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PUBLISHED BY THE AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION

SEPTEMBER 2019



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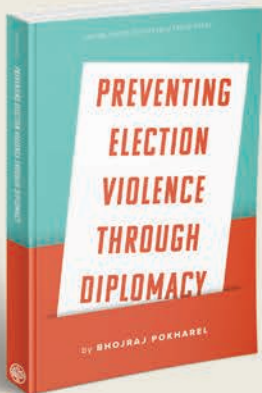
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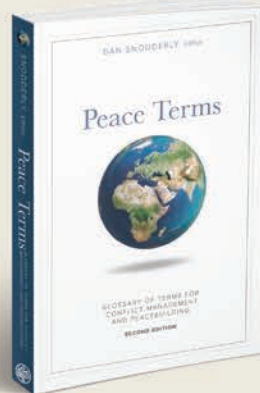
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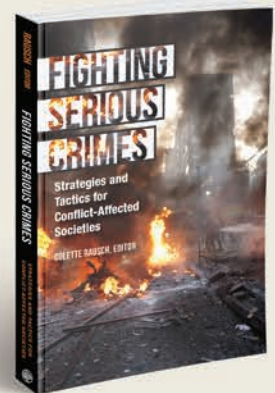


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# Progress and New Priorities

BY ERIC RUBIN

This is my first monthly column, and I want to start by thanking my fellow AFSA members for supporting me and the other members elected to our new board this summer. I am grateful for your confidence, and I will do my best to keep it. I also know that the challenges we face are not going to be easy.

First, the good news: our new leadership team at AFSA has established a positive and constructive working relationship with the Director General, Ambassador Carol Perez, and her principal deputy, Ambassador Ken Merten. There is already progress to report.

For State Department officers and specialists, the Fair Share requirement for bidding was eliminated, although it remains in some promotion precepts. We will work with State management to ensure this change is reflected in all policy documents and SOPs. And we will work with management to ensure that the Professional Development Program will not derail career advancement for our members.

Thanks to a shared intensive effort, State is making significant changes to the Special Needs Education Allowance program and to the entire approach to Foreign Service families with special

needs children.

The June ALDAC cable made clear that the primary goal will be to help Foreign Service members serve overseas and

to meet the needs of FS children. What many saw as a “gotcha” approach from the Bureau of Medical Services is, we hope, now being replaced with a “How can we help you serve overseas?” attitude.

Obviously, implementation will be critical. We will continue to monitor this closely and work with MED on other issues of concern.

Getting more Foreign Service members out into the field is going to be our biggest priority in the coming months. We are working with the leadership of our agencies, pressing them to move the positions being cut from Iraq and Afghanistan back to the posts from which many of them were taken in the previous decade. If the “Iraq (and Afghanistan) tax” is going to be a thing of the past, we cannot and must not simply use the reductions in these posts (and others) as a cost-saving measure, or to add jobs in Washington, D.C.

The Foreign Service is needed in the field. Our members want to serve overseas: that is why they joined the Service in the first place. If we are going to meet the challenges of a resurgent China—which is ramping up its diplomatic presence in almost every country—and address our other critical national security challenges, we can’t do it without adequately staffing our missions overseas.

A shortage of opportunities to serve overseas also has a direct negative impact on promotion eligibility and critical skills development necessary to create Foreign Service leaders of the

future. The shift of positions from Iraq and Afghanistan offers us a once-in-a-generation chance to get this right.

I’ll be spending a lot of time on Capitol Hill this fall, briefing members and staff on budget needs and priorities, and encouraging continued support for full funding for the foreign affairs agencies. We made good progress this year, and the budget agreement approved by Congress and signed by the president is a big step forward.

Speaking of recruitment and hiring, none of our agencies is doing nearly well enough on diversity. The most recent numbers are discouraging: as of this past June, 81 percent of Foreign Service officers and 75 percent of specialists are white, while 59 percent of officers and 71 percent of specialists are men. The Senior Foreign Service is 89 percent white and 68 percent male.

Programs like the Pickering and Rangel Fellows and recruitment at diverse educational institutions are helping bring in Foreign Service classes that look more like America, but our senior ranks do not reflect this diversity.

We can do better. We must do better. To represent America in 2019, the Foreign Service must be representative of the country. AFSA stands ready to work with the leaders of all foreign affairs agencies to meet this challenge.

I welcome your views and suggestions on how AFSA can serve you better and advance our common goals more effectively. ■



*Ambassador Eric Rubin is the president of the American Foreign Service Association.*





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# Averting Conflict

BY SHAWN DORMAN

There's not usually a lot of fanfare and public attention to the things that don't happen, to the conflicts avoided. Yet the diplomacy that—in ways large and small—keeps situations from getting out of control, stops violence or conflict from escalating, is critical. Diplomatic efforts don't always succeed, but one could argue that it's always better to try.

Our focus this month is *preventive* diplomacy, which at first glance might beg the question: What other kind of diplomacy is there? Isn't the fundamental job of diplomacy to use engagement as a way to stabilize or advance relations? True enough.

But preventive diplomacy refers, in particular, to the use of “measures short of war” to avert conflict altogether or prevent it from spiraling into outright warfare.

This can range from the everyday diplomacy of maintaining working relationships with in-country actors and authorities to the creation and implementation of interagency (and, indeed, international) programs to address issues or situations in other countries that are particularly destabilizing and may lead to conflict.

Ambassador Anne Patterson leads the focus with a sobering look at the state of State today and the current culture of risk aversion. If we're not there, if we're avoiding all risk, then how can we practice

preventive diplomacy, even in the everyday sense?

FSO (ret.) David Becker and Lt. Col. Steve Lewis share

lessons from their work on preventive stabilization and recent discussions on conflict prevention, offering insight into its basic elements.

Ambassador (ret.) David Rawson discusses whether it is possible to predict and prevent intrastate violence. As ambassador to Rwanda in 1994, he knows firsthand how difficult this challenge can be.

The wisdom in George Kennan's lecture—“Measures Short of War (Diplomacy),” from the collection of lectures he presented at the National War College in 1946—bears repeating. We excerpt it here.

We hope to expand the *FSJ* discussion of this important topic in an upcoming issue with a view from the State Department's Bureau of Conflict and Stabilization Operations, including a look at how the bureau has evolved and what the current priorities are.

September 2019 marks 80 years since the German invasion of Poland that sparked World War II, and historian Ray Walser brings us the story of Embassy Warsaw and its unflappable ambassador, Anthony J. Drexel Biddle Jr., along with photos from those dark days.

In the Speaking Out, FSO Samuel Downing offers suggestions for improving human rights diplomacy work in the field. Foreign Service Youth Foundation President John Naland tells us how the FSYP came to be 30 years ago and what it's up to today. And FSO (ret.) Fred LaSor reflects on “Coming of Age in Zaire.”

As always, we want to hear from you. Send letters and article submissions to [journal@afsa.org](mailto:journal@afsa.org). ■

*Shawn Dorman is the editor of The Foreign Service Journal.*



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## Immigration

Thank you for your June focus on migration. I found useful perspectives despite having been immersed in immigration policy research after retiring for nearly as long as the 28 years I served in the Foreign Service. (It was a nice surprise to find my 2001

article on immigration quoted in the *FSJ* archive excerpts on p. 36.)

It is axiomatic that the issue is complex and vexing. But a couple of aspects that escaped the authors' commentaries are worth noting here.

First, the perspective from Haiti of the dissimilar treatment of Haitian and Cuban migrants may have seemed to intentionally slight the Haitians, but that is not the case; nationals of other countries are similarly treated.

Cubans enjoy a unique status because of the Cuban Adjustment Act that, in effect, confers refugee status to all Cubans who set foot on U.S. soil. The act dates to 1966 when those leaving the country were seen as anti-Castro heroes.

Since it has made little sense for decades, Congress should repeal the act to remove the dissimilar treatment of Cubans.

Second, immigration policy and practice necessarily reflect a national perspective. International standards tend to dictate national practice only in the area of refugees—but, even there, issues of national security play a role.

Until recently, the United States was accepting more refugees—as identified by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees—than the rest of the world combined. In addition, the



United States has been the major donor for temporary resettlement abroad.

For the rest of the migrant flow to the United States, our history reflects a welcoming policy toward those who come in accordance with the provisions of our laws. Those criteria discriminate

in ways intended to protect national interests and will always be fair game for debate as the country and its people change.

The current debate about immigration policy is welcome, but it should not be based on partisan politics and should heed the myriad interests of the citizenry, rather than the aspirations of would-be immigrants and those whose presence here is in violation of our laws.

*Jack Martin*  
FSO, retired  
Washington, D.C.

## A Very Different View on the Issue of Migration

The three articles in the June issue on migration will not simply be overtaken, but swept aside by future events.

The articles variously assert that mass immigration is inevitable, that it can best be managed by distributing the load among recipient countries and that it is a moral duty on the part of recipients to rescue the downtrodden of the world. Such elite shibboleths helped give us the U.S. politics we “enjoy” today.

If you believe, as I do, that global climate change will advance too far before the world finally wakes up and belatedly takes serious action, you must accept the inevitability of not tens but hundreds of millions of climate migrants

in the century to come, given coastal inundations from sea rise, desertification, acute water shortages and the loss of agricultural productivity in many areas of the globe, especially in the developing world.

Can anyone truly imagine that the United States and Europe—the most desired migrant havens—could even begin to accept this human tsunami without mortal damage to their social systems, economies and political democracy? Just note what the intake in recent years of a “mere” several million Syrian and other refugees has done to the politics of Europe.

The answer, I deeply regret to say, is to abandon generosity, which came cheap when migrant numbers were vastly lower; harden our hearts; and fortify our borders and our internal control systems. And yes, with sufficient will and effort, our borders can be defended.

We may be headed toward a more Hobbesian world. Best to get used to it, because the average American voter *will*, even if some elites cling to noble but outdated illusions.

I don’t like the nasty world to come, but a different reality requires different values. If you disagree, then please tell me why global climate change and resultant epochal, massive attempted migration flows are *not* going to happen, and why you think the United States could absorb them without catastrophe.

*Marc E. Nicholson*  
FSO, retired  
Washington, D.C.

## Carolínians in the Early U.S. Diplomatic Service

Henry Laurens—who was imprisoned in London, as “Henry of the Tower” in the June 50 Years Ago item recounts—was

a South Carolinian and newly commissioned member of the fledgling U.S. diplomatic service of the Continental Congress.

Another South Carolinian, Ralph Izard, was also tasked by the Continental Congress to join the American diplomatic team in Europe as commissioner to Tuscany.

Although for many reasons Izard never made it to Florence, he did associate with Benjamin Franklin, Silas Deane and Arthur Lee in Paris, from whence his reporting to the Continental Congress was clear and correct. Izard was later U.S. senator from South Carolina.

See “Envoy Designate” in the Spring 2016 edition of *Carologue*, a publication of the South Carolina Historical Society, or [rwandakenya.blogspot.com](http://rwandakenya.blogspot.com) (2016) for more on Izard’s diplomatic efforts.

*Robert E. Gribbin*  
FSO, retired  
Springfield, Virginia

## An Ambassador Caught Being Honest

The leak in July of confidential British embassy cables is certainly the most interesting story about diplomatic Washington to surface so far this year.

In it, messages transmitted under the signature of Ambassador Sir Kim Darroch described the Trump administration as “inept” and “dysfunctional.” The following comments come to mind.

First, in reporting his views, the ambassador was merely doing his job. Reporting about the government of the country is a top responsibility of any embassy. The honesty of this reporting is supposed to be protected by its classification (i.e., the inability of outside individuals or organizations to access the reporting).

During my 4½ years as ambassador in Chad, we constantly reported our

views of the host government’s policies and activities; this could be positive, but much was negative, as well.

Amb. Darroch’s evaluation of the Trump administration shouldn’t surprise anyone. The verdict is shared by many, if not most, Washington commentators—and not only liberals, but reflective conservatives like Michael Gerson and George Will.

The administration’s reaction is also no surprise. What administration would not object to the characterization of its president and operations in the terms used by Darroch?

The fact that it was leaked is more interesting. Who leaked, and why? Were the supposedly secure British communications systems hacked? The media reporting has used the term “leak,” suggesting an insider, undoubtedly with an agenda.

This is a particularly disturbing and very sad development. More and more people today believe that such acts are justified when their own values are compromised by their employing organizations, despite commitments they have made to maintain the confidentiality of internal discussions.

What will be the impact of this leak? Will it discourage frank reporting from embassies to their governments? Yes and no. I cannot, for example, see it affecting any reporting from our American embassies.

But there are cases in which policy issues concerning an embassy’s host country may be fiercely debated within the embassy’s home government. Such was rumored to be the case with France’s Africa policy during my time in Chad. Under these circumstances, I can imagine ambassadors tempering their official reporting in fear of leaks that could hurt them personally.

Will the leaks affect U.S.-British relations or, more broadly, U.S.-European relations? Other than a brief U.S.-British chill, I think not.

Generally speaking, official and private foreign policy circles in this country were well aware that the analysis in Darroch’s cables was already widely believed by the governments of our European allies. Perhaps only Trump himself was surprised.

Last, I congratulate Amb. Darroch on doing the right thing by resigning. Even though I agree with the ambassador’s evaluation, it is clear he could no longer be effective in his role. He no longer has credibility with it and was correct to step aside and let another British ambassador deal with the difficult bilateral relationship. ■

*Christopher E. Goldthwait*  
Ambassador, retired  
Washington, D.C.



**Share your  
thoughts about  
this month’s issue.**

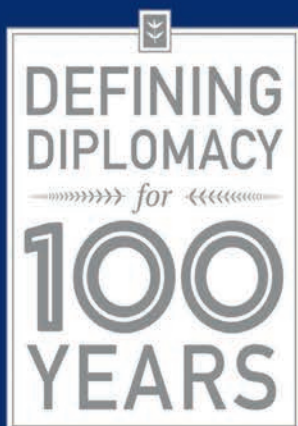
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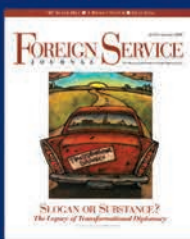
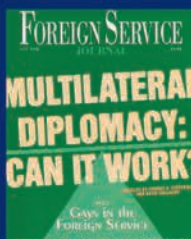
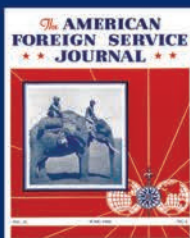
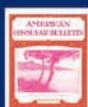
# THE FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL



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## Secretary Pompeo Establishes New Rights Commission

Secretary of State Mike Pompeo announced the formation of a Commission on Unalienable Rights to redefine human rights at a press conference on July 8.

“The Commission will provide fresh thinking about human rights discourse where such discourse has departed from our nation’s founding principles of natural law and natural rights,” according to the department notice. In his press conference, Secretary Pompeo said the commission would offer advice to him through an “informed review of the role of human rights in foreign policy.”

The goal of the commission, Sec. Pompeo told reporters in May, would be to sort out “how do we connect up what it is we’re trying to achieve throughout the world, and how do we make sure that we have a solid foundation of human rights upon which to tell all our diplomats around the world. ...It’s an important review of how we think about human rights inside of our efforts in diplomacy.”

The commission is billed as a bipartisan group of 10 scholars and experts. The State Department’s Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor is not involved. Secretary Pompeo announced July 8 that Kiron Skinner would serve as executive secretary. (Skinner headed State’s Policy Planning Office until she was fired on Aug. 2.)

The commission is chaired by Mary Ann Glendon, a Harvard Law professor and former U.S. ambassador to the Holy See. Other members include Peter Berkowitz, Christopher Tollefsen and Paolo Carozza.

Many observers have raised concerns about the new commission.

On July 23, 178 organizations plus



Chair of the Commission on Unalienable Rights Mary Ann Glendon delivers remarks to the press at the State Department on July 8, as Secretary of State Mike Pompeo listens. State Spokesperson Morgan Ortagus is at left.

251 named signatories (including former senior-level U.S. government officials, faith-based leaders, scholars) sent a letter to Sec. Pompeo urging him to disband the commission. They object to the commission’s stated purpose, “which we find harmful to the global effort to protect the rights of all people and a waste of resources.”

They also object to “the commission’s make-up, which lacks ideological diversity and appears to reflect a clear interest in limited human rights, including the rights of women and LGBTQI individuals; and the process by which the commission came into being and is being administered, which has sidelined human rights experts in the State Department’s own [DRL] Bureau.”

On the same day, 23 Democratic senators sent a letter expressing “deep concern,” stating that the signatories “vehemently disagree that there is any ‘confusion’ over what human rights are. ...It seems that the administration is reluctant—or even hostile—to protecting established internationally recognized definitions of human rights, particularly those requiring it to uphold protections for reproductive rights and the rights of marginalized communities, including LGBT persons.”

Daniel Drezner, professor of international politics at the Fletcher School of

Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University, writes in the July 10 *Washington Post*, that he sees only a slim chance the commission can be constructive: “The commission’s members are primarily conservative but also the kind of individuals that, in normal times, would be taken seriously. These are not normal times. The people running this will need to bend over backward to demonstrate good faith to skeptics. On this issue, the administration they serve has dug a hole for itself. It is possible that this commission can level the ground. It is not very likely.”

A shift to “natural law” would mean a step away from the accepted definition that “modern human rights are based on the dignity inherent in all human beings, not on God-given rights,” former Assistant Secretary for DRL Harold Koh told *The New York Times*.

“On the one hand it’s commendable that the secretary wants to place more emphasis on these issues, given that the administration to date has not been very outspoken on them,” David Kramer, assistant secretary of State for human rights under President George W. Bush, told *Politico*. “On the other hand, I’m not sure what this commission is supposed to do that the human rights bureau doesn’t already do.”



## New Mideast Economic Peace Plan?

**J**ared Kushner, President Donald Trump's adviser and son-in-law, unveiled the first stage of the White House plan to resolve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict at an economic conference in Bahrain on June 25.

The economic plan calls for \$50 billion to be spent on regional investment projects, with half of the money allocated to the West Bank and Gaza, and the rest to Lebanon, Jordan and Egypt, according to a June 25 report in *The Washington Post*.

The Palestinian Authority boycotted the conference, and Israeli leaders were not invited.

The Trump administration hopes to raise the money for the economic plan from international donors, especially from countries of the Persian Gulf, *The New York Times* reported June 22. The plan calls for \$5 billion to develop a transportation corridor between the West Bank and Gaza.

The administration plans to release the political component of its peace plan after the Israeli elections in September.

Palestinian officials have rejected the peace plan, arguing that the Trump administration's pro-Israel moves—such as moving the U.S. embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, and recognizing Israel's annexation of the Golan Heights—mean it cannot be a neutral arbitrator.

"First lift the siege of Gaza, stop the Israeli theft of our land, resources and funds, give us our freedom of movement and control over our borders, airspace, territorial waters etc.," Hanan Ashrawi, a senior Palestinian negotiator, wrote on Twitter. "Then watch us build a vibrant prosperous economy as a free and sovereign people."

## Contemporary Quote

**ee** Going forward, we must continue to hold Russia accountable when its behavior threatens us and our allies. While much of what divides us is irreconcilable, there are common interests we cannot ignore. No reset or restart is going to help, just a clear understanding of our interests and values—and a practical framework for sustained dialogue.

Through our diplomacy, we have worked to stabilize years of acrimony and incertitude with the hope of a better relationship. Failure is not an option, and the people on both sides deserve better.

While times are tough, it is critical that we increase exchanges of people and maintain channels for dialogue on issues of national interest—combatting terrorism, ensuring verifiable arms control, insisting that Russia respect the sovereignty of its neighbors, and advocating for a more responsive system of governance that includes rule of law and respect for human rights.

—Ambassador to Russia Jon Huntsman, from his Aug. 5 resignation letter to President Donald Trump.

## State Updates Special Needs Education Policy

**A** FSA has welcomed the new guidance updating and clarifying Department of State policy regarding members of the Foreign Service with children with special educational needs, which Under Secretary of State for Management Brian Bulatao announced on June 28.

The guidance explicitly encourages these members "to bid on and serve in foreign assignments," declaring that "[it] is in the department's interest to facilitate the overseas capacity of our workforce, but more important, it is our ethos to put our people first."

According to the new guidelines, it is in the department's interest to enable members of the Foreign Service—including those with children with special educational needs—to represent America at embassies and consulates overseas. The guidance details practical steps to make this possible (see 3 FAM 3280).

The changes are the result of a review by a departmentwide work group convened last fall by Deputy Under Secretary for Management William Todd. Still, some Foreign Service community members, who have expressed concern that the new policy is short on specifics, are waiting to see how it will be implemented.

A FSA has persistently flagged issues affecting families with special educational needs as one of the most widespread and deeply felt "pain points" affecting the Foreign Service. The association recognizes the hard work done by working group members and other department officials, especially Deputy Assistant Secretary for Human Resources Steve Walker, to develop and execute the changes.

## Craft Confirmed as U.N. Ambassador

**T**he Senate confirmed Kelly Knight Craft of Kentucky as U.S. ambassador to the United Nations on July 31. She had been serving as a political appointee

## Bipartisan State Authorization Act

I am very pleased this committee came together to pass the first comprehensive Department of State authorization bill in six years. Its passage reasserts our constitutional Article I authority to provide direction to the State Department. Not only is it our committee's responsibility to provide robust and continued oversight of the department, but we owe it to our diplomats to ensure they have the best tools possible in an ever-evolving international landscape. This reauthorization streamlines and improves the department, provides cost saving measures in embassy construction while maintaining security, and eliminates duplicative programs and outdated reports.

—Ranking Member Michael McCaul (R-Texas), opening statement at the House Foreign Affairs Committee markup of the State Department Authorization Act, June 26.

## Critical Tools for Advancing National Security

Diplomacy and development are critical tools for advancing American foreign policy and national security. Today's bipartisan legislation gets us back on the right track to strengthen and support the important work that America's diplomats carry out every day on behalf of our country. ... We are proud that today is the first step in making a State Department authorization a regular part of Congress's business.

—Chairman Eliot Engel (D-N.Y.), opening statement at the House Foreign Affairs Committee markup of the State Department Authorization Act, June 26.

## State Department's Vital Work

As a former national security officer who has served overseas, I can attest to the vital work of the State Department and its workforce. Our diplomatic corps, our Civil Service officers, and the contractors and local staff who support them, ensure that U.S. interests and values are upheld around the world. They ensure we pursue diplomatic solutions and prevent conflicts before they start. They ensure we have strong allies and partners who will stand with us in times of crisis. And they ensure we have economic opportunities for American businesses and a safe, secure world for our children. This bill is the first step in doing our part to ensure those officers who represent us at home and abroad are represented here in

## Heard on the Hill



Congress and have the resources, guidance and support they need to do their job.

—Rep. Abigail Spanberger (D-Va.), opening statement at the House Foreign Affairs Committee markup of the State Department Authorization Act, June 26.

## We Support You

Every member of the committee knows just how crucial the State Department is to our national security. The department is the face of America abroad. Through its work, the

United States secures its interests across the globe and helps our allies and partners improve their own capabilities and face their own threats on a better footing. I'm grateful to have met some of our diplomats and State Department personnel both here in Washington and abroad. They are some of America's finest, and by passing the State Authorization bill the committee sends them a clear message: we support and appreciate you.

—Rep. Joe Wilson (R-S.C.), in the House Foreign Affairs Committee press release ahead of the vote on the State Department Authorization Act, July 23.

## Unsung Heroes

As a veteran, I understand the need for strong American leadership on the world stage, both militarily and diplomatically. I firmly believe that our Foreign Service agencies, like State Department and USAID, are the unsung heroes of conflict mitigation. I have seen firsthand how their work supports our allies by reducing poverty, promoting democracy and maintaining regional stability.

—Rep. Adam Kinzinger (R-Ill.), in the HFAC press release, July 23.

## Commitment to State's Mission

We must ensure we are providing our diplomats with the resources necessary to represent America's interests abroad, and to maintain peace and security throughout the world. This reauthorization demonstrates our committee's commitment to supporting the State Department and their important mission.

—Rep. Greg Pence (R-Ind.), in the HFAC press release, July 23.



ambassador to Canada since October 2017. Craft is married to coal industry magnate Joseph Craft III, who donated about \$1 million to Trump's inaugural committee.

The vote was mostly along partisan lines. Democrats argued that Craft lacked the necessary qualifications and spent too much time away from Canada while ambassador there, according to the July 31 *Washington Post*.

Craft spurred controversy when she told a Canadian news outlet in 2017 that there are scientists "on both sides" who are accurate about climate change, according to Vox. But she walked that position back at her Senate confirmation hearing, stating: "Human behavior has contributed to the change in climate. Let there be no doubt."

But Craft stopped short of saying the United States should rejoin the Paris climate agreement, according to the *Post*.

## U.S. China Policy Is Hotly Debated

Nearly 100 Asia specialists, including former U.S. diplomats and military officers, argue for a course correction in the administration's policies toward China in a letter, "China Is Not an Enemy," published July 3 in *The Washington Post*.

The letter's signatories are "deeply concerned about the growing deterioration in U.S. relations with China" and write that while they are "very troubled" by China's recent behavior, "many U.S. actions are contributing directly to the downward spiral in relations."

They express several concerns about the current U.S. approach and make recommendations for a more effective bilateral relationship: The "best American response ... is to work with our allies and partners to create a more open and prosperous world in which China is offered

the opportunity to participate."

J. Stapleton Roy, a former U.S. ambassador to China, and Susan Thornton, who recently served as acting assistant secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific affairs (and penned the July-August *FSJ* article, "Is American Diplomacy with China Dead?"), are among the signatories.

Chinese coverage of the letter in the July 5 *Global Times*, a branch of the government's *People's Daily*, said it "represented the rational side of public opinion in the U.S. by stating the obvious truth"—that the approach of seeking to "contain" China is not what the American public wants.

Yet the letter was still "filled with prejudice against China and support for U.S. hegemony," *Global Times* stated.

In response to the "Not an Enemy" letter, an opposing letter with 130 signatories, "Stay the Course," appeared in *The Journal of Political Risk* on July 18.

The signatories assert that the "past 40 years during which America pursued an open policy of 'engagement' with the PRC" contributed to the erosion of U.S. national security, thus challenging an assumption made by many experts in recent decades that China would become a "responsible stakeholder" once a sufficient level of economic progress is made.

"This did not happen and *cannot* [emphasis original] so long as the [Chinese Communist Party] rules China," signatories say. Retired U.S. Navy captain James Fanell, the letter's primary author,

## SITE OF THE MONTH: IRAN SANCTIONS [bit.ly/TrumpIranSanctions](http://bit.ly/TrumpIranSanctions)

Although Iran has been subjected to a steady stream of sanctions since the country's revolution in 1979, their depth and breadth have been dramatically increased under the Trump administration's campaign of "maximum pressure."

This interactive infographic created by the International Crisis Group categorizes all major unilateral U.S. sanctions imposed on Iran since 2017 by year, type and location. Users can select sanctions by year, type of designee, kind of sanctions and more.

"President Trump ended U.S. participation in the 2015 nuclear deal with Iran in May 2018, and promised to snap back U.S. nuclear sanctions, which were suspended in January



2016 after the agreement went into effect," according to ICG.

"Scores of international companies announced that they would end or suspend their operations in Iran even before U.S. sanctions were formally reimposed," ICG notes. "These came in two major tranches: an initial set of non-oil sanctions on 7 August 2018, and a second more significant batch on 5 November 2018 against over 700 persons and entities, including around 300 new targets."

is a former director of intelligence and information operations for the U.S. Pacific Fleet.

Meanwhile, a new iteration of the conservative group, Committee on the Present Danger: China, is calling for a new Cold War against China, according to *The Washington Post's* Josh Rogin on April 10.

The group—which includes Reagan administration Assistant Secretary for Defense Frank Gaffney, former White House chief strategist and executive chair of Breitbart News Steve Bannon, and several former defense and intelligence officials—is sounding an alarm about the China threat. It frames the U.S.-China relationship as an existential struggle between two civilizations that have irreconcilably opposed plans for the world order.

## State Climate Change Testimony Barred from Record

State Department senior intelligence analyst Rod Schoonover resigned in protest in July after the Trump administration blocked portions of his written congressional testimony about climate change and its implications for national security, *The Wall Street Journal* reported on July 10.

Schoonover, an adjunct professor at Georgetown University, cited peer-reviewed scientific articles and intelligence reports in arguing that climate change could lead to increased resource competition, humanitarian crises and political instability.

While the White House allowed Schoonover to give public testimony before the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, it barred him from including evidence supporting his conclusions in his written testimony, *The Wall Street Journal* reported.

## 50 Years Ago

### Profile in Conformity

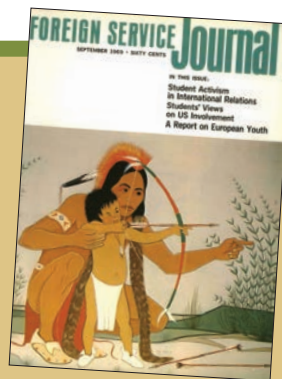
A professional group develops its own code of ethics—its values, ideals, prescribed behavior. ... A Foreign Service officer must: 1) Follow political decisions fully even when he personally disagrees. 2) maintain proper dress and manners. 3) Place the “good of the Service” over his own personal good. 4) Be ready to serve anywhere in the world in any job at the discretion of the Secretary of State.

