madagascar and Haiti. With 14 years of service completed, and intending to serve again in hardship posts overseas—required to move up the ladder in the State Department—I knew that having my medical clearance withdrawn would be a kiss of death to Foreign Service advancement. An officer commits to worldwide availability (i.e., implicit good health).

Being the perpetual optimist, I told myself that this couldn't be the first time that a disability struck the FSO corps, and there must be some way to continue doing the fascinating job that I loved. But I soon found that I was pretty much on my own. The State Department medical department had few resources to offer. Parkinson's was a medical disqualification that was rarely—if ever—found in the officers State recruited. If it did strike my colleagues, they likely kept it under wraps for career-promotion reasons if they weren't already retired.

On My Own: Opting for Optimism

I started furtively researching Parkinson's. Thankfully, the internet made information more accessible, Ottawa had excellent libraries, and I lived close enough to the United States to avail myself of American resources such as the Parkinson's Foundation and its voluminous website. The more I read about Parkinson's, and given my lack of family history of the disease, the more it appeared that my diagnosis may have been triggered by my Foreign Service work and residence. As an economic and environment reporting officer, I had been frequently trudging through farmers' fields, investigating rumored toxic waste areas, or visiting developing world factories with few Occupational Safety and Health Administration worker health standards. I had served in severely underdeveloped places like Congo, Madagascar and Haiti. I recall that during this time, some of my colleagues became ill from exposure to chemical fumigations in their government housing.

> Some of my old-school colleagues' comments about others with medical issues prompted me to avoid disclosing my diagnosis for several years.

While in Madagascar, for example, our house was infested with bedbugs and had fleas in the parquet floors. The State Department response was to fumigate the aging mattresses three times in a few short months: probably not advisable for our health, given the products available. Exposure to noxious fertilizers, chemicals and poor environmental conditions are now thought to be elements that may trigger Parkinson's, particularly if one has a genetic make-up that predisposes one to the disease.

Hanging on to a quote by a 19th-century British essayist that "History is not what happens to a man, but what he does with what happens to him," I decided to treat my disease as a manageable chronic illness, not unlike diabetes, which affects many persons, regardless of profession or age. Indeed, I would use Parkinson's to prove the point that the United States should be represented overseas not just by people of many different ethnicities and races, but by persons with great capabilities beyond their disabilities, limps and even shakes! America's diverse society should be its trademark abroad, representing its strength through its diversity. New medications and treatments were coming on stream that made living with PD possible, a better option than just succumbing to physical decline.

At times my optimism was met with a stark realism in the competitive world of diplomacy, however. Some disabilities were clearly more acceptable than others, and I soon discovered that some of my old-school colleagues were less than supportive;

Fortunately, I had the Americans with Disabilities Act behind me to facilitate "reasonable accommodation" in the workplace.

their comments about others with medical issues prompted me to avoid disclosing my diagnosis for several years. Some of them made clear they would step over colleagues in their pursuit of promotion up the ladder.

Managing the Illness

At the same time, my wife and I planned for the future. We needed to transition her back into the workforce to eventually take over support of the family while I continued to work for as long as possible. I put myself on a rigorous routine of exercise and diet to maintain my ability to function in "able-bodied" society. This was a daily battle. I started doing strength and stretching exercises when getting up each morning to counteract the muscles and tendons that seem to tighten up overnight. At the time, my left foot was just beginning to drag a bit, but I could still run and ski, and Canada was a beautiful place to get out and exercise! I walked as much as I could—at least a mile every morning and a mile in the late afternoon or evening—to keep my legs strong and make walking automatic again instead of a conscious process.

After a few years of playing crypto-PD patient, I was relieved when State Department medical officials were accommodating and granted me a Class 2 medical clearance, which allowed me to continue my career and still left available to me many developed and developing countries with access to good health care. I was posted to Belgium, where my family and I remained for the next four years. I was plagued on and off by terrible reactions to the European-sourced PD medications, which left me alternately nauseated or drowsy.

My problems with mobility and balance became more pronounced, and I had to work harder to maintain and retrain my legs each morning to avoid the tyranny of small steps that PD imposes. Despite their charms, quaint European cobblestone streets and older mass transit systems were not disability-friendly. I routinely went to the gym—at least three times a week—to maintain strength and balance. I believe that exercise and weight training remain the most essential self-help one can practice, in addition to diet.

A devout coffee drinker, I gave up caffeine to reduce its effect on my tremors and minimize any interference with sleep. I also limited my intake of refined sugar and sodium, which was pretty challenging in the pastry-rich environment of Belgium and France. Although my wife and I had always been mindful about maintaining a healthy family diet, a lower protein regime eating less red meat and more fruits and vegetables proved necessary and helpful. There is no doubt that this type of diet relieves some of PD's nonmotor symptoms. These years of trying to balance my Parkinson's with a hectic work schedule continued when I took on a final four-year assignment in Tel Aviv, followed by shorter assignments in Paris and Reykjavík.

In all, I was able to continue working for another 15 years after my initial diagnosis, taking up diplomatic responsibilities in some of our most active posts. Fortunately, I had the Americans with Disabilities Act behind me to facilitate "reasonable accommodation" in the workplace, when I needed items such as ergonomic keyboards and better desk chairs. Desks that permit standing and good chairs when sitting are essential for people with Parkinson's. For persons working in the U.S. public and private sectors, the ADA provides support and protection to those who continue to operate in the mainstream workplace. However, working in international environments has distinct challenges in that management does not always ensure reasonable accommodations.

A Stubborn Survivor

Fortunately, when I opted for early retirement a few years ago at 58, I found the Parkinson's Foundation was the ideal group through which to channel my energies and practice my economic and science officer skills. Through its online resources and references I researched PD and the drugs and treatments for it thoroughly. I enrolled in a number of clinical studies, trained with the foundation to become a patient advocate and became an activist for furthering PD research, lobbying Congress to increase funding for training and boosting awareness of the growing numbers of patients, soon to reach one million Americans. Ultimately, I had the good fortune to join the foundation's People with Parkinson's Advisory Council, where we try to guide the agenda we pursue as the voice of the PD patient and caretaker community.

Although my sons may have never known their father without a limp or a "shaky" left hand, as they used to say, PD has not kept us from traveling and enjoying many experiences and outdoor activities together as a family, just as we did before my diagnosis—albeit with some modifications and more preplanning. It has been 18 years since that bleak day in Ottawa, and I still try to maintain the structure and discipline of my working life. I wake up

Despite having achieved a small personal success, I often think about how the department manages employees with long-term medical challenges—or fails to do so.

and practice a stretching-cum-yoga routine every morning. I have an agenda of support groups I assist and PD clinical research in which I participate.

Of course, there are also many medical appointments to keep. And exercise remains the foundation of my PD management program. I have come to a standoff with the disease: Parkinson's may in part define what I am—a stubborn 18-year survivor—but it does not define who I am.

Issues for State

Despite having achieved a small personal success, I often think about how the department manages employees with long-term medical challenges—or fails to do so. With the aging population of the United States, more people are working years longer to save for retirement. The incidence of chronic illnesses such as heart disease, diabetes, lupus, Parkinson's, MS and others is increasing, particularly as the workforce ages.

In time, State may find it has some responsibility to FSOs whose occupational duties exposed them to environmental toxins and hazardous conditions, just as the Department of Defense now acknowledges the role that the chemical defoliant Agent Orange may play in its retirees' Parkinson's diagnoses.

Beyond duties to the individual, the issue of whether physically challenged Americans should be recruited and accepted as FSOs remains. If we have confidence that America's ethnic and racial diversity represents us boldly abroad, why should persons with handicaps, limited mobility or those managing medical challenges be driven from the Service?

Clearly, outstanding professional competence must be the paramount consideration; but to ignore the capabilities of those who want to serve and have the capacity to contribute is unfair to the candidate and shortchanges the department. State's laudable efforts at diversity in the Civil Service workplace have yet to be realized on the Foreign Service side.

Dual Identity and Diplomacy

An Indian American FSO learns to navigate the rocky waters of ethnic and gender identity while serving in India.

BY SANDYA DAS

Newly arrived in the political section at U.S. Embassy New Delhi, I soon set off for Punjab in northern India for my first official visit outside the capital. As a reporting officer, I was tasked to better understand the political and economic situation ahead of assembly elections in a state crippled by corruption, drug abuse and a growing agricultural crisis. I planned to meet with a wide range of locals, from state officials and politicians to journalists, businessmen and civil society activists.

One of my first meetings was with one of the Punjab chief minister's principal advisers, a six-foot-tall man in his 50s with the traditional Sikh turban—a long piece of white cloth neatly wrapped around his head with his beard coiled up into the headpiece. Wearing a gray pantsuit and with my hair tied back, I reached out my hand, ready for business. After quickly disposing of the requisite greetings, he got right down to his first pressing questions: "Where is your family from? Are you traveling here alone?"

I was taken aback: What on earth does this have to do with anything? I could feel my cheeks flush as I faltered with a response, beginning to suspect that he viewed me as a young, impressionable Indian woman rather than as a U.S. diplomat to be taken seriously. The interaction reanimated many unflattering biases I had about Indian men and their treatment of women that I had developed growing up and through the media. And I was dead certain of one thing: my fair-skinned male colleagues were not facing similar lines of questioning.

Like other American children born to immigrant parents, I went regularly on family trips back to my parents' birthplace in Kerala to visit relatives. These trips back felt routine, schlepping from one relative's house to the next, eating sumptuous meals while aunties affectionately pulled at my cheeks. My twin brother and I would sit glued to our portable Gameboys and comic books, competing over who had the most mosquito bites.

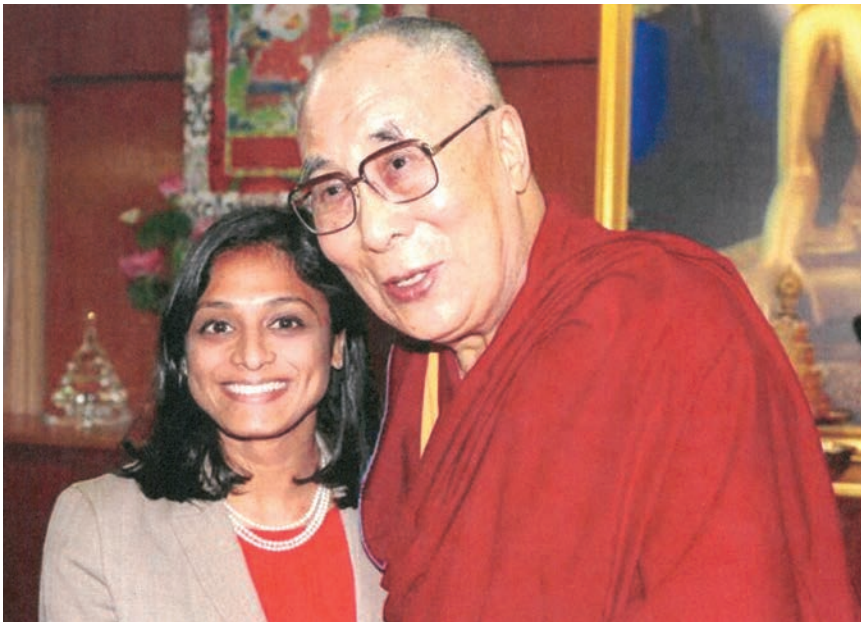
But several years later, when I traveled by myself as a high school student to the remote Himalayan foothills of Ladakh, it was as if I were visiting my motherland for the first time. Landing at a remote Buddhist monastery in India's northernmost state of

Sandya Das currently serves in the Office of Chinese and Mongolian Affairs at the State Department. She previously served as a political officer in New Delhi. She has also served in the State Department's Bureau of Population, Refugees and Migration; as a line officer in the Executive Secretariat; and in Juba and Mumbai.

Ladakh, home of a largely Tibetan Buddhist community, I spent a summer teaching English and math to young Buddhist monks.

Through my time in the classroom, I learned the rigors of my students' daily lives and how they experienced growing up in India. The teenage boys struggled to read children's books and solve basic arithmetic problems while facing chronic ear and eye infections in the absence of regular medical checkups. At the same time, I found cultural experiences that we shared, including eating with our hands and always having yogurt at the end of a spicy Indian meal.

Going back to India in high school opened my mind to how my Indian heritage had shaped my core identity. But when I came back years later as an adult, I could tell that I still had a lot more reflecting to do.



COURTESY OF SANDYA DAS

His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama of Tibet with the author in Dharamsala, Himachal Pradesh, India in 2017.

Unsure how the different pieces of myself would fit back together, I was determined not to be caught flat-footed about my Indian-ness again, as I had been in Punjab. I started trying to take a different attitude into my interactions with Indians.

In one instance, a politician was so curious about my last name, asking, "Das, now doesn't that mean you're Bengali? I can't get enough of Bengali sweets!" Rather than roll my eyes and try to dodge the friendly questioning, I took the chance to share a little about my southern Indian background, even joking that my last name is common in the South and that Indian sweets are a guilty pleasure of mine, as well.

At other times, it was not as easy to embrace being identified as an Indian woman. During preparations for a high-level summit between our foreign ministers, I had to work closely with two female Indian diplomats. Moving diligently up their service ranks and properly dressed in their freshly pressed saris, they seemed to almost accentuate their British accents, as if to note their formal education.

Greeting my male American colleague, who held a position equal to my own, they smiled and enthusiastically said, "Hello and welcome! So good to see you again." Though standing right next to my colleague, I received but a quick head nod. Rather than confront the two women and feel ashamed, however, I decided to take a different approach. "It's a pleasure to see you both again," I replied before my male counterpart had a chance to respond. "And thank you for working late last night to help us finalize these critical negotiations."

I slowly learned to navigate such experiences with confidence, despite the occasional discomfort and trepidation I felt. More importantly, I found ways in which my Indian identity was an asset to my diplomacy, helping me bond more closely with people I met—whether through an affinity for Bengali sweets or another shared Indian connection. As the months went by, I began to embrace and fully appreciate my dual identity with a newfound sense of honor and pride.

Toward the end of my posting in India, I was assigned to bring a senior U.S. delegation to meet the Dalai Lama at his home of exile in the hillside city of Dharamsala. After weeks of careful preparation, the big day arrived, and I led the group up the mountainside to the Dalai Lama's residence. As the Dalai Lama proceeded to greet everyone, he paused and stood in front of me.

"Where are you from?" he asked.

"California," I replied.

He smiled and asked again, "No, where are you *really* from?"

"Your Holiness," I said, "Kerala, India." ■

From Generation to Generation

Career Advice from David Fischer

Some of the most valuable insights are passed down from old pros.

BY ALEXIS LUDWIG

Another telltale symptom of one's advancing years (I'm told) is a growing interest in obituaries, perusing them in search of some revealing or otherwise significant detail. Were they older or younger than I am now when they died? What did they accomplish, and at what stage did they do their most important work? (And does that mean it might be too late for me?) What is remarkable or relevant about their particular stories, their careers, their lives? So I suppose it's not quite a coincidence that in recent years I've chanced upon the obituaries of a number of people I had met and maintained a vivid memory of across the span of time.

One was a fellow Foreign Service officer, from the generation just before mine: Ambassador David Fischer (1939–2016.) I have thought about Ambassador Fischer a great deal from time to time over the past quarter-century since I joined the Foreign Service. Based mostly on a single conversation that lasted just over an hour those many years ago, he made a real impact, passing along insightful observations and advice about the Foreign Service that I have never forgotten. For the time he spent and the perspective

Alexis Ludwig is a 25-year Foreign Service veteran currently serving as deputy permanent representative at the U.S. Mission to the Organization of American States. He is chair of the FSJ Editorial Board.

he imparted, I've always considered him a generous man—and a wise and prescient one, too. Although much has changed since his era, almost everything he told me proved useful and on the mark.

Part of what struck me as I read the brief summation of his life and career was the fact that he had been in his mid-50s—roughly the same age as I am now—at the time we crossed paths, which today seems like a strange combination of long ago and just yesterday. Maybe it was also the realization of time passing, the baton changing hands, another generation moving to the front of the line. Welcome, you all.

Meeting Ambassador Fischer

I first met David Fischer in San Francisco in 1992, while volunteering at the World Affairs Council. He had retired after 30 years in the Foreign Service and come to head the Council the year before. For my part, after finishing a master's degree in East Asian studies at the University of Washington in Seattle, I had decided to return to my hometown. I was struggling to find my place in the world and had decided to give my deferred dream of becoming a writer one final shot. To hedge my bets (a wise move, it turns out), I had taken the Foreign Service exam.

When I received the news that I had passed the crucial oral exam phase, I decided to request a meeting with the ambassador to solicit his thoughts about the career that might now await me. He was happy to oblige. We sat down to talk over coffee in his office one morning in early 1993 and had several shorter exchanges over the months that followed—until I left San Francisco for Washington, D.C., on Jan. 1, 1994, to join the 70th A-100 Class.

Ambassador Fischer began his Foreign Service career in 1961—the year before I was born—and spent much of it working in European affairs and on arms control issues. He had two tours behind the Iron Curtain—first in Poland, then in Bulgaria. And he worked two separate Washington assignments on Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty issues, helping to negotiate START I and then to conclude START II. His final Foreign Service assignment was as consul general in Munich, which was, as his obituary notes, "then one of our largest and most important consular posts, where he managed U.S. interests during a critical time as the Cold War faded and German reunification took shape."

