

THE FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

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The Time for Diplomacy Is Now

BY ERIC RUBIN

As I write this column, the heroic citizens, soldiers and leaders of Ukraine continue to hold the line against an unceasing onslaught from Russia. Secretaries Blinken and Austin have just visited Kyiv after a secret 12-hour train ride from the Polish border. Entire cities lie in ruins. Millions of people have been displaced. One member of U.S. Embassy Kyiv's local staff has tragically been killed in combat.

A new U.S. ambassador has finally been named to replace Masha Yovanovitch in Kyiv, nearly three years after her forced departure. In Bridget A. Brink, we are fortunate that President Biden has chosen a talented, experienced pro for this exceedingly difficult job, which should not have been left vacant for so long—as so many of our other ambassadorial posts and other key positions have been.

Filling the ambassadorship in Kyiv is important for both practical and symbolic reasons. Our country and our Service are faced with a fundamental challenge from a rogue, hostile, unpredictable Russia that remains the world's largest country, with the world's largest nuclear weapons stockpile, and is one of

the world's major producers of oil, gas and other natural resources. There will be time to debate what went wrong and what, if

anything, we could have done differently that might have prevented this state of affairs. This is not the time for that.

This is the time for equipping the Foreign Service to fully engage. We cannot keep trying to do more with less. We cannot keep a diplomatic presence in nearly every country without the staffing and funding to support it, and we can't claim or reclaim a major leadership role unless we are prepared to pay for it and work for it—and to fill all of our senior leadership positions promptly. We can't continue to ask FS and LE staff and their families to step up, only to then bog them down with myopic bureaucratic contortions.

The “peace dividend” following the end of the Cold War may or may not have been a chimera; but in any event, it is now history. Faced with Russia's invasion of Ukraine and China's continuing challenge to us and our allies around the globe, we don't have the luxury of debating the case for increased U.S. engagement. Nor can we continue to value military engagement over diplomatic engagement in so many circumstances.

That's where the Foreign Service comes in. The U.S. Foreign Service is the first line of defense for U.S. security, prosperity and fundamental values. The United States must support the hard work of diplomacy and development that can prevent conflict, death and suffering.

To those colleagues who may have wondered in recent years what exactly we are working for and why our role as

America's diplomats is still important, I say this: Democracy, human rights, individual freedom and the rule of law are under siege around the world, and U.S. security and economic interests are under threat. We must lead the charge to defend them. We must defend the global rules-based system that our country has played a pivotal role in creating and maintaining since 1945, and that has served the U.S. and the world so well.

Our colleagues across the Foreign Service are ready to take on this challenge, to take necessary risks and accept hardships. They are right to ask for greater resources, increased staffing and a commitment to fundamental reforms that the Service so desperately needs. We can't take on 2022's challenges with 1991's budgets and wishful, triumphalist thinking, nor with antiquated rules and policies that date to the 1970s or earlier.

AFSA will do its part on Capitol Hill, with the administration and with the American people. We are a small organization representing a small (in Washington terms) constituency, so we will continue to partner with like-minded organizations and groups to make the case for the seriousness of this moment and the need to meet its challenges.

This may not be the 2022 we hoped for, but we have to do everything possible to ensure that we head into 2023 with a strong and well-staffed Foreign Service on the ground around the world, particularly in the most challenging and pivotal places. ■



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

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DEIA Today: “We Can Walk and Chew Gum”

BY SHAWN DORMAN

Advancing diversity, equity, inclusion and accessibility (DEIA) is one of the Biden administration’s top priorities, spelled out in part in two executive orders issued in 2021. The foreign affairs agencies, and in particular the State Department, have long been criticized for not being “representative of the American people,” a mandate from the Foreign Service Act of 1980.

For many decades, the topic of diversity has been explored and covered by *The Foreign Service Journal*. (See our Diversity Special Collection for links.) Yet, when DEIA took center stage two years ago, we have especially endeavored to spotlight these efforts—including several full focus sections (September and October 2020; July 2021), plus articles and Speaking Out essays in other recent editions. We estimated that by June 2022, there might be some real progress to report, which is this issue’s theme.

But wait, what about Russia’s war on Ukraine, the rogue actions of China, the ongoing global pandemic and supply chain issues, and other urgent foreign policy challenges? In the face of all that’s going on in the world, how can we focus on DEIA in the Foreign Service?