So said the overwhelming majority of 588 senior and middle grade FSOs polled by John E. Harr in 1966. An identical survey of 550 junior officers taken ... in 1967 ... revealed similar priorities. Both young and old emphasize conformity.

I take it on faith that the best policy is developed in an atmo-

“In blocking the submission of the written testimony, the White House trampled not only on the scientific integrity of the assessment but also on the analytic independence of an arm of the intelligence community,” Schoonover, who worked in State’s Bureau of Intelligence and Research, wrote in a July 30 *New York Times* opinion piece. “That’s why I recently resigned from the job I considered a sacred duty, and the institution I loved.”

“When a White House can shape or suppress intelligence analysis that it deems out of line with its political messaging, then the intelligence community



sphere which encourages a free exchange of ideas; where competing alternatives are expressed on their merits;

where decision-makers have the benefit of the difference of opinion. Conformity here can be destructive, leading consciously or subconsciously to stacking the deck in favor of the policy believed acceptable or to dropping prematurely out of contention.

—Edward S. Walker Jr., a member of AFSA’s Board of Directors serving on the Policy Planning Council, excerpted from his article of the same title in the September 1969 Foreign Service Journal.

has no true analytic independence,” he added. “I believe such acts weaken our nation.”

## GRACE—A New Christian Affinity Group at State

State Department employees have established a new Christian affinity group, GRACE, with the goal of promoting a support network for Foreign Service professionals and their families.

GRACE works to promote the ability of employees to manifest religious beliefs in general, and Christianity specifically, in the workplace.



As of June, the group had 160 members, according to its president, Stephen Dreyer, and recently held elections to form a steering committee. It hosts discussions between department employees and clergy, teachers and other professionals on ethics, religious freedom and interfaith relations, and also has a Facebook page.

Membership is open to all department employees and contractors in the United States and overseas, regardless of religious beliefs. To learn more about the group, email GRACE-Steering Committee@state.gov.

GRACE operates in compliance with the June notice of the State Department's Office of Civil Rights, which reminded employees that Equal Employment Opportunity laws prohibit the department from discriminating based on religion. "A central tenet of this is that the Department cannot favor religion over non-religion, cannot favor non-religion over religion, and cannot favor one religion over another," according to the notice.

More than a dozen affinity groups have been established in the State Department. They act to promote and strengthen diversity and inclusion, networking and cooperating with each other, and with AFSA, which is the exclusive bargaining agent for the entire Foreign Service.

Management interacts regularly with the affinity groups to ensure fairness and equity for individuals in the work environment both domestically and abroad, and to eradicate harassment, intolerance and discrimination.

## Estonia Holds Cyber Diplomacy Summer School

Writing in the July 29 edition of *CyberScoop*, Shannon Vavra reports that 80 diplomats from 26 NATO

and European Union countries participated in the Estonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs' Tallinn Summer School of Cyber Diplomacy from July 22 to July 26.

Estonia's MFA organized the conference for young diplomats who have recently been handed the challenging task of cyber foreign policy making and other government officials interested in complex cyber issues. The venue was fitting: Estonia was the target of a 2007 cyber attack—one of the first ever committed, and widely believed to have been the work of Russians.

The sessions focused on lessons learned from previous international negotiations on cybersecurity issues, technical developments on the latest cyberthreats, and international norms and laws in cyberspace. The training concluded with a simulation of a real-world international cybersecurity crisis, Britta Tarvis, media adviser for the Estonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, told *CyberScoop*.

The U.S. State Department's former top cyber diplomat, Chris Painter, who now serves as a commissioner for the Global Commission on the Stability of Cyberspace, was among the participants. One of the key functions of the event, he said, was to help participants understand some of the technical details of different kinds of attacks.

Painter noted that it was only six years ago that the United States held its first bilateral cyber dialogue, with Japan, to discuss sharing information on cyberthreats. In May 2019, the United States had its inaugural cyber dialogue with the Dutch, and followed that in June with its third session with Estonia.

The United States was represented at the summer school by U.S. Under Secretary of State for Arms Control and International Security Andrea Thompson.

## Study: U.S. Fails to Counter Putin's "Grand Strategy"

A white paper, "Russian Strategic Intentions," prepared for the Pentagon in May argues that the United States is underestimating President Vladimir Putin's "grand strategy" to increase Russia's influence on the world stage, according to a June 30 Axios report.

The United States is ill-equipped to counter the political warfare Russia is waging against democracies, according to the more than 150-page white paper prepared by some two dozen national security experts.

"Contrary to conventional analysis," the report reads, "after two decades under Vladimir Putin, Russia represents an ideological challenge to the West, not just a political and military rivalry. Although NATO continues to possess impressive overmatch against Moscow, that edge is dwindling, and Western vulnerabilities in certain military areas are alarming.

"Moreover, the unwillingness of Western experts and governments to confront the ideological—as well as political and military—aspects of our rivalry with Putinism means that the threat of significant armed conflict is rising."

The report's authors contend that disarray at home is hampering U.S. efforts to respond—saying America lacks the kind of compelling "story" it used to win the Cold War, according to *Politico*'s Bryan Bender.

The unclassified report is a clear warning from the military establishment to civilian leaders about a national security threat that strategists fear, if left unchecked, could ultimately lead to armed conflict.

The assessment also raises alarm

## ON THE CAMPAIGN TRAIL

*In this space, we will share notable comments from presidential candidates that relate to the Foreign Service.*

I don't spend my time at fancy closed-door fundraisers trading favors for money, and I'll appoint only the most qualified person for the job. In a Warren administration, I pledge not to give ambassadorial posts to wealthy donors or bundlers. Period.

*—Senator Elizabeth Warren (D-Mass.), who unveiled a new foreign affairs campaign document, "Revitalizing Diplomacy: A 21st Century Foreign Service," June 28.*

about what the authors view as a burgeoning anti-American alliance by Russia and China, and sees an urgent need for cooperation with Russia in key areas—especially in the realm of nuclear weapons.

## Study Shows Impact on Cuba Diplomats' Brains

The source of alleged sonic attacks against U.S. diplomats in Cuba remains a mystery, but a new University of Pennsylvania Perelman School of Medicine study of 40 patients showed variations in brain structure compared to healthy subjects, CNN reported on July 25.

"There were group differences all over the brain," study author Ragini Verma, professor of radiology and neurosurgery at the Perelman School of Medicine, told CNN.

"Especially in an area called the cerebellum, which is also implicated in the kind of clinical symptoms that most of these patients were demonstrating, which is balance, eye movement, dizziness, etcetera."

Study authors note that they did not have access to earlier MRI scans of the patients to compare the results, and say

that the clinical importance of the findings remains unclear.

"It certainly does not resemble the imaging presentation of traumatic brain injury or concussion, although the [patients] present with clinical symptoms which are concussion-like," Verma said. "It says something happened, and we need to look further, and that's about it."

## Abolishing Positions in Embassies?

In June, the Trump administration sent instructions to chiefs of mission to abolish long-term vacant positions. The instructions read:

"To enhance accountability and efficiency, the President now requires all agencies to submit requests to the COM to abolish positions that have been vacant for at least two years. These requests must be submitted in accordance with existing procedures outlined in NSDD-38. The COM must decide to approve or disapprove the request based on the President's priorities and consultations with the requesting agency." ■

*This edition of Talking Points was compiled by Cameron Woodworth, Dmitry Filipoff, Steve Honley and Shawn Dorman.*



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**AFSPA**  
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**Patriot's Colony**  
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# How to Strengthen Human Rights Diplomacy

BY SAMUEL C. DOWNING

Central to the American experiment is the struggle for greater freedom. Thomas Jefferson's revolutionary assertion that "governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed"—not to glorify kings or even to pave highways, but rather "to secure these rights" to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness"—is as revolutionary today as it was in 1776.

If the purpose of our government is to protect human rights, surely that should be the purpose of our diplomacy, too. When America acts to advance our values and not just our interests, we strengthen our diplomatic clout on the world stage. Promoting our values is what makes American diplomacy unique—and uniquely challenging.

Advocating for human rights triggers passionate defenses from foreign officials steeped in cultural contexts different from our own. Progress on human rights defies easy measure. It tends to be incremental.

An intrepid human rights officer, often the junior member of the political section, must swim against the tide of bureaucratic resistance from the principle—oft stated, but rarely supported by evidence—that pushing our human rights

agenda too hard or too fast will put other areas of cooperation at risk.

Though for the past several decades there has been a clear bipartisan consensus for promoting human rights and democracy abroad, and many members of the Foreign Service are called to diplomatic work because of their interest in human rights, the management structure for human rights work at the State Department does not reflect this mandate and tends to disempower those who pursue it. Our bureaucratic arrangements act to marginalize human rights work.

Here are five proposed adjustments that could restore both its priority and effectiveness.

## 1. Rate Senior Officers on How They Do on Human Rights

First, we need to align the incentives for senior officers to focus more of their energy on democracy and human rights. Too often, senior officers prioritize issues where results are easier to quantify, like opening foreign markets to U.S. companies or securing a status of forces agreement with a host government.

These are important but obvious areas of focus for performance evaluations. But the unique priorities of U.S. diplomacy are democracy and human rights, and

performance evaluations for senior officials should reflect that fact explicitly.

Performance pay for members of the Senior Foreign Service should be linked, in part, to achievements related to human rights and democracy. Employee evaluation reports (EERs) for chiefs of mission and their deputies, and for assistant secretaries and their deputies, should require examples related to democracy and human rights. Promotion panels should be directed to base decisions, in part, on such achievements.

## 2. Regrade Human Rights Positions

Foreign governments get the message that human rights don't really matter when the most junior officer at the embassy is our main human rights advocate.

Human rights diplomacy requires a mastery of the core competencies we expect FSOs to develop over the course of their careers, yet most human rights positions are entry-level. The effect of this mismatch between responsibility and capability is to undercut the importance accorded to human rights in the conception and execution of U.S. foreign policy.

A human rights officer is better able to push back against bureaucratic inertia and reflexive concerns about "preserving the relationship" if she sits on the country team than if she sits on the committee of first- and second-tour officers (FAST).

One component of a human rights officer's job is drafting the annual human rights report on the host country. One of the department's most widely read and influential reporting documents, it can be



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tedious to produce. This is one of the reasons these positions are usually assigned to the entry level. But the department has streamlined requirements for the report significantly, and this is but one task among many for a human rights officer.

An effective human rights officer leads diplomatic engagement year-round: pressing host governments for progress on emblematic cases; lobbying against legislative changes that would undermine rights and freedoms; advising USAID and the Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs on foreign assistance; ensuring our security relationships align with our human rights agenda; crafting strategy for the front office on democracy and human rights; and more.

Many junior officers perform admirably in these difficult positions despite their inexperience and the odds stacked against them. Nevertheless, many others are set up to fail, and the corrosive effect is to spread corridor wisdom that the way to get ahead as a political-coned FSO is to shy away from too much human rights work.

Changing this reality requires re-grading many of the human rights officer positions to the mid-level FS-3, -2 and -1. The Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor (DRL), which conducts an annual policy review process to assign countries priority rankings based on human rights trends, should lead the effort to regrade human rights positions to coincide with the priority assigned each country.

There are exceptions to the rule that field positions focused on human rights are limited to the entry level. Given the Colombian peace process, and responsibility for managing a sensitive high-volume Leahy vetting portfolio, the human rights officer in Bogotá is an FS-2. The incumbent wields the clout that normally comes with being a relatively senior officer. She has logged notable wins, ensuring

## **Human rights diplomacy requires a mastery of the core competencies we expect FSOs to develop over the course of their careers, yet most human rights positions are entry-level.**

that attacks on human rights defenders receive the attention they deserve in our foreign policy and foreign assistance.

Still, other important human rights positions are graded too low. Cambodia is experiencing a disastrous reversal of its democratic experiment, yet the human rights officer is an FS-4 position. The human rights officer in Mexico City was until recently an FS-3 billet even though the incumbent has to manage rights reporting by nine constituent posts in a challenging country context. An FS-2 is now assigned to lead the embassy's human rights and migration unit, but the practical effect of having a dual-hatted incumbent is to shortchange human rights.

### **3. Strengthen Human Rights Training with a Regional Focus**

American evangelism for democratic values can trigger passionate protests that we disrespect national sovereignty, misunderstand cultural realities, discredit progress on social and economic indicators, discount the difficulty of incremental change or destabilize challenging political environments.

For that reason, human rights diplomacy requires a deep understanding of other cultures and their values, so that we can identify and explain points of convergence—what the political philosopher Michael Walzer calls “minimalist” universal moral principles—in a language that resonates with each culture's particular experience.

The particularities of culture give

universal values local meaning and vigor. FSOs need to know these cultural touchstones cold and be prepared to deploy them in their diplomacy.

Foreign Service Institute training prepares FSOs to parry charges of hypocrisy on human rights (guidance: admit we are not perfect, but emphasize our independent court system endeavors to hold violators to account).

But FSI area studies and human rights instructors should design follow-on modules specific to each world region to help human rights officers advance universal values using the language of local cultural realities. FSOs need to understand where the country to which they are assigned stands on its democratic journey, and how democratic transitions come about.

The goal should be to explain how FSOs can operate in a global context in which “a pervasive, at least ostensible, commitment to democratic government” has emerged, as Walzer puts it, in tandem with “an equally pervasive, and more actual, commitment to cultural autonomy and national independence.”

The stories that resonate in Colombo are different from those that resonate in Colombia. President Iván Duque Márquez has a bust of Abraham Lincoln on his desk, but he may be the exception that proves the rule; other Latin American leaders might be less receptive to hearing about houses divided against themselves than to quotes from the likes of Benito Juárez, president of Mexico from 1861 to 1872, who said: “Respect for the rights of others is peace.”



## 4. Realign Reporting Structures

Human rights work requires creativity to measure progress against realistic benchmarks that resist easy quantification. It requires a commanding familiarity with the variety of tools at our disposal, ranging from Global Magnitsky Act sanctions and human rights-related visa ineligibilities, to foreign assistance programs, U.S. anti-corruption laws that apply overseas, United Nations and regional human rights bodies and how to engage them, congressional certification requirements, human rights criteria for foreign military sales, and many others.

For this reason, the officials best positioned to provide guidance and direction to human rights officers in the field are the specialists in DRL, and reporting structures should be revised to recognize this reality. DRL should have responsibility for filling field positions for human rights officers, who should then report to both the regional bureau and to DRL, which would share responsibility for drafting EERs.

There is precedent for this reporting structure with the positions assigned to INL abroad.

It is true that some positions abroad are already assigned, in theory, based on consultation between the regional bureau and DRL. In practice, however, the regional bureaus maintain full control of “consultative staffing” positions because they control the budgets funding them. Allocating DRL an equal share of the budget for these positions would increase the responsiveness of human rights officers in the field to the DRL experts in Washington.

Strengthening DRL’s oversight role for human rights positions abroad would create a virtuous cycle whereby DRL could help these officers perform more

effectively, and the officers could sensitize DRL officials to the nuances of complex operating environments, enabling them to be more constructive in their guidance and assistance.

This reform would also make DRL headquarters assignments more attractive to FSOs, who are naturally concerned about securing a desirable follow-on assignment abroad.

Further, FS positions should be set aside in the Office of Global Programming, which manages democracy assistance grants from Washington but currently has no FS billets. Posts often complain that USAID has personnel on the ground who can “de-conflict” duplicative assistance, whereas DRL efforts are overseen by absentee landlords.

Setting aside FS program slots in GP would improve program coordination and alignment with embassy priorities. This would also provide FSOs with sought-after experience managing resources to demonstrate readiness for promotion.

## 5. Recognize That in the Long Term, Our Values and Our Interests Align

Human rights diplomacy requires us to “challenge the old model that places security and human rights in opposite poles,” says Charles Blaha, the director of DRL’s Office of Security and Human Rights. “[A] growing body of experience and research demonstrates that rights-respecting, accountable security forces are more operationally effective against violent extremists, insurgents and transnational criminal organizations” than forces that disregard human rights.

Human rights diplomacy requires a nuanced understanding that, over the long term, our interests and our values converge. Governments that protect rights (including the property rights of

Speaking Out is the *Journal’s* opinion forum, a place for lively discussion of issues affecting the U.S. Foreign Service and American diplomacy. The views expressed are those of the author; their publication here does not imply endorsement by the American Foreign Service Association.

U.S. investors) are our best trading partners, and democracies that derive their stability from popular legitimacy (including militaries that defend the nation rather than the ruling elite) are our most reliable military allies.

Human rights officers need clout to push back against repression and rights abuses abroad, and also against arguments from others in our midst that put our values second to our interests, failing to recognize that over the long term, they are one and the same.

Training and practice should focus on human rights as a complementary element to our various other priorities: human rights and economic development, human rights and environmental stewardship, and human rights and national security. That way, we reframe rights as an integral aspect of achieving other diplomatic goals—not a side gig or, worse, an impediment.

With the return to great power competition, we need to draw a clear distinction with countries that do not share our values, such as China and Russia, by doubling down on our support for democracy to avoid repeating the mistakes we made during the Cold War. Emphasizing human rights will be essential to strengthening American credibility and soft power around the world and reversing the rise of illiberal democracies that do not protect civil rights.

The reforms outlined here will be important to strengthening U.S. diplomacy for the challenges to come. ■

# We Have to Be There

BY ANNE WOODS  
PATTERSON

**The rise of risk aversion at the State Department has undermined U.S. diplomats' ability to work effectively, with serious unintended consequences for national security.**



For many years, the value added of U.S. diplomats was knowing more about foreign countries and foreigners than any other countries' diplomats. American embassies were larger, better financed and better prepared than any other diplomatic service on earth. We were called on to prevent international disputes and help our allies (and foes) navigate their internal disagreements. Every day, American embassies took thousands of small steps to build institutions to serve and protect American interests. It's what "preventive diplomacy" is all about. *That was then.*

*This is now.* Recently I have seen our capacity to prevent conflict and build institutions sharply erode, particularly in countries where local knowledge is most needed. This makes it more difficult for us to foresee problems, much less shape solutions. Our aversion to risk means that we know less—in fact, we



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## The growth of risk aversion has coincided with broader cultural shifts that have altered our patterns of diplomatic engagement overseas to the detriment of local understanding.

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are blind in critical countries. So we made mistakes in Libya, in Egypt and in Saudi Arabia, because we did not have a good understanding of the local scene.

Fundamentally, the State Department has become profoundly reluctant to put people in harm's way, under any circumstances. And because we are not on the ground in places like northeastern Syria or Libya or Yemen, we have turned more and more of the responsibility over to the Department of Defense. Further, unpredictable withdrawals of personnel and closing of embassies make us look afraid; and that, too, has long-term consequences.

This isn't about not having enough money—that's not new—or about the alleged tyranny of the Bureau of Diplomatic Security. In fact, my experience is that senior DS agents understand more than most that embassies need to know what is going on—it *makes us safer*.

The tendency to pull back was greatly aggravated by the vicious political fallout from the 2012 attack on a U.S. post in Benghazi, killing four Americans including Ambassador Chris Stevens. But the trend had been growing for years. The 1985 Report of the Secretary of State's Advisory Panel on Overseas Security (the "Inman report") responded to embassy bombings in Lebanon, Kuwait and Africa and forced us to move our embassies to the edge of cities and build fortress-like operations that have made it increasingly difficult to do our jobs. But the buildings were only symptomatic.

### The Shifts at State

When senior officers talk about why we have become less effective, they mention the inability to travel or meet people outside the embassy, the reduced pool of employees to draw on for our unaccompanied posts, the risk of corruption in management and programs because of the constant churn of supervisors, and the workload disparities because officers who have been in a country longer are simply more productive. In

turn, foreigners friendly to the United States see closed embassies, evacuations and withdrawals as abandonment. One Saudi told me he used to know people in the embassy when Americans spent years in country; but with the short tours imposed after the attack on the Jeddah consulate in 2004, he hasn't bothered much to get to know any American diplomats. Anyone he met would be gone soon; and they weren't much interested in meeting with him, either.

The growth of risk aversion at State has diminished U.S. diplomacy, and this trend has coincided with broader cultural shifts that have altered our patterns of diplomatic engagement overseas to the detriment of local understanding.

In the last 40 years, we have built the elites of the world in our image. It is a huge success story for the United States. Foreigners who want their children to get ahead school them in English. Our business practices have become the gold standard of the world; our military is the best; many ambitious students in the world want to go to our schools. All this has had positive benefits for the United States. As a result, however, many prominent foreigners don't read and write their own language anymore (and, I would add, they often know less about their own countries than we do). Not long ago I was the guest of an Arab minister; his toddlers, barely able to talk, rushed out to greet him in English.

Not surprisingly, we now spend a lot of time interacting with these English-speaking people overseas. In Saudi Arabia, the embassy entertains male and female entrepreneurs who attended Ivy League schools. Our senior diplomats have always had good access to the country's leaders. But we probably know less today about what is going on in Saudi Arabia's heartland than we did 30 years ago.

I once asked a Saudi minister who studied in London and Paris what was going on in his conservative home town. He admitted he hadn't been there in 12 years because his more conservative relatives didn't approve of his writings. Why does this matter? Because internal stability in Saudi Arabia is an important U.S. strategic interest. And because we need to understand what environment encouraged the Saudi hijackers to flourish—or, in another context, Tunisia's angry young men to join the so-called Islamic State in droves.

### An Unsustainable Model

It isn't that we don't have talented and adventurous young Foreign Service officers. In Yemen, before our embassy was evacuated in 2015, there were two outstanding officers who had been Fulbright scholars. They had great contacts and spoke

Arabic. But our security restrictions meant that they never left the embassy. Our officers could do a lot by phone, but eventually their skills would atrophy, and Arabs would see the lack of personal contact as a lack of interest. By contrast, there were analysts from international nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) who lived in downtown Sana'a and continued to provide useful information well into the civil war. Our ambassador, a distinguished Arabist, worked from Saudi Arabia on the phone, taking advantage of the contacts he had made during 10 months in Yemen before he was evacuated. With enormous bureaucratic effort, he managed to make a few short trips back.

Would the U.S. government have been more effective at resolving the conflict if he and his staff had been there more often? Hard to say. But the vast majority of countries in the world are relationship-based societies: It is far easier to find out what someone is planning when you are sitting on their couch late at night rather than talking to them on WhatsApp.

What the Foreign Service can no longer do in many coun-

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**Today's American political officers can't go on the spur of the moment to some rural village, ask some kid to take them to an unknown destination and hang out with some members of the Muslim Brotherhood.**

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tries was brought home to me by a 2013 *New Republic* article on Egypt by Eric Trager, an Arabic speaker with excellent contacts. "My Brother's Presidency Was a Disaster" was an interview with the brother of now-deceased Egyptian President Mohammed Morsi. I asked Trager how he had gotten his story. He told me he had gone to Morsi's hometown, a rural village, and stopped

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## **This diplomatic model is not sustainable, because we are cut off from ministries, NGOs and the business community, and from the country's citizens.**

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off in a drugstore to ask where Morsi's family home was located. A kid in the drugstore offered to take him to Morsi's brother. Trager met the brother and other members of the Muslim Brotherhood.

His substantive point in the article was an important one: Despite the military crackdown, the Muslim Brotherhood was alive and well in rural Egypt. But today's American political officers can't go on the spur of the moment to some rural village, ask some kid to take them to an unknown destination and hang out with some members of the Muslim Brotherhood.

In Libya, our embassy closed in 2014 because of violence. Even before the withdrawal, the embassy had been subject to the strictest security of posts in the region, with highly limited staff, one-year tours and the most depressing living conditions I had ever seen in the Foreign Service. The situation gradually improved, and the western embassies began to return—with the exception of the United States and Canada. The United States continued to run its diplomatic operation from Tunisia. Despite numerous requests from the ambassador to both administrations, mission staff was not allowed to return on a regular basis, and the bar to meet security standards kept being raised.

No one in a position of responsibility would sign off on the embassy's return. Like those junior officers in Yemen, we have strong senior officers, too; through herculean efforts the ambassador met with Libya's leaders every time they were outside the country, and the United States was still a preeminent influence in that country. But this diplomatic model is not sustainable, because we are cut off from ministries, NGOs and the business community, and from the country's citizens. It is hard to know, furthermore, whether other countries saw our perceived withdrawal from Libya as a green light for their own intervention.

The increasing militarization of foreign policy is not new, but it also received a huge boost from Benghazi. As U.S. forces continued to operate in places where State Department officers weren't allowed to go, military personnel not surprisingly assumed more and more of the traditional civilian functions.

This has been particularly dramatic in northeastern Syria. Even though ISIS has lost territory, 70,000 ISIS dependents, including 12,000 stateless children, now sit in miserable camps in northeastern Syria. This is an example of the need for preventive diplomacy at its most urgent: to ensure that these camps don't become a terrorist petri dish and that hundreds of children don't continue to die every day requires a highly specialized team of civilian specialists working with the U.S. military and with the Syrian Democratic Forces (the Kurds). Yet civilians are only allowed to be present in small numbers, if at all, after an exhaustive internal approval process.

### **Everyday Diplomacy Is Essential**

The irony is that local knowledge and contacts make us safer. In September 2011, American embassies in the Middle East received frantic warnings that we were to "take steps" because Pastor Terry Jones in Florida was about to burn a Koran. Fortunately, in Egypt Political Counselor David Ranz and Political Officer Peter Shea had cultivated the local Salafis, the most conservative branch of Islam. The Salafis actually reached out to the embassy about the Koran burning, and Shea negotiated a statement that effectively dissuaded them from participating in the protest demonstration and kept in touch with them throughout the day. The chargé also had cultivated excellent host-government contacts who were responsive to the embassy's security concerns. These contacts were important factors in the minimal damage to U.S. interests in Cairo as a result of the incident.

Recently, when visiting our embassy in Doha, I was reminded of what U.S. embassies do year-round, all around the world: help countries take small but important steps to strengthen their society. With no less than five checkpoints, the compound in Doha is hugely unwelcoming. The staff doesn't invite Qataris to visit because of the embassy's location and the long delays to get in. But Doha, at least, is a fully staffed embassy where the chargé is respected and highly visible. While I was there, a young officer briefed us on the steps Qatar had taken to improve its labor laws, inadequate to be sure, but a big step in the right direction. It was clear that the U.S. embassy—and this officer, in particular—had worked with Qatari officials, the United Nations' International Labor Organization and the private sector, and played an important role in promoting the reforms.

Admittedly small potatoes in a strategic sense, an improvement in labor conditions in Qatar is not without important implications: now our ally is not criticized as much for its human rights record, and American firms don't suffer reputa-

tional damage. But perhaps most important, a migrant worker from Bangladesh who makes \$300 a month is healthier and safer and has a better future for this accomplishment.

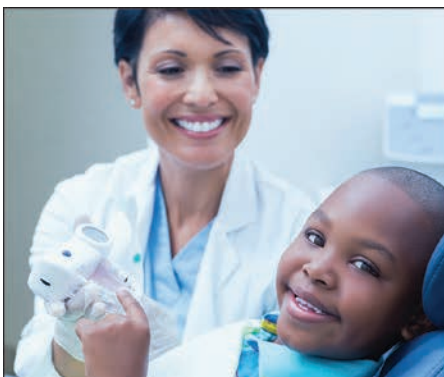
No other diplomatic service in the world can touch so many people, in so many places. When we evacuate or close posts, this is the type of “preventive diplomacy” that gets eliminated.

We weren’t always so averse to risk. In 2003 the Nugal social club in Bogotá was bombed by the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia. It was three blocks from the ambassador’s residence. Thirty-six people died, and hundreds were wounded. Tragically, a children’s recital had just finished. Two embassy personnel had just finished a meeting and departed the premises. Within hours after the attack, American personnel were on the scene to assess the situation. U.S. Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms experts arrived from Washington in two days and scraped evidence off neighboring buildings. No one in Washington discussed evacuating or ordered any departure; but as ambassador, I offered anyone the option to curtail. Two people out of a

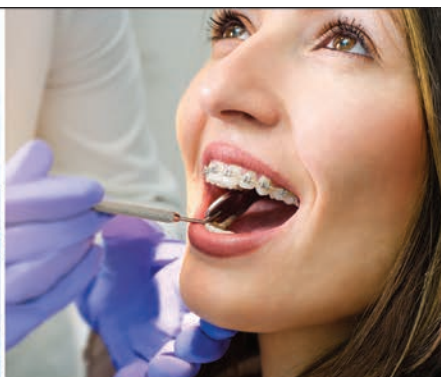
1,000-person embassy took me up on it. Instead of pressing me to send more people home, then-Management Under Secretary Grant Green asked me why I had allowed people to curtail, saying they should remain in Bogotá “and do their duty.”

The repercussions of withdrawing overseas are subtle and gradual. A review process to justify our overseas presence was instituted in the Obama administration; it was useful but not sufficient. We need an honest conversation within the State Department, with Congress and with the Central Intelligence Agency and DOD about the implications of our presence overseas.

We can’t prevent conflicts, export our products, protect our citizens or improve human rights if we aren’t there. In the May 2015 *Foreign Service Journal*, James Bullock, writing after his temporary assignment to Tunisia, made the point eloquently that “staying safe” cannot be our highest priority. Our highest priority must be to advance the interests of the United States with a knowledgeable, aggressive and consistent presence overseas. ■



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# Getting Preventive Stabilization On the Map

BY DAVID C. BECKER  
AND STEVE LEWIS

Two practitioners discuss the challenges of conflict prevention in the modern age.