In this sense, Fischer was a quintessential Cold War diplomat: he entered the Foreign Service in the year the Berlin Wall was being built and retired soon after it came down. In the intervening years, he participated as an insider in what were surely among the most critical foreign policy issues of his time. I remember admitting to him somewhat frivolously that I felt fortunate, for personal reasons, that the Cold War had ended, because I would have been incapable of mastering the highly technical details of missile counts, warheads, blast ratios and the like that monopolized the pages of *Foreign Affairs* and other such magazines during that era. President George H.W. Bush's disorderly "new world order" seemed much better suited to my somewhat unsystematic temperament and character.

Fischer described the Foreign Service as roughly equal parts academia and military life.

Fischer told me he had switched over to the Africa Bureau later in his career, because the opportunities for advancement into the senior levels were greater there than they were in European affairs (nothing new under the sun). He explained that that was how he had become deputy chief of mission and chargé d'affaires in Tanzania—where, as his obit points out, then-President Julius Nyerere was a close professional contact—and later ambassador to the Seychelles, from where he had derived the title that (I must note in passing) he used to deft professional effect in his second career.

About the Foreign Service

Fischer told me several things that morning that I've had the opportunity to confirm firsthand over the years, assignment by assignment. The first was that the Foreign Service is, in fact, a career, not a job. He said this not—or not just—in the highfalutin sense of an avocation or calling, however true that might also be for some, but more as a practical matter. That is, the Foreign Service is a succession of distinct and often very different jobs that follow one another in the context of one fantastically flexible but focused and defined professional path. If you really don't like the situation you happen to be in at any given time, he said, never fear. No need to look for another occupation like most people in the civilian world would have to do. Simply do your best, ride it out and find a better fit in the next assignment cycle. He was right on the money.

Fischer also described the Foreign Service as roughly equal parts academia and military life, combining the opportunity for intellectual exploration of the former with the strict hierarchical structure of the latter. Starting with the academia part, he noted that you get to study and learn about a new country or set of issues every two or three years, often from the ground floor up. In that way, he said, each diplomatic tour is a kind of doctoral course of its own, offering a chance to think day and night about and, at least to some degree, master a new subject.

As I've come to reflect on the matter in the light of my own 25 years in the Foreign Service, Ambassador Fischer may have understated the point: the constant interplay with the culture and politics of a new country; the inevitable collisions with its idiosyncrasies and inanities; the daily interactions, official and personal, with the language, people and institutions; not to mention the intensive relationships with embassy or office colleagues, colorful and colorless and everything in between, the composition and configuration of which changes at least once every year—these things and more give us a huge leg up on most academics.

Most, not all. The ones who spend their whole lives studying one country or issue have us beat, at least as far as that one country or issue goes. For my part, I can't say I know more about Japan for having a formal master's degree in the subject than I do about, say, Malaysia or Brazil, to take two concrete examples from my own Foreign Service experience. I spent three fascinating years posted in each of those countries, living, eating, working, reading all I could, watching TV and listening to the music, traveling from time to time and speaking with people in meetings, on streets, in restaurants and stores almost every day. Sometimes we give ourselves too little credit.

The Importance of Hierarchy

At the same time, I agree with Fischer's view of the Foreign Service as a kind of cousin to the military, if a puny-sized one. For starters, we often work side by side with our uniformed colleagues on different but overlapping parts of the same mission: the pursuit and defense of U.S. national interests. And disciplined self-restraint is an integral part of a diplomat's daily life and work, too. One political ambassador I worked for came to admire that quality of Foreign Service culture most of all. You can't just say what you really think at any given moment, no matter how right you think you are. For one, who cares what you think, and who should? And what good would it do? Or rather, imagine the possible harm! ("Foreign Minister X really is a horse's ass. You know it, I know it, and the whole damn country knows it!")

Beyond that, as one who once vaguely believed that freedom and the absence of rules were roughly coequal, I've even gained an unexpected appreciation for the importance and utility of hierarchy: of understanding where responsibility lies, where decisions are made and from where actions can flow. After all, diplomats are also actors, not just observers, in the political drama. We consciously seek to shape the reality of the world, not just describe it. This fact gives us a level of responsibility that academics generally do not have, and that makes our work more—in the literal sense—consequential, at least potentially.

Hierarchical order and even bureaucratic structures are meant to maintain the discipline and clarity of information that orderly decisions and (hopefully) rational actions require. That said, I also have to admit that, like many others, I've found the rigid hierarchy and labyrinthine bureaucracy of the State Department downright mind-boggling at times. As I find myself telling some of the younger or less experienced officers who have sought my career counsel, you take the good with the bad and try to make the best of both.

A Note of Caution

When I asked Ambassador Fischer about the potential pitfalls of the career, I remember him sounding one note of caution in particular. He warned that some Foreign Service officers fall into the trap of mistaking their official position with themselves, confusing the office with an intrinsic component of their individual identity, believing they have rather than merely hold power or influence.

This confusion causes them to become arrogant, to think that it is really about them, to believe that foreign government officials or journalists or other luminaries seek them out for their magnetic personality or penetrating insight or movie-star good looks rather than because they happen to represent the United States of America as Foreign Service officers. Dance the dance as best you can, he said, but never forget the reason why you're on the floor to begin with. I've thought of Fischer's caution every time I've chanced upon an officer stumbling smugly into that seductive trap.

At the same time, I've seen less of this problem than I might have anticipated, and I've even noted a certain erring on the other side of the confidence divide. Some colleagues have seemed to me not assertive enough at times—reluctant to request a meeting with a given senior official, to speak more forcefully to their knowledge on a sensitive point or to rebut some foolish provocateur's unfounded allegation with appropriate gusto.

In response, I've found myself reminding my colleagues and myself that it really is not about us, and therefore we ought not to let our personal insecurities get in the way of our commitment to pursuit of the national interest. Avoiding haughtiness is well and good, no argument there; but as far as I'm concerned, undue diffidence can be as pernicious as misguided arrogance. Funny how the mind works—I now recall Ambassador Fischer saying about himself in passing way back then, and in connection with I forget what: "I can come across as brash," he said, hesitating a moment before continuing, "probably because I *am* brash."

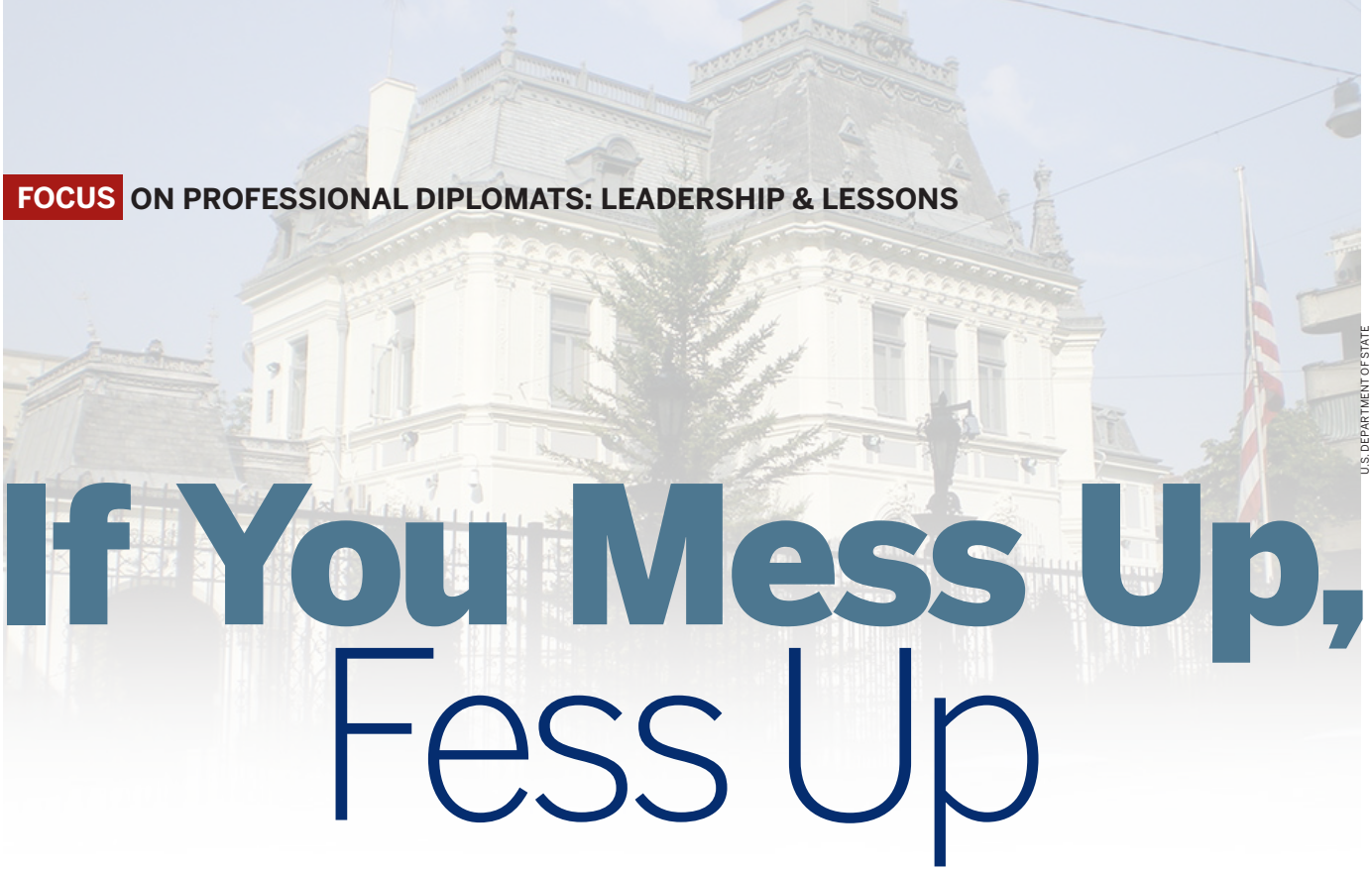
A High Standard

Importantly, what I remember most about Ambassador Fischer was his gift for speaking clearly, even about complicated questions. My late, German-born academic father was always impressed by the top-level diplomats he heard speaking on TV and radio for that gift: knowing how to say just what they wanted to say, no less and no more, in precisely the way they wanted to say it, hitting the desired point at just the right slant, with just the right pressure, using just the right tone. This is much harder to do than it sounds, and you really do know and recognize it when you hear it, anchored as it is in a disciplined awareness that concrete events in the real-world flow from words, for good or ill. So using words with care and precision is critical, sometimes even life-and-death critical.

Ambassador Fischer was one of those diplomats: lucid of thought and highly articulate, with a finely calibrated delivery and a knack for finding just the right word at the right time. I admired his flawless extemporaneous public speaking most of all. When introducing a visiting speaker or presenting a topic at a World Affairs Council event, he used words that seemed to flow seamlessly forth with cool precision, in clear and energetic sentences, even in fully crafted paragraphs. I wished at the time that I could one day find a way to achieve the same kind of precise and fluent delivery, ably fusing content and form, and have aspired to Fischer's high standard ever since.

Two or three times after I had joined the Foreign Service, during or between my earlier tours in Guatemala, Tokyo and Washington, D.C., I stopped by the World Affairs Council offices in San Francisco to say hello to Ambassador Fischer. I did this without advance notice, so was not surprised to find that he was out of the office when I happened by. (This was in the days before cellphones and texts were pervasive.) But each time I did so, I left him my new calling card, each one reflecting a different professional role.

It turns out we never met or spoke again. I suppose this, too, was a representative Foreign Service experience, and one to bear in mind before you get started. As Ambassador Fischer told me those many years ago, you will have the opportunity to meet and speak with many incredible people throughout the course of your career, including some who are often featured on the front pages of the newspapers from the country where you're posted—and whom you would never have dreamed of getting to know if you didn't happen to live and work as a Foreign Service officer in that country or place at that time. But then you move on.



U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE

If You Mess Up, Fess Up

A retired FSO reflects on the utility of a piece of advice he took to heart during his career.

BY JONATHAN B. RICKERT

A piece of advice that I have occasionally offered to younger Foreign Service colleagues is that if you mess up, fess up, preferably as quickly as possible. We all make mistakes, and I believe it is much better for a supervisor to hear promptly and directly from you about your goof or oversight than later from someone else.

The most memorable occasion when I had to follow my own advice occurred late in 1994, while I was chargé ad interim at the U.S. embassy in Bucharest. It was customary for the local NATO chiefs of mission to meet monthly at different embassies, and it was our turn to play host.

On the appointed day, and according to our usual practice, three embassy officers met the arriving excellencies at the front gate and escorted them individually past the Marine guard to the ambassador's second floor office. I greeted them there, and we drank coffee until everyone was present and the meeting could start in the nearby conference room.

This time, however, all escort officers were occupied with other envoys when the ambassador of France arrived and presented himself to the Marine guard. Not recognizing the ambassador, the Marine correctly asked to see his ID and inquired where he was going and for what purpose. The ambassador was still engaged with the guard when an escort officer came and led him upstairs.

As soon as he saw me, the ambassador steered me away from the rest of the group. Red in the face and quaking with indignation, he castigated me over his outrageous "mistreatment."

In all his years of working with Americans—most recently as his country's deputy chief of mission in Washington—he had always been treated with respect. It was inexcusable that he had just been dealt with like any visitor off the street, he sputtered. He concluded that he knew our new ambassador would be arriving shortly and promised to tell him exactly what had happened and about my diplomatic "failure."

The verbal onslaught took me completely by surprise. What could I say? I apologized profusely, assuring him that no disrespect had been intended. All of the escort officers had, unfortunately, been occupied when he arrived, and the Marine guard was simply following standard procedure. However, it was my

Retired Senior Foreign Service Officer Jonathan B. Rickert spent the majority of his 35-year career in or dealing with Central and Eastern Europe. His final two overseas posts were as deputy chief of mission in Sofia and then Bucharest. He served as Ambassador Llewellyn Thompson's staff aide at Embassy Moscow from 1967 to 1968.

The Maurice Blank Palace, at left, housed U.S. Embassy Bucharest from 1941 to 2011.

fault that no one had met and escorted him, a mistake I promised would not be repeated.

Once we had assembled in the conference room, the ambassador said he had an announcement to make. Though he invariably spoke only in French at such meetings, he pointedly said he would use English this time to ensure that he was fully understood (he knew that I did not speak French). He then repeated the story of his outrageous "mistreatment" by the Marine guard, calling it totally unacceptable and blaming me personally.

I briefly reiterated my apologies. The meeting then proceeded uneventfully. (Several of the NATO envoys told me quietly afterward that the French ambassador's remarks had been completely uncalled for but that I had handled the situation correctly.)

Our new ambassador, Alfred Moses, came in early December. While briefing him on the many things that an arriving chief of mission needs to know, I related the story of my contretemps with his French colleague. I wanted him to be aware that he might get an earful about me and our embassy staff when they me. He told me not to worry about it.

Soon thereafter, the French ambassador invited Ambassador Moses to a diplomatic dinner at his residence. With a friendly wink, Ambassador Moses told me he would let me know afterward if his host had anything of interest to say.

The next morning he took me aside and said that the French envoy had indeed spoken to him about me. Instead of criticizing me, however, he had taken pains to say what a capable, professional diplomat I was, and how fortunate Ambassador Moses was to have me as his deputy.

I have no idea what led to the French ambassador's volte-face. Perhaps, on reflection, he realized that he had overreacted and let his temper get the better of him. As far as I am aware, he never again mentioned the incident with the Marine guard.

But from then on we always had an excess of escort officers available whenever we hosted the monthly NATO ambassadors' meeting.

FEATURE

WHY PEACEKEEPING FAILS

Does peacekeeping have a future? Here's a discussion of the fundamental challenge it faces today.

BY DENNIS JETT

The United Nations was not even three years old when it launched its first peacekeeping mission in 1948. Since then, for the last 70 years, it has been continuously involved in such operations, often with mixed results. Over that time peacekeeping and the wars to which it has been applied have changed. The challenges peacekeepers face have evolved from relatively straightforward missions to assignments that are highly complex and, more recently, impossible to accomplish.

To understand why peacekeeping today is destined to fail requires a discussion of what peacekeeping is, the conditions it requires and how today's conflicts do not meet those conditions.

Dennis Jett is a professor of international affairs at Penn State University. His 28-year career in the Foreign Service included assignments as ambassador to Peru and Mozambique and in Argentina, Israel, Malawi and Liberia. The second edition of his book Why Peacekeeping Fails *has just been published.*

This history also explains why, in each of the seven decades of United Nations peacekeeping, the number of peacekeepers who died on duty has grown, with the total now more than 3,800.

Today there are 14 U.N. peacekeeping missions employing nearly 100,000 soldiers, police and civilians at an annual cost of almost $7 billion. The United States is assessed 28 percent of that cost, but the Trump administration has announced it will cover only one-quarter of the bill in the future and is pressing to shut some of the operations down.