Chief Diversity and Inclusion Officer Gina Abercrombie-Winstanley was asked

just that in a discussion with AFSA President Eric Rubin during an April 5 Inside Diplomacy event hosted by AFSA. The

CDIO’s response was characteristically no-nonsense: “We can walk and chew gum.” Ambassador Rubin repeated those words, adding, “If not now, when?”

That discussion is the basis for our lead story, “The Office of Diversity and Inclusion Turns One: An Interview with Ambassador Gina Abercrombie-Winstanley,” where the CDIO lays out a vision for advancing DEIA based on three tenets: intentionality, transparency and accountability.

USAID, too, has a new Office of Diversity, Equity, Inclusion and Accessibility headed by a newly appointed chief diversity officer, Neneh Diallo. The agency’s Payne Fellowship program turns 10 this year. The program was created in 2012 to attract emerging leaders from historically underrepresented groups to international development careers in the USAID Foreign Service.

In “The Payne Fellowship Network: Advancing DEIA at USAID,” we hear from FSO Mariela Medina Castellanos about a new employee group bringing together Payne Fellows to tackle obstacles to success in the Foreign Service.

In “The FAS Diversity Fellowship Answers: ‘Why Not?’” Foreign Agricultural Service FSO Valerie Brown explains the new FAS initiative to expand diversity.

And then we hear from FSO (ret.) Roy Glover on how he surmounted accessibility challenges in “A Foreign Service Career—Blindness Didn’t Stop Me.”

In “Supporting State’s LGBTQI+ Workforce,” FSO Thomas Coleman tells how the Secretary’s Office of Diversity and

Inclusion is looking out for the interests of LGBTQI+ employees.

Clearly, progress is being made—even while we deal with the foreign policy crises of the hour.

And speaking of which, we are fortunate to hear from Ambassador Jim Pettit on a too-timely theme: “Moldova—Putin’s Next Target?” We hope he’s wrong, but we need to pay attention to the potentially vulnerable areas and frozen conflicts that could heat up again.

In the Speaking Out, “iMatch: Ready for Takeoff?” Office Management Specialist Ubah Khasimuddin introduces us to a pilot bidding tool called iMatch that may or may not be ready for prime time.

In the FS Heritage, we get a crash course on “Why the Office of War Information Still Matters” 80 years after its creation. Public diplomacy historian Nicholas Cull traces the history and significance, and then FSO Williams (Bill) Martin and Daria Gasparini share the related story of “OWI and the ‘Battle of Sweden.’”

We have a hefty and valuable Education Supplement for you this month, starting with a look at “Getting a Degree Overseas: An Option Worth Considering?” from Rebecca Grappo, M.Ed.

For that inevitable move back to the States, Charlotte Larsen offers tips for families on “Transitioning FS Kids to U.S. Public Schools: What You Need to Know.” And John Naland, who needs no introduction, brings us advice on “How to Qualify for In-State College Tuition,” a quickly changing and improving landscape for FS families.

Keep the articles and letters coming. Write to us at journal@afsa.org. ■



Shawn Dorman is the editor of The Foreign Service Journal.

Not Forgetting History

Thank you, Ambassador Rubin, for cautioning against failing to “study and understand what went wrong” in Afghanistan and Iraq (President’s Views, March *FSJ*). Urging a “thorough, non-partisan and unstinting review” of these chapters is vital.

At the same time, I would add that any review must include in-depth perspectives of Afghans and Iraqis. As Thomas Ricks wrote in a review of books on America’s war in Vietnam (*New York Times*, May 30, 2021): “How much longer will American scholars try to understand the Vietnam War while largely disregarding the views of the victors?”

We must try to understand the historical and cultural touchstones that motivate people in the countries we seek to influence.

This lesson came home to me while writing a book about Vietnam that offers the life stories of Vietnamese women who rebelled, first against the French and then against the Americans (*The Saigon Sisters: Privileged Women in the Resistance*, Northern Illinois University Press, 2020). The women tell their stories in their own words.

Although more than 30,000 books have been written about America’s war in Vietnam, very few are by Vietnamese. We can’t learn from an echo chamber of accounts by outsiders.