Often when talking to survivors of violence in burned-out villages or bullet-pocked cement-block urban neighborhoods, we couldn't help thinking: "This would be easier if we had been here earlier."

Both of us have been involved in stabilization operations for years but have often wished for a time machine

so we could go back and help mitigate the problems before they became crises.

The cost of violent conflict and instability is incredibly high, both in terms of human life and resources wasted. The United Nations estimates that the average cost of a civil war is \$65 billion. The benefits of prevention are also significant. A United Nations report estimates that every \$1 spent on prevention saves \$10 in recovery costs. Prevention of violent conflict is not just common sense and fiscally sound; it is also U.S. policy, as outlined in the current National Security Strategy. Why then, if prevention saves money and lives, and is official U.S. government policy, do we have such a poor record of preventing violent conflict and stability?

This question was the focus of the Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Training and Education Workshop that drew a group of stabilization veterans, including the authors, to Carlisle, Pennsylvania, last April. Sponsored by the U.S. Army's Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute (PKSOI), the workshop is an annual three-day event. This year, the group of about 50 practitioners formed six workgroups to discuss various components of stability. Our group of 10 focused on how to get ahead of the cruel curve of conflict and spiraling violence before it eventually draws the attention of the world and pulls outside nations



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*The authors thank Drs. Danielle Stodilka and Walter Dorn for their contributions to this article and the seminar that inspired it.*

into yet another manmade disaster. (More information about this workshop can be found at the PKSOI website: <https://pksoi.armywarcollege.edu/conferences/psotew/>.)

We shared personal experiences of successful and unsuccessful efforts, and we discussed the challenges prevention efforts face, as well as what's involved in planning and implementing such operations. The following is a selection of some of the most salient observations and conclusions that surfaced during our deliberations.

### Toward Preventive Stabilization

Establishing conflict prevention as a rigorous discipline on the continuum of response to conflict—from ordinary political disagreements to violent hostility and war—is a work in progress.

As Robert Jenkins, U.S. Agency for International Development's deputy assistant administrator for the Bureau for Democracy, Conflict and Humanitarian Assistance, noted in a plenary session, the U.S. military classifies stabilization operations as part of "irregular warfare"—as opposed to state-vs.-state conventional warfare. Yet even though irregular warfare (stabilization and counterterrorism and counterinsurgency) has today become the norm, compared to the vast literature on prevention of conventional conflict, "preventive stabilization" is barely recognized as a concept and has received relatively little attention from analysts, strategists and policymakers.

Importantly, in the Carlisle discussions we drew only minimally from experience based on the United States' and NATO's anomalously huge long-term interventions in Iraq and Afghanistan, though they nonetheless offer lessons on how and how not to carry out interventions (arguably more on the latter). Various members of the workshop had spent decades in Central America, as well as Peru, Haiti, Indonesia, Sudan and Yemen,

among other locations, and this gave the group's discussion a somewhat different perspective than the work of analysts whose primary experience is in Afghanistan and Iraq.

Building on the practical experiences of the different attendees at the workshop, we sought to define preventive stabilization more precisely, discuss some of the challenges it presents, review lessons learned and identify criteria for its successful implementation.

**Defining prevention.** Preventive stabilization is different from "pure" development programming, namely, long-term funding designed to improve health, education, governance and prosperity—i.e., "a rising tide lifts all boats" approach for improving the lives of many. It is not humanitarian assistance—directed at populations affected by a disaster, natural or manmade—either. For purposes of this analysis, we define post-conflict stabilization assistance as "aid to support reestablishment of safe and secure environments

and to construct or reconstruct critical infrastructure and restart economic activity."

In light of this, what does "preventive stabilization" entail? The group did not reach a clear consensus, although we concurred that examples from USAID's Office of Transition Initiatives, Canada's START program (now the Peace and Stability Operations program) and the United Kingdom's Department for International Development projects sometimes seem to apply.

Some participants cited programs conducted by USAID and the State Department's Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement—for example, working with police and social groups in Central American slums run by gangs. But those cases seemed to be actual stabilization missions rather than *preventive* missions, as the gangs are already clearly armed opponents of the government and local leadership.

**Development dollars do not equal prevention.** The primary



ISTOCKPHOTO.COM/MHJ

challenge of preventive stabilization, most practitioners agree, is *not* insufficient funding for development. Although devoting more resources to development assistance might well be worthwhile in its own right, increasing local access to education and boosting incomes will not magically resolve societal conflicts.

In fact, unequal development (when, for instance, investment pours in from outside the conflict zone for resource exploitation—oil, diamonds, timber, etc.) can actually exacerbate existing frictions into open war. More dollars alone won't solve the conflict patterns.

**Good prevention is hard to find.** It is difficult to come up with clear examples of preventive stabilization. As practitioners, we are almost always funded and arrive only *after* conflict has consumed a country, not before. Ironically, we practitioners might not have heard of successful preventive efforts—precisely because they were successful. And, participants noted, even if you are there as a prevention measure, it is very difficult to prove that you averted an adverse outcome.

We did discuss some instances of modest intervention that may have stopped a return to violence during a pause or lull in the cycle of ongoing violence. In Haiti, according to a participant who

worked there with the Haiti Stabilization Initiative in 2008, a group of street leaders working with the initiative said they were tired of being used as rent-a-mobs by political actors. They therefore voted to run the bagman of a businessman's political party out of the Cité Soleil slum as a message that they were no longer in the violence-on-demand business. When the capital was convulsed by food riots that threatened to topple the government later that year, only one poor neighborhood did not participate in the violence: Cité Soleil.

Another practitioner reported a similar experience in Indonesia. When interreligious violence in Central Sulawesi province finally subsided after four years of intermittent fighting, the Jemaah Islamiyah terrorist group launched attacks to rekindle tensions. The USAID staff, along with some of their implement-



David Becker, at right, hears from local leaders in Cité Soleil, Port au Prince, in 2009.

**“Preventive stabilization” is barely recognized as a concept, and it has received relatively little attention from analysts, strategists and policymakers.**

ing partners, facilitated dialogue between Christian and Muslim community leaders, helping both groups realize that it was an outside group that was trying to shatter the precarious peace. This headed off a return to large-scale violence.

**How do you know when to intervene?** Identifying incipient conflict or low-level conflicts before they become the sort

of stabilization crisis that we have so often failed to resolve is a major challenge.

How does one distinguish the conflict that is healthy political friction, or at least controllable disagreement, from the conflict that will become an all-consuming cancer? Is Sudan about to break down, or is it simply going through another difficult transition? How about Venezuela? Or Thailand?

There are ongoing efforts to identify “fragile states” using readily available indicators, but there is still no agreement on which indicators are significant predictors. And, of course, local conflicts are by definition “local.” In other words, they don't draw

attention to themselves early on.

**Competition for attention and funds.** When working in Haiti following the United Nations intervention, David Becker often heard from the slum dwellers: “You are only here spending money because we finally started fighting back.”

Or, “Until the gangs started to kidnap rich businessmen's kids, no one cared about us.” They were not entirely wrong.

Preventing instability is simply not interesting for most donor countries. Western democracies tend to be self-absorbed—their priorities center around their own relatively immediate interests, and those interests (and funding) seldom call for intervening in a foreign land. Unless the conflict has grown to the point that it threatens the stability of a neighboring state, weakens an allied government or is risking the lives of millions, it is probably not going to be a priority.

This problem is complicated by the fact that funding prevention programs would probably mean diverting money from existing crisis response funds, creating bureaucratic wars even before the conflict has broken out on the ground.



### **Pull together with partners.**

Despite problems of recognition and funding, the fact that prevention is part of a continuum of responses to conflict means that, just like traditional stabilization operations, the process of creating a strategy for crisis prevention, identifying resources and engaging partners requires maximum buy-in from agencies and assets traditionally designed to respond to crises. On the ground, successful prevention of instability comes from a mix of understanding the local environment, building a team and gaining broad institutional support from local partners to address the driving factors of instability.

This parallels the process for successful stabilization efforts in general. Indeed, most lessons from post-conflict stabilization operations apply equally well to pre-conflict stabilization efforts.

To understand and adapt to a changing local environment, it is critical to develop and engage a network of local and international partners from a variety of sectors: government, international organizations, embassies, military, police, national disaster management authorities, nongovernmental organizations and civil society. They can all help address the driving factors of instability, as well as identify the early-warning signs that may lead to a crisis.

In contrast to the Iraq and Afghanistan models, however, the U.S. government is probably not going to be the dominant player on the field in a preventive stabilization operation. But even as a much smaller player, the design of a U.S. team is extremely important. It is critical to include the right members in decision-making and implementation processes, while recognizing respective differences in their mandates. In other words, there may be a “core” team group and “support” partner group(s), depending on the role and capability of each member. These could be U.S. government agencies, but more likely will be drawn from international organizations and local society.

Practitioners noted, however, that while a U.N.-structured response could be very helpful in bringing in new outside partners such as China, Russia or other countries, in some cases a response can be hamstrung by being *too* inclusive. So, we concluded, the United Nations must find the best balance.

**Go for local solutions, locally led.** The U.S. government may in some cases provide enthusiastic backing and support on the ground, which is great, of course. But more often, Washington



COURTESY OF DAVID BECKER

**David Becker, in dark glasses, talks with colleagues during a visit to Cité Soleil in 2009.**

will be reluctant to face facts about the severity of a problem. The same reluctance is probably even more true of the local government. In some cases, this denial factor may be greater in pre-conflict than post-conflict situations. A festering conflict is often ignored until violence results.

The challenge that practitioners identified is to make sure that the planning and implementation

of a preventive stabilization operation are locally led. Participants recounted horror stories of prevention efforts being undermined by lack of host-government buy-in. Yet there is often real dedication to solutions at the most local level.

One way to resolve some of these government-to-government conflicts might well be to work at the grassroots level first, with those directly affected in the situation. Rather than forcing things to improve from the top down, working from the bottom up may be more effective. It also avoids some of the immediate pitfalls and resource conflicts. Of course, a proper balance is needed. As success becomes evident, higher-level buy-in may be more likely.

**Put metrics first.** Assessment criteria need to be established early and tested. The challenge of “proving prevention” is overwhelming, but it is made much worse if efforts are not tracked and measured from the beginning, and against a commonly agreed yardstick. Too often, assessment is an afterthought, when it needs to be part of the planning from the start.

### **Enhancing the Chances of Success**

The Carlisle participants concurred that it is possible for international actors to prevent instability from growing past the point of no return. But it is extremely difficult to predict where instability will manifest, and determine how to invest meager resources to stop the process.

However, our group of practitioners found a glimmer of hope in acknowledging some basic requirements: a thorough understanding of the local environment and culture, a strong network of like-minded partners from both the international community and the local community, and a willingness to take modest risks with meager resources.

This formula will not prevent every crisis, but it may allow us to forestall a few. And for that reason, it is certainly worth the relatively modest investment. ■

# Predicting and Preventing Intrastate Violence

BY DAVID RAWSON

## Lessons from Rwanda

**An FSO and former ambassador to Rwanda reflects on the ability to predict and prevent intrastate violence.**

In the immediate wake of regime changes in Sudan and Algeria last April, *The Economist* magazine published a feature on coups, charting factors that might make them predictable and possibly preventable. The questions asked about regime change can also be asked about intrastate violence, insurrection and genocide. Are these generators of mass atrocities predictable and preventable?

My own views on the subject are based on having been on the scene in sub-Saharan Africa during seven major insurrections, coups and genocides. These include a coup in Burundi (1966), an insurrection and genocide in Burundi (1972), a coup

in Rwanda (1973), an attempted coup in Mali (1978), brutal street violence in Madagascar (1986) and a regional rebellion in Somalia (1988), and civil war and genocide in Rwanda (1994).

Keeping in mind Hannah Arendt's observation that participant-observers are not the best assessors of the historical events in which they have been involved, I nonetheless hazard that:

- By virtue of their cultural roots, outbreaks of political violence (including coups and genocide) are sui generis and each has a unique dynamic.
- Predictions often fail to come true, and there is no discernible pattern as to why analysts miss the mark.



*David Rawson was a Foreign Service officer with the Department of State from 1971 to 1999. In 1992, he was appointed the first U.S. observer to the political negotiations in Arusha, Tanzania, between the Rwandese Patriotic Front and the government of Rwanda. He served as U.S. ambassador to that country from 1993 through 1995 and capped his diplomatic career as ambassador to Mali (1996-1999). Currently a scholar-in-residence at George Fox University in Newberg, Oregon, Ambassador Rawson has written a documentary study of the Arusha political negotiations, *Prelude to Genocide: Arusha, Kigali and the Failure of Diplomacy* (Ohio University Press, 2018). Background documents from that study are housed in George Fox University's archives.*

- Tracking exogenous factors like rainfall, per capita income, regime duration or political instability (to take *The Economist's* categories) increases our understanding of other societies, but it may not point us to when, where or how cataclysmic violence occurs.

- In a system of sovereign states, preventing the overthrow of a recognized government or stopping its violations of human rights may require foreign intervention in that state's domestic affairs.

- Countries committed to the preservation of the system of nation-states are particularly hesitant to intervene in distant lands outside the sphere of their own interests.

- The iron law of unintended consequences applies in all social actions; accordingly, forceful interventions will beget violent unintended consequences.

## When Knowledge Isn't Enough

Let me apply these principles to what happened in Rwanda a quarter-century ago.

Rwanda's long history of autocratic rule and central state violence laid the basis for the 1994 genocidal uprising. Yet the social caste system engendering the categories of Tutsi, Hutu and marginalized Twa was so complex that it took jurists of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda two years to determine whether the killings were genocidal under the terms of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. And while President Paul Kagame's government has spent years working to extirpate these deeply rooted social identifiers, they are still socially salient. Getting rid of conflict-laden social markers is a complex process.

At the opening of the Arusha political negotiations in August 1992, one could sense deep distrust and animosity between the Rwandese Patriotic Front and the Government of Rwanda. Indeed, at a roundtable organized earlier that year by the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research, I had

referred to works on genocide by Leo Kuper and others, cautioning that rapid political change, with deep division within the body politic and security forces capable of mass killings, had set the scene for a potential genocide in Rwanda.

Throughout my tenure at the negotiations and during the early weeks of my ambassadorship in 1994, I admonished both sides that a return to combat could have horrendous consequences. I have been wrong about the tenacity and capacity of African regimes more often than I have been right. Sadly, I was right this time, though neither I nor anyone else had any inkling of the scope and ferocity of the violence that a return to fighting would unleash.

Many factors went into our calculations. Embassy Kigali's economic reporting on harvests, mineral extractions, export/import ratios and budget imbalances, all aggregated into national accounts, showed how terribly poor Rwanda was. But so were other African states. We knew of land penury



in Rwanda as early as 1973, through comprehensive studies the Ministry of Planning had conducted. For its part, the U.S. Agency for International Development had compiled a 14-year database on food insecurity in the country.

Embassy reporting during the early 1990s had traced the spread of political instability, including the training of militia. We had information on Rwandan military capacities through occasional visits from our defense attaché and our French colleagues, who supported the Rwandan Army; but we had collected only scattered information on the capacities or ambitions of the exile forces, the Rwandese Patriotic Front.

Bilateral démarches, the tracing of political alignments, assessments of military capacities, biographic analyses and reporting on recrudescing nongovernmental organizations all revealed political disintegration, but could not gauge the effect, timing or extent of that decline.



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### International Peacekeeping: Too Little, Too Late

International efforts to stop the fighting between the insurgent Rwandese Patriotic Front and Rwandan government army fell first to chiefs of state of Zaire, Uganda or Tanzania, with France and Belgium in the margins. The Organization of African Unity took the lead in facilitating the Arusha negotiations, with neighboring African states and key donor states—France, Belgium, Germany and the United States—as observers. Finally, after the two sides signed the Arusha Accords, the United Nations Security Council established the United Nations Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) in October 1993.

Lamentably, the United Nations was slow in implementing the Arusha Accords; improvident in supplying UNAMIR Commander General Roméo Dallaire with the matériel he needed; and feckless in carrying out its political program. Commander Dallaire made early progress in force integration, but the UNAMIR operation, minimally equipped and manned, launched too slowly to co-opt events and maintain peace. Weeks dragged into months without the installation of the interim government specified under the Arusha Accords.

Tragically, the well-intentioned, year-long negotiations that had produced the Arusha Accords were flawed. We underestimated the determination of both sides, although engaged in peace talks, to win at all costs. The Rwandan government and the RPF agreed in a 2/3 vote on interim government arrangements that took away the Habyarimana regime's political power and accepted a 50/50 split in security forces that equated RPF and government command and control.

In demoting the militarily entrenched Habyarimana regime by the stroke of a pen, the conditions were set for reprisal and

genocide when someone shot down the president's plane on April 6, 1994. President Juvenal Habyarimana was the only interim official who had been sworn in under the 1993 Accords at that time. The self-proclaimed successor regime turned quickly to civil war and launched the genocide.

I immediately called the State Department and reported that only with a change of mission and the matériel to carry it out could U.N. peacekeepers restore order. But expanding UNAMIR's mandate took more than a month of Security Council wrangling, while getting troops and matériel to Rwanda took another three months. By that time, 800,000 innocents had been slaughtered.

An inchoate U.S. policy matched lassitude in international action. It was, as Assistant Secretary for African Affairs George Moose commented, bureaucracy at its worst. At a late May 1994 interagency meeting on Rwanda, as departmental deputies fell to discussing what color to paint the armored personnel carriers we were lending to the U.N. forces, one observer concluded that, by intent, nothing of import was to be decided. While U.S. agencies and bureaus quibbled about strategies and game plans, the killings surged in Rwanda. We needed national command determination on a workable action plan and never got it.

Great powers are reluctant to intervene, especially in little countries off the radar scope of their national interests. Presidential statements and declarations are fine. Even declaring genocide, as the United States did in Sudan's Darfur crisis, may help. But to prevent political meltdown in distant lands with attendant mass atrocities, presidential leadership is required.

### Moving from Prediction to Prevention

Embassy Kigali warned Washington that massive political violence was likely to break out, though we did not foresee its magnitude or ferocity. We issued the warning more out of intuition than from any hard data pointing to a determined historical outcome. No matter what the levels of endemic malnutrition, landlessness or economic regression in Rwanda, it was human choice on the part of the rebels to pursue civil war to upend the existing regime. Human decision, on the part of the Hutu extremists who took over after Habyarimana's assassination, also determined to use genocide as a means of holding on to power.

Scott Strauss, in his book *Making and Unmaking of Nations: War, Leadership and Genocide in Modern Africa* (Cornell University Press, 2015), studies five African states that approached the brink of genocide. Three of them pulled back, but Rwanda and Sudan fell into the maelstrom. The explanatory elements, in

Strauss's view, were the nature of the founding ideology and the calculations of local leadership about the course ahead.

Once the prospect of political violence, with potential for mass atrocities and genocide, became likely, what might the international community have done to prevent it? It must be said that, in Rwanda, the international effort engaged every instrument in the peacemaking toolkit, from bilateral diplomacy accompanied by material inducements and multilateral negotiations to deployment of an international peacekeeping mission.

What more could the United States have done? At the beginning of the Rwanda conflict in 1990, we could have joined with France in forceful support of the Habyarimana regime's defense of its territory against a cross-border insurgency. Or, we could have abetted the overthrow of the existing regime, known to be autocratic and corrupt, and replaced it with a caretaker regime (something both the internal opposition and the invading exiles wanted).

Instead, convinced as we were that democratic governance, an open economy, the rule of law and power-sharing were

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**No matter what the levels of endemic malnutrition, landlessness or economic regression in Rwanda, it was human choice on the part of the rebels to pursue civil war to upend the existing regime.**

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solutions to the divisions tearing the Rwandan polity apart, we chose to urge the sides to agree to a sustainable cease-fire and then to negotiate a new governmental order for Rwanda.

To keep the peace process on track, we could have moved for a more rapid deployment of peacekeeping forces after the signature of the 1992 cease-fire and the 1993 peace agreement. With forces in place, we could have more thoroughly investi-

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## To keep the peace process on track, we could have moved for a more rapid deployment of peacekeeping forces after the signature of the 1992 cease-fire and the 1993 peace agreement.

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gated outbreaks of violence or violations of the accords, calling a halt to impunity.

Finally, we should have listened more carefully to all sides in the negotiations, especially to Habyarimana's outline of his basic demands. He led the largest political bloc and com-

manded a still-intact, if somewhat inept, military. And we should have understood how the military ratios that the facilitator, the observers and the newly installed Rwandan government accepted in the rush to sign the Arusha Accords signaled to the sitting regime the insurgent's eventual victory.

But we did not, rather trusting that our high ideas of rule of law, civil rights and shared governance would win out by friendly persuasion. To do otherwise would have required confrontation with one side or another, the use of force to attain the peace. Instead, the kindling of failed negotiations gave way to conflagration in the April 1994 plane crash carrying the only installed authority of the intended interim regime. This brought a return to civil war and the launching of a horrific genocide, but also the eventual creation of a new regime under RPF control.

Though we had predicted mass atrocities, even genocide, with a return to fighting, a concerted international effort was not able to preempt the tragic logic of war. ■



## Preparing for the Next Crisis

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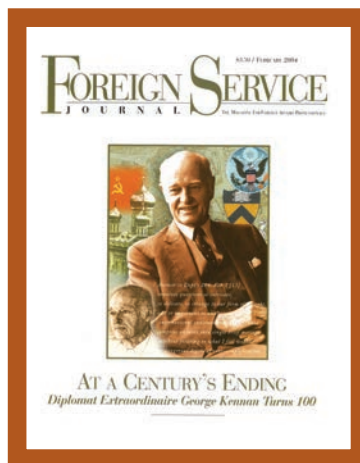
# Measures Short of War (Diplomatic)

BY GEORGE F. KENNAN

**This presentation of diplomacy's work in 1946, when the United States faced a new postwar world of great power competition, remains as relevant today as ever.**

**T**his morning we consider the relations between sovereign governments and the measures that they employ when they deal with each other ... short of reaching for their weapons and shooting it out. ... The traditional lists of "measures short of war" (see chart next page) were drawn up with the idea of the *adjudication* or the *adjustment* of disputes, and not primarily with the idea of exercising pressure on other states. ...

The problems we are faced with today in the international arena are not problems just of the adjustment of disputes. They are problems caused by the *conflict* of interests between great



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*This article has been excerpted from George Kennan's first lecture at the National War College delivered on Sept. 16, 1946. The distinguished diplomat had been named Deputy Commandant for Foreign Affairs at the new institution. The entire set of lectures has been published as a book, Measures Short of War: The George F. Kennan Lectures at the National War College, 1946-1947 (National Defense University Press, 1991).*

*centers of power and ideology* in this world. They are problems of the measures short of war which great powers use to exert pressure on one another for the attainment of their ends. In that sense, they are questions of the measures at the disposal of states not for the adjustment of disputes, but for the promulgation of power.

These are two quite different purposes. Governments are absorbed today not with trying to settle disputes between themselves, but with getting something out of somebody else, so they often promulgate a policy which goes very, very far. Governments have to use pressure on a wide scale; and therefore these tradi-

tional categories are not often applicable to conditions today.

Now let's go on to measures of pressure, as distinct from adjustment. The first thing that strikes me about measures of pressure is that they differ significantly in the case of totalitarian and democratic states. ... Totalitarian governments have at their disposal every measure capable of influencing other governments as a whole, or their members, or their peoples behind their back; and in the choice and application of these measures they are restrained by no moral inhibitions, by no domestic public opinion to speak of, and not even by any serious considerations of consistency and intellectual dignity. Their choice is

limited by only one thing, and that is their own estimate of the consequences to themselves.

The question then arises as to what measures the *democratic* states have at their disposal for resisting totalitarian pressure and the extent to which these measures can be successful. That is a tremendous question, not one on which I can give you a complete answer. I don't have a complete answer. ...

## Measures at Our Disposal

The first category of measures lies in the *psychological* field. It would be a mistake to consider psychological measures as anything separate from the rest of diplomacy. They consist not only of direct informational activity like propaganda, or radio broadcast, or distribution of magazines. They consist also of the study and understanding of the psychological effects of anything which the modern state does in the war, both internal and external.

Democracies—ours especially—were pretty bad at psychological measures in the past, because so many of our diplomatic actions have been taken not in pursuance of any great overall policy, but hit-or-miss in response to pressures exercised on our government by individual pressure groups at home. Now those pressures usually had little to do with the interests of the United States. They weren't bound together in any way. It is only recently and probably in consequence of the experiences of the last 8 or 10 years that our government has begun to appreciate the fact that everything it does of any importance at all has a psychological effect abroad as well as at home.

The second category of weapons short of war that we have at our disposal today is *economic*. Here, I'd like to give you a word of warning: it would be a mistake to overrate the usefulness of the economic weapons when they are used as a means of counterpressure against great totalitarian states, especially when those states are themselves economically powerful. This is particularly true of the Soviet Union, because the Soviet leaders consistently place politics ahead of economics on every occasion when there is a show-

down. The Soviets would unhesitatingly resort to a policy of complete economic autarchy rather than compromise any of their political principles. I don't mean they are totally unnameable to economic pressure. Economic pressure can have an important cumulative effect when exercised over a long period of time and in a wise way toward the totalitarian state. But I don't think it can have any immediate, incisive, or spectacular results with a major totalitarian country such as Russia. ...

On the strictly *political* measures short of war, I only mention one category because it, in my opinion, is our major political weapon short of war. That measure is the cultivation of solidarity with other like-minded nations on every given issue of our foreign policy. A couple of years ago, when we first had discussions with the Soviet authorities in Moscow about the possibility of setting up another United Nations Organization, I'll admit that I was very skeptical. I was convinced the Russians were not ready to go into it in the same spirit we were. I was afraid the United Nations might become an excuse rather than a framework for American foreign policy. I was worried it might become a substitute for an absence of a policy. But I am bound to say, in the light

of what has happened in the last year, I am very much impressed with the usefulness of the UN to us and to our principles in the world. There are advantages to be gained for us working through it. ...

All the measures I have been discussing—economic, psychological and political—are not strictly diplomatic. Remember that diplomacy isn't anything in a compartment by itself. The stuff of diplomacy is in the entire fabric of our foreign relations with other countries, and it embraces every phase of national power and every phase of national dealing. The only measures I can think of which are strictly diplomatic in character are those involving our representation in other countries. Those can be used for adjustment as well as pressure. ...But you don't have to break relations altogether. You can withdraw the chief of mission, reduce your representation, or resort completely to non-intercourse. You can forbid your people to have anything to do with the other country.

The measure which is most usually considered and used is the severance of

## Diplomatic Measures of Adjustment for the Redress of Grievances or for the Pacific Settlement of Disputes

### AMICABLE

#### Non-Judicial

- Negotiations
- Good Offices, Mediation, and Conciliation
- International Commissions of Inquiry

#### Judicial

- Arbitration
- Adjudication
- Charter of the United Nations

### NON-AMICABLE

- Severage of Diplomatic Relations
- Retortion and Retaliation
- Reprisals
- Embargo
- Non-Intercourse
- Pacific Blockade

diplomatic relations. The press often advises our Government to break relations with this government or that government. I am very, very leery of the breaking of diplomatic relations as a means of getting anywhere in international affairs. Severing relations is like playing the Ace of Spades in bridge. You can only use it once. When you play it, you haven't got any more, so your hand is considerably weakened. ...We ought to make plain to the world from now on that no American recognition—no American diplomatic relations with any regime—bears any thought of U.S. approval or disapproval; we are not committing ourselves, when we deal with anyone, on the legitimacy of their power. We would deal with the devil himself if he held enough of the earth's surface to make it worthwhile for us to do so. ...

A few other measures which democratic states can take involve control of territory in one's own country, namely the facilities granted to a foreign government. We can limit the number of representatives of a foreign government in this country. We can deny its citizens the right to sojourn here for purposes of business or pleasure. We can deny them our collaboration in cultural or technical matters. They do these things to us all the time; and we can do them ourselves, although these measures are more difficult for us because our controls are not so complete.

These are, in general, the categories and measures I think we have at our disposal.

## Two Main Conditions for Effectiveness

Now comes the real question. To what extent are these measures adequate to our purposes in the world today? Are they enough to get us what we want without going to war? My own belief is that they are, depending on two main conditions.

The first of these conditions is that we keep up at all times a preponderance of strength in the world. ...It is not by any means a question of military strength alone. National strength is a question of political, economic, and moral strength. Above all it is a question of our internal strength; of the health and sanity of our own society. For that reason, none of us can afford to be indifferent to internal disharmony, dissension, intolerance, and the things that break up the moral and political structure of our society at home.

Another characteristic of strength is that it depends for its effectiveness not only on its existence, but on our readiness to use it at any time if we are pushed beyond certain limits. This does not mean we have to be trigger-happy. It does not mean there is any point in our going around blustering, threatening, waving clubs at people, and telling them if they don't do this or that we are going to drop a bomb on them. Threatening in inter-

national affairs is about the most stupid and unnecessary thing I can think of. It is stupid because it very often disrupts the whole logic of our own diplomacy; brings in an element that didn't need to be there; causes the other fellow to adopt an attitude which he needn't adopt; and defeats your own purposes. ...