The current missions reflect the three stages of peacekeeping's evolution. The oldest among them, launched in response to wars between countries over territory, can be described as classical peacekeeping. The second stage involved multidimensional operations, in which peacekeepers have undertaken a wide variety of tasks to help countries recover from civil wars. The most recently launched operations exemplify the third stage—protection and stabilization missions—in which peacekeepers have been given a mandate to protect civilians and aid governments that are threatened by violent extremism.

To understand where peacekeeping is today requires considering each of the three stages and how this evolution has affected what is being asked of the peacekeepers.

Uncomplicated but Endless: Classical Peacekeeping

In classical peacekeeping operations, the peacekeepers had the uncomplicated assignment of monitoring a demilitarized zone between the two armies following a war between countries over territory. The goal was to allow both sides to have the confidence that neither was taking advantage of a cease-fire to improve its military position. The combatants had a wide variety of weapons at their disposal, but they were generally disciplined military forces that attacked each other rather than civilians. So while the work had its risks, the peacekeepers were not targeted.

Ironically, wars between countries over territory, which is what the United Nations was established to help prevent, are very rare today. But the cause of such wars—the territorial dispute—is never easily settled. As a result, classical peacekeeping operations can be endless, providing only the illusion of peace.

Take, for instance, the first two operations the U.N. launched: United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO), headquartered in Jerusalem, and United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP) in disputed Kashmir. Even though they both have been going on for more than 70 years, neither shows any sign of ending. The problem with classical peacekeeping is that, while it presents peacekeepers with a manageable assignment, ending it can prove impossible because it requires the parties to agree on where the imaginary line on a map called a border is to be drawn.

The problem with classical peacekeeping is that, while it presents peacekeepers with a manageable assignment, ending it can prove impossible.

If a line is drawn, politicians on one or both sides of it will complain that their country lost out in the bargain. To avoid the perception of defeat, political leaders will refuse to negotiate seriously, preferring the status quo indefinitely to being accused of surrendering some of the territory over which the war was fought. That is why Israel and its neighbors and India and Pakistan have made so little progress toward resolving their differences.

Six of the 14 current operations involve classical peacekeeping. UNTSO, UNMOGIP, the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP), the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF) in Syria, the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNFIL) and the United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO) have been in existence for a combined total of more than three centuries, yet there is no prospect of any of them being brought to a successful conclusion. Since the U.S. government has said it recognizes Israel's sovereignty over the territory it occupies on the Golan Heights, when can the peacekeepers there go home? The answer is obviously when Syria gives up its claim to the land, which means never.

If the United States wants to save money on peacekeeping, it should push to close all six classical operations (and the non-U.N. mission in the Sinai). If the countries involved and their main supporters want to retain the peacekeepers, they should be required to pick up the tab.

One of the few exceptions to the rule that classical peacekeeping missions are nearly impossible to end occurred while I was in Lima in the late 1990s. A border dispute between Peru and Ecuador had been simmering for nearly 50 years and had broken out into fighting on several occasions. A creative solution was found that left part of the disputed territory on the Peruvian side of the border, but granted Ecuador nonsovereign rights to it. Both presidents were able to declare victory, and the dispute was ended. The peacekeeping mission that had monitored the border—comprising a small number of troops from Argentina, Brazil, Chile and the United States, who were not under U.N. auspices—was declared a success and closed down.

Solutions like that are difficult to find, even when the dispute is over a patch of remote jungle. But at least land can be divided more easily than what is at stake in the next kind of conflict to which the U.N. applied peacekeeping.

Multidimensional Peacekeeping Operations

As the colonial empires of the European powers fell apart following World War II, many of the new nations that emerged did not have a smooth transition to independence. Civil wars broke out as different factions fought for control of the government. These wars were waged in poor countries where, in a struggle for political power, the winner takes all and the loser is out of luck. As undisciplined armed groups clashed in these struggles, civilians thought to be supporting the other side became targets. Humanitarian disasters resulted as the noncombatants responded by fleeing the fighting, becoming displaced persons or, if a crossable border was nearby, refugees.

Once a cease-fire was established in these wars, peacekeepers could be sent. They brought a long list of goals to accomplish to help the peace become permanent. The list could include

demobilization of most of the former combatants, helping them reintegrate into civilian life, forming a new national army that was not loyal to only one faction, aiding refugees and displaced persons with returning to their homes, providing humanitarian aid and development assistance to restart the economy, and holding elections in a country with little-to-no democratic experience.

Given the cost of such operations—thousands of peacekeepers are required—there has always been pressure to achieve all of the objectives on a tight schedule. If the elections produced a government with a measure of legitimacy, the peacekeepers could declare success and depart. That outcome was achieved during my time in Mozambique in the early 1990s, thanks in no small part to the leadership of Aldo Ajello, the special representative of the U.N. Secretary-General. At the same time, in Angola the rebel leader Jonas Savimbi rejected the results of the voting and returned to war because he defined a free and fair election as one that he won. The conflict there continued for nearly another decade until Savimbi was killed in 2002.

While the United Nations has had mixed results in its multidimensional peacekeeping missions, they are, at least for the moment, largely a thing of the past. Of the current missions, only two are multidimensional. It would be more accurate to call them unidimensional now, because their objectives have been drastically reduced over the years. Today they are small operations limited to attempting to professionalize the police in Haiti and Kosovo.

The remaining six current operations are all in sub-Saharan Africa, and they represent the latest evolution of U.N. peacekeeping missions. They can be described as protection and stabilization missions, and they are the most dangerous and difficult ones with which peacekeepers have had to deal.

Peacekeeping in the Face of Violent Extremism

Traditionally, three principles have guided the conduct of peacekeepers: (1) They became involved only at the invitation of the parties to the conflict; (2) They were to be strictly neutral; and, (3) They were to use force only in self-defense. If these principles were not adhered to, a situation could prove disastrous. For instance, when peacekeepers took sides in the Congo in 1960 and Somalia in the early 1990s, hundreds of them died as they were drawn into the fighting.

At the risk of being tautological, peacekeepers are bound to fail if there is no peace to keep. When a cease-fire is negotiated, peacekeepers can do their work. Without one, they are either ineffective or the international community is faced with ordering them to try to impose an end to the fighting. That requires the international community to be willing to have the peacekeepers inflict and take casualties.

The rise of terrorism is the reason the final stage in the evolution of peacekeeping has become so dangerous. Perhaps reflecting the lack of an agreed definition of terrorism, many in the United Nations and elsewhere prefer to use the term "violent extremism." Terrorists are indistinguishable from noncombatants; they will use any type of weapon, and their objective is to kill innocent people to call attention to their cause. Whatever it is called, when extremist violence comes into play there is no role for peacekeeping. Yet peacekeepers are being asked not only to protect civilians but, often, to help the government stabilize the situation and extend its control over its own territory in countries threatened by extremists.

This violates all three of the traditional principles of peacekeeping and makes the peacekeepers targets. The prospect of such attacks has accelerated the trend among rich countries to decline to provide troops for peacekeeping. As the operations changed from the classical variety to multidimensional missions and as the number of casualties grew and some of the missions, like the one in Angola, failed, the enthusiasm for participating waned. As peacekeeping evolved further into the protection and stabilization missions now underway in Africa, the interest of developed nations in putting their troops at risk virtually disappeared.

Further Complications

To make matters much worse, the five countries where these protection and stabilization missions are taking place—Mali, Sudan, South Sudan, the Central African Republic and the Democratic Republic of the Congo—have governments that are among the most corrupt, repressive and incompetent in the world. One need only to look at their corruption rankings by Transparency International, their political liberty rankings by Freedom House or their governance scores on the Ibrahim Index to confirm that.

In addition, these countries are not particularly interested

in protecting their own citizens. Their armies and police exist mainly to protect the government and not the nation as a whole or its citizens. Enhancing the capability of security forces alone will only strengthen their ability to keep that regime in power and to suppress any democratic alternatives.

In 2006, in tacit recognition of this problem, U.N. member-states established the principle of Responsibility to Protect (R2P), which holds that it is the primary obligation of a government to protect its own citizens. Since R2P was created, the Security Council has passed 75 resolutions reminding governments of their obligation to protect their own citizens. Of that number, 41 were directed at the five countries where protection and stabilization missions are now taking place. The R2P principle also holds that if the government fails to protect its own citizens, the international community may step in to do so. Because the governments of these countries are either unwilling or unable to provide such security, the peacekeepers are being asked to do so.

Since the wealthy nations with the most capable armies are unwilling to provide a significant number of troops, this most dangerous and difficult type of peacekeeping is left largely to poorly equipped and trained soldiers from developing countries who are not going to defeat violent extremism. If the United States cannot prevail against violent extremists in Afghanistan after 18 years of trying, there is no chance that the available peacekeepers can succeed in Africa. And asking peacekeepers to die protecting the citizens of a country whose government will not is unlikely to inspire them to make that sacrifice.

The most recently launched peacekeeping missions will therefore fail, because U.N. peacekeeping has become a way for rich countries to send the soldiers of poor countries to deal with conflicts the rich countries do not care all that much about. The fundamental problem is that there is no peace to keep, and U.N. forces are incapable of imposing one because they are peacekeepers and not warfighters. If the international community wants to try to impose a peace, it should send troops that are capable and willing to do that.

Such a solution is not going to happen, however. It is far easier to identify a policy problem than to come up with realistic recommendations to fix it. Peacekeeping is a bandage, not a cure, for the scourge of violent extremism. At best, it can stanch the bleeding, but cannot heal the wound. But it is used nonetheless, because it is the easy alternative.

The fundamental problem is that there is no peace to keep, and U.N. forces are incapable of imposing one because they are peacekeepers and not warfighters.

A Better Approach

Neither peacekeepers nor the typical reaction of governments—more violence—will be able to prevent violent extremism. There is one approach that holds promise, but whether the international community has the will, attention span and unity to take it is doubtful.

In 2017 the United Nations Development Program interviewed 495 young African men who had voluntarily joined violent extremist groups. The study found they were motivated by a sense of grievance toward, and a lack of confidence in, their governments. For them, the extremist ideologies were a way to escape a future with no possibility of positive change. The study concluded that improved public policy and governance was a far more effective response to violent extremism than a military one.

However, governments—especially in the five countries where the protection and stabilization missions are taking place in Africa—will not lessen their corruption, repression and incompetence simply because it is the right thing to do. These countries, as underdeveloped politically as they are economically, have weak legislative and judicial branches of government and little in the way of civil society or press freedom. The incentive to govern better will have to come from outside forces.

To ensure the necessary changes do happen, the international community should apply substantial and consistent economic and political pressure and sanctions against all those responsible for the creation of these situations. The five countries should be declared de facto failed states, and international organizations put in charge of the governments' finances. Any aid to or trade with these countries should be made contingent on the attainment of better governance, human rights and adherence to democratic norms.

To do that effectively, other countries and a wide range of organizations would have to make peace the top priority instead of placing their own vested interests first. That will require addressing the problem, not just dumping it in the lap of the United Nations and making the peacekeepers take the blame for failure because it is the easier thing to do.

FS KNOW-HOW

Reclaim Your Unclaimed Property

BY LORI JOHNSON

Even a losing bet can pay off, I've discovered.

I have long teased my dad, an attorney who specializes in wills, trusts and estates, about his fascination with unclaimed property. As he explained to me, that term describes items lost or abandoned by their rightful owners. They can range from stocks, bonds and insurance policies to unclaimed pension benefits, income tax refunds, jewelry, uncashed checks, safe deposit boxes and medical reimbursements. By law, states are required to safeguard this property until claimed by the owner.

Even though Dad regularly found property for his clients in Montana, I found the subject personally irrelevant. One day, though, he bet me that I had unclaimed property in one of the 50 states. He was right! Virginia had two potential claims for me that each exceeded $50.

Where to Start?

Discovering that you have unclaimed property is more common than you might suppose.

To find yours, first think about where it might be. Foreign Service personnel are most likely to have unclaimed property in Virginia, Maryland or Washington, D.C., simply because we move in and out of the D.C. area frequently. But explore all possible options. For example, did you get a last-minute offer to join the Foreign Service, and move quickly from somewhere outside the Washington area to start training? Did you have a summer job in a state, but never lived there again?

Next, consider all types of claims. It's unlikely you'll end up with a major windfall, but you won't know unless you check. In one recent case, the Louisiana Treasury Department paid out $2.3 million in inherited oil royalties to a state resident! (The state treasurer was quick to note that this was the largest payout ever made in Louisiana, and that the average payout is closer to $900.)

Similarly, news articles pop up occasionally about early purchasers of Apple stock who forgot about their investment, and are surprised to discover that their original purchase has skyrocketed in value.

But other less dramatic possibilities abound, including cases where a company initiated the individual's stock purchase. In 2000, for example, the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company converted into a for-profit public company. In doing so, it gave most of its insurance policyholders a choice: cash, or stock in the new company.

According to press reports, the company ended up issuing a total of 500 million shares of stock to nine million of its policyholders, which made MetLife the most widely held stock in the United States at the time.

Nearly two decades later, not everyone who checked the stock option box remembers doing so. My mom, for example, was delighted to discover that she owned $800 in MetLife stock, thanks to a small life insurance contract my grandpa had taken out for her that was converted to stock.

Lori Johnson is an FSO currently serving as management officer at Embassy Tirana. She previously served in Khartoum, Prague, Hyderabad, Mexico City and Washington, D.C.

MetLife isn't alone. Other insurance companies have also converted into for-profit public companies in the past couple of decades. The list includes Prudential, John Hancock, Principal, Equitable and Mutual of New York.

How to Search Online

States are required to search for unclaimed property owners, and as a result have created unclaimed property websites. (They also take out ads in major local newspapers.) There is no charge to make a claim using these official sites, which are usually managed by the state treasurer's office. Try the unclaimed property website for every state in which you have lived, as well as those of your close relatives.

Naturally, authorities will require documentation to verify your claim, usually via a form they provide. Helpful documents proving you lived at a given address include copies of bills, pay stubs or a W-2 statement. You should also provide the date range when you lived at the address, and any other information that could help the state determine you are the proper owner of the unclaimed property. For inherited property, you will need legal documents to prove your ownership.

In my search, I went to Virginia's Unclaimed Property website, and entered my full name. To help narrow the search, the site asks for any names you have previously used, as well as the last seven digits of your Social Security number, although that is optional. The site also asks where you have lived, and offers up some street addresses. (Other states may ask you for more or less information.)

When I recognized one street name and clicked on the box, the site listed two potential claims under my name, each valued at more than $50.

I'm still not sure what my Virginia unclaimed property was. The office didn't tell me even after I submitted proof of residence for the first claim. But it did send me a check for close to $200.

I think it was probably a deposit I had made to start a utility service many years ago. When I closed the account and moved out of Virginia, I forgot about the original deposit, and didn't provide a forwarding address. As a result, the company had no way of contacting me.

Keep in mind that the state may decide that the proof provided is insufficient, so do a thorough search of your records to find anything that can corroborate your claim. My other Virginia property is still listed on the site, because I lacked sufficient proof to claim it.

Best of luck with *your* search!

Resources

State sites.
Here are links for the Washington, D.C., area to get you started:

Virginia: vamoneysearch.org

Maryland: comptroller.marylandtaxes.com/Public_Services/Unclaimed_Property/

D.C.: https://dc.findyourunclaimedproperty.com/

Missingmoney.com.
Beyond the state sites, this is another helpful site. It is a national database that lists unclaimed property for the majority of the states (but not, for example, California or Delaware). It's less detailed than some individual state sites, but still a good cross-check.

Insurance company sites.
Thanks to the efforts of a multistate task force, several insurance companies agreed in 2012 to change their practices when a policyholder dies. First, after confirming a policyholder's death through Social Security Administration records, a company searches for a beneficiary. If the company is unsuccessful, it turns the unclaimed funds over to the state unclaimed property office. As a result, although you might find a life insurance claim listed on one of the state sites, you can also check directly with the insurance company.

Here's the MetLife link: https://www.metlife.com/policyfinder/.

In some cases, you may need to call the company's toll-free number. You'll have better luck if you have a policy number on hand—and, of course, can prove you're the beneficiary.

The Foreign Service Journal Centennial Exhibit Opens—Happy Birthday, *FSJ*!

On March 20, *The Foreign Service Journal* celebrated its 100th birthday with an event opening its centennial exhibit, "Defining Diplomacy for 100 Years," at the U.S. Diplomacy Center.

More than 130 guests attended the opening, including previous *FSJ* editors Steve Honley, Steve Dujack and Ann Luppi von Mehren; past AFSA presidents; current and past AFSA Governing Board members; current and past Editorial Board members, including current Chair Alexis Ludwig and previous chairs Judy Baroody, Amb. (ret.) Ed Marks, Amb. (ret.) Tony Quainton, Jim DeHart and Beth Payne; and more than a dozen retired ambassadors who have written for *The Foreign Service Journal*.

The exhibit features images and excerpts from a century of the *Journal*. The outer panels, designed by AFSA Online Communications Manager Jeff Lau, take the viewer on a walk through diplomatic history with striking images of *FSJ* covers through time.

The inner panels dive into the texture and rich history of diplomacy, including large panels on the following topics: Frontline Diplomacy, The Career, Managing Diplomacy, The Changing Face of the Foreign Service, Voices of Note in the *Journal*, Foreign Service Families, Offbeat and Advertisements.

AFSA/JOAQUIN SOSA

Former *FSJ* editors Steve Honley and Steven Dujack examining a panel.

Attendees could view letters to the *Journal* and articles from former U.S. presidents and other high-level officials, as well as see articles by Julia Child and Margaret Mead. They were also able to read about the time the *Journal* accidentally published an image of a classified document on its cover in February 1987.

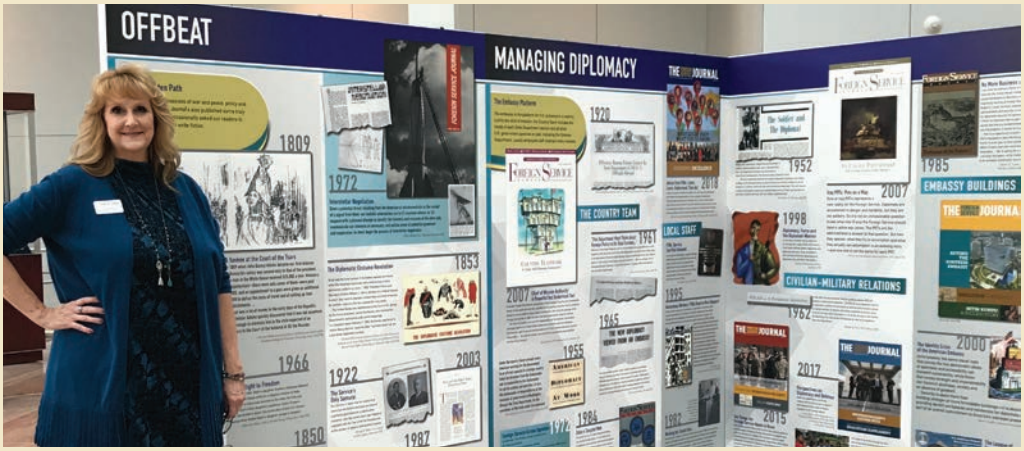
In her opening remarks, AFSA President Ambassador Barbara Stephenson said she was "thrilled and honored to be able to share this bold presentation of diplomatic history as told by those who were—and still are—there on the ground around the globe, on the front lines, managing America's relationships with the rest of the world."

She thanked the U.S. Diplomacy Center for partnering with AFSA and the *Journal* to mark the 100th birthday of the *FSJ*, saying that the partnership "serves both our missions to help bring understanding of diplomacy to the American public."

Amb. Stephenson noted that the *Journal* is the only publication that chronicles U.S. diplomatic history through the voices and perspectives of its practitioners. "The *Journal*'s tagline from the 1980s, 'the independent voice of the Foreign Service,' still

Editor-in-Chief Shawn Dorman with former Editorial Board Chair Jim DeHart.

LISA DEHART



AFSA/SUSAN MAITRA

Exhibit designer and *FSJ* Art Director Caryn Suko Smith with a section of the topical panels.

rings true," she stated. "The magazine features discussion and lively debate about diplomacy and the role of the United States in the world. A record of diplomacy at work, the *Journal* is also a record of the evolution of an institution."

"You may be surprised to learn that it all started with economic diplomacy," said Stephenson. "The original officers of the U.S. Foreign Service were all about helping American businesses."

Today, with the rise of great power competition and the shift to a multipolar world where U.S. predominance is no longer a given, she argued, the *Journal* helps make the case for having a robust Foreign Service on the job and at the table playing a convening role as a global leader.

Stephenson pointed to the first item on the Frontline Diplomacy panel—a graphic from the March 1919 *American Consular Bulletin* that shows the commercial assistance role of early consuls—and then to the final item, an excerpt from the January-February 2019 edition focused on the primacy of economic diplomacy today.

Shawn Dorman, editor-in-chief of the *Journal* and a former FSO, explained that today's magazine has both editorial independence and strong support from AFSA. The *Journal*, she said, "is a mirror for the Foreign Service, reflecting 100 years of diplomatic history. And it is also a window for those outside our community to gain understanding of what diplomats do and why it matters."

Explaining that everything on view was pulled from the newly upgraded and optimized *FSJ* digital archive, Dorman introduced what she called the Bold New *FSJ* Digital Archive Initiative (which, in a nod to her acronym-loving audience, she called "BNFS-JDAI")—the effort to get the archive "out into the world."

She asked the gathering who among them had served on the Editorial Board: quite a few hands went up. Then she asked those who had written for the *FSJ* to raise their hands: even more hands went

Continued on p. 66

AFSA/JOAQUIN SOSA

DS agent and *FSJ* author Kala Bokelman poses with "her" cover. Her article, "DS Diplomacy Works: Breaking Up a Child Pornography Trafficking Ring," was the June 2018 cover story.

CALENDAR

May 2
11 a.m.-4 p.m.
Foreign Service Day Programming at AFSA:
- Open House
- Complimentary Professional Head Shots
- Advocacy Update
- Next Stage: Foreign Service Writers
- Seminar: Best Practices for Local Outreach Efforts

May 3
Foreign Service Day
- AFSA Memorial Ceremony
- Foreign Service Day Reception at USDC

May 16
11:15 a.m.-12:45 p.m.
Luncheon:
152nd Specialist Class

May 22
12:15-1:45 p.m.
Luncheon:
198th A-100 Class

May 23
12-1:30 p.m.
AFSA Governing Board Meeting

May 24
Deadline: AFSA Awards Nominations

June 12
AFSA Governing Board Election Ballots Due/ Ballots Counted

June 19
12-1:30 p.m.
AFSA Governing Board Meeting

July 4
Independence Day – AFSA Offices Closed

July 15
2019-2021 AFSA Governing Board Takes Office

Views and opinions expressed in this column are solely those of the AFSA State VP.
Contact: KeroMentzKA@state.gov | (202) 647-8160

A Job Worth Having

This month's *FSJ* is dedicated to our jobs—the good, the bad and the ugly. Here at AFSA, we hear from a lot of members about the bad and the ugly, and we work with a lot of members—and the department—to enhance the good, to make the department more user-friendly, and to help smooth the rough edges of a career in the Foreign Service.

For me personally, it's been a great job, as I see the real-life improvements we're able to bring for our members. Even when we come up short, there is something deeply satisfying in knowing that we tried our darndest and fought for what's right. And if at first we don't succeed, well…

For example, we worked tirelessly in 2017 to stop the department from changing the criteria for opening one's window for consideration for promotion to the Senior Foreign Service. This action followed closely on the back of a department initiative to increase the "fair share" bidding requirement to 20 percent.

Here's the thing though: We knew that these two actions would be impossible to meet, and now we're hearing from others that our fears were well-founded. The number of posts hitting the 20 percent or higher differential mark is shrinking, and the number of positions at that level—including at priority staffing posts—is shrinking, as well.

Bureaus have quietly informed us that these new rules have made it harder for them to recruit the right candidates for the jobs, in part because everyone is out on a scavenger hunt, trying to check boxes the department has imposed on us. And members report that bidding has become even more chaotic as the "fair share" requirement has become harder to meet.

We believe, as we always have, that the department is going to have to address these matters quickly and re-think both "fair share" and aspects of the Professional Development Plan. We stand ready to help fix the mess.

We've also been working for more than two years to address concerns raised by members with special needs children. As I've written previously, AFSA has sent numerous letters to MED since this matter was brought to our attention by members of the Foreign Service Families Disabilities Alliance, a department-recognized employee organization; sadly, our letters have been mostly ignored or discounted. But we kept pushing. We worked with allies on the Hill to raise questions with the department, and we answered questions when journalists inquired. Most importantly, we kept pressure on the department.

We work with a lot of members to enhance the good, to make the department more user-friendly, and to help smooth the rough edges of a career in the Foreign Service.

We were pleased to learn in November 2018 that the department had appointed a special needs implementation coordinator to focus high-level attention on this matter. The deputy assistant secretary who's taken on this additional portfolio piece is moving ahead with the energy and enthusiasm we've been seeking, and we have high hopes that our members who have children with special educational needs will soon see some real, common-sense relief.

Finally, since 2016 we've been working hard to address the department's failure to submit names to the White House for Presidential Rank Awards. In November 2018—and for the first time since 2011—the department completed the process for deciding PRAs and those nominated received their awards.

We long hoped the department would do the right thing and find a solution that would enable the Secretary to forward PRA nominations to the president for Fiscal Years 2012 and 2014-2017 (no awards were given in 2013 due to sequestration); but when we were told that past failings would not be corrected, AFSA took action.

In February and March 2018 we filed a cohort grievance (with more than 100 members joining!) and an implementation dispute, both of which were held quietly in abeyance pending the successful conclusion of the 2018 PRAs. The department is now pushing to throw our case out; but we'll keep fighting it, because we believe that a system of recognizing our best and brightest is critical to the betterment of the U.S. Foreign Service.

Taking care of our Foreign Service—it's what AFSA is all about. If it weren't for AFSA pushing tenaciously and diplomatically, we can't be sure that the PRA process would be up and running again. And would the department finally be taking real concrete steps to fix the SNEA debacle? Would they be listening to complaints about the self-inflicted problems caused by fair share and PDP changes? Maybe, but I doubt it. And that's why I love this job. Tilting at windmills, and sometimes hitting them just right… ■

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

Making the BUILD Act a Success

In October 2018 President Donald Trump signed the BUILD Act (Better Utilization of Investments Leading to Development), which enjoys strong bipartisan support in Congress and puts new tools into the hands of the U.S. government to help American companies win key development projects overseas.

There is clear recognition of the challenges that U.S. companies face when competing for such projects. In Africa alone, the Chinese government announced $60 billion in new investment in September 2018, much of it in the service of its global Belt and Road Initiative, with geostrategic implications for America's influence throughout the continent. And that's just China: governments from Europe, Japan and Korea to Turkey and India are also aggressively promoting their companies.

How does the Commercial Service, in concert with its State counterparts, play a role in making the BUILD Act successful?

Let's take a power generation project in Uganda as an example, from start to finish. Imagine a leading Ugandan politician winning an election by promising a number of projects, most of which are aspirational. The first step would be to determine which among those projects are commercially viable. For that, having Commercial Service boots on the ground, talking with the Ministry of Energy and with key energy experts, is essential. If the project looks reasonable, a next step might be for our Commercial Service officers to reach out to their U.S. field colleagues to find qualified U.S. companies that might be interested.

One of those companies might see enough upside in the project to come to Uganda, to meet not only with government officials but also trustworthy local partners who could represent their interests on an ongoing basis. The Commercial Service arranges such meetings, which in the upstream phases are critical for influencing the requirements and having on-the-ground representation.

At this point the new U.S. International Development and Finance Corporation (USDFC), established under the BUILD Act, could be brought in as well. Their participation would ultimately lower the investment risk for the U.S. company and U.S. banks, allowing the U.S. company to make a more financially attractive bid and putting the Ugandan government on alert that with U.S. government financing involved, the procurement process will be watched closely.

If the U.S. company then asks for explicit advocacy from the U.S. government, the Commercial Service's Advocacy Center will vet that request through an interagency process before greenlighting it and will coordinate with high-level officials—often including the Secretary of Commerce and the U.S. ambassador—to engage directly with the Ugandan government. Commercial Service officers on the ground play a leading role in determining where—and at what level—this advocacy process will be most effective.

If the Trump administration and Congress want to see American companies winning more overseas contracts through the BUILD Act, we need more Commercial Service boots on the ground.

If the U.S. company fails to win the contract for suspect reasons, then the Commercial Service engages on the company's behalf to challenge the outcome. We typically have an interest in resolving it quietly and expeditiously instead of seeing the company pursue expensive and drawn-out international arbitration. Even when we lose in our quest to resolve it quietly, we send a strong signal that the U.S. government stands for a level playing field.

But if the U.S. company wins the contract, then downstream vigilance is also a role that the Commercial Service plays. If the U.S. energy company can't revise its electricity tariffs in accordance with the contract, for instance, the Commercial Service will engage the Ugandan government on its behalf to ensure sustained and nonintermittent provision of energy.

When viewed within the total life cycle of a foreign project, the role of the Commercial Service in making the BUILD Act a success is clear. The new USDFC can't hope to dial it in from Washington, D.C. They need our assistance throughout the process. But the Commercial Service only has a presence in 11 out of the 54 countries in Africa, and there are often 10 times as many Chinese diplomats in these countries.

If the Trump administration and Congress want to see American companies winning more overseas contracts through the BUILD Act, we need more Commercial Service boots on the ground.

Views and opinions expressed in this column are solely those of the AFSA USAID VP. Contact: jlevine@usaid.gov | (202) 712-5267

The Future of USAID's Foreign Service

This is the first time since I joined USAID as an FSO in 2001 that I am worried about the future of the agency's Foreign Service.

From a strictly numbers perspective there are fewer than 1,700 FSOs at USAID, far fewer than the 1,850 authorized by the Foreign Service Act of 1980. But the future of FSOs at USAID is also about retention, which comes from incentives and job satisfaction. At a recent AFSA stakeholder meeting, in addition to concerns about numbers, members expressed apprehension about Transformation (T3) and its potential impact on retention. Changes at USAID from administration to administration, from crisis to crisis even, are not new. However, the timing and the Washington, D.C., focus of T3, is cause for concern.

About two-thirds of USAID's current FSO workforce was hired under the Development Leadership Initiative from, roughly, 2005 to 2015. These officers were told they are the "rebuilding blocks" for USAID's future FSO workforce. They were hired for their particular skill sets and competencies—as economists, engineers, democracy officers and others—and they understood that as future leaders they would be applying these skills.

T3 has multiple objectives, but two were of particular concern in our discussions. First, while long overdue, USAID's new performance management reform leaves FSOs wondering how to demonstrate their skills when the need for those abilities is less clear. How will the learning curve of the new performance reform not delay their chance for promotion? T3's "Workforce" pillar has the stated goal of creating "a more agile and mobile workforce with the ability to work anywhere, anytime, under any conditions." FSOs, who are already expected to be worldwide available, ask: What more is expected? Taken together, these issues fuel AFSA's worry about retention of FSOs at USAID.

The second concern raised at our stakeholder meeting is how T3 will reorganize USAID's Washington structure—for example, expanding the Democracy, Conflict and Humanitarian Assistance Bureau into the family of 3Rs (Relief, Resilience and Response). DCHA is known as a predominantly non-FSO bureau—only 10 percent are direct hires. FSOs are asking: Will the 3R family have the same workforce split as DCHA?

Along with USAID's focus on health, the perception is that T3 will transform USAID from a development to an assistance agency. While DCHA is expanding, T3 proposes consolidating nearly all the non-conflict/non-health sectors into a new mega-technical Bureau for Development, Democracy and Innovation.

This might be acceptable if the agency's programs and resources continued to reflect historical development—as opposed to assistance—trends. But America has been in a "war on terrorism" since 2001, influencing the division of resources and programs between development and crisis/conflict/health. And as USAID's conflict, crisis and related programs increased, many countries paid a "tax" on their other programs. In 1999 humanitarian assistance programs were 7 percent of USAID's budget. By 2017 the figure had risen to approximately 30 percent of USAID's program budget.

At the same time, budget resources for programs such as economic growth, agricultural development, democracy and governance, environment and other areas of human capacity development dropped from 65 percent to 42 percent of USAID's program budget. USAID's FSOs have also suffered, to the point that as much as 25 percent of some technical positions are in Washington as opposed to the field.

According to the Foreign Assistance Act: "Congress declares that a principal objective of the foreign policy of the United States is the *encouragement and sustained support* of the people of developing countries in their efforts to acquire the knowledge and resources essential to development and to build the economic, political and social institutions which will improve the quality of their lives" (italics are mine).

Congress deemed these measures key to sustaining "the individual liberties, economic prosperity, and security of the people of the United States." That is why the DLI program hired a diversely skilled workforce.

I'm not arguing against USAID's conflict, crisis and health work. However, history shows that failing to address the gap between assistance and development assures that there will be future conflicts or disasters. That is why the Foreign Service Act emphasizes development, why the DLI program was designed as it was and why only one-third of USAID's workforce today are health and conflict officers.

Will T3 reverse the "tax" on development as USAID contemplates "rightsizing" programs in Iraq, Pakistan and Afghanistan? Will T3 address the workforce planning needs of a career Foreign Service, both retention and hiring, to ensure that "development" as a part of U.S. national security succeeds in contributing to the welfare of Americans?

If the answer to any of these is "No," then we all need to keep asking: What is the future of USAID's career Foreign Service?

Views and opinions expressed in this column are solely those of the AFSA Retiree VP.
Contact: naland@afsa.org | (703) 437-7881

Threats to Retirement Benefits

Given the composition of the 116th Congress, it is highly unlikely that any Trump administration proposal to cut federal retirement benefits would pass the House of Representatives and get the 60 votes necessary in the Senate to advance legislation.

But our nation's large and persistent federal budget deficits will likely increase pressure to cut expenditures, including spending on retirement benefits. What benefits are most at stake, and what can we do to protect them?