Strength overshadows any other measure short of war that anybody can take. We can have the best intelligence, the most brilliant strategy, but if we speak from weakness, from indecision, and from the hope and prayer that the other fellow won't force the issue, we just cannot expect to be successful.

This thought is a hard point to get across with many Americans. A lot of Americans have it firmly ingrained in their psychology that if you maintain your strength and keep it in the immediate background of your diplomatic action, you are courting further trouble and provoking hostilities. They insist it is the actual maintenance of armaments that leads to their use. Our pacifists are incapable of understanding that the maintenance of strength in the democratic nations is actually the most peaceful of all the measures we can take short of war, because the greater your strength, the less likely you are ever going to use it. They fail to understand that in the world we know today, the question is never whether you are going to take a stand; the question is when and where you are going to take that stand. ...

What this boils down to, I am afraid, is that for great nations, as for individuals today, there is no real security and there is no alternative to living dangerously. And when people say, "My God, we might get into a war?" the only thing I know to say is, "Exactly so." The price of peace has become the willingness to sacrifice it to a good cause and that is all there is to it.

A second condition must be met if our measures short of war are going to be effective: we must select measures and use them not hit-or-miss as the moment may seem to demand, but in accordance with a pattern of *grand strategy* no less concrete and no less consistent than that which governs our actions in war. It is my own conviction that we must go even further than that and must cease to have separate patterns of measures—one pattern for peace and one pattern for war. We must work out a general plan of what the United States wants in this world and pursue that plan with all the measures at our disposal, depending on what is indicated by the circumstances. ...

My personal conviction is that if we keep up our strength, if we are ready to use it, and if we select the measures short of war with the necessary wisdom and coordination, then these measures short of war will be all the ones that we will ever have to use to secure the prosperous and safe future of the people of this country. ■



# Foreign Service Youth Foundation: 30 Years of Service

**Three decades after its founding, FSYF remains focused on helping our young people adapt to changing environments as they transition between posts worldwide.**

BY JOHN K. NALAND

**G**rowing up in the Foreign Service can be challenging. While an internationally mobile childhood provides benefits such as an expanded worldview and deepened maturity, it can also present challenges. The nomadic lifestyle can cause confused cultural identities, difficulties adjusting to new environments and feelings of rootlessness due to repeatedly leaving homes, schools, friends and countries.

Thirty years ago, the Foreign Service Youth Foundation was founded to help our young people embrace the adventure of their transient upbringing by encouraging resilience and fostering camaraderie. Here is the story of FSYF's origin and current activities.



*John K. Naland is president of the Foreign Service Youth Foundation. He has served on the AFSA Governing Board as president (two terms) and as State vice president; he is currently in his second term as retiree vice president. He and his wife raised two daughters in the Foreign Service.*

## “Where Are You From?”

FSYF grew out of a group named Around the World in a Lifetime (AWAL) that was co-founded in 1983 by the Foreign Service Institute's Overseas Briefing Center, the State Department's Family Liaison Office and the Association of American Foreign Service Women (later rebranded as the Associates of the American Foreign Service Worldwide—AAFSW). AWAL focused on connecting D.C.-area Foreign Service teens to each other through a variety of social activities.

In early 1989, FLO Director Maryann Minutillo and OBC Director Lee Lacy formed a Youth Project Committee that included representatives of AAFSW, AWAL, the State Department's Medical Department and State's Office of Overseas Schools. FLO staffer Kay Eakin played a key role, as did AWAL President Phyllis Habib.

The working group's objective was to find ways to do a better job of helping Foreign Service youth make the most difficult adjustment of all: returning “home” to the United States, which they may have only experienced on short vacations, and transferring to a school where other students may not appreciate their multicultural outlooks.

As Third Culture Kids (TCKs), the children of U.S. citizen employees assigned overseas under chief of mission author-



**FSYF founders Maryann Minutillo (center) and Lee Lacy are honored with Youth Advocacy Awards at the June 2019 Youth Awards ceremony. The awards were presented by FSYF President John Naland, at left.**

consulates create videos depicting life at overseas posts from a kid's perspective. FSYF also offered workshops, including Teen Get Away Weekend Training retreats. Other programming came and went depending on the availability of adult volunteers and funding.

### FSYF Today

Thirty years after its founding, FSYF remains focused on helping our young people adapt to changing environments as they transition between posts worldwide. This social safety net is made up of four components: information, activities, affirmation and advocacy.

- *Information* on TCK issues is shared with FSYF's globally dispersed membership via webinars, a youth-written newsletter and an online video and document library ([www.fsyf.org](http://www.fsyf.org)).

- *Activities* bringing together domestically assigned youth spread across the Washington, D.C., area include reentry seminars for middle school and high school students returning from overseas, a college admissions workshop, fun teen/tween meetup events, community service activities and the fall Welcome Back Picnic.

- *Affirmation* is achieved by celebrating our youths' achievements via annual contests in art, essay writing, community service and video making. FSYF also offers academic merit scholarships for high-performing young people. Each year, these contests draw more than 150 applicants and award more than \$20,000 at the annual FSYF Youth Awards Ceremony at Main State (see photo).

- *Advocacy* in the last few years has focused on meeting with senior State Department officials to seek better mental health support for Foreign Service children and assistance for those with special educational needs who accompany their parents on an overseas assignment.

As FSYF turns 30, it continues to benefit from the support of FLO, AAFSW and the Foreign Service Institute. The last three Secretaries of State have sent congratulatory messages to FSYF youth award recipients. Susan Pompeo gave the keynote address at last year's awards ceremony and joined the FSYF Board of Directors as an honorary member. U.S. Senator Chris Van Hollen—a former Foreign Service youth—has long been on FSYF's Advisory Council. Generous donors continue to fund FSYF's programs, led by Clements Worldwide Insurance, Jim

ity sometimes have difficulty answering the seemingly simple question, "Where are you from?" As one Foreign Service youth explains, "All my life, I've belonged somewhere and nowhere. I've come from neither here nor there, and yet I'm from everywhere."

The working group quickly agreed on the need to create a new, larger and better-funded organization to expand on the work of AWAL. At the request of FLO and OBC, the white-shoe law firm Arnold and Porter drafted bylaws on a pro bono basis. The Una Chapman Cox Foundation contributed \$20,000 in startup money, and AAFSW provided an additional \$5,000. A volunteer board of directors was formed; and, on June 5, 1989, the Foreign Service Youth Foundation was formally incorporated as a nonprofit organization headquartered in the District of Columbia. Joel Levy, a Foreign Service officer with the U.S. Information Agency, was the first FSYF president.

In its early years, FSYF took over the teen-focused programs of AWAL and established Globe Trotters for preteens and Diplokids for grade schoolers. Those programs offered social activities for D.C.-area youth and workshops focused on "reentry" to the United States following an overseas assignment. The foundation published four books to help Foreign Service youth deal with the opportunities and challenges of growing up overseas (including *The Kids' Guide to Living Abroad*).

FSYF also began publishing a youth-written newsletter, coordinated community service projects and inaugurated the annual Welcome Back Picnic. In 1996, FSYF joined with OBC to create the KidVid Contest, in which youth at embassies and

FSYF has an active membership of more than 400 families drawn from all agencies assigned overseas under chief of mission authority.

McGrath-Re/Max Premier, the State Department Federal Credit Union, AFSA and AAFSW.

FSYF has an active membership of more than 400 families drawn from all agencies assigned overseas under chief of mission authority. Since many maintain their membership only during their children's tween and teen years, that steady turnover means that more than 5,000 youth have been served by FSYF since its founding.

### Looking to the Future

FSYF reaches out to all members of the foreign affairs community via State Department cables, FLO newsletters and other means. Dues-paying members receive programming updates and have access to additional resources on the members-only section of the foundation's website.

Looking to the future, FSYF is expanding its use of interactive

webinars to reach youth and their parents worldwide. It is also expanding its D.C.-area social activities to bring together TCKs scattered across the D.C.-Maryland-Virginia region. To sustain these programs, FSYF is looking for adults to serve on its Board of Directors and to help run events (to learn more, go to [www.fsyf.org/Volunteer](http://www.fsyf.org/Volunteer), or email [fsyf@fsyf.org](mailto:fsyf@fsyf.org)).

Let's give the final word to two beneficiaries of FSYF's programs. One parent writes: "Our daughter's eyes lit up when she found out the panel selected her art work as the first-place winner in the 5- to 8-year-old category. As a parent, it's great to be part of a community that values the development of our children." And one youth says: "As a member of a military family associated with the Foreign Service, I am immensely grateful for your organization's mission to provide highly mobile students with affirmation and mentorship." ■



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FEATURE

Staff members drape a large American flag over the roof of the embassy in Warsaw in anticipation of German air attacks.

# WAR

## Comes to Warsaw

*September 1939*

W

arsaw, Sept. 1, 1939, 5:30 a.m. The shriek of air raid sirens awakens Ambassador Anthony “Tony” J. Drexel Biddle Jr. Troubled by heightened German-Polish tensions, Adolf Hitler’s demands for territorial rectifications

and the recent mobilization of the Polish Army, Biddle calls the duty officer at the Polish Foreign Ministry.

Is this an attack? The answer: Yes, there are numerous reports of German incursions onto Polish soil. Electing to telephone rather than cable flash news, Biddle manages to reach Ambassador William C. Bullitt in Paris. Bullitt, in turn, places a trans-Atlantic call.

**A riveting look back at the German invasion of Poland 80 years ago that ignited World War II.**

BY RAY WALSER

2:55 a.m., Washington time.

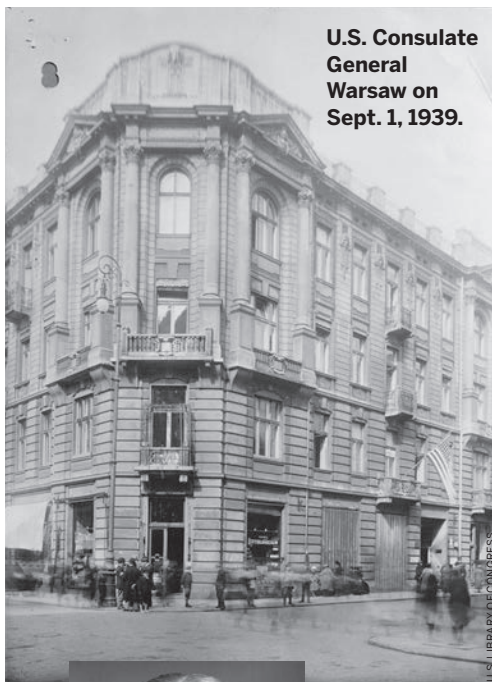
A sleeping President Franklin Roosevelt awakens to Bullitt's call. After weeks of tension, a war of nerves is now a shooting war. The president alerts Secretary of State Cordell Hull and other senior officials. In the pre-dawn hours, lights suddenly begin to burn at the State Department. Twenty years after the peace settlement of Versailles, Europe again plunges into general war.



The German attack does not catch Ambassador Biddle or the department entirely by surprise. In March 1939 the department had outlined what today would be called an emergency action plan, granting chiefs of mission considerable authority to respond to imminent crises and mapping out numerous contingencies. Guidelines were issued for handling welfare and whereabouts cases, repatriations, protection of American property and representation of the interests of warring nations.

Following these instructions, Ambassador Biddle had requested permission on Aug. 21 to evacuate children, wives and other nonessential personnel. Soon afterward, American citizens were warned of an increased danger of hostilities and an evacuation route was arranged into what is present-day Belarus.

As another precaution, several American staff members moved to a safer suburban location outside Warsaw. Closing the mission, however, was considered a last resort. The department believed it was important to keep a diplomatic presence because



**Anthony J. Drexel Biddle Jr.**

**U.S. Consulate General Warsaw on Sept. 1, 1939.**



*Ray Walser is a retired FSO who served from 1980 to 2007. His overseas postings were Managua, Bogotá, Guadalajara, San Jose and Cape Town. He also served as a visiting professor at the United States Military Academy from 1988 to 1990, and a senior policy analyst at the Heritage Foundation from 2007 to 2013. He holds a Ph.D. in European history from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.*

the “continuing character of the office may avoid any question of ‘reopening’ or ‘establishing’ a consular office in territory under German control.”

In the hope of preventing a war, Great Britain and France dispatched their diplomats to Moscow in an effort to enlist Stalin's support in curbing Nazi aggression. The Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact of August 23 aligning Hitler and Stalin—an act (albeit temporary) of geopolitical reconciliation between arch ideological enemies—had stunned the world. Hitler's bold diplomacy now made war virtually inevitable.



A political appointee, Ambassador Biddle would be the man of the moment. Descended from a historic

Philadelphia family, he served in World War I and was known in the 1920s and early 1930s as an extremely well-dressed “sportsman-socialite” on his second marriage to an heiress.

After backing Franklin Delano Roosevelt in the 1932 election, he had been named minister to Norway. He took to his new métier with enthusiasm, establishing close ties with Norwegian royalty. In 1937 FDR selected Biddle as the next ambassador to Poland. Immune to panic, throughout the September crisis, Biddle would demonstrate a readiness for action, a will to serve and enormous sangfroid.



On Sept. 3, the third day of the Nazi invasion, Biddle wakes to the drone of low-flying aircraft. Taking shelter in a stairwell of his suburban villa, he and his family endure a German attack that sends shrapnel flying, shatters glass and deposits an unexploded incendiary bomb in his yard. The Biddles are among the first Americans to experience the fearful impact of modern aerial warfare.

That day, Great Britain and France, honoring commitments to stand with Poland, declare war on Nazi Germany. World War II officially begins. Sadly, neither Great Britain nor France will offer any significant assistance to the beleaguered Poles in the weeks ahead.





To protect the embassy from German bomb blasts, sandbags cover basement windows.

U.S. HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL MUSEUM/JULIEN BRYAN ARCHIVE

## While neutral in the conflict, the United States refuses to reward aggressors with the imprimatur of international legitimacy.



Fearing entrapment, as its gallant but weaker forces are being swiftly overwhelmed by the Nazi onslaught, the Polish government leaves Warsaw on Sept. 5. The Biddles, their Great Dane and several embassy staff, including five women clerks, follow at the Poles' request.

Among those joining the ambassador is Eugenia McQuatters, one of several unsung and often overlooked female secretaries and code clerks who constitute an important cadre of State Department staff. To her surprise, Ms. McQuatters finds herself behind the wheel of a station wagon loaded with four female clerks, a Polish male and drums of gasoline, navigating unfamiliar roads in dangerous blackout conditions.

A brief stop along the escape route nearly proves fatal as German bombs hit the center of the market town, striking quite close to the temporary embassy. Fortunately, on Sept. 14, Biddle and his party safely cross into Romania.



With the ambassador's departure, Consul General John Ker Davis assumes charge. He is a veteran consular officer with 20 years of experience, a China hand and a future president of the American Foreign Service Association. In Warsaw, with no safe escape route available, Davis adopts a shelter-in-place policy. In

his after-action report, Davis recalls saying that "any officers who wished to leave were at liberty to do so, but in my opinion their chances of surviving would be greater were they to remain in the chancery."

There are no new departures. Remaining American personnel move to the embassy, a location deemed more secure. It is a fortunate decision as German shellfire subsequently wrecks the consulate general. At the embassy, efforts are made to improvise a safe shelter with sandbags and extra timber supports to shore up the basement roof.



While bombs fall and artillery shells rain down, 40-year-old Julien Bryan, a fearless American photographer, captures for posterity vivid images of Poland's agony, of the human and material devastation resulting from the brutal Nazi air and ground assault, including clear evidence of the terror attacks on purely civilian targets and the wanton destruction of Warsaw. Among Bryan's films and photographs are enduring images of the American staff calmly observing an air raid and preparing to ride out the Nazi assault with improvised bunkers, protective sandbags and American flags on the roof.

Elsewhere, Bryan's compelling photographs confirm reports sent by Ambassador Biddle and CG Davis regarding "unrestricted German attacks—by bombing and machine-gunning from airplanes." Blitzkrieg is synonymous with merciless, indiscriminate air attacks against all.



CG Davis organizes the staff to perform a variety of duties from searching for food, performing housekeeping duties, standing watch and attending to the needs of approximately 80 refugees,





**Embassy Warsaw staff watch German planes fly overhead.**

U.S. HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL MUSEUM/JULIEN BRYAN ARCHIVE

many women, sheltering in the embassy. Lifting morale, urging forbearance and countering negative thoughts are priorities. Tensions mount among a staff reduced to sleeping on blankets on a cement floor. “An effort,” Davis later writes, “was made to discourage officers from dwelling on the possibility of their being killed.”

There are, according to CG Davis, frequent near-misses for embassy members who venture out into the streets in search of food or to gather information regarding the assault on Warsaw. All communications with the outside world are also severed.

Yet when a newsman asks Vice Consul William M. Cramp how long he is prepared to stay, he responds, “Until 136 American citizens are able to leave Warsaw.” Like Davis, Cramp is familiar with tense situations. In May 1936 in Addis Ababa, he helped organize the armed defense of the legation that beat off a mob of marauders and earned him a citation for bravery.



Relief for the trapped Americans comes on Sept. 21. Davis and other neutrals succeed in negotiating a truce allowing diplomats, American citizens and others (about 1,200 in total) to leave the besieged city. Once into German lines, smiling, courteous Germans and news cameras greet the weary, hungry Americans—good propaganda for Berlin.

By the following afternoon, Davis and his party reach safety at Königsberg, East Prussia.

Electing to remain behind is 41-year-old Thaddeus Henry Chylinski—an American-born Polish American, veteran of the Polish

army and a long-serving clerk, later vice consul in Warsaw—and a handful of American citizens.

From Berlin, Chargé Alexander Kirk cables the good news to the department. “In spite of the terrific ordeal through which they have passed they are in excellent health. ...I feel that any expression of admiration for the magnificent courage, tenacity

and resourcefulness which they have displayed during the past weeks would be feeble and inadequate.”

Under threat of invasion from Hitler, the Romanians deny safe haven to the fleeing Polish government of President Ignacy Mościcki and Foreign

Minister Józef Beck. The Poles are not permitted to conduct official business and are essentially neutralized and interned by the fearful Romanians.



Meanwhile, on Sept. 17, Russian troops move to occupy roughly the eastern third of Poland. Returning to Moscow in late September, Nazi Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop joins Soviet Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Molotov to sign a new agreement arising from “the disintegration of the Polish state” and cynically promising “a safe foundation for lasting peace in Eastern Europe.” Proud, independent Poland is for the fourth time in its history partitioned by predator nations.

As Warsaw falls to the Nazis, defiant Polish patriots in Paris pass national leadership to President Władysław Raczkiewicz and General Władysław Sikorski, who was serving as premier and war minister. The new government is immediately recognized by

## **Immune to panic, throughout the September crisis, Ambassador Biddle would demonstrate a readiness for action, a will to serve and enormous sangfroid.**

France and allowed to operate on French soil and organize Free Polish fighters.



Describing Poland as a “victim of force used as an instrument of national policy,” Secretary Hull announces that the United States will continue to recognize Poland’s government in exile. He tersely adds, “Mere seizure of territory ... does not extinguish the legal existence of a government.”

While neutral in the conflict, the United States refuses to reward aggressors with the imprimatur of international legitimacy. As a nation-state, crushed by totalitarians, Poland no longer exists. As a people, as a hope for the future, it continues to live in the spirits of its citizens and friends.



On Oct. 15, FSO George Haering and three vice consuls return to Warsaw on a special train provided by the occupying Germans. They grimly report on the destruction that includes Consulate

General Warsaw and the ambassador’s residence, along with damage to 14,000 of the 17,000 structures in urban Warsaw.

Military and civilian casualties run into the tens of thousands. Nonetheless, when the consulate general reopens some weeks later, a little of what was lost is regained. In a field report to the State Department, FSO Landreth Harrison asserts: “People in all walks of life frankly stated that when the Americans came back, it meant to them that Poland was not entirely forgotten by the outside world.”



In late September 1939, Ambassador Biddle arrives in Paris to preserve diplomatic contacts with the new Polish government. He will follow it to its temporary home at Angers, in the south of France. After the fall of France in June 1940, Biddle will then move to London, where he will be accredited by FDR not only to the Polish exiles but to a total of eight displaced governments overrun by Nazi invaders.

Photographer Julien Bryan will successfully evade German



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This colorized photo shows Julien Bryan filming on top of paving stones meant to serve as a barricade against the advancing German army during the siege of Warsaw.

censorship, removing his priceless collection to give Western audiences graphic, heartrending evidence of the war's devastation and human toll. This important collection resides today with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.

During a yearlong stay in Nazi-occupied Warsaw and living for months across from Gestapo headquarters, Thaddeus Chylinski will meticulously record evidence of mounting Nazi atrocities and war crimes. A comprehensive report written from memory but inexplicably classified for decades, *Poland under Nazi Rule 1939–1941* chronicles the Nazi terror campaign against the Poles of all classes and religions. The report will only see public light after the 1998 passage of the Nazi War Crimes Disclosure Act.



In 1939 Warsaw witnessed professional commitment and fortitude from America's diplomatic and consular corps under extreme duress. From ambassadors to clerks, these individuals were ready to do the right thing, defend the nation's interests and protect the citizens they faithfully served. As Consul General Davis reflected in his June 1940 journal entry: "Wars may come, and wars may go, but the American Foreign Service 'carries on.'" ■

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## New AFSA Board Takes Office

On July 15, AFSA's newly elected Governing Board, under the leadership of Ambassador Eric Rubin, took office. Outgoing AFSA President Ambassador Barbara Stephenson swore Ambassador Rubin into office, and he then swore in the other members of the new board. (See bios, p. 57.)

Consisting of 20 elected representatives from all of AFSA's constituencies, the new board will serve a two-year term of office ending July 15, 2021.

AFSA President Rubin swore in his new colleagues with the following oath: "As a member of the Governing Board of the American Foreign Service Association, I hereby pledge to do my best to carry out the association's mission to represent the members of the Foreign Service of the United States in accordance with the Foreign Service Act of 1980 and to strengthen the ability of the foreign affairs community to contribute to effective foreign policies.

"As I perform my duties to the best of my ability, I will abide by applicable federal and District of Columbia laws and regulations; follow the association's bylaws, policies and standard operating procedures; maintain the fiscal integrity of the association;



New AFSA President Eric Rubin.

Outgoing AFSA President Barbara Stephenson swears in incoming AFSA President Eric Rubin.

conduct myself in a manner that does credit to the association and to the American Foreign Service."

Two days later, on July 17, the new board held its first monthly meeting and began the serious work of running the association, including forming the committees that will do much of the heavy lifting between board sessions. ■

safeguard the association's property; respect the confidentiality of board discussions and deliberations; and



Members of the new AFSA Governing Board.

## CALENDAR

September 2  
Labor Day –  
AFSA Offices Closed

September 4  
12 p.m.  
"An Expert's Take on the  
TSP, New Tax Laws and  
Developments in Federal  
Benefits"

September 13  
7:05 p.m.  
Fourth Annual Foreign  
Service Night at  
Nationals Park

September 15-20  
AFSA Road Scholar Program  
at Chautauqua, N.Y.

September 18  
12-2 p.m.  
AFSA Governing  
Board Meeting

September 26  
4:30-6:30 p.m.  
AFSA's Fall Happy Hour

October 3  
11:15 a.m.-12:45 p.m.  
Luncheon:  
154th Specialist Class

October 9  
12-1:30 p.m.  
Luncheon:  
200th A-100 Class

October 14  
Columbus Day –  
AFSA Offices Closed

October 16  
12-2 p.m.  
AFSA Governing  
Board Meeting

October 16  
4-6 p.m.  
Annual AFSA  
Awards Ceremony

November 1  
12-1 p.m.  
Job Search Program  
Graduation Reception at FSI



Views and opinions expressed in this column are solely those of the AFSA State VP.  
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## Starting Out

Thank you to those who elected me as AFSA's State vice president. I will do everything in my power to earn your trust by helping to strengthen our union and ensuring our voice is heard within the department, in the halls of Congress and by the American people.

I look forward to collaborating with our new president, Ambassador Eric Rubin, a proven leader of the greatest integrity whom I have had the pleasure to know for nearly 30 years.

I also want to recognize the efforts of AFSA's outgoing president, Ambassador Barbara Stephenson; my predecessor, AFSA State VP Ken Kero-Mentz; and the whole AFSA team for raising AFSA's profile and grappling with issues of vital importance to the U.S. Foreign Service.

Under their leadership, AFSA has managed to gain key bipartisan congressional support even as we continue to serve in a hyper-polarized political environment.

Indeed, there is now a real understanding and respect on Capitol Hill for the work that we do and for ensuring that the department has the resources it needs.

I worked for a member of Congress in Washington, D.C., right out of college, and will draw on that formative experience to build on the bipartisan support that we

enjoy in our relations with Congress.

AFSA has had some significant wins. Having urged the department to address serious concerns from parents of children with special educational needs over the past several years, AFSA was heartened to see the new policy (and updated FAM) that aims to better support FS families with special needs children.

The new policy explicitly encourages Foreign Service members with special needs children "to bid on and serve in foreign assignments," stating that "[it] is in the Department's interest to facilitate the overseas capacity of our workforce, but more important, it is our ethos to put our people first." Many families who needed the Special Needs Education Allowance (known as SNEA) support had a strong impression that MED wanted them to *not* serve overseas.

We can all take great satisfaction in this change, but there is more work to be done to make certain this policy change is implemented fairly and comprehensively. That is one issue AFSA will focus on to improve our Foreign Service.

Here are just a few of the other challenges that face us. We need to ensure that there are equal promotion and advancement opportunities for everyone,

**I am motivated to see the Foreign Service not just survive in this difficult environment, but thrive.**

including our economic officers; that the department appropriately implements a waiver policy for the greater hardship service requirements so otherwise qualified members are able to cross the senior threshold; and that tandem couples are dealt with in a manner that recognizes the needs of the Service but also puts a premium on keeping these couples together.

Admittedly, I have much to learn about my new position, especially how our officers and constituent leaders interact with our labor-management team and with department management. But I believe that my State experience, including the negotiations I was involved in as special

envoy for Holocaust issues in my previous assignment, has prepared me well.

I am motivated to see the Foreign Service not just survive in this difficult environment, but thrive. If we are to do that—and to attract the best and brightest who reflect the diversity of America—then we must make certain our workplace practices truly support our most precious asset: Foreign Service officers, specialists and their families.

My door will always be open to all who seek redress of legitimate grievances and who have innovative ideas on making AFSA, our Foreign Service and the department stronger, more accountable and more efficient. ■



## My Journey to ... AFSA VP

I decided my first column should be a bit about me (no eye rolling, please)—an introduction that can give you a sense of where I've come from and why I am so invested in USAID and this job. But please note: this will also be the last column about me. Future columns must and will keep the focus on us and the Foreign Service as a whole.

First, let me be clear: I want to support all Foreign Service officers and households. Families come in all shapes and sizes—including single-member households—and I am committed to supporting them all.

My father retired as a USAID FSO in the mid-1990s after a long career, including stints with the Peace Corps, CARE and other organizations. At various posts, my mother taught English as a Second Language, volunteered and enjoyed being an active member of the local and expat communities.

I grew up moving around (mostly in Africa), working summer jobs at embassies moving furniture for GSO, serving as acting CLO, supporting USAID and the Regional Housing and Urban Development Office, and generally enjoying life as a Foreign Service kid (ask me about being a Boy Scout in 1980s Zaire).

After graduating from the International School of Kenya (Go Lions!), I came back to

the States for college. Being an FS kid has given me great opportunities but also great challenges—and now as an FSO father, I know what my parents went through!

Professionally, I've enjoyed various stints in the (semi-) private sector, including in management consulting, investment banking, with the African Development Bank and implementing partners. As a result, I not only value the private sector's dynamism, dedication and strengths, but also recognize some of the risks of its at times heavy-handed transactional approach.

As an implementing partner, I saw the Automated Directives System, Federal Acquisition Regulation, Foreign Affairs Manual and overall USAID bureaucracy in a whole new light. At the same time, I've also seen USAID's perspective on the private sector evolve over the decades to where we now recognize its potential for advancing development. There is a realistic balance to be achieved.

My public sector history has been similarly varied, starting with being thrown into the bureaucratic and interagency deep end. I started in Treasury's international affairs division during the Asia financial crisis.

Later, I covered a Middle East portfolio until the morning of 9/11. The powers that be then put me on Afghani-

stan, where I collaborated with my USAID and State colleagues to establish the Afghanistan Reconstruction Steering Group and set up the Afghanistan Reconstruction Trust Fund.

I was subsequently detailed to the National Security Council where, again, I worked closely with USAID, State and interagency colleagues on a range of efforts. And then I made the move to USAID.

Let's face it: I've been around. I joined USAID as a private enterprise officer in 2003. My family and I moved to Jakarta where, within six months, my supervisor resigned and I was put in charge of the Economic Growth Office. Soon thereafter, I was charged with establishing a new Millennium Challenge Corporation Threshold Office to oversee a control-of-corruption project and separate immunization project.

I've served in USAID's Office of Budget and Resource Management and have been detailed as the senior development adviser to the U.S. Executive Director's Office at the World Bank and the Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review Office at State.

I served in Afghanistan (leaving my family behind, as we do) and then in India as a general development officer. With the support of mission leadership, the Human Capi-

tal and Talent Management office and Staff Care, we left India in 2017 after one tour so I could help my dad look after my ailing mom.