Active-duty employees probably have the most to worry about. Each year, bills are introduced in the House to require federal employees to contribute more to their retirement system, to change the calculation for federal pensions to be based on the average of the highest five years of salary instead of the highest three years, and to eliminate the annuity supplement paid to federal employees hired in the post-1983 "new" retirement systems who retire prior to age 62.

Current retirees have less to fear because of traditional congressional reluctance to reduce benefits for those actively receiving them. But possible targets include cutting cost-of-living adjustments for retirees, reducing the government's share of federal retiree health care premiums and decreasing the rate of return of the Thrift Savings Plan's G Fund. A future Congress could raise tax rates on retirement income including pensions and Social Security.

Not all threats to our financial security in retirement emanate from Pennsylvania Avenue. After a 10-year bull market on Wall Street, those of us with retirement savings in the Thrift Savings Plan or other retirement accounts might be wise to review the risk-versus-reward balance in our stock and bond allocations to make sure that it is still appropriate.

We all also need to be knowledgeable about our benefits to avoid inadvertently undermining our own retirement financial security. For example, retirees nearing age 62 face the decision of when to apply for Social Security benefits. Retirees nearing age 65 need to decide whether to enroll in Medicare Part B. There is also the decision of whether to apply for long-term care insurance. Helpful information on these topics is posted in the Retirement Services section of the AFSA website.

Because benefit cuts would affect all federal employees and retirees, AFSA's advocacy is primarily through the Federal-Postal Coalition made up of 30 organizations, including the National Active and Retired Federal Employees Association and the large civil service unions. The Fed-Postal Coalition represents 2.7 million federal employees and 2.6 million federal retirees, with members living in every congressional district. The coalition sends letters to Congress, with AFSA as co-signer, and holds monthly meetings with AFSA participation to plan advocacy efforts. Coalition members frequently meet with lawmakers to argue against benefits cuts.

What can you do to protect your benefits? Maintain your AFSA membership in retirement—your dues help support the association's congressional advocacy efforts. Donate to AFSA's political action committee (www.afsa.org/afsa-pac). Monitor major developments, which are reported in AFSA's emailed Media Digest, the digital Retiree Newsletter and this column. And write to your representative and senators urging them to oppose cutting the benefits you earned over a long, challenging career.

The View from Washington: A Webinar

On Feb. 26, AFSA hosted its third quarterly "View from Washington" webinar for retired members. More than 60 participants registered for the webinar—our largest audience to date.

AFSA President Ambassador Barbara Stephenson provided a detailed update on the advocacy work AFSA is doing at the national level, including important work AFSA is doing with our congressional champions who again, by wide bipartisan margins, rejected cuts to international affairs funding for Fiscal Year 2019. Noting the $84 million increase to the "overseas programs" line item, she flagged that Congress has stopped the decade-long decline in funding for core diplomatic capability.

Amb. Stephenson also outlined the field-tested messages AFSA and our speakers are using to demonstrate the importance of having a full Foreign Service team on the field to respond to the great power competition the United States is facing from China and others. Finally, she answered questions from participants and thanked retirees for their continued commitment to building awareness in their communities of what diplomats do and why it matters to the safety and prosperity of America.

AFSA/DONNA GORMAN

Austin Panel: Why Leading Globally Matters Locally

On March 18, AFSA President Ambassador Barbara Stephenson traveled to Austin, Texas, to join a panel discussion on "Why Leading Globally Matters Locally for Texas."

Moderated by Liz Schrayer, president and CEO of the U.S. Global Leadership Coalition, the panel also included Representative Mike McCaul (R-Texas) and Bill Lane, executive director of Trade for America, which works to highlight the economic and strategic benefits of trade in the daily lives of Americans. Audience members included a wide range of business, community and faith leaders from the Austin area.

Amb. Stephenson highlighted the critical role that the Foreign Service plays in economic diplomacy, emphasizing the costs of ceding ground to competitors like China. She gave examples of ways that America's diplomats promote good governance through transparent business processes and are vital to helping American businesses compete around the world. She called for more Foreign Service officer positions in embassies to ensure that the United States is fielding a full diplomatic team.

Just a few days before the panel, Rep. McCaul, the ranking member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, had introduced legislation to boost Foreign Service support for U.S. business interests abroad. According to the press release announcing the bill, the bipartisan "Championing American Business Through Diplomacy Act" is intended to "bolster U.S. economic and commercial diplomacy, help facilitate greater market access for U.S. companies in emerging markets and rededicate the Foreign Service to one of its founding missions: to support U.S. business." ■

USGLC/BRIAN AUSTIN

Moderator Liz Schrayer (far right) addresses Amb. Stephenson, Bill Lane and Rep. McCaul.

Look for Your Ballot: Vote in the AFSA Governing Board Election

The election for the 2019-2021 AFSA Governing Board officers and constituency representatives is underway. Also on the ballot are six proposed bylaw changes.

Details about the election, including the rules, can be found at www.afsa.org/elections.

Candidates' campaign statements and videos, as well as the proposed bylaw changes and any opposition to the proposed bylaw changes, will be made available to members on the AFSA website. We remind our readers that campaigning using a government, employer, or AFSA email by any member is prohibited (with the exception of the three preapproved candidate email blasts that will be sent to members at the Department of State and the Foreign Commercial Service).

Ballots: Ballots will be distributed on or about April 29. If you have a valid email address on file with AFSA, an email containing a unique passcode and instructions for voting online will be sent to you. Regular members who were in good standing as of March 28 can also visit the secure online ballot site (www.directvote.net/AFSA) after April 29 and request that an email containing unique login credentials be sent to them. Be sure to add noreply@directvote.net to your approved sender list to ensure delivery.

AFSA/JOSH DORMAN

Printed ballots will be sent to all retired members via the U.S. Postal Service. Note: If an online and a printed ballot are returned for the same member, only the printed ballot will be counted. If you do not receive a ballot by May 10, contact election@afsa.org.

Requests for a duplicate ballot can be sent by email (to election@afsa.org) or in writing to AFSA Committee on Elections, 2101 E Street NW, Washington DC 20037. Please include your full name, current address, email address and telephone number.

Ballot Tally: On June 12 at 8 a.m., 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 close at 8 a.m. EDT on June 12.

All AFSA members are strongly encouraged to vote in this election. Please review your options for voting and ensure that you cast your ballot in a timely manner. ■

The Shutdown: Why Didn't AFSA Sue the Federal Government?

During the recent U.S. government shutdown, a number of our members asked whether AFSA was planning on filing a class action lawsuit against the government for requiring employees to work without pay.

They had read about several class action lawsuits that challenged the government on numerous grounds, alleging violations of the Fair Labor Standards Act (which requires overtime for covered employees), violations of the Constitution's Fifth Amendment (which bars arbitrary government intrusion) and 13th Amendment (which bars involuntary servitude), and violations of the Anti-Deficiency Act (which makes it illegal to create compensation obligations that surpass the appropriated budget).


Ben Phillips.

The case that alleged violations of the 13th Amendment and the Anti-Deficiency Act was decided in favor of the government by the U.S. District Court. The judge believed that it would be "profoundly irresponsible" to rule in a way that would stop federal employees from working during the shutdown because of safety concerns. The judge said this would be chaotic at best and, at worst, it would be "catastrophic" and "put people's lives at risk."

To date, the only lawsuits that have been successful are those that alleged violations of the Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA). The FLSA requires the government to pay overtime in the pay period in which it was earned with a delay no longer than the next pay period. Therefore, if a covered employee worked beyond eight hours in a day during the furlough and was not paid by the next pay period, this would constitute a violation of the FLSA.

To date, the only lawsuits that have been successful are those that alleged violations of the Fair Labor Standards Act.

This decision, however, does not affect Foreign Service members. The vast majority of Foreign Service members are FLSA-exempt (i.e., not covered by the law), and tenured Foreign Service officers are prohibited from receiving overtime pay by Title 5 of the U.S. Code in any case.

In addition, while untenured officers and specialists may receive overtime pay under Title 5 of the U.S. Code, many employees are exempt from FLSA under the professional, administrative and executive exemptions. Finally, even if an untenured officer or a specialist were not exempt from FLSA, it does not apply overseas.

Employees who were exempted from the furlough are required to receive back pay for their work, but this must be done through the passage of a bill by Congress for each shutdown. The 2019 Government Employee Fair Treatment Act, which Congress passed during the shutdown, and which the president signed, guarantees that furloughed employees will receive back pay for their work and ensures previously scheduled leave is unaffected by the shutdown. Significantly, the new law also guarantees that furloughed employees will receive back pay in all future shutdowns. ■

—Ben Phillips, law clerk

AFSA Governing Board Meeting, March 20, 2019

Digital Archive Demo for *The Foreign Service Journal*: Publications Coordinator Dmitry Filipoff demonstrated for Governing Board members how to use the newly launched digital, searchable *FSJ* archive (www.afsa.org/fsj-archive). He explained how easy it now is to search by year, by topic and by specific author, and illustrated with several good search result examples. The digital archive makes all 100 years of *Journal* content accessible to practitioners, academics, journalists and others worldwide. ■

Resilience in the Foreign Service

On March 19 AFSA hosted a panel of experts to discuss "Resilience in the Foreign Service." AFSA President Ambassador Barbara Stephenson served as moderator. Speakers were Ambassador (ret.) Prudence Bushnell; FSO (ret.) Beth Payne, director of the Center of Excellence in Foreign Affairs Resilience at the Foreign Service Institute; and Dr. Felicia Wilson Young of the USAID Staff Care Center.

Ms. Payne, who wrote an article on resilience for the March 2019 *Foreign Service Journal*, spoke candidly about her experience moving from "yellow" to "red" on the stress spectrum during a difficult time during her career. She discussed ways individuals can ensure they stay in the "green" zone as much as possible when it comes to managing stress.

"I went to Iraq in the yellow," said Payne. "I'd been to Rwanda after a genocide, I'd been through terrorist attacks in Israel. ... So when I was in a rocket attack [in Iraq] that was life threatening, I was vulnerable to having a mental health condition, and I was in the red."

She asked: "As Foreign Service officers, how do we actively foster an environment, for ourselves and for the people who work with us, so that we're always in the green? ... We have to ensure that our community, the foreign affairs community, stays highly resilient, in the green, so that we can manage these stressors, so that we can achieve our foreign policy goals despite the craziness of life in the Foreign Service."

AFSA/DONNA GORMAN

Amb. Bushnell talks about the importance of friends.

AFSA/DONNA GORMAN

Beth Payne on staying "in the green."

Amb. Bushnell spoke about her time as chief of mission in Nairobi, during and after the 1998 embassy bombings.

"There are times when I still have symptoms of post-traumatic stress," Amb. Bushnell confided, "and that's when [resilience] becomes really important. I get myself out, and I start walking. Or I call my friend."

Her advice to others in leadership positions during times of great stress is: "Take care of your people, and the rest will take care of itself."

Amb. Bushnell wrote about her experience in Nairobi for the July-August 2018 *Foreign Service Journal*. Her new book, *Terrorism, Betrayal and Resilience: My Story of the 1998 U.S. Embassy Bombings* (Potomac Books, 2018), was available for purchase at the event.

Dr. Wilson Young talked about the adage that an oak tree will break in the wind, while a willow can bend and survive. Foreign Service officers, she said, need to have the ability to bend, but "it's not just important to be able to survive. Our goal is to thrive. True resilience is the ability to thrive ... under the unexpected incidents that we face" as members of the Foreign Service.

She introduced the idea of building a "culture of ethical care" to encourage institutions to work intentionally to create an environment where their employees feel valued.

AFSA/DONNA GORMAN

Dr. Wilson Young talks about the "ethic of care."

"The ethic of care is about building relationships, not just caring about yourself in the outcomes, but also caring about the people you work with," Wilson Young explained. It's about "recognizing that the work that we do is impacted by our ability to function and perform as a whole to reach the goals, and that the organization also has a responsibility to us."

A recording of the event can be viewed online at afsa.org/video.

Career Diplomats Matter

One of AFSA's goals in the past several years has been to tell far and wide the story of the U.S. Foreign Service, the story of what diplomats do and why it matters to Americans. So why does it matter whether seasoned diplomats are in the field rather than political appointees? What is the extra value that a career diplomat brings to the table?

Two of the most distinctive characteristics of career diplomats, especially at the senior level, are the ability to understand a country or a region well enough to *detect diplomatic opportunities*—for reaching peace, for expanding freedom, for creating markets, for strengthening ties with the United States—and the ability to *turn these opportunities into successful policies.*

The fact that diplomats live, work and break bread with their counterparts, members of civil society, neighbors and friends in country, and that they can understand what's on television, radio and social media, means that diplomats can sense even subtle shifts that mean opportunity. They can then choose the right tools to maximize the chances of policies succeeding. Others with a shallower grasp of a country and its social or political dynamics, or those who don't have the strategic patience necessary to take advantage of slowly unfolding events, won't always get to the goal—or they reach the goal with broken relationships and the consequences of having to make good on threats.

In the early 2000s, when I was the senior Ukraine desk officer, that country was an ideological battleground between those who favored a Western-leaning direction for the country after the fall of the Soviet Union, and those who wanted a future tied to Russia. The existing regime was sclerotic and reactive.

Our office developed a strategy to help ensure the Ukrainian presidential election, then two years away, would be free and fair. We knew, through our contacts across Ukraine, with our diplomatic partners, and with the Ukrainian diaspora in the United States, that the Ukrainian people desired a change for the better. Ukrainian media were also reflecting and amplifying that desire—and we had deep friendships with that community, thanks to seed grants to nascent media outlets a decade prior. We knew Ukraine was ready to open up and we judged the chances for a transparent and free election as the best they had been since the Soviet Union collapsed.

Still, it was a heavy lift. One day, after a discussion on how to strengthen our hand, our office director suggested inviting the European Union to join forces with us. His years of experience working with the EU gave him the sense they would be eager.

Diplomats can sense even subtle shifts that mean opportunity and choose the right tools to maximize the chances of policies succeeding.

It was a turning point. Having the EU on our side added to the weight of our public statements, which we often wrote in parallel, and our demarches, which we often delivered jointly. Working with the EU catapulted the issue of peaceful transfer of power out of the purely bilateral realm and highlighted the regional stakes involved. It also later promoted a positive agenda with the EU at the time when the Iraq War was dividing us, a huge plus.

The next months were intense—as diplomats know, the road from opportunity to successful action is not straight. But the entire U.S. interagency team at home and overseas got behind the strategic policy direction laid out by the State Department.

The first run-off election was marred by voter intimidation and outright fraud, which produced massive popular protests. The results of the vote were annulled, and the Ukrainian Supreme Court ordered a re-vote. International observers and monitors determined the second vote to be "fair and free" and by a clear margin, the Western-leaning Viktor Yushchenko was elected president of Ukraine. The peaceful Orange Revolution became a part of Ukrainian history. ■

Did you know . . .

... that the State Department has more political appointee slots (by actual numbers, not percentages, and not even counting ambassadors) than the vastly larger Department of Defense?

... that political appointees now fill 50 percent of all U.S. ambassadorships (30 percent has been the average over the past three decades)?

Teaching International Affairs and the Art of Diplomacy: A Viable "Next Stage" for You?

AFSA welcomed 70 active-duty and retired members to its headquarters on March 26 for a panel on what it's like to teach international affairs at the university level.

This was the first in AFSA's new "Next Stage" series of programs geared to exploring post-Foreign Service career options and the skills you need to take advantage of them.

AFSA/DONNA GORMAN

Jillian Burns answers a question from the moderator.

Expert speakers were Ambassador (ret.) Larry Palmer, ambassador in residence at Howard University; Ambassador Mark Storella, senior fellow at Georgetown University's Institute for the Study of Diplomacy; and Jillian Burns, FSO (ret.) and adjunct professor at The George Washington University's Elliott School of International Affairs.

The panelists emphasized that planning a course is labor intensive and takes a lot of time. Co-teaching or joining a course already developed can be a good place to start. They agreed that students often don't understand the complexity of the U.S. interagency policy formulation process, and that the contextual knowledge that Foreign Service professionals may take for granted is often missing and needs to be adequately addressed.

Turning to the unique knowledge set that diplomatic practitioners bring, panelists focused on the art of negotiation—academics generally have little experience there. They underscored that teaching and being part of an academic community is richly rewarding—and fun—and neatly leverages one's Foreign Service experience. All three panelists said that they find their students to be highly engaged and interested in the subject, and especially interested in the real-world, hands-on elements of diplomacy that only an experienced diplomat can bring to the classroom.

AFSA/DONNA GORMAN

Amb. Storella and Amb. Palmer answer audience questions.

Consistent with the Next Stage series' focus on practical advice, the panelists offered ideas on how to find and apply for university-level teaching positions.

A video of the event is available at www.afsa.org/video. Stay tuned for announcements on upcoming Next Stage programs, and contact Dolores Brown (brown@afsa.org), AFSA's retirement benefits counselor, with suggestions and feedback.

Visit Our Refreshed and Reset Retirement Services Webpage

In a recent appointment to discuss his imminent retirement, one AFSA active-duty member likened understanding all of retirement's ramifications to putting together a complicated puzzle—one with unfamiliar vernacular, with pieces culled from a variety of sources, and with potentially significant consequences if not fully understood.

With this puzzle analogy in mind, AFSA staff reviewed the content of the retirement services webpage with the goal of putting as much salient, Foreign Service-centered information together in one place for our membership, both active-duty and retired, as possible.

The reset and refresh include the following:

A new name. Retiree Services is now called Retirement Services. This may not seem particularly earth-shattering, but it does signify that this information is critical not only for retirees, but also for its active-duty members.

The first portion of the site, "Getting Ready for Retirement," includes a Department of State cable, for instance, on "Retirement Planning Five Years Out" that every active-duty member should read years before retiring.

Up-to-date guidance from authoritative sources. AFSA has collected the most recent information available, for instance, on RAE/WAE bureau coordinators (dated February 2019) and the retirement transportation and travel briefing from A/LM/OPS/TTM (dated January 2019).

Are you concerned about retirement planning, or whether to opt for Medicare Part B? You'll find recent AFSA-produced video presentations by recognized experts in these fields, such as AFSA Retiree Vice President John Naland's seminar on "Reviewing Your Retirement Plan," and American Foreign Service Protective Association Chief Executive Officer and Executive Vice President Paula Jakub's talk on "Medicare and Your FEHB Plan: Putting it Together."

"Next Stage" information. The site will also include information and videos from AFSA's new "Next Stage" initiative as they become available. These programs are all focused on career options post–Foreign Service. In addition, we will be adding a list of links to the most pertinent articles related to retirement from *The Foreign Service Journal* archive, including the popular "Life After the Foreign Service" series of stories about what our colleagues do after leaving the Foreign Service.

Expanded list of resources. Finally, we have expanded the site to include websites that may be of interest to our membership, both retired and active-duty, from those specializing in federal employment issues like fedsmith.com to one on "encore" careers (www.encore.org).

Please check it out at www.afsa.org/retirement and let us know what you think! ■

—Dolores Brown, Retirement Benefits Counselor

Planning for Lifetime Financial Success

On March 7, AFSA hosted Dwayne Jackson, a certified financial planner and vice president of RPJ Advisors, who spoke to both active-duty and retired members on the topic: "Lifetime Financial Success: A Simple Model to Keep You on Track."

Mr. Jackson, a frequent speaker at the Foreign Service Institute, showed how inflation can affect retirement savings and discussed the different sources of income that Foreign Service members need to consider for retirement.

He also discussed the importance of early estate planning, different types of long-term care insurance and TSP growth over time.

A recording of the event is available at www.afsa.org/video. ■

Guest speaker Dwayne Jackson answers audience questions.

Centennial Exhibit
Continued from page 55

up. And who had read the *FSJ*? The rest of the hands went up.

Then Dorman asked everyone to take out their phones. Skeptical, they did. She invited them to go to their browser and type in "*FSJ* archive." The *FSJ* digital archive immediately popped up on many of the screens. She invited people to search their own names as well as look up any issue of the *FSJ* that they might see in their tour of the exhibit.

Thanks to AFSA's *FSJ* archive digitization initiative, "the century of *Journal*s is now a powerful tool for the Foreign Service community and for those seeking to learn more about diplomacy in practice," said Dorman. "I invite you to take the entire archive home with you!"

"Defining Diplomacy for 100 Years" will be on display at the U.S. Diplomacy Center through May 3. The *FSJ* archive can be accessed at www.afsa.org/fsj-archive.

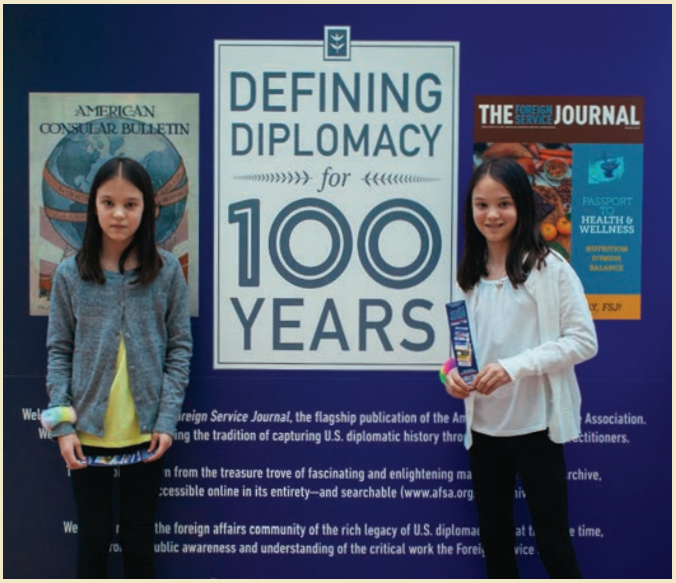
AFSA/JOAQUIN SOSA

Shawn Dorman gives her remarks.

AFSA/JOAQUIN SOSA

FSJ authors raise their hands. Pictured, from left: Mette Beecroft, Amb. Robert Beecroft, Steve Dujack, Amb. Barbara Stephenson and USDC Director Mary Kane.

Mobile access to archive.



AFSA/JOAQUIN SOSA

Family members help out at the reception.

AFSA/JOAQUIN SOSA

Amb. Steve McFarland poses with an excerpt from an article he wrote.

Objects in the Rearview Mirror

BY KELLY BEMBRY MIDURA

Last summer, after 29 years of service and seven overseas assignments, we left Warsaw, Poland, to come home for good. When you are done, you are done: I hit the gas and sped away from overseas life as soon as my last long flight with airsick cats landed at Dulles. The Foreign Service has been getting smaller and smaller in the rearview mirror ever since.

Figuring that Washington, D.C., was the closest thing we had to a hometown, we decided to move into our small "empty-nester" house in the leafy Virginia suburbs and take it from there. The truck filled with our storage from Hagerstown disgorged many mysterious items, from a recliner that we didn't remember owning to something called a "cordless phone system."

Meanwhile, our household effects had apparently multiplied while in crates over the Atlantic. The Polish pottery was especially prolific; what did I think I was going to do with all those flowery little sugar bowls, creamers and teaspoons?

It took a year or so, but after a lot of online selling, uncounted donation runs and begging neighbors to take items on "freecycle" groups, even the storage unit has been emptied.

I feel a bit like I am recovering from a rocky marriage to the State Department. I divorced *that* guy—threw his crap out the window onto the lawn!—and I have no regrets.

I have become extremely creative with closets and under-bed boxes, and everything we own in this world is now in one place. (Including our adult son, with all his stuff—but that's another story.) Our house is now a comfortable home, no longer merely a warehouse for ethno-plunder.

When you know you're going to be living somewhere indefinitely, it's worth making some changes. We gutted the kitchen and installed a new, super-efficient galley kitchen designed by yours truly. No more flat-white painted walls, cheap melamine cabinets or dwarfish appliances with Euroglyphs on the dials.

Every once in a while, I open my oven just to admire how big it is. (After years spent stuffing clothes into tiny European washing machines, my full-size, front-loading washer and dryer can bring tears to my eyes.)

We topped it off with a big screened porch, the ultimate reward for years of apartment life. It is funky, comfortable and so very American. Enjoying dinner on the porch, listening to the birds and

Kelly Bembry Midura writes from a porch in Reston, Virginia, after tours with her now-retired FSO spouse in Bolivia, Guatemala, El Salvador, Zambia, the Czech Republic, Austria and Poland. Read about her adventures at wellthatwasdifferent.com.

cicadas sing in the trees, we frequently make toasts to our "forever home."

The not-really-retired FSO has found a new job with travel opportunities that should keep him happy. My own career continues to be, shall we say, "non-linear." However, I've decided to embrace the variety.

Along with short-term website design contracts, I help teach English to immigrants and have recently begun volunteering at a charity thrift shop. It's all part of finding a place in the community.

This has been my job at every post; this time I can do it at my leisure, without another move looming on the horizon. It's hard to imagine that, were we on a Foreign Service tour, I'd be halfway through it already!

When we first announced that we were done with the Foreign Service, lots of people said I would soon want to move again. They were wrong. In fact, I'm not even interested in traveling yet. I love sleeping in my own bed! I have everything I need right here in this little house, in this town, on this continent. Travel will happen again one day, but I'm in no hurry to get there. I need to rest up first.

Though I love my husband dearly, I feel a bit like I am recovering from a rocky marriage to the State Department. I divorced *that* guy—threw his crap out the window onto the lawn!—and I have no regrets. Though I wish my "ex" and his new partners all the best, I am moving on with my own life.

Still, I can't escape entirely. Most of my friends are connected with the Foreign Service or expatriate community. My Facebook friends list looks like a roster at the United Nations. I enjoy the D.C. area in large part because of the international mix.

It seems I actually want to hear three or four languages over the course of each day. I continually put myself in situations where I am bound to meet people from other cultures (such as the ESL classes), and I take every opportunity to speak Spanish, the one foreign language that "stuck." Two decades spent overseas have clearly left their mark.

Though the Foreign Service looks very small in that rearview mirror these days, it is apparently larger than it appears. ■

Charles Lawrence Christian Jr., 86, a retired Foreign Service communications officer, died on Jan. 24 in Fairfield, Calif., after a prolonged battle with interstitial lung disease.

Mr. Christian was born in Portland, Ore., on July 20, 1932, to Charles and Eunice (nee Homm) Christian. His father was a chief steward for Matson Lines, which led Mr. Christian to spend his childhood in various locales, including the family farm in Gaston, Ore.; Portland, Ore.; San Francisco, Long Beach and Burlingame, Calif.; and Honolulu, Hawaii.

At the age of 17 Mr. Christian enlisted in the U.S. Air Force, advancing to senior cryptographer during the Korean War. He was stationed in Texas, Wyoming, Alaska and Washington, D.C. He returned to the Bay Area, where he graduated from San Mateo Junior College and worked for United Airlines from 1952 to 1955 as a communications operator and passenger agent.

In 1955 Mr. Christian was recruited by the Central Intelligence Agency and began his career as a communications specialist. From 1955 to 1967, he served in that capacity in Washington, D.C.; Turkey; Lebanon; Cyprus; Iraq; Jordan; Sudan; Greece; West Germany and Southern California.

In 1959 he married Mary Lou Cocanougher, a United Airlines stewardess supervisor from San Bruno, Calif., who would later become an elementary school teacher. After their three children were born, Mr. Christian resigned from the CIA in 1967 to provide a more stable upbringing for his children.

The family relocated to Santa Rosa, Calif., where he worked in sales for AAA, Hearst Corporation and as a general agent for health and funeral insurance in Sonoma County.

In 1982 Mr. Christian joined the State Department, where he served until 1986 as a communications officer posted in Muscat and Bonn.

Family members recall his keen interest in history, specifically the American Revolution and the American Civil War. A descendant of an American Revolutionary war soldier, he was past president and chaplain of the local chapter of the Sons of the American Revolution.

Also a descendant of a Civil War veteran, Mr. Christian was past commander and chaplain for the Colonel Elmer Ellsworth Camp 23 of the Sons of Union Veterans of the Civil War.

Other memberships included: North Bay Civil War Round Table, Santa Rosa Rural Cemetery, Pacific Coast Air Museum, Sonoma County Amateur Radio Club, Roadrunners Internationale, Dragon Lady Association and Blackbird Association—the last three having to do with his involvement in the Cold War.

Mr. Christian was preceded in death by his wife of 56 years, Mary Lou Christian. He is survived by his daughters Elaine Christian of San Francisco, Calif., and Margaret Christian of Citrus Heights, Calif.; son Douglas Christian (and wife Danilda) of Fairfield, Calif.; grandchildren William Steele, Gregory Steele, Chianne Skidmore, Cali Debevoise; and by his stepchildren Daphne Tan, Dee Jay and Darryl John Ibanez.

Mr. Christian was in hospice care for the last few months of his life. His family wishes to extend their thanks to his caregivers, Miho Tyson of Continuum Hospice and Emmanuel Salas of Serenity Care Manor, who provided him with comfort and respect to the end.

Maurice "Maury" Noah Gralnek, 82, a retired member of the Senior Foreign Service, passed away on Feb. 24 in Scottsdale, Ariz.

Mr. Gralnek was born in Chicago, Ill., on Oct. 10, 1936. He graduated from the University of Michigan in 1958 and served with the U.S. Army in Korea before joining the Department of Labor.

He joined the U.S. Foreign Service in 1962. During a 35-year career he witnessed world events firsthand, including the fall of the Berlin Wall and the release of American hostages from Lebanon. Mr. Gralnek served overseas in Barbados, Buenos Aires, Saigon, Vientiane, Honolulu, Singapore, Tokyo, Frankfurt, Cairo and Jakarta before retiring in 1997.

He then followed his Foreign Service specialist wife to Tokyo, Paris and Kuala Lumpur. In Paris he received a Diplome de Cuisine from the Cordon Bleu while indulging in his love for cooking.

Mr. Gralnek moved to Scottsdale 10 years ago, where he was actively involved in the Association of Former Intelligence Officers and the Phoenix Council on Foreign Relations. He also volunteered at Phoenix Children's Hospital.

His hobbies included running, reading, listening to classical music and opera, urban hiking, art, Pilates and movies. He read *The New York Times* and various magazines from cover to cover, making him extremely knowledgeable about international affairs and politics.

Mr. Gralnek's family and friends remember his kindness, warmth, dry sense of humor and curiosity.

He is survived by his wife of 47 years, Wendy; his children, Karin (and spouse Scott) Silk and Andrew (and spouse Courtney) Gralnek; grandchildren, Jake and Samuel Silk; and brothers, Dr. David Gralnek and Donald Gralnek.

Gordon King, 97, a retired Foreign Service officer, died on Feb. 5 in Blacksburg, Va., of natural causes.

Mr. King was born into a sharecrop-

per's farming family in central Illinois, the fourth of five sons and one daughter. Growing up during the Depression gave Mr. King a deep understanding of the value of community and togetherness. This appreciation was demonstrated by his minister and community when his town, Beason, Ill., sponsored Mr. King to study divinity at Illinois Wesleyan University.

After graduating in May 1943, Mr. King joined the U.S. Army Air Force, serving during World War II as a cryptographer and air traffic controller in the Assam province of northeast India, in the foothills of the Himalayas.

Mr. King spent his war years immersed in impoverished yet culturally rich India, an experience that opened his eyes to a new and different world, giving him inspiration that guided his future career choice.

After the war, Mr. King returned to school on the GI Bill to earn a master's degree from Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies in 1947.

Mr. King then joined the U.S. Department of State as a research analyst. In 1949, married with wife and first child in tow, Mr. King received his first posting to Kabul as a foreign affairs analyst.

After returning to the United States for a yearlong stint studying Persian at Princeton University, Mr. King was assigned to Tehran, arriving immediately after the overthrow of Prime Minister Mohammad Mosaddegh and installation of the shah in August 1953. Two years later he was formally appointed as an FSO and assigned to Isfahan, where his fourth child was born.

In 1957 Mr. King was tasked with opening the first official U.S. consulate in Peshawar. In 1960 he became a commercial officer at the U.S. embassy in Bonn.

He moved back to Washington, D.C., in 1963 and was asked to join the group assisting Sargent Shriver in forming the Peace Corps. He was then assigned the position of Peace Corps deputy director for North Africa, Near East and South Asia.

In 1967 he attended the National Industrial War College at Fort McNair, after which he moved to the U.S. embassy in London. After the death of his wife, Elizabeth, in 1971, he served his final posting as consul general in Lahore.

Mr. King retired in March 1974 and returned to his first passion—creative writing. In the ensuing years, he spent time with his family while continuing to travel the world and publish books of poetry.

After living in North Carolina, Maine, California and England, he moved to Blacksburg, Va., to be near his oldest son and grandchildren.

Mr. King is survived by his younger brother, three sons, two grandchildren and a life's collection of dear friends. Mr. King would have appreciated, in lieu of flowers, that charitable contributions be made to the American Red Cross, P.O. Box 37839, Boone IA 50037-0839.

Arthur Winston Lewis, 92, a retired Foreign Service officer and former ambassador, passed away peacefully on Jan. 10 in Wilmette, Ill.

Mr. Lewis was born July 1, 1926, in New York City, the oldest son of Jamaican immigrants. A student at Dartmouth College, he left to enlist in the U.S. Navy in 1943 and served for 23 years until 1966.

He returned to Dartmouth to work with the Navy ROTC and teach naval science while still on active duty. He completed his bachelor's and master's degrees in government at Dartmouth in 1966.

In 1966, Mr. Lewis joined the United States Information Agency. With the support of the Ford Foundation, in 1967 Mr. Lewis created an expanded minority recruitment program for USIA, targeting African American, Latino and Native Americans enrolled in universities around the nation.

The program brought students to Washington, D.C., for expanded training in history, language and international affairs as preparation for successfully taking the Foreign Service entrance exam.

Mr. Lewis began his own Foreign Service career in 1969 when he was assigned by USIA to the U.S. embassy in Bucharest, where he promoted American music as a forum for engaging the Romanian people in Western culture.

When the American jazz-rock band Blood, Sweat & Tears visited Romania in 1970, Romanian officials sought to shut down a performance, but Mr. Lewis successfully negotiated a continuation of the tour.