I was fortunate to serve as head of the Policy, Planning and Learning Bureau's Policy Office and later worked with the Economic Growth team in the Europe & Eurasia Bureau. Since February, I've been part of a great and dedicated team in the Center of Excellence on Democracy, Human Rights and Governance.

I have been an FS kid, served in a Critical Priority Country, faced eldercare challenges, been an implementing partner, led projects in virtually all sectors and formally served as a Backstop 01, 02, 12, 21 and 76.

I have worked in multiple executive branch agencies, multilateral institutions and the NSC. I have a couple of kids and a spouse who loves her not-very-portable profession. And I'm a proud USAID FSO, who believes that this agency embodies the best of America and Americans.

These are my experiences—but what are *yours*? We all have our own unique stories. Please let me hear from *you* so that I can serve you to the best of my abilities. ■





Views and opinions expressed in this column are solely those of the AFSA Retiree VP.  
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## Strength in Numbers

Thank you for continuing your AFSA membership in retirement! While more than 80 percent of new Foreign Service members join AFSA, the membership percentage drops below 40 percent after retirement. You are among those who understand the value of continuing to support AFSA as a retiree, and we need your help to spread the word. That value comes in two categories.

First, there are tangible, individual benefits including: keeping you informed (e.g., through *The Foreign Service Journal*, daily media digest, retirement directory, retiree newsletter, benefits videos and webinars, and Next Stage presentations), protecting your financial interests through AFSA's defense of retirement benefits on Capitol Hill, and having an AFSA retirement counselor available to assist should you have a question

about, or problem with, your federal benefits.

Second, your continued membership helps your successors who are still "in harm's way" in the active duty Foreign Service by, for example, supporting AFSA's efforts to educate Congress, the media and the American people on the importance of funding diplomacy and development.

In view of the benefits of continued membership, why do so many newly retired members drop out? In many cases, it is completely inadvertent.

After decades of paying AFSA dues via payroll deduction, they mistakenly assume that dues will be automatically withheld from their Foreign Service pension. Unfortunately, that is not the case. Retiring employees must fill out new paperwork to continue their AFSA membership in retirement.

Other new retirees successfully re-enroll for AFSA membership, but do so by writing a check for one year's dues. When renewal time comes, they are on a trip, have moved, or only give a cursory glance to their flood of incoming mail. As a result, their reminder letter from AFSA goes unseen, and their membership lapses.

AFSA needs your help in reaching these former members.

When you chat with fellow Foreign Service retirees, try to find out if they belong to AFSA. For example, you might ask what they think about some recent AFSA media digest item, *Foreign Service Journal* article or retiree newsletter update. If they say they do not get that information, encourage them to rejoin AFSA. They can do so on the AFSA website at [www.afsa.org/retired-membership](http://www.afsa.org/retired-membership).

If you attend meetings of one of the 18 Foreign Service retiree associations across the country and you want to proactively encourage your colleagues to join AFSA, we can mail and/or email you handouts explaining the benefits of AFSA membership in retirement along with the membership application form. Just email [member@afsa.org](mailto:member@afsa.org).

Finally, if your own AFSA membership depends on you writing a check each year, please consider switching from annual billing to paying dues via annuity deduction. Switching will save AFSA money on printing and mailing expenses and will ensure that your membership does not inadvertently lapse due to lost or unnoticed mail.

When your renewal time comes, you can simply make the switch either online at [www.afsa.org](http://www.afsa.org) or by contacting [member@afsa.org](mailto:member@afsa.org). ■

## NEWS BRIEF

### LOOKING AHEAD TO THE FOREIGN SERVICE AND AFSA CENTENNIAL

The United States Foreign Service and its professional association, the American Foreign Service Association, were both founded in 1924. Commemorating that centennial in 2024 will provide a unique opportunity to increase understanding among the media, Congress and American people about the vital role of the Foreign Service in sustaining American global leadership.

To begin to plan for that celebration, the AFSA Governing Board established a Centennial Celebration Committee at its July 17 meeting. The committee is chaired by AFSA Retiree Vice President John Naland, who was on the Governing Board during the 75th anniversary celebration in 1999. Other committee members are AFSA Secretary Ken Kero-Mentz and Retiree Representative Mary Daly.

The committee will identify the best ideas for marking the centennial and will determine the steps required to implement them. Toward that end, later this year the committee will issue a call for suggestions from AFSA members and other interested parties. ■



Views and opinions expressed in this column are solely those of the AFSA USAID VP.  
Contact: jay.carreiro@trade.gov

## Navigating the Challenges Ahead

I want to thank outgoing FCS Vice President Dan Crocker for representing our interests at AFSA since 2017 and for organizing a smooth succession. I am both honored and excited to be your next representative on the AFSA Governing Board, and I intend to continue the excellent work Dan has done these past two years.

As you all know, we face some significant headwinds as an organization. The next two years promise to be challenging, and funding will be tight. My top priorities will be transparency with respect to spending and resource allocation at all levels within the Commerce Department, vigorous congressional outreach, and ensuring that our

organization works to provide the support you and your families need.

The continuing stream of proposals we've seen to close significant numbers of overseas posts and domestic field offices is at odds with the administration's desire to enforce trade obligations and, above all, create jobs in the United States.

The Commercial Service has a unique global and domestic footprint and an unrivaled culture of client-based, outcome-oriented assistance. We help tens of thousands of U.S. companies each year compete successfully in foreign markets, and we've got the metrics to prove it.

We need to do a better job,

### Our work contributes \$193 to the U.S. economy for every dollar of taxpayer money spent.

however, of letting members of Congress know what we do for their constituents so we can rally their support for much-needed resources. Our work contributes \$193 to the U.S. economy for every dollar of taxpayer money spent. In very basic terms, our work has a real impact.

Finally, while we have some of the most challenging and rewarding jobs in government, the sacrifices we often have to make to live and work overseas on behalf of our country are frequently overlooked. From security to medical clearances, reas-

signments to home leave, proper expectations should be established. And those expectations should be met.

AFSA can, and should, play a role in ensuring that the mechanics of life in the Foreign Service work for everyone. Your feedback will guide much of what I do, and I will do my part to advance your interests and ensure that our organization provides the support we need to perform at our best.

I look forward to hearing from you. When you're in Washington, please don't hesitate to stop by. ■

## AFSA Supports Diplomacy at USGLC Event

Outgoing AFSA President Ambassador Barbara Stephenson represented AFSA at the U.S. Global Leadership Coalition State Leaders Summit in Washington, D.C., June 17-18.

The conference featured foreign policy briefings and meetings with members of Congress. More than 600 USGLC state leaders attended the conference to make the case about the dangers of the United States pulling back from the world.

"Abraham Lincoln dreamt

of a time and place when America would again be seen as the last best hope of Earth," Representative Joe Neguse (D-Colo.) told conference-goers.

"The only way we make that dream a reality is making your voices heard about why diplomacy matters, about why our engagement in the rest of the world matters. If we do that, I believe our world will be a safer, better, more peaceful place." ■



Then AFSA President Ambassador Barbara Stephenson (right) speaks at the 2019 USGLC State Leaders Summit. To her right is USGLC President Liz Schrayner.

SCREEN CAPTURE



## All Diplomacy Is (Eventually) Local

The role of the Foreign Service in maintaining U.S. global leadership has been a constant theme in AFSA's messaging—a point that former AFSA President Barbara Stephenson made tirelessly to public audiences, to Congress and to our members.

We know that nine in 10 Americans support U.S. global leadership. We also know this support comes with caveats, such as a strong preference for America acting with allies, weak support for “forever” wars and doubts about America's role as the world's policeman.

In addition, even though domestic support for free trade agreements has been growing, according to a May 10 report from the Pew Research Center, there is worry that the economic benefits of U.S. global leadership are not felt evenly across the country.

In 2018 the John Glenn College of Public Affairs at Ohio State University teamed up with the Carnegie Foundation to produce *U.S. Foreign Policy for the Middle Class—Perspectives from Ohio*, the first in a series of reports on local attitudes toward foreign policy.

The Ohio study showed sharp variation in how communities viewed foreign policy, depending on how well their towns and cities are doing and whether they feel left behind by global changes.

The report's executive summary states: “U.S. national security and foreign policy professionals in Washington, D.C., and worldwide strive to sustain U.S. global leadership. Their international economic, trade, commercial, defense, aid and other foreign policies aim to promote macroeconomic growth and stability and to deliver maximum aggregate benefits for the nation. *But many people at the state and local levels are unclear on what all this activity actually entails or how it helps their communities prosper. This should be a major goal of foreign policy professionals—to explain the benefits of U.S. global leadership to all*” (italics mine).

These findings suggest that we can no longer take for granted Americans' support for U.S. global leadership. We need to make the case to our fellow Americans in new and respectful ways and keep a close eye on how our messaging is landing.

The Carnegie study recommends that “every relevant strategy document, including the National Security Strategy, should explicitly answer this question: Whose interests are being served, and who may lose out?”

The authors are not recommending that foreign policy be decided on domestic political grounds, but that policymakers should under-

**AFSA will continue to reach into U.S. communities to explain how the Foreign Service keeps threats at bay while keeping America prosperous and moving forward.**

stand and recognize the domestic effects of foreign policy decisions more deeply than before. Important food for thought.

Luckily, there are influential voices in support of the value of U.S. global leadership and diplomacy to U.S. communities. At the U.S. Global Leadership State Summit on June 17, Tara Hogan Charles of Procter & Gamble, whose world headquarters is in Cincinnati, said: “Not only is investing in global development and diplomacy the right thing to do, it also makes great business sense for American companies. When we engage with the 95 percent of the world's consumers who live outside of our borders through so many of our overseas programs, we increase exports. We are helping to grow businesses right here in Ohio and across the country.”

We also have congressional champions who understand how their states and the country benefit from U.S. global leadership. They have beaten back years of proposed budget cuts, convinced that the country is better off when the United States is setting the global

agenda. They have sponsored legislation like the “Championing U.S. Business through Diplomacy” and the BUILD Act.

Retired members of the Foreign Service, including those in the AFSA Speakers Bureau, generously volunteer their time to tell the story of the Foreign Service in their communities.

AFSA has some new tools to help in the effort. A new animated video, “What Diplomats Do and Why It Matters,” focuses on economic diplomacy. A companion packet with talking points, articles and discussion questions helps members share this message. A second video and plans for a new edition of the ever-popular *Inside a U.S. Embassy* are in the works.

Our new president, Ambassador Eric Rubin, considers outreach a top priority. Along with our strategic partners like the U.S. Global Leadership Coalition and our supporters in Congress, AFSA will continue to reach into U.S. communities to explain how the Foreign Service keeps threats at bay while keeping America prosperous and moving forward. ■



## Meet the 2019-2021 AFSA Governing Board

The American Foreign Service Association is proud to introduce the elected officers and representatives of the 2019-2021 Governing Board. The AFSA Governing Board meets on the third Wednesday of each month from 12 to 1:30 p.m. at AFSA headquarters. AFSA members are welcome to attend board meetings.



### **ERIC RUBIN** **PRESIDENT**

Eric Rubin comes to AFSA from his most recent posting as U.S. ambassador to Bulgaria. His previous positions include deputy chief of mission in Moscow, deputy assistant secretary for European and Eurasian affairs,

consul general in Chiang Mai, executive assistant to the under secretary for political affairs, assistant White House press secretary and National Security Council director for public affairs, and Rusk Fellow at Georgetown University's Institute for the Study of Diplomacy.

Ambassador Rubin joined the Foreign Service in 1985 and is a Career Minister in the Senior Foreign Service. In 1994, he was a recipient of a group William R. Rivkin Award for Constructive Dissent by Mid-Level Officers for his work on the Bosnia crisis. Amb. Rubin is a former member of *The Foreign Service Journal* Editorial Board and a career-long AFSA member.



### **KEN KERO-MENTZ** **SECRETARY**

Ken Kero-Mentz joined the State Department in January 2000. He has served overseas in Rio de Janeiro, Baghdad, Berlin, Colombo and Erbil, and worked domestically in the Bureaus of European and

Eurasian Affairs and Democracy, Human Rights and Labor. He served most recently as AFSA's vice president for State where he fought to enhance AFSA's dual mission of defending the Foreign Service and protecting Foreign Service employees.

An economic-coned officer, Mr. Kero-Mentz served as AFSA post rep in Berlin, and received the AFSA Post Rep of the Year Award in 2009. He served two tours on the AFSA Governing Board from 2011 to 2015. Prior to joining State, Mr. Kero-Mentz spent five years on Capitol Hill covering a wide range of legislative issues, including foreign policy. He earned his bachelor's degree in international affairs with a minor in German and a master's degree in public administration from the George Washington University.



### **VIRGINIA BENNETT** **TREASURER**

Virginia Bennett, senior director for international programs at CNA Corporation, is a retired Senior Foreign Service officer who served as principal deputy assistant secretary of the Bureau of Democracy, Human

Rights and Labor from 2014 to 2017. From 2011 to 2014, she served as deputy chief of mission at the U.S. embassy in Athens.

Ms. Bennett also served in Bogota, Tokyo and Manila; in New York City at the U.S. Mission to the United Nations; and in Washington, D.C., in the State Department's Operations Center and in the Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs.

Ms. Bennett speaks French, Spanish and Japanese. She graduated from Wellesley College and has a master's degree in business administration from Cornell University.



### **THOMAS YAZDGERDI** **DEPARTMENT OF STATE** **VICE PRESIDENT**

A member of the Senior Foreign Service, Tom Yazdgerdi entered the U.S. Foreign Service in 1991 and recently served as special envoy for Holocaust issues in the

Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs at the Department of State.

He has served as director of the Office of South Central European Affairs, political counselor at Embassy Kabul, head of Consulate Kirkuk and deputy political counselor for Iran affairs at Embassy Baghdad. He also served as deputy chief of mission and political-economic chief at Embassy Pristina, in the run-up to and aftermath of Kosovo's independence.

Other assignments include Panama City, Bratislava, Tirana and Athens, as well as positions in the European Bureau (Czech desk) and the Bureau of Political-Military Affairs, and as senior Balkans program officer with the National Democratic Institute in Washington, D.C.

Before joining the Foreign Service, Mr. Yazdgerdi worked on Capitol Hill. He has a bachelor's degree in history from Cornell University and a master's degree in Central European history, security studies and American diplomatic history from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University.



**JASON SINGER**  
**U.S. AGENCY FOR**  
**INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT**  
**VICE PRESIDENT**

The son of a USAID Foreign Service officer, Jason Singer is a proud high school graduate of the International School of Kenya

with more than 20 years of professional interagency development experience, including 14 years as an FSO with USAID and earlier service with the U.S. Treasury Department and the National Security Council. He has led USAID teams in a variety of sectors including economic growth; anti-corruption and good governance; immunization and water, sanitation and hygiene; basic education; agribusiness; workforce development; disaster risk reduction; and women's empowerment.

Mr. Singer has tremendous respect for development professionals across all functional and technical areas, and appreciates the importance of intra- and interagency collaboration to strengthen the Foreign Service cadre.



**JAY CARREIRO**  
**FOREIGN COMMERCIAL**  
**SERVICE VICE PRESIDENT**

Jay Carreiro is a career Foreign Service officer and an 18-year veteran of the Commerce Department. He joined the Foreign Commercial Service in 2009, serving as

special assistant to the deputy assistant secretary for international operations. Prior to his election to the AFSA Governing Board, he was the director for business liaison and special adviser to the U.S. executive director at the Inter-American Development Bank in Washington, D.C. He also served in Rio de Janeiro.

Before joining Commerce, Mr. Carreiro served as a judicial law clerk in Trenton, N.J. He holds a bachelor's degree in political science and public administration from Rhode Island College and a master's degree in public administration and a law degree from Rutgers University. He is married with one child.



**MICHAEL RIEDEL**  
**FOREIGN AGRICULTURAL**  
**SERVICE VICE PRESIDENT**

Michael Riedel has served as an FSO with the Foreign Agricultural Service for 20 years, and realizes his long-time goal of serving as AFSA vice president for FAS.

His overseas assignments have included New Delhi, Baghdad, Ho Chi Minh City, Beijing (as director of the embassy's Office of Agricultural Affairs) and Lima (as agricultural counselor).

Between Beijing and Lima, Mr. Riedel spent time in FAS/Washington as Asia division director of the FAS Office of Country and Regional Affairs and as Western Hemisphere area director in the Office of Foreign Service Operations.

Before beginning his public service career, Mr. Riedel worked as an international trade analyst in a law firm's Washington, D.C., offices. He received his bachelor's degree in international and comparative politics from Western Michigan University and his master's degree in international affairs from George Washington University's Elliott School of International Affairs. Mr. Riedel is married with one daughter and heads home to Maine as often as he can.



**JOHN K. NALAND**  
**RETIREE VICE PRESIDENT**

John Naland's 29-year Foreign Service career included service in Colombia, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Mexico (as principal officer in Matamoros) and Iraq (as leader of the provincial reconstruction team in

Basra). Washington assignments included the Secretary's Policy Planning Staff, the White House Situation Room and the Bureau of Human Resources (as director of the Office of Retirement).

Mr. Naland was AFSA State vice president from 1999 to 2001 and AFSA president from 2001 to 2003 and from 2007 to 2009. He retired from the Foreign Service in 2015. He is in his second term as AFSA Retiree VP. He is also president of the Foreign Service Youth Foundation and coordinator of the Foreign Affairs Retirees of Northern Virginia.

Mr. Naland is co-author of the third edition of *Career Diplomacy: Life and Work in the U.S. Foreign Service* (Georgetown University Press, 2017). A former U.S. Army cavalry officer who served in West Germany during the Cold War, he is a graduate of the Army War College. Born in Kansas, he grew up in New Orleans and graduated from Tulane University. He is married and has two daughters.



### **KRISTIN MICHELLE ROBERTS** **STATE REPRESENTATIVE**

Kristin Roberts is currently director of policy in the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs. Before that, she was in the Office of Public Diplomacy in the Bureau

of European and Eurasian Affairs as a desk officer, where her portfolio included Cyprus, Greece, Turkey, NATO and the European Union.

Ms. Roberts joined the Foreign Service in 2005. She served as press attaché at Embassy Tbilisi and, prior to that, oversaw the Public Affairs Office at Embassy Bishkek.

In Washington, D.C., she has served as the special assistant to the assistant secretary for the Bureau of South and Central Asian Affairs and did a tour in the State Department Operations Center. She was deputy spokesperson for Embassy New Delhi and has also served overseas at Embassy Islamabad and at the U.S. Mission to the European Union in Brussels.

Ms. Roberts earned a bachelor's degree in social work and a law degree from the University of Washington. She is married to fellow FSO James Morris. They have two sons.



### **LILLIAN WAHL-TUCO** **STATE REPRESENTATIVE**

Lillian Wahl-Tuco joined State in 2006 as a consular-coned Foreign Service officer. She currently serves as a Pearson Fellow on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee's minority staff.

During a Washington tour in 2011, Ms. Wahl-Tuco's passion for work-life issues motivated her to launch Balancing Act with several other Foreign Service and Civil Service colleagues to help the department modernize all its work-life policies—including in areas such as flexible work arrangements, telework, parental leave, childcare and eldercare.

Ms. Wahl-Tuco was an AFSA Governing Board member from 2012 to 2014. During that time, she successfully helped secure programs such as the voluntary leave bank, backup care and job share reform, among other things.

Ms. Wahl-Tuco wants to help AFSA efforts on diversity and gender issues and continue to be an advocate for work-life reforms. She is part of an FS-CS tandem and has two children. She joined the Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs Office of Public Diplomacy in August, where she covers Ukraine, Belarus and Moldova.



### **HOLLY KIRKING LOOMIS** **STATE REPRESENTATIVE**

Holly Kirking Loomis is acting director of the State Department Office of Global Change, where she leads the 35-person team that coordinates and implements U.S. foreign policy, negotiations strategy

and programs related to climate change. She previously served in Brasilia, Tegucigalpa and Beijing (twice). She speaks Portuguese, Spanish and Mandarin Chinese. In the summer of 2019, she served a temporary assignment as acting deputy chief of mission in Majuro, Marshall Islands.

Ms. Kirking Loomis joined the Foreign Service as an economic officer in 2004. She earned her master's degree from Tufts University's Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy and earned a bachelor's degree from the University of Minnesota. She served as treasurer and development chair on the board of directors of the American School in Brasilia. She also recently joined the board of directors of the Green Climate Fund as the alternate U.S. representative. Before joining the Foreign Service, she worked in trade finance in Chicago. Ms. Kirking Loomis and her husband, Landon Loomis, have three young sons, who call Wisconsin and New Orleans their home.



### **TAMIR WASER** **STATE REPRESENTATIVE**

Tamir Waser is deputy director for the Office of European Security and Political-Military Affairs at the State Department. He served overseas most recently as political counselor at the U.S. Mission to NATO

in Brussels, as principal deputy high representative in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and as political counselor at Embassy Sarajevo. Mr. Waser has also served in Riga, Freetown, Canberra and Bogotá. In Washington, he has served on the staff of the under secretary for political affairs, in the Balkans office working on Kosovo, and in the Office of European Security and Political-Military Affairs handling NATO's operations in the Balkans.

A native of California, Mr. Waser has bachelor's and master's degrees from the University of Virginia and a master's degree from the National War College. He is a baseball fan and enjoys history.





### **JOSHUA C. ARCHIBALD** **STATE REPRESENTATIVE**

Joshua Archibald is the deputy director of the Office of Economic Policy and Public Diplomacy in the Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs. Before that he was the deputy director of the International Narcotics and Law Enforcement office in San Salvador, where he led the fight against MS-13, corruption and impunity. He was also a special assistant for the under secretary for Economic Growth, Energy and the Environment; the State Department's lead officer on the Committee for Foreign Investment in the United States; and manager of the internal unit in the political-military office of Embassy Baghdad. His other diplomatic assignments include Laos, Ecuador, the Dominican Republic and Italy.

Born and raised in California's Bay Area, Mr. Archibald earned a bachelor's degree in international economics and German from U.C. Davis, and a master's degree from Georgetown University's Walsh School of Foreign Service. He is married (as part of a "tandem") with three children.



### **MATTHEW DOLBOW** **STATE REPRESENTATIVE**

Matthew Dolbow is studying Japanese at the Foreign Service Institute in preparation for his assignment as consul general in Naha. He previously served as chief of staff in the National Security Council and in the National Economic Council's international economics office, counselor for economic and social affairs at the U.S. Mission to the United Nations in New York City, economic strategy unit chief at Embassy Beijing and as spokesperson for Consulate General Hong Kong.

Mr. Dolbow completed his bachelor's degree at the University of Chicago and a master's degree in public administration at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government via the Foreign Service Institute's University Economic Training position.

He enjoys mentoring and leadership development and aims to contribute to department efforts to promote a resilient workforce. Outside of the office, he races cars and enjoys studying art, design, architecture, music and film. He and his wife, Judy, recently welcomed their first child into the Foreign Service family.



### **LORRAINE SHERMAN** **USAID REPRESENTATIVE**

Lorraine Sherman is a Foreign Service officer with USAID, where she currently serves as senior adviser to the Office of Transition Initiatives. Previously, Ms. Sherman served as a congressional liaison officer with the Bureau for Legislative and Public Affairs. She also served as an executive officer in Nairobi, Kabul and Pristina.

A decorated U.S. Army veteran, Ms. Sherman holds a bachelor's degree from Rutgers University, a law degree from Boston University School of Law and a master's degree from the School of Advanced Military Studies, part of the Command and General Staff College. She served on the AFSA Governing Board from 2015 to 2017.



### **MARY PARRISH** **FAS ALTERNATE REPRESENTATIVE**

Mary Rose Parrish is the deputy director for Multilateral Trade Capacity Building Programs at USDA's Foreign Agricultural Service in Washington, D.C. She just returned from Mexico City where she served as the deputy director of the Agricultural Trade Office, following a tour as agricultural attaché in the Office of Agricultural Affairs.

Within FAS, Mary has also worked in the Animal Division and the Global Commodities Analysis Division. Prior to FAS, Mary worked at the World Bank in the Central America Management Unit on Sustainable Development and on the Agricultural Risk Management Team. Previously, she was program and membership manager at the Fair Trade Federation.

She holds a master's degree from Georgetown University's Walsh School of Foreign Service, with a concentration in international development, and bachelor's degrees from the University of California, Berkeley in international political economy and Latin American studies. She was raised in Raleigh, North Carolina. She and her husband have one son.



**JEFFERY AUSTIN**  
**APHIS REPRESENTATIVE**

Jeffery Austin is a career Foreign Service officer with the Department of Agriculture's Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service. Prior to his recent relocation to APHIS headquarters in Washington, D.C.,

he served as the area director for the APHIS International Services Office in San José, Costa Rica. He is responsible for the technical/scientific, sanitary and phytosanitary side of import/export regulations for agricultural trade between Central America and the United States. In addition, he works to identify emerging animal and plant pest and disease issues within Central America and works with Central American countries to develop surveillance and mitigation measures.



**STEVEN L. HERMAN**  
**USAGM REPRESENTATIVE**

Steven Herman is the White House bureau chief for the Voice of America. The veteran correspondent has been a member of the Foreign Service since 2007, when he was named VOA's South Asia bureau chief,

based in New Delhi. Subsequent to his India posting, Mr. Herman was Northeast Asia bureau chief, based in Seoul, and then Southeast Asia bureau chief in Bangkok. He returned stateside in 2016 to cover diplomacy at the State Department, before moving to cover the new administration shortly after the inauguration.

Mr. Herman spent 16 years living in Tokyo, working in media, before joining VOA as a staff correspondent. He is also a former news reporter for the Associated Press and began his career in radio and television news in Las Vegas. He is a former president of both the Japan Foreign Correspondents' Club and the Seoul Foreign Correspondents' Club.



**MARY DALY**  
**RETIREE REPRESENTATIVE**

Mary Daly is a senior adviser in the Department of State's Bureau of Human Resources, where she directs the Franklin Fellows Program, a public-private collaboration that brings outside experts to State

and USAID for a sabbatical year. She was a political officer in the Foreign Service for 23 years, serving as political counselor, speechwriter, policy planner and legislative liaison, among other assignments, before retiring early to care for a family member.

Since retiring, she has served as a senior inspector at OIG, editor-in-chief of the International Religious Freedom Report and FSI instructor, in addition to her work in HR. She served as AFSA's Director of Advocacy and Speechwriting from July 2017 to March 2018. In that capacity, she built relationships for AFSA with House and Senate Appropriations and Authorizations Committee members and staff, and helped launch the Friends of the Foreign Service caucus.



**PHILIP A. SHULL**  
**RETIREE REPRESENTATIVE**

Philip Shull retired in 2016 after 31 years with the Foreign Agricultural Service. A native of Wooster, Ohio, his interest in food security and international relations was sparked by living as a boy in India, where

he saw severe malnutrition. Mr. Shull's work maximizing exports of U.S. food and agricultural products and promoting global food security included trade negotiations, capacity building, food safety, biotechnology, marketing and promotion, scientific exchange and economic analysis.

His overseas assignments included Korea, Argentina (where he also covered Uruguay and Paraguay), Hong Kong, Philippines and three postings to China. His final position was Minister Counselor for agriculture in Beijing.

Throughout his career, Mr. Shull used common goals in improved technology, science-based regulations, food safety standards and farmer-to-farmer visits to advance broader U.S. diplomatic interests. He relished working with other sections of the embassy to expand the reach of U.S. Department of Agriculture programs. ■

## The New FSJ Editorial Board Members

*The Foreign Service Journal* has eight new members for the 2019-2021 Editorial Board term. Each comes with a unique background and special talents and motivations for joining the Editorial Board. One member said he wants to “commit myself to work actively with other board members to reinforce the *Journal*’s century-long mission of advocacy for American diplomacy and its practitioners around the world.” Another said “I specifically am interested in the Editorial Board role as I see it helping to shape the dialogue in the community, at a time when our established ideas are being challenged.”

Yet another new board member wrote: “Over the past several years, I have seen AFSA’s leadership become increasingly indispensable. The *FSJ* can and should be the leading advocate—whether it’s on Foreign Service work and life issues overseas, the unique role that specialists play and how those should adapt for the future, ways to highlight Civil Service careers, or the importance of recruiting and training the next generation.”

Welcome to our new Editorial Board members, and thank you also to our continuing Editorial Board members: Alexis Ludwig (chair), Harry Kopp and Dinah Zeltser-Winant!



**Robert M. Beecroft** retired from the Foreign Service in 2006 with the rank of Minister Counselor. After retiring, he led State Department Office of Inspector General inspections of U.S. diplomatic operations in Kuwait, Syria, Taiwan, Vietnam, Ukraine, Belarus, Lithuania and

four regional and functional bureaus in Washington, D.C. From 2004 to 2006, he was a professor of national security strategy at the National War College. From 2001 to 2004, he served as ambassador and head of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe Peacekeeping Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Earlier, he served in Bosnia as the special envoy for the Bosnian Federation and chargé d’affaires at Embassy Sarajevo. Between 1971 and 1996, he served in Washington, D.C. and overseas in Geneva, Brussels, Paris, Bonn, Cairo, Ouagadougou and Amman, the latter two as deputy chief of mission.