Mr. Lewis went on to serve in diplomatic missions in Eastern Europe and Africa. He also played a significant role in expanding opportunities for racial and ethnic minorities in the U.S. diplomatic corps.

From 1972 to 1974, Mr. Lewis served as cultural affairs officer at Embassy Lusaka. From there he moved to Ethiopia and then, in 1977, to Lagos, where he continued his work for USIA until he was appointed as the agency's director of African affairs in 1979.

In 1983, President Ronald Reagan nominated Mr. Lewis to be U.S. ambassador to Sierra Leone. He served at the embassy in Freetown until his retirement in 1986.

Returning to the United States, Ambassador Lewis was named the USIA-Murrow Fellow at the Edward R. Murrow Center for Public Diplomacy at Tufts University for the 1986-1987 academic year. He was a senior consultant for the Nord Resources Corporation, which operates mining interests in Sierra Leone, from 1987 to 1995.

In 2016, Amb. Lewis moved to Wilmette to be closer to his family.

Amb. Lewis was predeceased by his wife, Frances Lewis, and daughter Dian Cuendet-Lewis.

He is survived by his daughter Dale (and spouse Pete) Wentz; grandchildren Peter (and partner Meagan), Hilary (and spouse Mike) and Andrew; great-grandchildren Bronx, Saint and Marvel Wentz, and Chelsea and Isla Hoye; and many nieces and nephews.

He was also preceded in death by his first wife, Dolores, and two siblings. Amb. Lewis was a cousin of Colin Powell, the first African American Secretary of State.

In lieu of flowers, memorial contributions may be made to Dartmouth College designated to the Ambassador Arthur W. Lewis Memorial Fund, Gift Recording Office, Dartmouth College, 6066 Development Office, Hanover NH 03755.

Thomas Joseph Nickle II, 79, a career Foreign Service officer with USAID, passed away on Jan. 13 at the Lower Cape Fear Hospice in Wilmington, N.C.

Mr. Nickle was born in Brooklyn, N.Y., on Aug. 24, 1939, to Thomas Joseph Nickle and Kathleen (Dwyer) Nickle. He was a graduate of La Salle College in Philadelphia, Pa., and served in the U.S. Coast Guard Reserve from 1961 to 1969.

In 1965 Mr. Nickle began his career as a Foreign Service officer with the United States Agency for International Development. He was first stationed in Laos, where he met his wife, Phan. From there the family was posted in Niger, Egypt, Zaire (now the Democratic Republic of the Congo), Burkina Faso and Jordan.

After moving back to the United States in 1988, Mr. Nickle retired from USAID. He moved to North Carolina with his family in 1990.

Mr. Nickle had a keen eye for photography and amassed a collection of photographs from his life and travels. He also enjoyed traveling, camping and driving across the country. He was a lifelong kayaker who brought his kayaks along on every overseas move.

While living in Egypt, he became the captain of the smallest vessel to go through the Suez Canal when he took an approved kayak trip through the Canal.

Mr. Nickle was preceded in death by his parents and older sister, Patricia. He is survived by his wife, Phan, daughter Seng (and husband Eric), daughter Julie (and husband Matt), son Tom III (and wife Elizabeth) and his Klepper kayak.

Betty Rae Powers, 85, a retired Foreign Service member, passed away on Jan. 9 in Springfield, Va., from pancreatic cancer.

As a child, the Minnesota native wanted to travel and see the world. She did just that: after working as a secretary and bookkeeper for a Southern Minnesota school district, she joined the Foreign Service and went to work as a secretary to the U.S. ambassador to the Philippines.

Mrs. Powers married Foreign Service Officer Robert Powers, and they spent the next 35 years living in places such as Lebanon, Mexico, Israel, Italy, Chile, Panama and Austria. They returned to Northern Virginia permanently in 1991.

Mr. and Mrs. Powers continued to travel long after their time in the Foreign Service ended, exploring Newfoundland, China, Africa, Australia, New Zealand, Russia and India, and cruising around the tip of South America.

Mrs. Powers will be remembered for her volunteerism. She answered mail for the First Lady at the White House, and in 2008 was honored by the Fairfax County Public Library Board of Trustees for volunteering more than 1,000 hours at Kings Park Library in Burke (at the time of her passing it was over 2,400 hours), and driving countless hours delivering Meals on Wheels.

She was an avid reader who cultivated beautiful orchids and adored her cats, Mouse and Popeye.

Mrs. Powers is survived by her husband of 58 years, Robert; their two sons, Patrick (and spouse Margaret Anne) of Richmond, Va., and Michael of Springfield, Va.; and three grandchildren: Lt. Zachary Powers, USN, of Bremerton, Wash.; and Erinn and Mallory Powers, both of Richmond, Va.

She was predeceased by her sister, Peggy Zellmer of Arizona, and her parents, Ethel and Herman Zellmer, of Minnesota.

In lieu of flowers, the family requests donations to the Fairfax County Kings Park library. ■

If you would like us to include an obituary in In Memory, please send text to journal@afsa.org. Be sure to include the date, place and cause of death, as well as details of the individual's Foreign Service career. Please place the name of the AFSA member to be memorialized in the subject line of your email.

A Blueprint for Reducing Violence

A Savage Order: How the World's Deadliest Countries Can Forge a Path to Security
Rachel Kleinfeld, Pantheon Books, 2018, $28.95/hardcover, $14.99/Kindle, 475 pages.

Reviewed by Frankie Sturm

Colombia was a dangerous place in the 1990s. Cartels and paramilitaries operated with impunity. Guerrillas kidnapped and extorted with abandon. In 1991, Colombia's homicide rate was more than eight times epidemic levels. Simply put, Colombians suffered from a staggering level of violence.

With examples as diverse as Colombia, Georgia, India and Italy, Kleinfeld shows how countries beset by violence can change course.

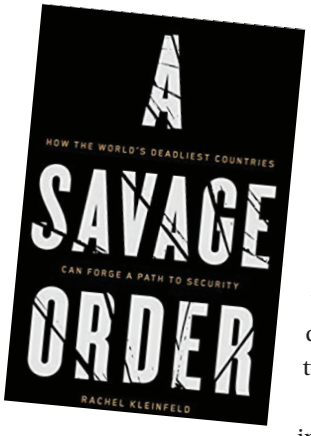
Thankfully, that changed. Homicide, kidnapping, terror attacks—they've all plummeted. Violence hasn't disappeared, but the changes translate into hundreds of thousands of human lives. As the State Department website puts it: "Colombia has transformed itself over the past 20 years from a fragile state to a vibrant democracy."

What changed? Rachel Kleinfeld answers that question in *A Savage Order: How the World's Deadliest Countries Can Forge a Path to Security*. With examples as diverse as Colombia, Georgia, India and Italy, Kleinfeld shows how countries beset by violence can change course. She structures the book around five ideas.

First, violence isn't an accident. It's a strategy. Kleinfeld coins the term "Privilege Violence" to describe cases where elites collude with violent groups or use the state for their own narrow purposes. Violence is typically the result of complicity, not weakness.

The book's second supposition is that entire societies decivilize. Privilege Violence starts at the top, but it doesn't stay there. When ordinary people fear their government and distrust their neighbors, some become violent. This unleashes a vicious circle. It's not just mercenaries who kill. It's everyday people who have nothing to lose.

Who breaks the cycle? The middle class. That's the third thesis. Privilege Violence benefits a small elite. It choses its victims wisely. It preys on the marginalized and tries to keep the middle class reasonably secure. When leaders from the middle class organize their fellows, they can beat back Privilege Violence. Since the middle class is too broad to privilege a single societal stratum, its reforms are biased toward a fair playing field for everyone.



Yet it's not enough to enlist the middle class. Governments have to cut deals with bad actors. That's premise number four.

Some monsters will go to prison, but not all of them. Otherwise, no one would renounce violence. But there's a caveat. Dirty deals are a means to an end, not an end in themselves. If they are allowed to stand, they will send a state back into violence. In the short term, however, they can buy time for politicians to institutionalize reforms that build a more just state. These politicians are often flawed vessels, but with support from the middle class, they are the bureaucratic instigators of change.

Lastly, states and societies re-civilize together. A community policing program won't help if the state lets murderers go free. And reformers won't get anything done if voters don't trust them. Once again, the middle class is crucial. It is the connective tissue between state and society. With exercise, its muscles get stronger and its streets get safer.

That's Colombia's story. Privilege Violence spilled over into broader society. By the 1990s, the middle class had had enough. Colombia adopted a new constitution that granted representation to Colombians of all political stripes. Simultaneously, guerrilla groups overplayed their hand. Citizens lined up behind an effort to root them out. This included an amnesty that persuaded paramilitaries to disarm, allowing the state to fight two sources of violence at once.

Plan Colombia played an important role, as well, largely because it had the support of both state and society. Add it all up and you get a massive reduction in violence.

While *A Savage Order* offers both a theoretical framework and a set of practical recommendations for foreign policy practitioners, it does leave a few questions open. What's the difference between a dirty deal that buys time and a dirty deal that entrenches elites? How does one distinguish between a compromised reformer and a would-be autocrat? Are there case studies that illustrate these differences?

It's not just mercenaries who kill. It's everyday people who have nothing to lose.

Then again, those questions would require another book. *A Savage Order* accomplishes the task at hand. It describes a proven strategy for fighting violence across a wide array of countries and cultures. By focusing on data points such as homicide rates, it provides metrics and rigor. With a hundred pages of endnotes, it's a trove of resources.

The purpose of the book is to offer a blueprint for action. For those of us in the trenches of diplomacy, it's a blueprint worthy of our attention. ■

Frankie Sturm is a Foreign Service officer. He has served in Poland, Guatemala and Washington, D.C., and is currently in training for an assignment in Suriname. Prior to joining the State Department, he worked with Rachel Kleinfeld at the Truman National Security Project from 2008 to 2010. The views in this article are the author's own and not necessarily those of the Department of State or U.S. government.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

LEGAL SERVICES

ATTORNEY WITH OVER 25 YEARS' successful experience SPECIALIZING FULL-TIME IN FS GRIEVANCES will more than double your chance of winning: 30% of grievants win before the Grievance Board; 85% of my clients win. Only a private attorney can adequately develop and present your case, including necessary regs, arcane legal doctrines, precedents and rules.
Call Bridget R. Mugane at:
Tel: (301) 596-0175 or (202) 387-4383.
Email: fsatty@comcast.net
Website: foreignservicelawyer.com

TAX & FINANCIAL SERVICES

DAVID L. MORTIMER, CPA: Income tax planning and preparation for 20 years in Alexandria, Va. Free consultation.
Tel: (703) 743-0272.
Email: David@mytaxcpa.net
Website: www.mytaxcpa.net

BUILD A FINANCIAL PLAN TO LIVE YOUR BEST LIFE AND SECURE YOUR FUTURE. Chris Cortese, former FSO and founder of Logbook Financial Planning provides independent, fiduciary, financial advice to the foreign affairs community. Logbook specializes in FSPS, FERS, investment management, TSP, college funding, retirement, career change projections and more.
Email: info@logbookfp.com
Website: www.logbookfp.com

IRVING CPA, PLLC. Scott Irving, CPA, has more than 18 years of experience and specializes in Foreign Service family tax preparation and tax planning.
Tel: (202) 257-2318.
Email: info@irvingcom.com
Website: www.irvingcom.com

BOOKS

VEILS IN THE VANGUARD: *Insights of an American Ambassador's Wife in Kuwait*, by Catherine Raia Silliman, $9.99 on Amazon.

Not knowing he was a Russian asset, Gavrilo Princip fired his pistol, igniting a World War.

Twelve American Wars by Eugene G. Windchy
(author of Tonkin Gulf–"Superb investigative reporting," *N.Y. Times*.)
3rd edition at Amazon https://www.amazon.com/Twelve-American-Wars-Nine-Avoidable/dp/1491730536

TEMPORARY HOUSING

CORPORATE APARTMENT SPECIALISTS. Abundant experience with Foreign Service professionals. We work with sliding scales. TDY per diems accepted. We have the locations to best serve you: Foggy Bottom (walking to Main State), Woodley Park, Chevy Chase and several Arlington locations convenient to NFATC. Wi-Fi and all furnishings, houseware, utilities, telephone and cable included.
Tel: (703) 979-2830 or (800) 914-2802.
Fax: (703) 979-2813.
Email: sales@corporateapartments.com
Website: www.corporateapartments.com

DC GUEST APARTMENTS. Not your typical "corporate" apartments—we're different! Located in Dupont Circle, we designed our apartments as places where we'd like to live and work—beautifully furnished and fully equipped (including Internet & satellite TV). Most importantly, we understand that occasionally needs change, so we never penalize you if you leave early. You only pay for the nights you stay, even if your plans change at the last minute. We also don't believe in minimum stays or extra charges like application or cleaning fees. And we always work with you on per diem.
Tel: (202) 536-2500.
Email: info@dcguestapartments.com
Website: www.dcguestapartments.com

FURNISHED LUXURY APARTMENTS. Short/long-term. Best locations: Dupont Circle, Georgetown. Utilities included. All price ranges/sizes. Parking available.
Tel: (202) 251-9482.
Email: msussman4@gmail.com

DCLuxe Properties. Washington, D.C., corporate housing, offering large fully furnished and generously equipped one- and two-bedroom units in the heart of the popular **Dupont Circle** neighborhood. In-unit washer/dryer, cable TV, high-speed internet and weekly housekeeping are standard amenities. Your privacy is important to us—no shared spaces or large apartment buildings. The subway, grocery stores, drug stores, dry cleaners and restaurants are all within 3 blocks of your unit. We have more than 20 years of experience with USG sliding-scale per diem. See **dcluxe.com** for more information and photos; contact us at host@dcluxe.com. Live like a local!

ARLINGTON FLATS. 1, 2, 3 and 4 BR flats/houses in 25 properties located in the Clarendon/Ballston corridor. Newly renovated, completely furnished, all-inclusive (parking, maid, utilities). Rates start at $2,750/mo. We work with per diem. Check out our listings. Welcoming Foreign Service for the last decade!
Tel: (703) 527-1614. Ask for Claire or Jonathan.
Email: manager@sunnysideproperty.net
Website: www.SunnysideProperty.net

FOR RENT: Gorgeous Townhouse in Arlington. 3 BR, huge basement, 3.5 bathrooms. 7-minute walk from FSI! Walking distance to Ballston, Clarendon & VA Square metros. Short-term or long-term rentals accepted, willing to rent furnished or unfurnished! Photos and a descriptive walking-tour available at: http://bit.ly/SteveArlington

The home is completely refurbished including: refinished wood floors; new carpet, lights and paint; granite countertops; new HVAC system, walk-in closet; and off-street parking. Brand new, stainless steel appliances are being added to the kitchen, renter will have first use! About me: I am an attorney with NASA, and a professor at Georgetown Law. Please contact me with any questions.
Tel: (202) 615-2127.
Email: Steve.Mirmina@gmail.com

REAL ESTATE

LOOKING to BUY, SELL or RENT REAL ESTATE in NORTHERN VIRGINIA or MARYLAND? Former FSO and Peace Corps Country Director living in NoVA understands your unique needs and can expertly guide you through your real estate experience and transition. Professionalism is just a phone call away. Call Alex for solutions.
Alex Boston, REALTOR, JD, MPA
Long & Foster
6299 Leesburg Pike, Falls Church VA 22044
Tel: (571) 533-9566.
Email: alex@LnF.com
Website: alexboston.LnF.com

REAL ESTATE

MAIN STATE BOUND? Tap into my 30+ years of providing exclusive representation to FSOs buying and selling real estate. You need unique and special consideration to find the right property. Let me assist with your next home, guiding you through the myriad details for a smooth transaction. Marilyn Cantrell, Associate Broker, Licensed in DC and VA
McEnearney Associates, McLean VA
Cell: (703) 819-4801.
Email: Marilyn@MarilynCantrell.com
Website: MarilynCantrell.com

EFM REALTOR: Transferring back "home" can sometimes be our hardest move. To make it as smooth as possible, I've gathered a team that understands our unique FS needs. You can begin your process this spring: Take advantage of when properties hit the market and you have the most choices! We can visit these properties on your behalf, even before you PCS back to Washington. We assist first-time home buyers, move-up buyers and/or investment buyers. We also sell homes for clients locally and overseas. Let us be your ally and advocate in coming home to Northern Virginia. Together, we can make this move your best one yet!
Rachel Cleverley, VA Licensed Realtor
Berkshire Hathaway HomeServices | PenFed Realty
300 N. Washington Street, Alexandria VA 22314
Cell: +1 (571) 274-1910.
Email: rachel.cleverley@penfedrealty.com
Website: www.realestatedonecleverly.com

ARE YOU TRANSFERRING TO THE D.C. METRO AREA?
Let's jump start your housing search now! I will provide you advance listings and help you identify the right property to buy or lease.

DO YOU WANT TO INVEST IN REAL ESTATE?
Let me provide you commercial real estate options that require minimal property management.

I can also suggest single and multi-unit residential investment opportunities with ongoing property management.

As a retired Foreign Service officer who spent a career leasing overseas embassy housing and office space, I will exceed your expectations.