**Daniel Crocker** is a career member of the Senior Foreign Service. Prior to serving as AFSA’s Foreign Commercial Service vice president for the 2017-2019 Governing Board, he was the commercial counselor in Madrid, promoting U.S. commercial interests in Spain. Mr. Crocker was the first

director for the newly created FCS Office of Digital Initiatives. He was also Commerce’s first executive director for Western Hemisphere operations. Mr. Crocker’s earlier foreign assignments were in Panama, Mexico, Brazil and the Dominican Republic.

Prior to joining the Foreign Service, Mr. Crocker worked in the private sector with Schlumberger, Amsted Rail, Webvan, HomeWarehouse.com and as an MIT consultant for Hewlett-Packard. He has a bachelor’s of science degree in engineering from Princeton University, a master’s degree in foreign affairs from the University of Virginia and a master’s and MBA from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Mr. Crocker is married with two children and has raced bicycles competitively throughout Latin America, the United States and France.



**Joel Ehrendreich** joined the State Department in 1994. He currently serves as foreign policy adviser (POLAD) to the Commandant of the Marine Corps. Mr. Ehrendreich’s prior assignments were mostly in the Indo-Pacific region and West Africa. Raised in Wisconsin, he graduated

from Drake University. Prior to joining State, Mr. Ehrendreich worked for the Peace Corps, wrote for local/specialty publications and taught adult rehabilitation at Goodwill Industries. Mr. Ehrendreich’s hobbies include watching baseball, playing baseball and talking about baseball, and his prized possession is a baseball signed by the Dalai Lama.

He received the William R. Rivkin Award for Constructive Dissent in 2011. Mr. Ehrendreich is married to FSO Rachel Ehrendreich, and they have two grown children.



**Jess McTigue** is serving as a Pearson Fellow on Capitol Hill. She has been a special agent with Diplomatic Security since 2005, with assignments in Iraq, Yemen, Chad, New York and Washington, D.C. Prior to joining the State Department, she worked as an intelligence analyst in

the private sector. Ms. McTigue has a bachelor’s degree in international studies from DePaul University in Chicago.

Upon her departure from Chad, the country’s president made her a Knight of the National Order of Chad; she is the first and only embassy official, other than the ambassador, to receive this award.





**Christopher Teal** is a career member of the Senior Foreign Service. He is currently on a faculty assignment at the Inter-American Defense College at Fort McNair in Washington, D.C. He recently completed an Una Chapman Cox Fellowship, for which he directed, wrote and produced a document-

tary on the first African American diplomat, Ebenezer D. Bassett. The film, "A Diplomat of Consequence," tells the story of this groundbreaking diplomat 150 years after his appointment.

Mr. Teal previously served as the consul general at the U.S. consulate in Nogales, Mexico, and held public affairs positions in Sri Lanka; Mexico; Peru; and the Dominican Republic. In Washington, D.C., he also worked in the Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs and at the Foreign Press Center. He joined the State Department in 1999 and previously served on the FSJ Editorial Board from 2004 to 2007.



**Joe Tordella** is a Foreign Service officer currently serving as spokesperson for the Bureau of Western Hemisphere Affairs. Before this assignment, he was a special assistant to the under secretary for public diplomacy and public affairs. He also served as the public affairs officer at the

U.S. embassy in Moldova. A communications strategist by vocation, he has also served in public diplomacy assignments in Moscow, Islamabad, Tripoli, Manila, Tel Aviv and Riyadh.

Prior to joining the Foreign Service in 2007, Mr. Tordella worked as a strategy consultant for IBM and Booz Allen Hamilton. He has a graduate degree from the London School of Economics and an undergraduate degree from American University. He speaks Spanish and Russian, and, he notes, "pretends to still speak Arabic, and stumbles through heavily New Jersey-accented English."



**Vivian Walker** is executive director of the U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy. Following a 26-year career with the State Department, she retired as a Minister Counselor in 2014 and became a teacher, writer and researcher. She has served as a faculty fellow at the USC

Center on Public Diplomacy and editor of the CPD Perspective series, as an adjunct professor at the Central European University's School of Public Policy, and as a research fellow at the CEU Center for Media, Data and Society.

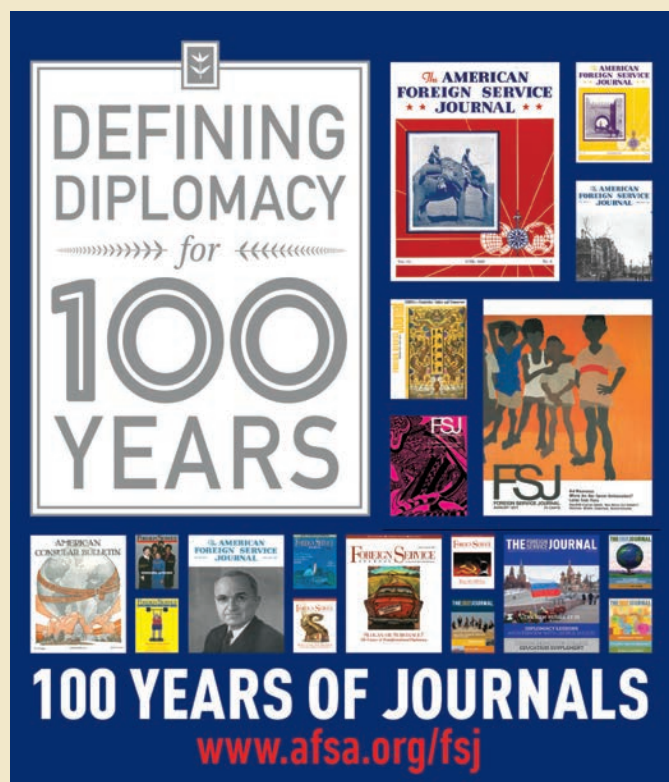
Ms. Walker has also been a professor of national security strategy at the National War College in Washington, D.C., and at the National Defense College of the United Arab Emirates.

She has published and lectured extensively on the practice of public diplomacy in complex information environments. She graduated from Georgetown University's Walsh School of Foreign Service and earned her doctorate in English language and literature from the University of Chicago.



**Laurence Wohlers** is a retired diplomat and the current board chair of Youth for Understanding, a nonprofit with a 70-year history of working on youth exchanges.

During a 36-year diplomatic career, he served as ambassador to the Central African Republic, minister counselor for political affairs at the U.S. Mission to the European Union, and minister counselor for public affairs in Moscow, as well as other postings in Africa and Japan. After retiring, he returned to the CAR as the deputy special representative of the U.N. Secretary General (DSRSG) to help set up the new peace-keeping mission (MINUSCA) there. Since leaving MINUSCA, Amb. Wohlers has returned to the department for short-term assignments including as interim special representative for the African Great Lakes and as head of delegation for the Security Governance Initiative in Niger and Mali. He also served as interim director of the Fulbright Program in Belgium. ■



## The Foreign Service Journal Welcomes New Associate Editor

AFSA is pleased to welcome Cameron Woodworth to *The Foreign Service Journal* and the AFSA publications team as associate editor.

A former newspaper reporter, Cameron served the U.S. government overseas for more than six years. He was an office management specialist at Embassy Budapest from 2012 to 2013 and a development and communications specialist for USAID at Embassy Islamabad from



2013 to 2015. He served in the economic section at

Embassy Tel Aviv from 2015 to 2018, via the Expanded Professional Associates Program.

Cameron, who was raised in Connecticut, holds a bachelor's degree from the

University of Pennsylvania, where he majored in politi-

cal science. He is the author of *Green Cuisine: A Guide to Vegetarian Dining Around Seattle and Puget Sound*.

Cameron's wife, Monica Smith, is a legal adviser for USAID and a member of the Senior Foreign Service. They love cycling around the region; in the mountains of Spain, France and Italy; and in other exotic locales. They live in Arlington, Virginia.

Cameron can be reached at [woodworth@afsa.org](mailto:woodworth@afsa.org). ■

## AFSA Welcomes New Grievance Counselor

Please join AFSA in welcoming former Foreign Service Officer Pete Lyon to the Labor Management team as a grievance counselor.

Most recently, Pete was a senior adviser with C&O Resources, Inc., an international consulting group.

He was an FSO from 2009 to 2016, serving as an analyst in the Bureau of Political-Military Affairs and the Bureau of Counterterrorism in Washington, D.C., a political-military officer in Slovenia and vice consul in Ciudad Juarez, Mexico.

Pete has also worked with the U.S. Institute of

Peace, the World Bank Group, Health for Humanity and the Emirates Center for Strategic Studies. He was one of 60 Thomas J. Watson fellows nationwide selected in 1995 for a year of independent study and travel abroad and is knowledgeable in Arabic, Spanish and Slovenian. He holds advanced degrees in both public affairs and Middle Eastern studies from the University of Texas

and a bachelor's degree in history and Spanish from Knox College. A native of Illinois, Pete resides in Arlington, Virginia. ■



### NEWS BRIEF

#### AAFSW BOOK & ART FAIR SET FOR OCTOBER

The Associates of the American Foreign Service Worldwide will hold its annual Art & Book Fair from Oct. 11 to 21 at the Exhibit Hall at the State Department. The book fair has been held each year since 1961, and raises \$60,000 to \$100,000 annually.

Proceeds from the AAFSW bookstore and from the Art & Book Fair go to a number of worthy causes in the foreign affairs community,

including scholarships for Foreign Service students and contributions to the Foreign Service Youth Foundation.

Find out more about the Book Fair at [www.aafsw.org/activities/art-book-fair](http://www.aafsw.org/activities/art-book-fair). ■



## George F. Kennan Writing Award Winner Announced

Each year AFSA presents the George Kennan Writing Award to a Foreign Service officer and graduate of the National War College whose individual research project and writing have demonstrated excellence throughout the year.

AFSA Governing Board member and Awards Committee Chair Don Jacobson and Brigadier General Chad Manske presented this year's award to FSO Patrick Ventrell at the college's Award and Distinguished Graduate Recognition Ceremony at Fort McNair in Washington, D.C., on June 7.

Mr. Ventrell was also named a distinguished graduate and the winner of the Theodore Roosevelt Award for Scholarship and Leadership (Commandant's Award). He was praised for two essays proposing strategies on how to best advance American interests in the U.S. power competition with China.

Mr. Ventrell's first essay, "U.S.-China: Maximum Competition with a Release Valve," explains how the U.S. needs to improve diplomatic and development strategies to counter China. It argues for more resources for State and USAID.

His second essay, "Containing China's Expansion: A Narrative Problem," focuses on improving public diplomacy strategy to better inform global audiences about China's actual behavior and intentions.

While at the National War College, Mr. Ventrell also completed an independent research and writing project, "Revitalizing America's Civilian Might: Preparing for Bipolar Competition," in which he argues that the department should work to build domestic support for our diplomatic and development power. Mr. Ventrell recommends building a long-term domestic constituency, followed by a push for greater reforms and resources for diplomacy after we have a better domestic connection.

Prior to attending the National War College, Mr. Ventrell served at multiple U.S. embassies (Bogotá, San Salvador, Baghdad and Santiago) and worked as the deputy spokesperson for the U.S. Mission to the United Nations in New York.

He joined the Bureau of Public Affairs as director of the Office of Press Relations, provided daily press briefings at the State Department as the acting deputy spokesperson, and served on detail to the National Security Council staff at the White House as director of communications and NSC deputy spokesperson.

This summer, after his graduation from the National War College, Mr. Ventrell joined the State Department's Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs as an office director. In the future,



2019 George Kennan recipient FSO Patrick Ventrell, at right, with AFSA Awards Committee Chair Don Jacobson.

AFSA/CAROLINE QUINN

he hopes to return overseas in a leadership position.

"A Foreign Service career is already ideal for lifelong learning, but having the unique opportunity to spend an entire academic year pursuing rigorous studies of national security strategy and earn a master's degree is extraordinary," Mr. Ventrell said of his National War College experience.

"It was the ideal mid-career moment to acquire new skills and form inter-agency relationships with some of the nation's best rising military and civilian leaders. It was a phenomenal year, and one I recommend highly to my Foreign Service

colleagues. The State Department has unique and historic ties to the National War College going back to George Kennan's leadership at the institution, and it is a contribution that will hopefully continue on for many more generations."

Many other Foreign Service members were honored at the ceremony as distinguished scholars, and two other FS members were also presented with writing awards. Jennifer Post received the NWC Class of 2010 Ambassador Chris Stevens Award, and Daniela Ballard received the Traeger Award for Excellence in Writing. ■



## AFSA Recognizes Foreign Service Youth



2019 Youth Awards winners pose with then AFSA President Ambassador Barbara Stephenson (2nd from left).

AFSA joined the Foreign Service Youth Foundation, the Associates of the American Foreign Service Worldwide and the Family Liaison Office in honoring excellence in Foreign Service youth at the 2019 Youth Awards Ceremony, which took place on June 26 in the State Department's George C. Marshall Center.

For the second year in a row AFSA awarded \$129,000 in merit awards, divided among 38 students. This is the highest amount ever

given in AFSA merit awards, and the highest number of students so honored.

Director General of the Foreign Service and Director of Human Resources Carol Z. Perez was the keynote speaker at the event. She read aloud a letter of congratulations from Secretary of State Mike Pompeo.

Ambassador Barbara Stephenson, president of AFSA at the time, presented AFSA's Merit Awards to the 12 recipients who joined us on the day of the ceremony. In

her remarks Amb. Stephenson praised the achievements of the recipients and lauded the resilience displayed by children of Foreign Service families.

Each year AFSA confers 41 merit scholarships in the categories of academic achievement, art merit and community service to graduating high school seniors. Awards range from \$1,000 to \$3,500 and go toward alleviating tuition costs for recipients.

AFSA also distributes financial aid scholarships to select students. This year the Scholarship Program awarded a record-breaking \$352,000 in scholarships across both Merit and Financial Aid programs.

AFSA thanks the members of the AFSA Scholarship Committee and more than 30 other AFSA members who volunteered their time to



Ambassador Barbara Stephenson presents an academic merit scholarship to Aimee Dastin-van Rijn.

judge this year's Merit Scholarship submissions.

For more information on AFSA's Scholarship Program please visit [www.afsa.org/scholar](http://www.afsa.org/scholar) or email [scholar@afsa.org](mailto:scholar@afsa.org). Detailed information on all of the 2019 Merit Scholarship recipients can be found in the July-August issue of *The Foreign Service Journal*. ■



Youth Awards winners (left to right) Charlotte Lanser, India Eddy and Margaret Moore.



## AFSA Governing Board Meeting, June 19, 2019

**Awards and Plaques Committee:** It was moved that the Governing Board approve the committee's recommendations for recipients of the 2019 AFSA Awards. The motion was adopted.

**Death of Lola Gulomova:** It was moved that the AFSA Governing Board endorse the following statement: "The tragic loss of Lola Gulomova, who was in the middle of an outstanding career as a Commerce FSO, has left the AFSA community bereft. Lola exemplified what is best about the Foreign Service. She served with distinction in challenging posts in China and India and was preparing for her next assignment as head of Commerce in Belgrade. Lola joined the AFSA Governing Board as an alternate FCS represen-

tative after she distinguished herself by challenging—quietly but with determination, and in the spirit of accountability—an unaddressed sexual harassment issue that affected multiple female FSOs at Commerce. And she led an initiative to convince Commerce to restart its FSO intake process after it had been neglected for over four years. Lola was the FSO everyone wanted on their team. She was a friend to many of us. And she leaves a void in our hearts." The motion was adopted.

**FSGB and FSLRB Appointments:** It was moved that the Governing Board authorize the Retiree VP to support the appointment of Larry Mandel as Foreign Service Grievance Board Chair. The motion was adopted.

It was moved that the Governing Board authorize the Retiree VP to support the appointment of Ambassador (ret.) Thomas Miller and professional arbitrator Kurt Saunders to the Foreign Service Labor Relations Board. The motion was adopted. ■



## AFSA Governing Board Meeting, July 17, 2019

**Management Committee:** John Naland moved to add Eric Rubin, Virginia Bennett, Ken Kero-Mentz and Russ Capps as signers on all bank accounts. The motion was adopted.

**Centennial Committee:** John Naland moved to create a special committee to begin planning for the centennial of the U.S. Foreign Service and AFSA, per the memorandum Mr. Naland sent to the Governing Board, dated July 17, and to include as voting members Ken Kero-Mentz, Mary Daly and Mr. Naland (to serve as chair), and to be open to participation by all interested Governing Board members. The motion was adopted.

**Acting State VP:** John Naland moved that the Governing Board grant Ken Kero-Mentz the authority to perform the duties of the AFSA State vice president, as outlined in the bylaws and the VP position description, until State VP Tom Yazdgerdi takes office. The motion was adopted.

**USAID Standing Committee:** USAID Vice President Jason Singer moved to add Jeff Levine and William Hansen to the USAID standing committee. The motion was adopted.

**FSJ Editorial Board Affirmation:** AFSA President Eric Rubin, without objection, confirmed Alexis Ludwig

as chair of the Journal Editorial Board and confirmed Amb. (ret.) Robert M. Beecroft, Daniel Crocker, Joel Ehrendreich, Harry W. Kopp, Jessica McTigue, Christopher Teal, Joseph Tordella, Vivian Walker, Amb. (ret.) Laurence Wohlers, Dinah Zeltser-Winant and Hon. Eric Rubin (ex officio) as the remaining members.

**Awards and Plaques Committee:** President Rubin called for volunteers to serve on the Awards and Plaques Committee. Lillian Wahl-Tuco offered to serve as chair; and John Naland and Mary Daly offered to serve as members. Without objection, these members were assigned to serve as such.

**Scholarship Committee:** Pres. Rubin called for volunteers to serve on the Scholarship Committee. John Naland volunteered and, without objection, was appointed as chair. Mr. Naland noted the need for an additional two members and discussed the time requirements for serving on the committee. Virginia Bennett, Joshua Archibald and Jason Singer volunteered and, without objection, were appointed to the committee.

**Constituency Standing Committees:** Pres. Rubin, without objection, appointed the constituency vice presidents to serve as chairs of their respective standing committees and instructed them to bring their recommended committee sizes and assignments to the next GB meeting. ■

## Next Stage: How Your Foreign Service Background Adds Value in the Private Sector



Juan Gonzalez (left), Samantha Carl-Yoder, Stephen Liston and Andrew Rudman discuss "Transitioning to the Private Sector" during a Next Stage event.

For AFSA's most recent Next Stage program, "Transitioning to the Private Sector," Foreign Service alumni explained how they parlayed their diplomacy expertise into post-FS careers in the private sector.

Our panel of recently retired members from various backgrounds and career tracks highlighted how Foreign Service experience can pave the way to successful private-sector transitions.

The panel was the brainchild of AFSA member and State retiree Stephen M. Liston. Currently vice president of global government relations at Equifax, a consumer credit reporting agency, Mr. Liston underscored that Foreign Service members have a unique skill set that is key to the success of U.S. businesses in foreign climes.

FS personnel know how to approach and negotiate with foreign governments, which is particularly important given that a good many economies

are state-run, and foreign governments are often directly involved in such issues.

Mr. Liston pointed out that not all U.S. businesses are fully aware of the benefits that can be derived from the expertise FS personnel bring to the table, and it is important for FS personnel to be ready to describe the significance of their expertise when looking to make the transition to the private sector.

Other panelists were former deputy assistant secretary of State Juan Gonzalez, now an associate vice president at the Cohen Group; former State FSO Samantha Carl-Yoder, who is currently the director of marketing and international affairs for Telurian, a natural gas company; and Andrew Rudman, who was both a tenured State FSO and then an officer with the Department of Commerce before moving on to be managing director at Monarch Global Strategies, a boutique

strategic advisory firm.

An audience member said that the panelists "did an excellent job of explaining the many ways in which our global skill set is valuable to the private sector, coaching us on how to describe the value that we can bring to an organization and sharing a wealth of practical tips on the

way the job search process really works."

"Next Stage" is a new AFSA initiative that includes a range of events geared toward post-Foreign Service career options and the skills you need to take advantage of them. ■

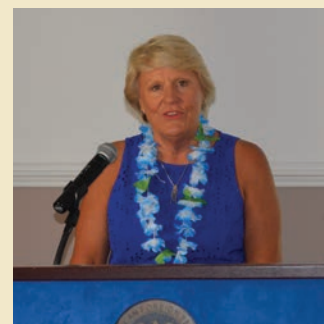
## Scenes from AFSA's Summer Happy Hour



Attendees chat at the AFSA Summer Happy Hour against a backdrop of panels from the FSJ's centennial exhibit.



Attendees enjoy food at the AFSA Summer Happy Hour.



Outgoing AFSA President Ambassador Barbara Stephenson makes farewell remarks at the AFSA Summer Happy Hour June 27.



## AFSA Welcomes Newest Foreign Service Officers, Specialists and Consular Fellows



AFSA/CAMERON WOODWORTH

Diplomatic Security Special Agent (ret.) Steve Kruchko talks with members of the 153rd Specialist Class.



AFSA/CAMERON WOODWORTH

Incoming AFSA President Eric Rubin chats with members of the 18th Consular Fellows Class.



Members of the 199th A-100 Class enjoy a buffet lunch at the AFSA headquarters.

On July 31, AFSA welcomed 71 members of the 199th A-100 Class to its headquarters in Washington, D.C.

AFSA Treasurer Virginia Bennett hosted the luncheon. Ambassador (ret.) Robert Beecroft, Ambassador (ret.) Lino Gutierrez, former assistant secretary of State Gregory Starr, AFSA State representatives Kristin Michelle Roberts, Lilly Wahl-Tuco and Tamir Waser and AFSA staff were on hand to speak with the new Foreign

Service members and answer their questions about AFSA and the many ways the association can assist, protect and advocate for them.

On July 25, AFSA welcomed 48 members of the 153rd Specialist Class. About half of the class members have joined Diplomatic Security, while eight are new office management specialists. Also included are three general service officers and three regional medical officers.

AFSA Senior Adviser for

Strategic Communications Lynne Platt gave opening remarks, while table hosts included Ambassador (ret.) Michael Klosson, Diplomatic Security Special Agent (ret.) Steve Kruchko, AFSA Governing Board Secretary Ken Kero-Mentz, Ambassador Robert Blake, and Governing Board members Jason Singer, Wahl-Tuco and Waser.

On June 18, AFSA welcomed 72 members of the 18th Consular Fellows Class to its headquarters.

Outgoing AFSA President Ambassador Barbara Stephenson gave remarks, while table hosts included incoming AFSA President Eric Rubin, Amb. Beecroft and Mette Beecroft, Ambassador (ret.) Michele Bond, AFSA Labor Management Grievance Counselor Peter Lyon, Special Agent Kruchko and Keith Hanigan of Overseas Building Operations Bureau.

Welcome to the Foreign Service! ■

## Professional Careers for FS Family Members: A Webinar

On June 6, AFSA hosted a webinar on employment options for Foreign Service family members around the world. “Stories of Success: Maintaining a Professional Career as a Foreign Service Family Member” focused on offering ideas for family members on how to find and maintain professional careers outside the embassy environment.

Four Foreign Service family members addressed the 68-person audience, explaining how they flourished in professional careers, how they overcame obstacles, and how and why they made trade-offs.

The panel of speakers showcased the diversity of professional careers that can be held by Foreign Service family members: a current regional senior manager at the International Finance Corporation (the private-sector arm of the World Bank), an attorney working for Disney, a certified financial planner, and a published author and associate editor of *The Foreign Service Journal*.

Family member employment is a top concern for the highly mobile Foreign Service community. It is an issue that comes up again and again in AFSA’s structured conversations with members.



AFSA Director of Professional Policy Issues Julie Nutter (left) and Senior Manager for Programming and Member Engagement Christine Miele participate in a webinar on family member employment.

The speakers did their best to answer all the questions from family members who registered for the webinar

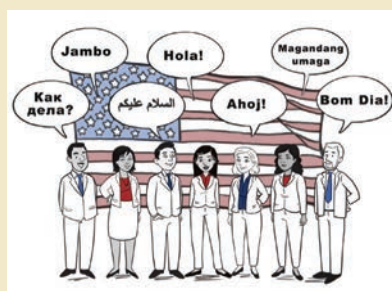
and generously answered follow-up questions by email. The webinar can be viewed at [afsa.org/video](http://afsa.org/video). ■

## AFSA Promotes Economic, World Diplomacy

In outreach efforts over the summer AFSA has continued to promote the “Economic Diplomacy Works” theme, which is the focus of a year-long effort.

We have found new venues in which to show our new animated explainer video on economic diplomacy, as well as share our updated speaker packet that accompanies the video. We thank all of the speakers who have made use of these new materials. If you have used the video or talking points, we would love feedback on how audiences are receiving them.

As usual, AFSA offered a weeklong Road Scholar



Still shot from AFSA’s “Economic Diplomacy” video.

program at the Chautauqua Institute in western New York in early June. The speakers at this program were Ambassador (ret.) Gordon Brown, Ambassador (ret.) Lange Schermerhorn, and retired Senior Foreign Service officers Janice Bay, Richard

McKee, James Pierce and Molly Williamson.

Our fall Chautauqua program will take place in mid-September, where the following speakers are scheduled to speak: retired FSOs James Benson, James Bever, Allen Keiswetter, Dr. Elizabeth Shelton and Amb. Marc Wall. As always, AFSA appreciates the willingness of our speakers to take a week out of their busy schedules to help us tell the story of the U.S. Foreign Service to the American public.

Finally, in early August, AFSA offered its annual program, “Inside the World of

Diplomacy,” in collaboration with Smithsonian Associates. The speakers were Ambassador (ret.) Patricia Butenis and FSO Bryan Gillespie.

Our relationship with Smithsonian Associates continues to bear fruit, as their nationwide network gets the word out about the importance of U.S. diplomacy to a large audience.

Next spring, we hope to offer a multiweek program focused on Africa as part of our series with them. If you are not yet part of AFSA’s Speakers Bureau, we encourage you to join! Visit [www.afsa.org/speaker](http://www.afsa.org/speaker) and sign up. We would be happy to have you on board. ■

## FSJ Wins 2019 Excel Award

The Foreign Service Journal won a bronze medal in the “Editorial/Opinion Piece” category at the Association Media & Publishing 2019 Excel Awards gala on June 24 for an article written by Ambassador (ret.) Ted Osius. His article, “Respect, Trust and Partnership: Keeping Diplomacy on Course in Troubling Times,” appeared in the April 2018 FSJ.

Following is an excerpt from Amb. Osius’ article:

*The challenges to the Foreign Service, and to our democracy, are existential. Some who remain at State feel besieged and demoralized. Yet I urge those Foreign Service officers who believe in making a difference to remain, if possible, because it is still a privilege to serve our country. I continue to believe the experienced diplomat’s language, regional expertise and deep understanding of a global challenge will pay off, and give that individual the chance to change a bit of history.*

*For those who choose to remain and who love diplomacy as I do, I offer a few thoughts on what can be done to best serve the United States, even in difficult times. I learned in my last three posts—India, Indonesia and Vietnam—about the power*

*of respect, trust and partnership. The United States casts a long shadow, and when we show respect it has a big impact. Showing respect means figuring out what is really, truly*

*important to our partners and taking that seriously. It costs America almost nothing and gets us almost everything.*

*Showing respect builds trust. Real, powerful partnership comes when you build trust. And you build trust by finding where interests converge, and then doing things together. The diplomat’s job is to find those shared interests and make them the bases of our actions. All those cables, all that contact work, the outreach—all of it should lead to action.*

After retiring from the Foreign Service in 2017, Ambassador Osius served as vice president of Fulbright University Vietnam and as a senior adviser at the Albright-Stonebridge Group. In February he joined Google as vice president for government affairs and public policy in the Asia-Pacific.

He served as U.S. ambassador to Vietnam from 2014 to 2017. His Foreign Service assignments included Indonesia, India, Thailand, Japan, the Vatican and the Philippines, and he worked on Asian challenges from the White House, the United Nations and the State Department.

Congratulations to *The Foreign Service Journal* and Amb. Osius. ■



### NEWS BRIEF

#### OVERSEAS POST INFO NOW AVAILABLE TO FAMILY MEMBERS

Adult family members under chief of mission authority now have direct access to country-specific bidding research information from the Foreign Service Institute’s Overseas Briefing Center.

OBC’s country information, previously available only on its Post Info to Go website at <http://fsitraining.state.gov/pitg>, is now available (after registration) from home computers and mobile devices. With this change, family members no longer must rely on the employee’s access to State’s intranet.

Post Info to Go offers nearly 6,000 documents from 265 posts around the world, with an additional 1,900 Personal Post Insights describing life at various posts, submitted anonymously by members of the Foreign Service community.

Documents for each post include childcare and schooling information, resources for EFM employment, housing information, pet import and quarantine restrictions and more. OBC also offers financial and legal resources, tips for international moves, and webinars and online training resources.

To request account authorization, send an email from a personal—not a business—email account to [PostInfoToGoExternal@state.gov](mailto:PostInfoToGoExternal@state.gov). Use the subject line: “[LAST NAME]: Request Account Authorization for Post Info to Go External.”

In the body of the email, list full name, current post, agency and the name of the employee sponsor with sponsor’s government email address. The sponsor must be a direct-hire employee of a U.S. government agency posted to, or heading to, a U.S. embassy or consulate overseas. ■



## Ambassador Stephenson Reviews AFSA Efforts in Final Webinar

In her final webinar as AFSA president, Ambassador Barbara Stephenson discussed the association's successes and challenges over the past few years with AFSA retirees.

"As you remember, in 2017 the State Department was facing a 32 percent budget cut," she said in the June 20 webinar. "AFSA was able to create a common purpose with a bipartisan coalition of congressional champions to maintain and restore funding for the Foreign Service."

AFSA's efforts helped reverse the decade-long decline in spending on core diplomatic capability and increase the "Overseas Programs" FY2019 appropriations line item by \$84 million, funding regional bureaus abroad as well as the costs of moving FSOs overseas, she noted.

In a challenging period when Congress was at times completely deadlocked, AFSA was able to find new partners, work with staff and members

to keep them fully informed about our issues and walk them through the data, allowing these stakeholders to maintain their oversight role, Amb. Stephenson said.

AFSA has emphasized the role the Foreign Service plays in keeping threats at bay, helping to address the Ebola crisis, working with European allies to get passenger name records in place, and helping foreign law enforcement agencies break up child pornography rings.

During the U.S. government shutdown at the end of 2018, AFSA became a one-stop-shop for up-to-date information for diplomats, she added.

AFSA is making use of webinar technology so that more members can participate in interesting and topical events, bringing in a steady stream of experts to discuss the latest information about Social Security, Medicare, long-term care and TSP.

AFSA's new "Next Stage" series focuses on the many members who have a second or third career ahead of them. Past events can be viewed at [afsa.org/video](https://afsa.org/video). ■

## AAFAA Awards Internship Stipend to Department of State Summer Intern

AFSA and the Asian American Foreign Affairs Association are pleased to announce that the first internship stipend fund recipient is Heajune "June" Lee. Ms. Lee, who immigrated to the United States from Korea when she was 2 years old, is a student at Stanford University, majoring in international relations with a computer science minor. She is working in the State Department's Bureau of Conflict and Stabilization Operations, Office of Analysis, Planning, Programs and Learning.

The internship builds on Ms. Lee's previous academic work including research on U.S. defense policy.



At Stanford, she has participated in the Hoover Institution National Security Affairs Fellows Mentorship Program and is involved in Stanford in

Government, a student group focused on public policy and politics.

Following her summer 2019 internship, June hopes

to intern at a U.S. mission overseas next summer. She is interested in pursuing a career in foreign policy or international law.

In 2018, AFSA partnered with AAFAA to create the Student Internship Stipend Program to provide financial assistance to historically underrepresented Asian American and Pacific Islander interns. June will receive a \$1,300 stipend to cover living costs associated with her unpaid internship at State.

AFSA members can support this program by making a tax-deductible contribution to assist a summer 2020 intern. Checks can be made payable to AFSA (memo line noting "AAFAA internship fund"). For more information or to submit your donation, write to [AAFAA@state.gov](mailto:AAFAA@state.gov). ■

## NEWS BRIEF

**GOOD NEWS ON VIRGINIA  
IN-STATE TUITION ELIGIBILITY**

Many of AFSA's active-duty members currently reside in Virginia. The Virginia State assembly recently enacted a residency requirement change that will benefit these members and their dependents.

Effective July 1, 2019, any member of the Foreign Service and any dependents of such member are eligible for in-state tuition at public institutions of higher education after residing in Virginia for at least 90 days, if immediately prior to receiving a diplomatic assignment and while continuing to be assigned overseas.

Previously there was no exception for members of the Foreign Service or their dependents, and they were subject to the normal state residency requirement of 12 months to qualify for in-state tuition.

Delegate Paul Krizek, who represents Virginia's 44th House District and is the son of a Foreign Service officer, sponsored HB 1936 that provided the exception. Any members who wish to thank Delegate Krizek for his efforts to help enact this welcome exception may do so by reaching out to his office using the contact information below.

State District: 2201 Whiteoaks Drive, Alexandria VA 22306, (703) 688-2983

State Capitol: 900 East Main Street, Richmond VA 23219, (804) 698-1044

AFSA is happy to answer any specific questions regarding this eligibility change or refer members to an appropriate contact for questions we are not able to answer in full. ■



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■ **Eugene H. Bird**, 94, a retired Foreign Service officer, died on June 2 at a retirement community in Vancouver, Wash., due to complications from pneumonia.

Born in Spokane, Wash., on March 17, 1925, and raised in Eugene, Ore., Mr. Bird served in the U.S. Navy at the end of World War II. He received a bachelor's degree in journalism in 1948 and a master's degree in history in 1953, both from the University of Oregon.

Mr. Bird joined the Foreign Service in 1955, working on the Israel-Jordan desk. He went on to serve in Jerusalem, Beirut, Dhahran, Cairo, Bombay (now Mumbai) and New Delhi, wrapping up his Foreign Service career in 1975 as political and economic counselor in Jeddah.

In 1976, Mr. Bird worked as the Oregon chairman of Jimmy Carter's 1976 presidential campaign. He worked for General Electric in Riyadh and, from 1993 to 2010, was president of the Council for the National Interest, a nonprofit that works on Israeli issues. He also served as a diplomatic correspondent on Middle East affairs for the *Washington Report*.

"I have spent most of my adult life trying to help resolve this terrible conflict," Mr. Bird wrote of the Israeli-Palestinian rivalry in a 2014 *Los Angeles Times* opinion piece.

"We all know the bare outlines of an equitable compromise: two states with borders more or less along the lines of the 1967 armistice lines," he wrote. "The only alternative to diplomacy is endless war, and that is in no one's interest. We must not reward aggression—by either side."

Mr. Bird was predeceased by his wife, Jerine Newhouse Bird, the founder of Partners for Peace.

He is survived by a son, Kai Bird (a Pulitzer prize-winning author) of New York City; three daughters: Christina

Macaya of Camas, Wash., Nancy Bird of Cordova, Alaska, and Shelly Bird of Alexandria, Va.; a sister; six grandchildren; and four great-grandchildren.

■ **Jeffrey A. Brock**, 73, a retired Foreign Service facilities manager with the State Department, passed away on June 6 in Myrtle Beach, S.C.

Born on Dec. 14, 1945, in Shreveport, La., Mr. Brock grew up in Montana, frequently hiking the rugged terrain of Glacier National Park with his Norwegian grandmother and his half-brother.

In 1985, near the end of his 20-year career in the U.S. Navy Seabees, Chief Petty Officer Brock was attached to the Naval Support Unit of the State Department, performing security upgrade projects at the U.S. embassy in Panama.

At an embassy party he met Joy, and used his sense of humor to capture her attention that night and his cookie-baking prowess to eventually capture her heart. The two married on Sept. 15, 1988.

In 2001 Mr. Brock joined the Foreign Service, traveling with his wife, two dogs and a cat to Almaty. In 2003, he was assigned to Buenos Aires.

He spent the latter part of his career on temporary duty assignments in Africa and South America before retiring in 2015.

Mr. Brock visited and worked in more than 150 countries, bungee-jumped off the Victoria Falls Bridge between Zimbabwe and Zambia, and hit three holes-in-one on a par-4 course in Islamabad.

Friends recall his booming voice and even bigger personality, saying that beneath his jokes and sarcastic quips was a generous and compassionate man. As a facilities manager, he was a master of all trades. As a mentor, he empowered others, helping them achieve better lives for themselves.

Mr. Brock is survived by his wife, Joy; his half-brother Gregory George Brock; sister-in-law Priscilla Thrower Knight; niece J.J. Knight; and his two cats, Michi and Sophie.

Donations may be made in memory of Jeff Brock to the Humane Society of North Myrtle Beach at [humanesocietynmb.org](http://humanesocietynmb.org) or P.O. Box 3369, North Myrtle Beach SC 29582.

■ **Robert "Bob" John Clarke**, 72, a retired Foreign Service officer, died on May 30 in Rockville, Md., of cancer.

Born in New Haven, Ct., on Sept. 30, 1946, to Ruth Ann and Robert Joseph Clarke—also a career U.S. diplomat—Bob Clarke spent many of his younger years overseas, starting in Manila.

He attended King George V School in Hong Kong and graduated from Washington & Lee High School in Arlington, Va.

Mr. Clarke received a bachelor's degree in history from Clark University in Worcester, Mass., in 1967. From 1968 to 1970, he served as a lieutenant in the U.S. Army, posted to Fulda Gap, Germany.

He earned a master's degree in political science from the New School for Social Research in New York City in 1978 and a master's degree in interdisciplinary studies from the National Defense University in Washington, D.C., in 2001.

Mr. Clarke enjoyed a 33-year diplomatic career, starting with his first tour as consular and political officer in Managua (1979-1981), just as the Sandinistas came to power.

He served as special assistant to Secretary of State George Shultz from 1985 to 1986.

From 1993 to 1996, he was the sole Balkans issues officer at the U.S. mission to NATO in Belgium, drafting major



policy points that guided senior decision-makers when the U.S. led NATO in armed intervention in the Balkans.

While serving as senior desk officer for Indonesia (1998-2000), Mr. Clarke drafted key elements of U.S. policy toward Indonesia as East Timor (now Timor-Leste) regained its status as an independent nation following violent unrest and Indonesia's first democratic elections in 1999.

As counselor for political affairs in Bangkok (2002-2005), Mr. Clarke shaped official U.S. understanding that Muslim unrest in Southern Thailand arose from separatist motivations, not international terrorist backing.

Serving as consul general in Hermosillo (2005-2008), Mr. Clarke oversaw a major expansion of the office's visa services and reporting coverage.

In his final tour, serving as deputy chief of mission in Wellington, Mr. Clarke led the development and implementation of policy changes that reversed a 25-year history of stalled U.S.-New Zealand relations, including securing presidential authorizations.

Mr. Clarke retired in 2011 but continued to work as a contractor for the Bureau of Population, Refugees and Migration.

In retirement, he attended Osher Lifelong Learning Institute courses at American University and other forums for the discussion of history, politics and contemporary culture.

Mr. Clarke is survived by his wife of 48 years, Rosalind, of Washington, D.C., and daughters Lisa and Jill of Montgomery County, Md.

■ **Robert Theodore (Ted) Curran**, 87, a retired Senior Foreign Service officer, died peacefully in his sleep on July 10 in Traverse City, Mich.

Mr. Curran was born in Brooklyn, N.Y., in 1932. At the age of 17, he had a pivotal life experience when he joined an American Friends Service Committee work camp in post-World War II Düsseldorf, Germany.

There, he and 11 other young American men joined 12 German young men, living together in a partially bombed school, to work on the reconstruction effort. He forever treasured the camaraderie and collaboration of that mission.

Mr. Curran earned a bachelor's degree in history and Russian from Haverford College in 1953 and a master's degree in Russian history from Columbia University in 1955.

He worked and trained briefly in IBM's professional management program before joining the Foreign Service as a public affairs officer in 1955. He served overseas in Berlin, Beirut, Amman, Yemen, Mexico City, Kabul and Rabat.

Mr. Curran's 29-year diplomatic career afforded remarkable encounters and experiences—from hosting Louis Armstrong in 1957 Germany to receiving assistance for a flat tire from King Hussein's bodyguard in the Jericho valley.

Mr. Curran escorted Lady Bird Johnson through the 1967 Montreal World Expo, welcomed the Apollo 11 crew in Mexico City in 1969, taught President Richard Nixon how to abrazar (embrace) the president of Mexico, worked closely with William Rogers in the State Department's Secretariat from 1970 to 1972 and helped guide Henry Kissinger on a tour of Afghanistan in 1976.

He picked up the American hostages from Iran in Algeria with President Jimmy Carter in 1981, hosted President George Bush and First Lady Barbara Bush in 1983 in Morocco, and played a midnight round of golf with the King of Morocco.

Following his retirement from the Foreign Service in 1984, Mr. Curran joined the executive leadership team of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty in Munich.

In 1987 he became president of Springfield College in Illinois.

In 1993 Mr. Curran moved to New York City to become president of the Foreign Policy Association, then returned to Washington, D.C., to serve as executive director of the American Institute for Foreign Study Foundation until 2005. He continued there as a trustee until 2017.

In retirement he lived in Benzie County, Mich., where he served on the boards of the Grand Traverse Regional Land Conservancy, the Michigan Land Use Institute (now known as Groundwork), For Love of Water, the International Affairs Forum and the Paul Oliver Memorial Hospital. He also served on the boards of George School and Sidwell Friends School.

Mr. Curran's connection to Michigan began with his marriage to Marcia Mattson, of Hillsdale, Mich., in 1956. The couple established their residency at Crystal Downs, Lake Township, Mich., and spent many summers there with friends and family.

Family members recall his love of golf; the game was a source of personal growth and great joy to him. Though he played courses all around the world, his favorite was in Crystal Downs.

As an adult, Mr. Curran became an official member of the Society of Friends, generously sharing with all who knew him the Quaker wisdom of a life lived with purpose and a faith in the promise of every person's inner light.

Family members recall his abiding belief in the survival of the human spirit. He maintained that almost any human problem can be overcome if people of reason can get together and talk.

Mr. Curran is survived by his wife, Marcia; two daughters, Sara and Diana, and sons-in-law, Ralph and Laris; and four grandchildren: Ingrid, Augustus, Noah and Claire.

■ **Daniel del Castillo**, 50, an active-duty Foreign Service officer, died suddenly in Washington, D.C., on May 8 after a short illness.

Prior to joining the Foreign Service, Mr. del Castillo was a print journalist for *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, covering the region from Timbuktu to Kabul from a base in Rome.

Raised in Minnesota, he earned a bachelor's degree in classics from the University of Minnesota and a master's degree in Middle Eastern history from the American University of Beirut.

Mr. del Castillo joined the State Department in 2008 after having spent time as a fellow at Embassy Baghdad.

He served in Kathmandu and Cairo, as a political adviser to the U.S. Africa Command in Stuttgart, and at the National Security Council before joining the State Department's Executive Secretariat Staff ("the Line") in the summer of 2017.

During his tenure there, Mr. del Castillo advanced travel by the Secretary of State to Manila, Beijing, Doha, Cairo, Mexico City, Brasilia, Paris and Kansas, among other places.

His coworkers remember him for his sincere regard for colleagues and their well-being, his insightful questions about policy and State's role in the world, his sartorial splendor and wit, and his true love of travel—especially to the far-flung places on his bucket list.

Mr. del Castillo is survived by his wife, Renae Ask; his mother, Marcia del Castillo; two older sisters, Deborah and Michele del Castillo; nieces Isabella and

Cezanne; nephews Giovanni and Alessandro; and two great-nephews, Hayden and Hudson.

To share notes and photos with the family, please send to: The del Castillo Family, 914 Gorman Ave., St. Paul MN 55118, or to renaeask@gmail.com.

■ **John Gunther Dean**, 93, a retired Foreign Service officer and five-time ambassador, died on June 6 at his home in Paris.

Born Gunther Dienstfertig in Breslau, Germany (now the Polish city of Wrocław), on Feb. 24, 1926, Mr. Dean fled with his family from Nazi Germany in 1938, settling in Kansas City and changing their last name to Dean.

Mr. Dean studied government and international relations at Harvard University before enlisting in the U.S. Army. He married Martine Duphenieux in 1952.

During a Foreign Service career that began in 1956 and ended with his retirement in 1989, Mr. Dean served as U.S. ambassador to Cambodia, Denmark, Lebanon, Thailand and India.

Mr. Dean was perhaps best known for his 1974-1975 tour as the ambassador to Cambodia. He oversaw the evacuation of the U.S. embassy in Phnom Penh after the capital fell to the Khmer Rouge.

Mr. Dean worked desperately to secure passage out of Phnom Penh for Cambodian officials and others who had fought against the communist insurgents even after the United States ended military support for the embattled Cambodian government.

"We'd accepted responsibility for Cambodia and then walked out without fulfilling our promise," Mr. Dean said in a 2015 interview. "That's the worst thing a country can do. And I cried, because I knew what was going to happen." Mr.

Dean was portrayed by Ira Wheeler in the 1984 film *The Killing Fields*, about the fall of Phnom Penh.

Shortly after leaving Cambodia, Mr. Dean received a letter from President Gerald Ford, who said that Mr. Dean had been "given one of the most difficult assignments in the history of the Foreign Service and carried it out with distinction."

After retirement in 1989, Mr. Dean served on corporate and academic boards in the United States, Europe and Asia. A fan of classical music, he helped found the Verbier Festival, an annual summer music festival in Switzerland.

Mr. Dean is survived by his wife, Martine; three children, Catharine Curtis of Cajarc, France, Paul Dean of Geneva, Switzerland, and Joseph Dean of Sebastopol, Calif.; and seven grandchildren.

■ **Pasquale "Pat" DiTanna**, 87, a retired Foreign Service officer, died on July 18 at his residence in Fairfax, Va., after fighting cancer for five years.

Mr. DiTanna was a first-generation Italian American born in Burlington, N.J. A 1953 graduate of The Wharton School at the University of Pennsylvania, he joined the U.S. Army and served one year in Korea.

During a 32-year career as a Foreign Service officer with the State Department, Mr. DiTanna served in the Philippines, Turkey, Colombia, Panama, Ceylon (now Sri Lanka), Chile, Switzerland and Pakistan.

He also traveled on assignment for the Office of Foreign Building Operations to the Soviet Union, El Salvador, Spain, Holland, Portugal, Honduras, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Thailand, Australia, China and Japan. In 1972 he received a Meritorious Honor Award.

Mr. DiTanna met his wife, Janet, in Manila, and they were married there in

1960. The couple settled in Fairfax, Va., in 1979.

Following retirement in 1988, Mr. DiTanna volunteered at the Salvation Army University View Child Care Center, the Ambassadors of Mary and the Rosary Makers of Saint Michaels. He was an active member of the Sons of Italy and Veterans of Foreign Wars Post 8469 in Fairfax.

He was an avid fisherman, hunter and bowler, and he planted flower and vegetable gardens at each post overseas.

Mr. DiTanna is survived by his wife of 59 years, Janet; their four children: Tom (and his spouse, Terry), Lucian (and his wife, Janet), Angela (and her husband, Kerry) and Helen; six grandchildren: Michael, Victor, Kyle, Cameron, Jaclyn and Jennifer; and a sister, Martha.

Memorial donations may be sent to Capital Caring or VFW Post 8469, Fairfax Station, Va. Condolence messages may be sent to the family through [www.fmfh.com](http://www.fmfh.com).

■ **Lola Gulomova**, 45, a Foreign Commercial Service officer, died in Washington, D.C., on June 7 in what a preliminary investigation called a murder-suicide at the hands of her husband, Jason Rieff, 51, who was also an FSO.

Born in Tajikistan, Ms. Gulomova graduated from the School of Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins University in Washington in 2001.

Shortly after Hurricane Katrina struck the New Orleans area in 2005, Ms. Gulomova worked with the United Methodist Committee on Relief on Katrina Aid Today programs and initiatives to ensure long-term recovery for people affected by the hurricane. As a result of her efforts, 70 percent of the initial set-up operations budget was saved to be rerouted to Katrina aid efforts.

Prior to joining the Foreign Commercial Service in 2008, Ms. Gulomova worked at U.S. Embassy Moscow as the deputy representative for the U.S. National Aeronautics and Space Administration, working on bilateral space relations. As part of this work, Ms. Gulomova ensured that American astronauts serving on the International Space Station received support both on the ground and in space.

As an FCS officer, she served in Guangzhou, Taipei and New Delhi, covering major sectors such as civil aviation, energy and SelectUSA.

During her tenure in India, Ms. Gulomova supported numerous high-level visits, including President Barack Obama's November 2010 visit and two visits by Commerce Secretary Penny Pritzker. She had been scheduled in June to lead the first-ever trade mission to Uzbekistan.

Ms. Gulomova is survived by two young daughters.

See p. 67 for the AFSA Governing Board's resolution on Ms. Gulomova's death.

■ **John Michael Jackson**, 45, a Foreign Service specialist, passed away on June 8 in Amman, where he worked at the U.S. embassy.

Born on Oct. 5, 1973, in Casper, Wyo., Mr. Jackson was the oldest son of John M. and Marva Ann (Tanner) Jackson. He attended Casper schools, graduating from Natrona County High School in 1992 and went to Casper College and the University of Wyoming in Casper.

Mr. Jackson's passion for computers started at a young age, and after selling computers and peripheral equipment for RadioShack while still a teenager, he launched a long career in computer networking and security.

Mr. Jackson's first overseas journey was a three-week trip to Brazil with his brother, Ryan. There he met his future wife, Karin Cecilia Zech of Rio de Janeiro.

The couple married on July 6, 2002, in Idaho Falls, Idaho, and had three sons: Ethan Haden (2006), Benjamin Michael (2010) and Robert Edward (2012).

Mr. Jackson worked for the State of Wyoming's Department of Employment and in the IT department at the Wyoming Medical Center before joining the Foreign Service in 2004. He served in Rwanda, Paraguay, South Africa, Sudan and Jordan.

Friends recall that spending time with his sons meant more than anything to Mr. Jackson, and he treasured the special experiences they shared in the remote parts of the world where he worked.

Mr. Jackson is survived by his wife and sons, and by both parents; one grandfather, Loyd Tanner of Casper; two brothers, Brandon Jackson of Casper, and Dr. Ryan Jackson, of Curaçao; and a sister, Sarah Annena Langton (husband Ryan) of Layton, Utah.

■ **Lowell Bruce Laingen**, 96, a retired Foreign Service officer and former ambassador, died peacefully on July 15 at a retirement community in Bethesda, Md.

Mr. Laingen was born on Aug. 6, 1922, on a farm in Butterfield, Minn., the son of Palmer and Mabel Laingen. He served as a naval officer in World War II in the South Pacific.

He graduated from St. Olaf College in Minnesota (cum laude in history and economics), later receiving a master's degree in international relations from the University of Minnesota and an honorary Ph.D. from the Humphrey Institute



of Public Affairs. He also studied at the National War College in Washington, D.C.

In 1947 Mr. Laingen participated in a project called SPAN (Student Project for Amity among Nations), which inspired him to join the Foreign Service in 1949.

He served overseas in Germany, Iran, Pakistan and Afghanistan, and was appointed U.S. ambassador to Malta by President Gerald Ford in 1977. State-side, he served on the Greek desk and as deputy assistant secretary for European affairs.

Ambassador Laingen was appointed chargé d'affaires in Iran by President Jimmy Carter in 1979, and was taken hostage in Tehran on Nov. 4 of that year. He and his colleagues remained in captivity for 444 days. For his service in Iran he was awarded the State Department Award for Valor.

During that time, his wife, Penne, created the Yellow Ribbon as a symbol of unity—and the original ribbon from the oak tree in their front yard is part of the American Folklife Center collection of the Library of Congress.

Amb. Laingen is the author of *Yellow Ribbon: The Secret Journal of Bruce Laingen* (Brassey's Inc., 1992).

Following his time as a hostage in Iran, Amb. Laingen was appointed vice president of the National Defense University, where he served until 1987 when he retired from the Foreign Service after 38 years.

He continued serving in various capacities during retirement, including as executive director of the National Commission on the Public Service and for 15 years as president of the American Academy of Diplomacy, a private institution dedicated to furthering the highest standards of the diplomatic service.

In 2010, Amb. Laingen was presented

with AFSA's highest award, for Lifetime Contributions to American Diplomacy. He was also recognized as a "Father of the Year" by the Father's Day/Mother's Day Council in 1981.

Amb. Laingen leaves his wife of 62 years, Penelope (Babcock) Laingen; his sons, William Bruce, Charles Winslow and James Palmer; 10 grandchildren; seven great-grandchildren; two great-great-grandchildren; and a sister, Norma Marsh.

■ **John W. McDonald**, 97, a retired Foreign Service officer, passed away peacefully on May 17 in Arlington, Va.

Mr. McDonald was born on Feb. 18, 1922, in Koblenz, Germany, where his father, Capt. John W. McDonald, an army cavalry officer, was stationed during the occupation of the Rhineland at the end of World War I.

Mr. McDonald earned a bachelor's degree in 1943 from the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign. He received a law degree from the University of Illinois in 1946 and was admitted to the Illinois Bar in the same year.

In early 1947 Mr. McDonald arrived at the Office of Military Government-U.S. in Berlin, one of the first civilians to work in the U.S. Legal Division of the Four-Power Allied Control Council.

He joined the Foreign Service in 1949 and was named to the Allied High Commission and as assistant district attorney in Frankfurt. In 1950 he assumed the role of U.S. Secretary of the Law Commission of the Allied High Commission in Bad Godesberg.

In 1952 Mr. McDonald moved with his family to Paris, where he worked on the Marshall Plan as staff secretary to the U.S. Mission to NATO.

In 1955 he was assigned to the Office of Policy Reports and Operations in

Washington, D.C., and named interim executive secretary of the International Cooperation Administration, the forerunner of USAID, until he was formally sworn into this position in 1956.

In 1959 he was assigned to CENTO (formerly the Baghdad Pact) in Ankara to oversee the building of a 3,000-kilometer microwave system along the Turkish-Soviet border and a railroad linking Turkey, Iran and Pakistan.

From 1963 to 1966 Mr. McDonald worked at Embassy Cairo on economic and agricultural affairs. He returned to Washington, D.C., for a one-year program at the National War College. In 1967 Mr. McDonald was assigned to the Bureau of International Organizations.

During a 40-year diplomatic career, Mr. McDonald served for eight years in Europe, four years in Washington, D.C., eight years in the Middle East and then, for the next 20 years, focused almost exclusively on multilateral affairs, including four years with the United Nations as deputy director-general of the International Labour Organization in Geneva.

In 1983 Mr. McDonald joined the newly created Center for the Study of Foreign Affairs at the Foreign Service Institute. There he helped pioneer the emerging academic field of conflict resolution.

Mr. McDonald was accorded the personal rank of ambassador twice by President Jimmy Carter and twice by President Ronald Reagan. He retired from the Foreign Service in 1989.

Mr. McDonald then briefly taught law at George Washington University in Washington, D.C., and was the first president of the Iowa Peace Institute in Grinnell, Iowa, from 1989 to 1991.

In 1992, he returned to Washington to cofound, with Dr. Louise Diamond, the

Institute for Multi-Track Diplomacy, an organization that sought to develop and promote a systems approach to peace-building around the world. After 25 years as its chairman and CEO, Mr. McDonald retired in 2017 at age 95.

Mr. McDonald was nominated in 1994 for the Nobel Peace Prize, obtained several honorary degrees from universities, was a member of the Cosmos Club and was an avid fencer throughout his diplomatic career.

Family members and friends recall Mr. McDonald's lifelong motto: The only way to solve a problem at any level of society is to sit down face-to-face and talk about it.

He was preceded in death by his daughter Kathleen in 1988 and his son James in 2002.

Mr. McDonald is survived by his wife of 48 years, Christel G. McDonald; two daughters, Dr. Marilyn McDonald (and her husband, Dr. Michael Edwards) of Madison, Wis., and Laura Schneider (and her husband, Bernie Schneider) of Battle Ground, Wash.; four grandchildren and their spouses; and six great-grandchildren.

Mr. McDonald's Papers will be deposited in a special collection of the Pioneers of Conflict Resolution at George Mason University's Fenwick Library. His work in bilateral, multilateral and multitrack diplomacy is outlined in his memoir, *The Shifting Grounds of Conflict and Peace-building: Stories and Lessons* (Lexington Books, 2009).

■ **George A. McFarland Jr.**, 88, a retired Foreign Service officer, died suddenly during his 45th wedding anniversary celebration on June 1 in Washington, D.C.

Born on June 28, 1930, in Dallas, Texas, during the Great Depression,

FDR's New Deal and World War II, Mr. McFarland grew up believing in public service.

At age 12 he frightened his mother when U.S. officials showed up at their home inquiring about him: the young Mr. McFarland had written to the military, offering to help the war effort with the (imaginary) weapons he was building.

In college, Mr. McFarland studied journalism and wrote for local papers before joining the U.S. Air Force. After enduring brutal pilot training that killed many of his peers and flying 20 combat missions during the Korean War, he walked away from a military career to work for peace as a U.S. Foreign Service officer.

Mr. McFarland's diplomatic career took him to Costa Rica, Cyprus, Turkey, Peru, Brazil and Antigua. Two children from his first marriage, Steve (himself now a retired FSO) and Anne, accompanied him in his exploration of the world, including visits to Troy, Machu Picchu and the Amazon rainforest.

In 1972, at a friend's party in Lima, Mr. McFarland struck up a conversation with a confident Peruvian woman, Rosario Sanchez-Moreno Ramos, who loved to sing and play guitar.

The two fell in love, and on June 1, 1974, they were married in an intimate garden ceremony in Ankara, Turkey, where Mr. McFarland was serving as political counselor.

After taking early retirement from the Foreign Service in 1985, Mr. McFarland moved with Rosario and his two youngest children, Maria and John, to Lima, Peru.

The country was embroiled in an internal armed conflict that made travel outside the city risky, but Mr. McFarland took his family hiking and camping in remote parts of the country. He took a

stab at writing novels and, with Rosario, turned a rubble-filled vacant lot into a leafy public park.

Over time, Mr. McFarland's wood-working hobby became his art. Self-taught, he eventually created beautifully finished modernist sculptures. After moving to Austin, Texas, he had solo shows at the Davis Gallery, and continued exhibiting in galleries in Washington, D.C., and Maryland when he and Rosario relocated to Annapolis in 2009.

Mr. McFarland also served as president of Texas Partners of the Americas, the Texas Foreign Service Group in Austin and the American Society in Lima. He was an active member of the Texas Society of Sculptors, the Washington Sculptors Group and the Maryland Federation of Art.