RUSSELL BAUM, REALTOR®
Arlington Realty, Inc.
764 23rd Street S
Arlington VA 22202
Tel: (703) 568-6967.
Email: realtorbaum@gmail.com
Website: www.russbaum.com

REMEMBER TOM? I remember Tom fondly. For 25 years, Tom was my "go to" Realtor when buying and selling homes and investment properties in Northern Virginia. Posted overseas, having access to such a professional who knew the challenges of the FS and who we unconditionally trust, proved invaluable. He helped us purchase great properties and represented us, and his attention to detail was impeccable. I provide my clients with this same level of quality, individualized service.

If you're looking for such a Realtor, a former SFSO helping clients make intelligent real estate decisions throughout Northern Virginia, then contact me.

ALAN DAVIS, REALTOR®
Metro Premier Homes
Direct Tel: (571) 229-6821
alandavisrealtor@gmail.com
www.alandavisrealtor.com

SUNNYSIDE PROPERTY. Over 30 furnished Arlington VA Walk-to-Metro rentals. We own and manage all our properties. Studio to 5 BR houses. Unique renovated, stylish homes in vintage buildings. Completely furnished, all inclusive (parking, utilities, maid). Starting at $2,500/mo. We work with per diem. Welcoming Foreign Service for 10+ years!
For all listings/reservations:
Website: www.SunnysideProperty.net

HEADING OUT? HEADING "HOME" TO DC? As an immigrant and Foreign Service spouse, I know what a hassle international moves can be—especially without a GSO or CLO! Whether you're looking to buy, sell or rent, in DC or VA, I can help smooth your transition. For a realtor who understands the unique needs and strains of Foreign Service life, just call Marian.
McEnearney Associates
4720 Lee Highway
Arlington VA 22207
Tel: (703) 967-1796.
Email: MThompson@McEnearney.com.com

NORTHERN VIRGINIA RESIDENTIAL SPECIALIST. This SFSO (retired USAID, Housing & Urban Programs) with 15+ years of real estate experience can advise you on buying, selling or renting a home.
David Olinger,
GRI–Long & Foster, Realtors.
Tel (direct): (703) 864-3196.
Email: david.olinger@LNF.com
Website: www.davidolinger.LNF.com

PET TRANSPORTATION

PET SHIPPING WORLDWIDE: ACTION PET EXPRESS has over 48 years in business.
24-hr. service, operated by a U.S. Army veteran, associate member AFSA. Contact: Jerry Mishler.
Tel: (681) 252-0266 or (844) 323-7742.
Email: info@actionpetexpress.com
Website: WWW.ACTIONPETEXPRESS.COM

PROFESSIONAL SERVICES

TWIGA TUTORS. Don't let your child fall behind American peers while living overseas. Our certified American EFM teachers support K-12 students in English, Math, Science, U.S. History, American Literature and Coding and Robotics. Reimbursable for most FS families. Enroll Today!
Email: christianna@twigatutors.com
Website: www.twigatutors.com

ENGLISH LANGUAGE WORKSHOPS for Locally-Employed staff. We travel to your post! Go to www.englishforthejob.com for details on packages and rates.

PLACE A CLASSIFIED AD: $1.60/word (10-word min). Hyperlink $11 in online edition. Bold text $1.00/word. Header or box-shading $11 each. Deadline: Five weeks ahead of publication.
Tel: (202) 719-9712.
Fax: (202) 338-8244.
Email: ads@afsa.org

AD INDEX

When contacting one of our advertisers, kindly mention you saw their advertisement in *The Foreign Service Journal.*

Diplomacy Can Save the Day

BY GEORGE B. LAMBRAKIS

I have been prompted to reflect on my own experiences in Lebanon as I follow the Trump administration's foreign policy in the Middle East—and, in particular, the anticipated rollout of an Israeli-Palestinian peace proposal that is almost certain to be rejected by the Palestinians and their Hezbollah and Iranian allies.

In Lebanon, that crucible of ethnic, religious, sectarian and political complexities where the conflicting interests of Iran, Syria, Israel and Saudi Arabia may soon collide, the past interaction of American military ventures and diplomacy offers a useful cautionary tale.

I arrived in Beirut as deputy chief of mission (DCM) to Ambassador G. McMurtrie "Mac" Godley in September 1975, just as the second Lebanese civil war had begun. (It would last—with occasional interruptions—until 1990.) My wife and two daughters were soon evacuated as part of the general thinning down of nonessential embassy personnel from what had been a large regional center for various U.S. agencies operating in the Middle East.

The conflict had been triggered when a busload of Palestinian refugees driving through a Maronite (Christian) village in the north was attacked, and two dozen of them were killed. The Palestine Liberation Organization fighters allied themselves to the Sunni Muslim militias led at that time by Kamal Jumblatt, whose Druze followers hoped to modify the terms of the 1943 unwritten power-sharing agreement between Maronites and Sunnis that left the Druze out. In this battle the Greek Orthodox and Shia remained neutral.

Sadly, Amb. Godley had to depart Beirut in November 1975 for cancer treatment, and Special Emissary Dean Brown's effort to mediate an end to the fighting failed. I had been serving as chargé d'affaires for six months by May 1976, when veteran diplomat Francis Meloy arrived as the new U.S. ambassador.

The war was at a stalemate because Syria's President Hafez al-Assad had surprisingly intervened to prevent a Maronite defeat. Quietly welcomed by Secretary of State Kissinger, Assad's intervention was limited by strong warnings from Israel.

On June 16, Meloy set out to present his credentials to the new Lebanese president, Elias Sarkis. Dayton Mak, a retired former Beirut DCM had agreed to replace me as Meloy's deputy, but he could not reach Beirut because the airport was closed by Palestinians. So Meloy, accompanied by Robert Waring, our economic counselor, who knew the former central bank head Sarkis well, set out from Muslim West Beirut to Sarkis' office in Maronite East Beirut.

Their driver, Zuhair Moghrabi, suddenly ordered the embassy's security "follow" car to turn back just before crossing the "green line" into Maronite territory.

All three men in the ambassador's car were kidnapped and their dead bodies dropped in front of the unfinished U.S. embassy in West Beirut the same day.

A British convoy evacuated Meloy and Waring's bodies overland to Syria and back to Washington, D.C., for a solemn memorial service, while I resumed charge of the embassy and presided over a service for all three men.

The kidnappers were never identified (though I have my own theory), and Secretary Kissinger ordered another evacuation of nonessential personnel and American citizens who wished to leave. Because of a promise he had made to Israel, Kissinger was unable to directly contact the Palestinians, who by then controlled most of Beirut, so he mobilized the Egyptians, Saudis and French to convey his threat of serious consequences if the Palestinians did not let his people go.

George B. Lambrakis was a Foreign Service officer with the U.S. Information Agency and the State Department from 1954 to 1985. In addition to Beirut and London, he served in Tel Aviv and on the State Department Israel desk during the 1967 Six-Day War; as one of two American Observers (with Ambassador Alfred "Roy" Atherton Jr.) at the Israel-Syria disengagement negotiations after the 1973 Arab-Israeli (or Yom Kippur) War; as deputy chief of mission and political counselor in Tehran through the Iranian revolution; and as regional affairs director and National Security Council coordinator for the Bureau of Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs during the American Southwest Asia troop buildup under the Carter and Reagan presidencies. His professional memoir, So You Want to Be a Diplomat?, *is forthcoming.*

The British chargé d'affaires stormed into my office. "What are you doing? We know what you're doing!" he shouted.

The problem was *how* to go. The Beirut airport remained closed, and overland travel to Syria or even East Beirut was dangerous. As we and Washington discussed options, the U.S. Navy proposed a Marine landing. I couldn't help remembering an earlier civil war I had had the opportunity to study intensively at Tufts' Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy in mid-career—the 1958 Lebanon crisis.

In July 1958, under President Dwight Eisenhower's anticommunist Near East doctrine, 5,000 U.S. Marines had landed on Beirut's beaches—only to be met by sunbathers in bikinis. In fact, the Lebanese army had received orders to resist the Marine landing, but U.S. Ambassador Rob McClintock arrived and convinced Maronite General Fuad Chehab to call off his troops.

U.S. Special Emissary Robert Murphy then came and helped work out a diplomatic settlement that led to Chehab being elected Lebanon's next president. The American troops soon returned home, and civil war was tamed for another 17 years.

Now in 1976, with Secretary Kissinger pushing the evacuation of Americans, I was surprised one afternoon when the British chargé d'affaires stormed into my office. "What are you doing? We know what you're doing!" he shouted.

After he calmed down he told me that the U.S. Navy with Marines was mobilizing to invade Beirut, very much as in 1958. The British were horrified.

I immediately fired off a "flash" telegram to Washington, which brought Near Eastern Affairs Assistant Secretary "Roy" Atherton to the secure telephone.

"The president [Gerald Ford] is about to make a decision," he said. "How do you feel about it?"

Thanks a lot for asking, I thought. "I'm against it, and so are the British," I replied.

He was surprised that London was aware of the plan. "Send me a cable. The president is about to make a decision."

Fifteen minutes later, as I was consulting my country team, Atherton called again. "Where is your cable? The president is about to make a decision."

"All of us, including the military attaché (a very senior colonel), are against a Marine landing. It will create all sorts of new problems," I said, and sent a second "flash" cable to that effect.

Happily, President Ford decided against a Marine landing. Instead, he stayed up that night, despite the time difference, while the Navy landed unarmed troop carriers on the morning of June 20, 1976. The ships peacefully evacuated more than 500 Americans and other foreign nationals from Beirut over the next month.

I was informed by a Greek Orthodox contact and the Egyptian and French embassies that the Navy evacuation was protected by armed Palestinians and Jumblattists. The fact that I had come to Lebanon after three years as the NEA man in London's political section, where I had enjoyed confidential access to all relevant Foreign Office officials, made it easy for the Brits to come to me to protest Washington's plans.

Thus, diplomacy prevented another American military intervention that was bound eventually to draw American Marines into action against Palestinians, Jumblatt's Muslim/Druze and perhaps even the Syrians.

The much better known landing of American Marines (with French and Italian troops) in Lebanon six years later, in 1982, is the exception that proves the rule.

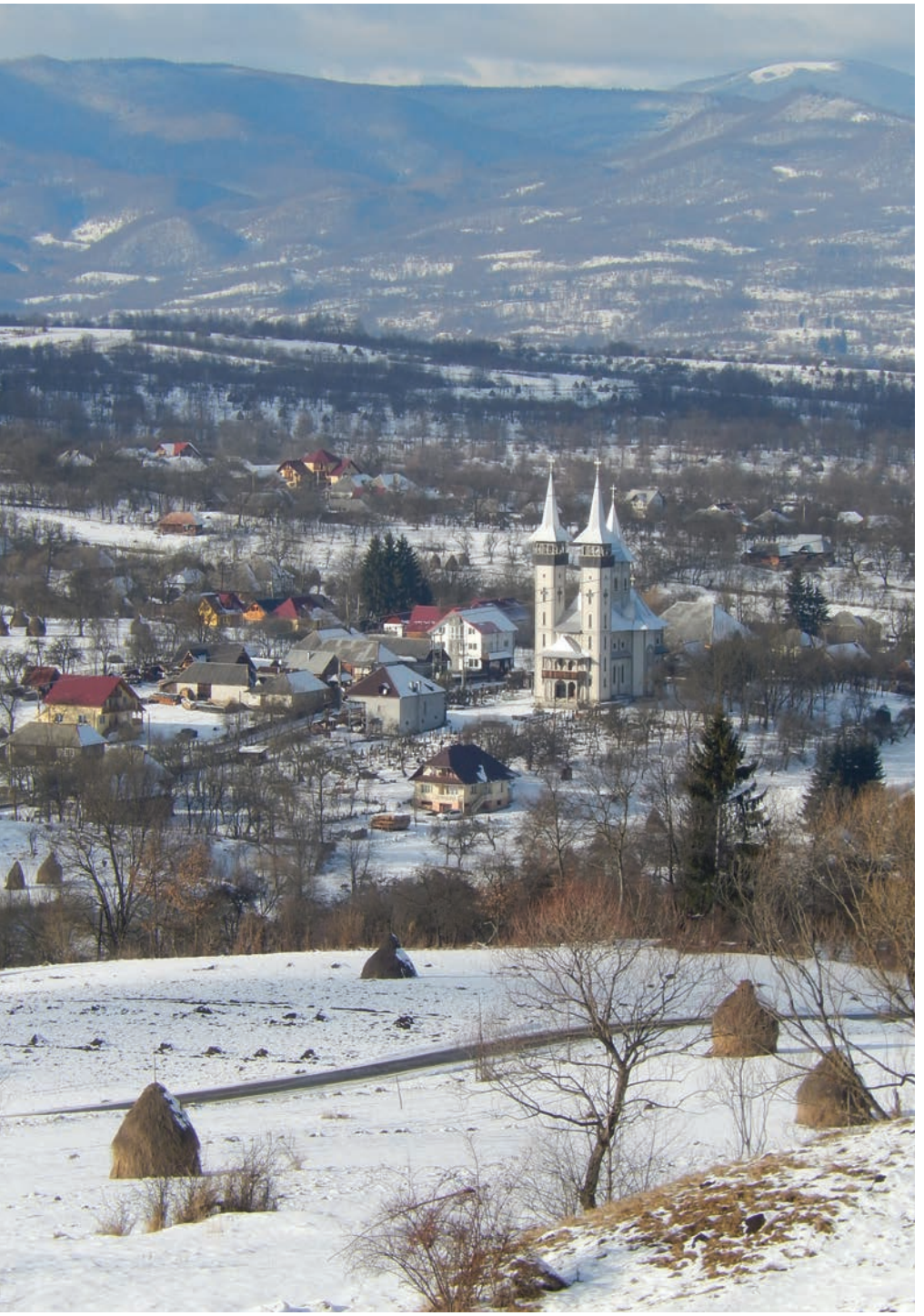
Following the breakdown of a United Nations cease-fire the United States had helped broker and the subsequent invasion of Lebanon by Israel, Washington deployed U.S. Multinational Force Lebanon to oversee the safe departure of PLO fighters from Beirut, to support the Lebanese government following the massacre of civilian Palestinian refugees by Maronite militia and to assist with the Israeli withdrawal.

American troops were still there in 1983, when their base was attacked, and they riposted. Soon the American and French barracks were blown up by truck bombs, killing 241 American military personnel. This followed a similar attack on the American embassy, killing a number of Americans and Lebanese. Those attacks were attributed to Hezbollah, a pro-Iranian Shia militia that had become a serious player, supported by Syria, in the shifting Lebanese scene.

President Ronald Reagan compromised by ordering the military back to U.S. Navy vessels off the Lebanese coast. By 1984 the Americans quietly sailed home.

These experiences sound a warning about the perils of ditching diplomacy and opening new fronts for the American military to explore. ■

BY CAITLIN B. HARTFORD ■ MARAMURES, ROMANIA



Twin church spires rise above a small town in the county of Maramures, located in northern Romania along the border with Ukraine. Maramures is renowned for proudly maintaining its rural traditions. These are seen in the towering wooden churches (including the tallest in the world), the colorful folk-art Merry Cemetery at Sapanta and the winter festival held the day after Christmas in Sighetu Marmatiei. Any time of year is a good time to visit Maramures and immerse yourself in a life that has changed very little over the generations. Farm families still use hand scythes and wooden rakes to harvest pasture grass, piling it onto center posts to form haystacks that feature prominently in this winter landscape. ■

Caitlin Hartford is a consular-coned FSO who is passionate about photographing and writing about rural life and landscapes. Accompanied by her husband, Tim, and their cats, her Foreign Service life has supplied amazing opportunities to discover—and photograph—countless small towns during assignments in Romania, Mexico and Colombia. She took this photo in December 2016 with a Nikon Coolpix S9400.

Please submit your favorite, recent photograph to be considered for Local Lens. Images must be high resolution (at least 300 dpi at 8" x 10", or 1 MB or larger) and must not be in print elsewhere. Include a short description of the scene/event, as well as your name, brief biodata and the type of camera used. Send to **locallens@afsa.org.**

AFSA is pleased to announce the fourth annual

Foreign Service Night
AT NATIONALS PARK

September 13, 2019 @ 7:05 p.m.

Nationals *vs.* *Braves*

Visit **afsa.org/nationals2019** for more information, including how to buy tickets.

This is a great way to reconnect with Foreign Service colleagues, especially those returning home from overseas service.

Professional Liability Insurance

A Worldwide Insurance Program Designed Specifically for American Foreign Service Members

- No deductible
- $1,000,000 or $2,000,000 coverage limits
- Full prior acts coverage, unless you have foreknowledge of any claim
- Four-year discovery period after policy expiration
- Counsel and cost of defense in addition to your coverage limits
- Monetary penalties arising out of any disciplinary proceeding
- The US government recommends this protection
- Eligible for premium reimbursement up to 50%
- A rated carrier

Ask Bernard
215-242-8200 • bcooper@hirshorn.com
M-F 9:00 – 5:00 ET

Use your mobile device for more information or to apply: Hirshornforeignservice.com

HIRSHORN
since 1931

American Foreign Service Desk/The Hirshorn Company
800.242.8221 • Hirshornforeignservice.com