Family members recall his kindness, wisdom, sense of humor, strong principles and gentle nature.

Mr. McFarland is survived by his wife, Rosario; his children, Stephen, Anne, Maria and John; and many extended family members. Memorial contributions may be made to the Audubon Society or the Sierra Club.

■ **Robert Miller**, 87, a retired member of the Foreign Service, died on June 25 at his home in Indianapolis, Ind., following a long struggle with ALS.

Mr. Miller was born on Oct. 12, 1931, in Newton, Ill. Following schooling in Newton and in Indianapolis, Ind., he served in the U.S. Army.

Curious to explore a wider world, he then made his way to Washington, D.C., where he worked at the State Department and later the U.S. Information Agency.

He also studied at the Art Students League in New York City. He was a specialist in international exhibitions, developing and organizing exhibitions

and sometimes trade fairs for circulation in the former Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and Africa.

His work enabled him to live abroad and to travel extensively, especially within Eastern Europe, an area he loved. While serving in Vienna with the U.S. Information Service, he managed exhibitions in Poland, the former Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary and East Germany.

Not simply an expert in international exhibits, Mr. Miller was an artist, craftsman and collector. Throughout his life, he complemented his interest in art by creating drawings, paintings, prints and stained glass works. He also acquired a personal collection of works by artists of interest to him, especially abstract impressionists and pop artists.

Friends and family members recall that Mr. Miller's interest in the arts extended to a love of all beautiful things of life, including fine cuisine, wine, good conversation and beautiful places.

After retirement he accompanied his wife, Foreign Service Officer Cynthia Fraser Miller, and their son Alexandre to her assignments in Vienna, Berlin, Bonn and Rome. He had a large coterie of friends who took joy in his kindness, humor and zest for living, and admired his unbounded courage in long years of battle with a devastating illness.

Mr. Miller was preceded in death by his parents, his first wife, Elin, and his brother.

He is survived by his wife, Cynthia; his sons James (and his wife, Halima), Robert (and his wife, Kelly McAlinden) and Alexandre; and his faithful dog, Sam.

In accordance with his wishes, no services were held. Friends are invited to remember him by enjoying a cool drink on a sunny terrace, or by contributing to a favorite charity.

■ **Charles "Chuck" Reynolds**, 83, a retired Foreign Service officer, died on May 24 in Corvallis, Ore.

Mr. Reynolds was born in Hillsboro, Ore., to Bessie and Harold Reynolds. When he was 6 years old, the family moved to Albany, Ore., where Harold was maintenance chief at M&M Plywood and Bessie was chief X-ray technician at Albany General Hospital.

In high school, Mr. Reynolds' principal activities were debate, honor society and orchestra. He was one of two students chosen to go to Boys' State and participate in a mock session of the Oregon legislature at Willamette University.

He played first violin in the state of Oregon high school honor orchestra and was the concertmaster. He graduated as valedictorian at Albany High in 1953.

Mr. Reynolds attended Stanford University, focusing on international politics, and was chairman of the 60-college Model United Nations in 1957.

After completing a B.A. in history, he was awarded a Rotary International fellowship to spend a year in Geneva, Switzerland. In 1963, he married Judy White of Portland, Ore.

Mr. Reynolds joined the U.S. Foreign Service in 1965, and served overseas in Ecuador, Panama and Afghanistan. His last job for the State Department involved directing the Voice of America's Afghan (Dari) language broadcasts.

After retirement, he and Judy divorced.

Mr. Reynolds then settled in the Marin area of California, where he worked for the Presbyterian Church of Novato.

He married Janet Hansen in 1999; after a separation in 2002, Mr. Reynolds moved back to Oregon and settled in Corvallis, where he hiked, canoed,

played the violin and sang in the choir. He served as deacon at the First Presbyterian Church in Corvallis.

Mr. Reynolds is survived by his brother, Neil Reynolds, and his daughters, Lisa Lawson, Holly Gallant and Julie Huffman.

■ **Marion "Bobbie" Riedel (née Schoenfeld)**, 96, a former intelligence analyst for the State Department and widow of the late FSO Alf Bergesen, passed away on July 5 at Rockledge Regional Memorial Hospital in Rockledge, Fla., after a brief illness.

Marion Reid Schoenfeld was born in 1923 in Vienna, Austria, where her father was posted with the U.S. legation. As she recounted in her self-published 2004 memoir, *My Life in Capitals*, she lived with her parents and her siblings in Finland and the Dominican Republic.

In June 1940, she enrolled at Smith College. She graduated in December 1943, as part of a three-year wartime program.

After working for the Office of Strategic Services for a few months, she resigned to travel to Hungary, where her father was sent in May 1945 to reopen the legation offices in Budapest.

Later that year, she returned to the United States and took a job as an intelligence analyst at the State Department.

In early 1951, Ms. Schoenfeld married Alf Bergesen, a Naval Academy graduate and newly minted Foreign Service officer. The couple embarked on a long diplomatic career, with overseas postings in Rangoon, Vienna, Berlin, Phnom Penh, Bangkok, Lisbon, Saipan, Dacca (now Dhaka) and Port-au-Prince.

The couple also served three tours in Washington, D.C., and one at the United Nations in New York City.

After Mr. Bergesen's retirement in



1984, they lived in Bethesda, Md., until 1989, when they relocated to Indian River Colony Club in Viera, Fla.

Mr. Bergesen passed away in 1995.

In 1999, Bobbie Bergesen married Bill Riedel, a retired Coast Guard captain. They were married for 20 years, during which time they continued to live independently at IRCC, while enjoying a variety of social events and many inland and oceanic cruises.

Ms. Riedel is survived by her husband, Bill; two children, Christopher Bergesen of Bethesda, Md., and Susan Bergesen of San Francisco, Calif.; and one grandson, Curtis Bergesen of Denver, Colo.

■ **Theresa “Terri” Rose Robertson (née Parrette)**, 92, a retired Foreign Service officer, died on July 1 in Bradenton, Fla., after a brief stay in hospice.

Born on Nov. 22, 1926, Theresa Parrette helped her parents run a candy store in Minneapolis, Minn., during the Great Depression.

In 1944 she was recognized by the annual Westinghouse talent search for a science scholarship. She earned a bachelor’s degree from Marquette University in 1948 and was hired by the State Department shortly after graduation.

For the next three decades, Ms. Parrette worked as a consular officer and secretary, serving overseas in Korea, Japan, Taiwan, Nepal, Belgium, Mexico and South Africa.

She met her husband, Donald Robertson, a fellow diplomat from Canada, while on assignment.

After retirement, the Robertsons lived on Anna Maria Island, Fla., where they enjoyed boating. Mrs. Robertson moved to nearby Bradenton after her husband’s death. She attended St. Joseph’s Catholic Church.

Mrs. Robertson leaves her son, Joseph

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Womack, and his wife, Lili, of Jupiter, Fla.; a granddaughter, Hayley Womack of Newport Beach, Calif.; numerous nieces and nephews; and her beloved canine companion, Reggie.

Condolences may be sent to Brown & Sons Funeral Homes & Crematory, [www.brownsandsonsfuneral.com](http://www.brownsandsonsfuneral.com).

■ **Brynhild C. Rowberg**, 101, a retired Foreign Service officer, passed away on May 17 at the Care Center of the Northfield Retirement Community in Northfield, Minn.

Ms. Rowberg was born on Aug. 26, 1917, in Northfield, Minn., the daughter of Andrew and Marie (Rollag) Rowberg. She graduated from Northfield High School in 1935 and from St. Olaf College in 1939.

In 1941 Brynhild Rowberg moved to Washington, D.C., to work for the State Department. She joined the Foreign Service in February 1945 and was assigned to the London staff of the Office of the Political Adviser to the Commanding General for Austria.

Because Austria was still in German hands, the office prepared for the eventual occupation of that country.

Ms. Rowberg traveled to the United Kingdom in a 90-ship convoy that was attacked, unsuccessfully, by a U-boat. She was in London during the last raid on the city by the Luftwaffe, when V-2 rockets fell frequently.

In March 1945 U.S. strategy changed, and officials decided that Austria would be occupied by troops coming from the south, so the staff, including Ms. Rowberg, was transferred to Allied Headquarters for the Mediterranean Theater at Caserta, Italy.

Following the end of the war in May 1945, the detachment was transferred first to Florence, then Verona, then Salzburg, as they awaited the conclusion of negotia-

tions with the Soviets regarding the occupation of Austria. When the agreement was reached in August, the detachment moved to Vienna.

Ms. Rowberg served in Vienna until 1950, when she was transferred to Prague. In 1952, she moved to Athens, and in 1956 to Saigon.

In 1956 she was commissioned as a Foreign Service officer. From 1958 to 1962, she served in the Bureau of Intelligence and Research at the State Department, leaving that position in 1962 to become the U.S. consul in Bremen.

In 1967 she began working as a political officer in the Office of Korean Affairs in Washington, D.C., involved almost exclusively in the negotiations with North Korea that led to release of the crew of the USS *Pueblo*, which had been captured by the North Koreans.

In 1971 she became deputy chief of the economic section and military assistance officer at the U.S. embassy in Taipei. She remained there until a sudden, devastating hearing loss compelled her to retire.

After living for a time in Northern Virginia, she moved in 1978 to Northfield to care for her elderly mother. There she served as president of the local League of Women Voters and in various capacities at St. John's Lutheran Church, and was active in several other organizations.

She wrote the introduction to a book published by the Norwegian-American Historical Association, as well as several articles for the Minnesota Historical Society, and was a speaker at the society's 2005 commemoration of the end of World War II.

Ms. Rowberg received the Distinguished Alumni Award from St. Olaf College in 1967 and the Distinguished Alumni Award from Northfield High School in 2001.

She was preceded in death by her

parents and her brother, Leland, who was killed in military action in 1944. She is survived by several cousins.

Memorial gifts in Ms. Rowberg's memory may be made to St. Olaf College, St. John's Lutheran Church or the Northfield Historical Society.

■ **John A. Sanbrailo**, 75, a retired Foreign Service officer with USAID, passed away peacefully at his home in Vienna, Va., on April 20.

Mr. Sanbrailo was born in San Francisco, Calif., in 1944. He graduated from the University of California at Berkeley with a degree in economics and international relations. He also received master's degrees from San Francisco State University in economic development and international relations in 1969 and from the Kennedy School at Harvard University in public administration in 1976.

Mr. Sanbrailo served as a Peace Corps Volunteer in Venezuela from 1966 to 1968.

He began his USAID career in 1969 in Quito, and moved to Managua after the 1972 earthquake.

He subsequently served in USAID's Latin American Bureau and as USAID mission director in Ecuador, Peru, Honduras, El Salvador and again in Ecuador before retiring in 1997.

During his Foreign Service career Mr. Sanbrailo rose to the rank of Career Minister and received four presidential awards for assisting Honduras in efforts to restructure its economy in the 1980s and for supporting the El Salvador peace accords in the 1990s.

After retirement he worked as a consultant for the World Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank and the Ecuadorian government between 1997 and 1999. He then served as chief executive officer of the Pan American Develop-

ment Foundation, a nongovernmental organization affiliated with the Organization of American States, until 2017 when he retired for the second time.

During Mr. Sanbrailo's tenure, PADF expended more than \$1 billion in project loans to improve the incomes and lives of millions of lower-income Latin Americans.

After leaving PADF, Mr. Sanbrailo continued to dedicate his time to researching the history of U.S. foreign assistance efforts with the intention of amplifying his article, "Extending the American Revolution Overseas: Foreign Aid, 1789–1850," which appeared in *The Foreign Service Journal* in March 2016.

Mr. Sanbrailo is survived by his wife of 45 years, Cecilia, and by his sister, Lynn

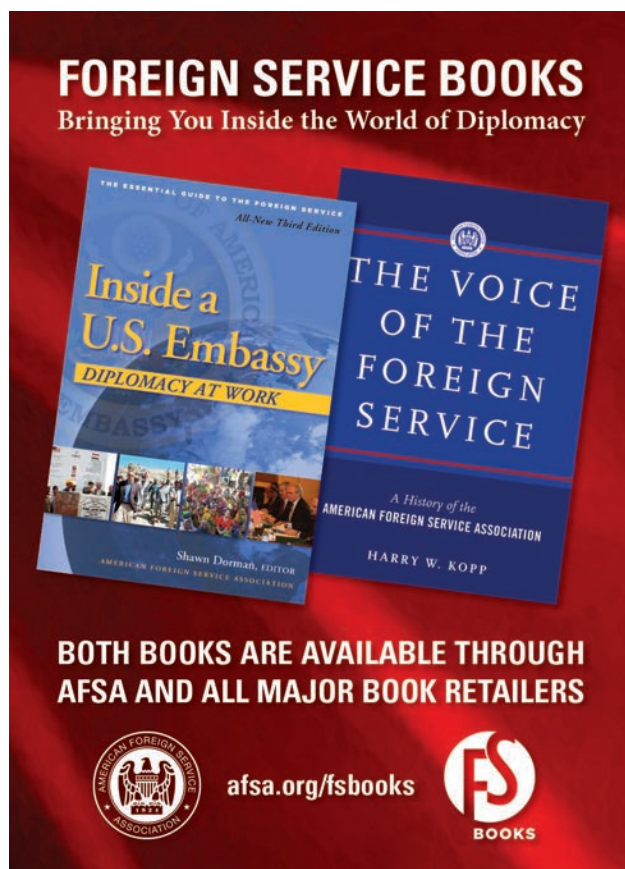
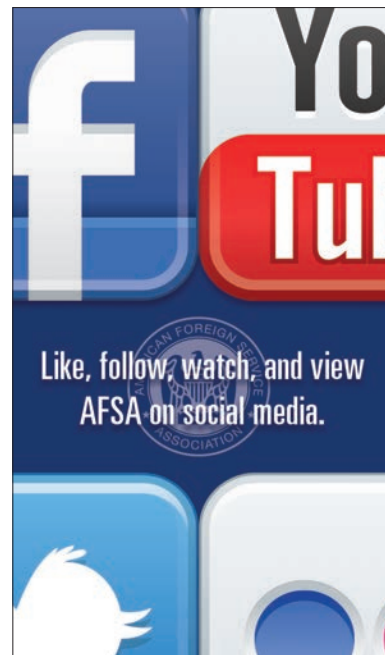
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Contributions in Mr. Sanbrailo's memory can be made to Our Lady of Good Counsel Catholic Church, Vienna, Va.; the USAID Alumni Association (for completion of a history of USAID); or the American Liver Association. ■



*If you would like us to include an obituary in In Memory, please send text to [journal@afsa.org](mailto: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.*





## In Defense of the Tool of First Resort

### The Back Channel: A Memoir of American Diplomacy and the Case for Its Renewal

William J. Burns, Random House,  
2019, \$32.00/hardcover,  
\$13.99/Kindle, 512 pages.

REVIEWED BY ROBERT M. BEECROFT

In this engaging book by a master diplomatic practitioner, Ambassador William J. Burns recounts, in fascinating detail, numerous highlights from his remarkable career from 1981 to 2014, including his years as Deputy Secretary of State, under secretary for political affairs, executive secretary of the department, ambassador to Russia and Jordan, acting director of policy planning, and National Security Council senior director for Near East and South Asia.

*The Back Channel* is, however, far more than a memoir of Burns' activities and experiences overseas and in Washington. It is also a powerful and timely advocacy piece for committed and informed diplomatic action in support of American interests and principles around the world.

The son of an Army officer and Vietnam veteran, Burns attended La Salle College in Philadelphia, becoming the first La Salle graduate to win a Marshall Scholarship for three years' study at Oxford University. His first taste of the Middle East and diplomacy came about thanks to a high school friend who was the son of the legendary Hermann F. Eilts, then the U.S. ambassador in Cairo. Burns describes the summer he spent in Egypt as an 18-year-old as "a revelation."

In the chapters that follow, he takes us through the vagaries, surprises and frustrations of diplomatic life. In 1982, after completing the A-100 course ("a proces-

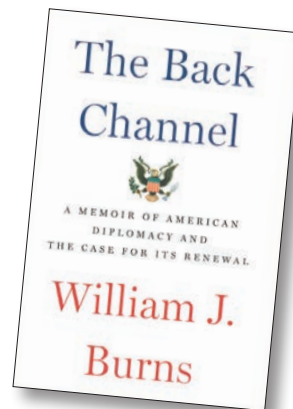
sion of enervating speakers describing their islands in the great American policymaking archipelago"), he was assigned to Amman, while his A-100 colleague and wife-to-be, Lisa Carty, volunteered for Ouagadougou but was assigned to Singapore instead. They were married two years later.

Throughout the book, Burns treats the reader to evocative, penetrating portraits of diplomatic counterparts and adversaries, from James Baker and Richard Murphy to Muammar Gaddafi and Vladimir Putin, and traces the ups and downs of U.S. foreign relations through the Reagan, Bush 41, Clinton, Bush 43 and Obama administrations. A few high points follow.

*Iran-Contra*: Assigned at the time to the Near East and South Asia Directorate at the National Security Council, Burns takes an objective but critical look at the players and politics of the Iran-Contra affair, which he calls a "bizarre scheme ... a strange story [that turned] into a full-blown scandal that nearly brought down the Reagan presidency."

He points to the uncontrolled expansion of the NSC staff, with little regard for the State Department and its historic role, as a major cause of poorly coordinated and badly executed American foreign policy initiatives in recent decades.

*End of the Cold War*: In 1990 Burns returned to Foggy Bottom to serve as principal deputy director, later acting director, of the policy planning staff. He praises the visionary leadership of President George H.W. Bush, Secretary of State James Baker, Deputy Secretary Lawrence Eagleburger, Counselor Robert Zoellick and Undersecretary for Political Affairs Robert Kimmitt at a challenging moment when "the tectonic plates of geopolitics began moving in dramatic and unexpected ways."



Burns states flatly and with unconcealed nostalgia that "the intersection of skilled public servants and transformative events that I witnessed in the Baker years at the State Department remains special."

His description of the Baker team's textbook man-

agement of the collapse of the USSR, the fall of the Berlin Wall and the reunification of Germany within NATO—all without a shot fired in anger—is a highlight, as is his bittersweet summing-up: "Ours was a strategy that accepted limits, but also reflected confidence in the capacity of the United States to at least manage problems, if not solve them. ... Many of the lessons we tried to articulate haven't lost their relevance today, more than a quarter century later."

*Yeltsin's Russia*: As political minister-counselor in the mid-1990s under Ambassador Tom Pickering ("the most capable professional diplomat for whom I ever worked"), Burns describes his dealings with an erratic President Boris Yeltsin ("a wounded figure, his limitations as a leader growing more and more apparent") and the impact in Russia of intense debate in Western capitals about NATO expansion.

Reflecting on visits to Moscow by President Bill Clinton, Vice President Al Gore, Strobe Talbott and Richard Holbrooke, among others, Burns laments "the characteristically American tendency to think that the right process could solve almost any substantive problem."

He points ominously to the emergence of Vladimir Putin, armed with "a bill of particulars that he would use to justify his own efforts to manipulate American politics." Leaving Moscow for Washington in 1996 to become executive secretary of

**His description of the Baker team's textbook management of the collapse of the USSR, the fall of the Berlin Wall and the reunification of Germany within NATO—all without a shot fired in anger—is a highlight.**

the department, Burns looks at the “who lost Russia” debate and concludes laconically: “The truth was that Russia was never ours to lose.”

*Back to the Middle East:* As ambassador in Amman from 1998 to 2001, Burns makes clear his affection and respect for Jordan, and his understanding of the challenges the Hashemite Kingdom has faced over the decades. Subsequently, when he was assistant secretary for Near East affairs, his grasp of the multiple tensions and cross-conflicts throughout the region were put to the test after the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks and the “muscular” response of the Bush 43 administration, culminating in the invasion of Iraq.

Burns pulls no punches: “The Iraq invasion was the original sin. ... The 18 months between 9/11 and the invasion of Iraq were one of those hinge points of history, whose contours are easier to see today than they were at that uncertain and emotional time.”

*Unlimbering the Guns:* Burns concludes his professional reminiscences with detailed, fascinating descriptions of his return to Putin's Russia as ambassador, his key role in “Obama's long game,” its unanticipated interruption by the Arab Spring (“When the short game intercedes”), and the delicate secret talks with Iran that produced the 2015 Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action, since repudiated unilaterally by the current administration.

But he saves his most heartfelt shots for last in Chapter 10, titled “Pivotal Power: Restoring America's Tool of First Resort.” At this point, Burns takes the diplomatic gloves off: “From Joe McCarthy to Donald

Trump, American demagogues have doubted the loyalty and relevance of career diplomats, seeking to intimidate and marginalize them.”

He calls for a top-to-bottom “reinvention of diplomacy ... developing a clearer sense of diplomatic strategy, with a more rigorous operational doctrine ... [and] sharper focus on issues that matter more and more to 21st-century foreign policy, particularly technology, economics, energy and climate.”

He adds a warning: “A State Department in which officers are bludgeoned into timidity, or censor themselves, or are simply ignored, becomes a hollow institution, incapable of the disciplined diplomatic activism that this moment in history demands of the United States.”

My recommendation: read Chapter 10 first. But by all means, read the whole book. There is something to learn, savor and take to heart on virtually every page. ■

*Ambassador Robert M. Beecroft retired from the Foreign Service in 2006, then returned to the State Department until 2016 to lead OIG inspections in Kuwait, Syria, Taiwan, Vietnam, Ukraine, Belarus and Lithuania, plus four regional and functional bureaus in Washington. He served as ambassador and head of the OSCE Peacekeeping Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina, special envoy for the Bosnian Federation and chargé d'affaires at U.S. Embassy Sarajevo. Between 1971 and 1996, he served in Washington, D.C., Geneva, Brussels, Paris, Bonn and Cairo, and as deputy chief of mission in Ouagadougou and Amman.*



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# Coming of Age in Zaire

BY FRED LASOR

In the late 1970s, while stationed with USIA in Zaire (now the Democratic Republic of the Congo), my wife and I had the good fortune to receive an invitation from a man who visited several times a year selling artifacts, which he knew we liked to collect.

He told us that in a couple of weeks twin sons of a village chief would be celebrating their boyhood-to-manhood passage. If we wanted to witness this important rite, he would guide us there. We were delighted and flattered—no other foreigners would be present, but the chief wished for us to participate.

When the day came, we were ready with camping gear, food and gifts for the boys and their father. I was not mentally prepared, though, for the arduous drive. Our vendor had told us it would take “several hours.” He was way off.

We left home early in the morning and did not arrive until late afternoon. I was tempted more than once to abandon the trip. The road was dustier than I had ever experienced, with fine white powder filtering into the Land Cruiser through closed windows.

The way was increasingly hindered by vegetation we had to push through, and I noted that as we progressed, the road narrowed inexorably. Once there, I saw that it did not exit the far side of the village. We were truly at the end of the road.

Shaded by a small copse of mango

**Drummers slowly took up a pounding beat that carried throughout the day and into the night.**

trees, the village contained a handful of mud huts, one of which had been vacated for us. There was no furniture, but we came prepared to sleep on the ground and eat food we had brought in an ice chest.

We called on the chief, delivered the gifts and walked around the village. Manioc and vegetable fields surrounded us, the only reliable source of food, supplemented occasionally with a wild animal snared in the nearby forest.

There was no market nearby to buy salt or a box of noodles; our artifact dealer walked regularly from the capital to the village carrying trade goods like matches and kerosene he exchanged for the masks he later sold.

As night fell quickly near the equator, we ate dinner around a small fire in front of the hut and then turned in. The silence of an isolated village wrapped around us.

Morning came soon enough, with palpable excitement in the air. Drummers slowly took up a pounding beat that carried throughout the day and into the night, as the chief prepared for the celebration.

The twins paraded through the village, bare skin streaked with white clay and wearing only a raffia loin cloth. Family and friends knew they were men now,

having been taught the responsibilities of manhood by village elders. Unlike some children of millennials who are raised gender-fluid, here were boys-becoming-men who understood their future role in the village and were marking it with today's ceremony.

Dancing would spontaneously erupt on the small platform erected for the event, drawing in onlookers for 15 or so frenzied minutes, and then taper off for a while. It was not as acrobatic as traditional dance we had previously seen in Dahomey (now Benin), but the audience was more involved and the drumming more compelling.

We spent the entire day watching, talking to villagers who could speak French and filming the most energetic parts of the celebration with our Super 8 camera.

The twins were somber, sensing the weight of their new responsibility. The chief was proud of his sons and conveyed that to us every chance he had. The entire village was involved. It was a momentous occasion.

The next day villagers woke slowly, as if nursing a giant hangover. We set off early for the long trip home.

Had I known beforehand how bad the road was, I might not have gone. Afterward, I knew I wouldn't trade the experience for anything.

A photo from that day hangs on our wall, and while it's not as bright and clear as our 40-year-old recollections, I still smile when I see it. ■



*Fred LaSor entered the Foreign Service in 1968 and retired from the Senior Foreign Service in 1997. He served seven tours with the U.S. Information Agency in Africa over more than 20 years, with a tour in Laos and one in Peru as bookends. He lives in Minden, Nevada.*



During a morning hot air balloon ride over Cappadocia, Turkey, I spotted this wedding shoot in progress. Local brides often take advantage of the beautiful landscape, and the hundreds of hot air balloons that launch here every day, to get some stunning portraits of their special day. ■

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*Tom Fenton is an information management specialist from the 138th specialist class. He is currently on his second tour, in Budapest. His previous post was Khartoum. He took this photo in April with a Canon 80D, an 18-135mm lens, F5.6 1/125 ISO800.*

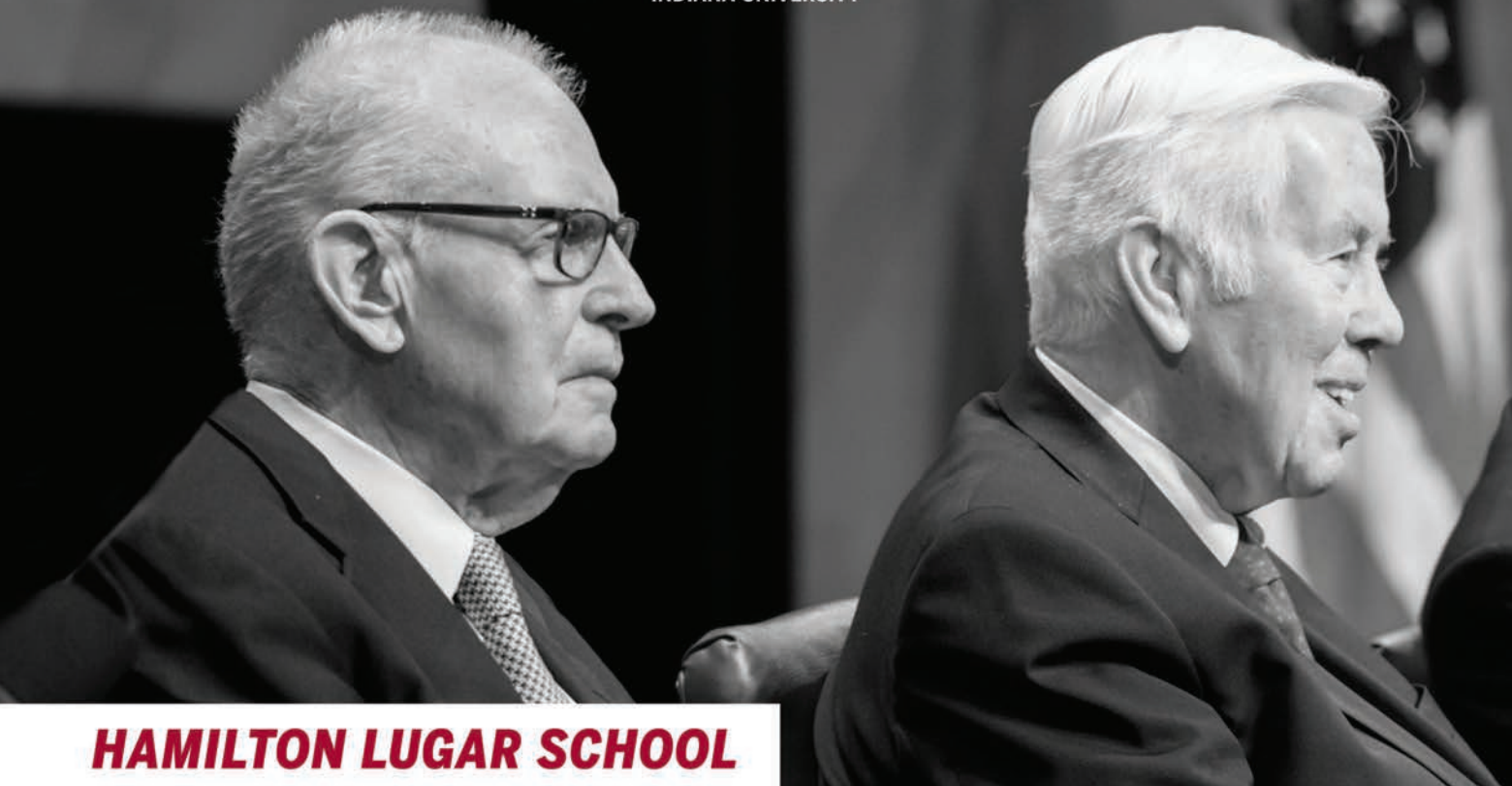
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