I’m honored that John Terzano, co-founder of Vietnam Veterans of America Foundation, said of my book: “While many Americans are familiar with the Vietnam Memorial Wall in D.C. and thousands upon thousands of stories of

loss, sacrifice and heroism, few know the stories on the other side of the wall—the stories of the Vietnamese. This book, chronicling and bringing to light the lives of these extraordinary women, is both necessary and integral to truly understand America’s war in Vietnam.”

It is heartening to hear calls to investigate and learn lessons from recent wars. Let us learn from history, *with input from those on all sides*. Indeed, empathy is vital to understanding.

We can’t understand a person, or a country, without grasping the cultural and historical touchstones that shaped them. All these fundamentals must be part of any search to

“study and understand what went wrong.”

Patricia (Kit) Norland

FSO, retired

Arlington, Virginia

Afghanistan, a Reminder of Indochina

The *FSJ* compilation of FSO experiences in the evacuation and resettling of Afghans was a genuine contribution to the understanding of this important moment in history (“Operation Allies Refuge: The FS View from the Front Lines,” March *FSJ*). It also usefully explained the multifaceted roles of FSOs to those Americans who are not part of the Foreign Service family.

The coverage brought back memories of the evacuation and resettlement of people from Indochina in the wake of the Vietnam War. I served at the Camp Pendleton resettlement site in California, one of a handful of reception centers in the Interagency Task

Force on Indochinese Refugees in 1976.

Those 125,000 Indochina refugees, and the hundreds of thousands who came to the U.S. after the initial program terminated, found warm welcomes across the country. Wherever they settled, they built successful businesses, and their children excelled academically. They enriched America’s culture with great cuisine and new traditions.

My earlier experience in Vietnam as a soldier in the U.S. Army and then as a diplomat working among the Lao/Hmong and Cambodians revealed the strong sense of family, values and industriousness of these peoples.

A decade later, I worked with Afghans at Embassy Kabul and, subsequently, as U.S. Special Envoy to Afghanistan. That experience revealed similar qualities among Afghans, including devotion to family and a vital entrepreneurial spirit.

I am convinced that, given a chance, Afghan refugees will be every bit as successful and contribute substantially to their new country as have the refugees and evacuees from Indochina.

Edmund McWilliams

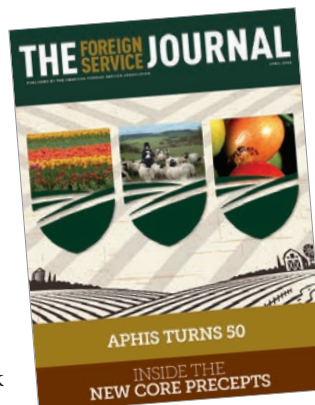
Senior FSO, retired

White Oaks, New Mexico

Applause for Inside a U.S. Embassy’s Continuing Success

I was delighted to read of the continuing success of *Inside a U.S. Embassy* (“The Little Book That Could: Telling the Foreign Service Story for More Than a Quarter Century,” April *FSJ*).

As production coordinator of the first “skinny yellow hand-book,” I remember



soliciting profiles of Foreign Service officers, compiling examples of an average diplomat's day, and highlighting achievements of embassies in different regions of the world.

The type was small, but 25 years ago, we were happy to distribute 5,000 copies to interested readers. It is satisfying to know that *Inside a U.S. Embassy* has continued to inform, and that it is AFSA's best outreach tool with more than 150,000 copies sold.

The Foreign Service Journal also continues to inform and enlighten. My husband and I enjoy it every month.

Nancy Johnson

Former FSJ Managing Editor, retired
Eugene, Oregon

An Invaluable Introduction

The April article by Donna Gorman, "The Little Book That Could: Telling the Foreign Service Story for More Than a Quarter Century," about AFSA's *Inside a U.S. Embassy* book, was a good reminder of how valuable the book is.

When I was going through the Foreign Service entrance process, I had picked up an earlier edition of the book and found it to be an invaluable introduction to Foreign Service life. Since joining the Service, I have purchased multiple copies over the years to give to friends and family to help them better understand the Foreign Service and the work we do.

And the book is, of course, a natural gift choice for someone interested in an FS career. I recently took a copy with me when showing a group of visitors, which included a high school student interested in pursuing a diplomatic career, around Main State.

Congratulations on 25 years!

Chad Morris

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Seeking Closure on Moscow Signal

The past three issues of *The Foreign Service Journal* have carried discussions about the attacks on American Embassy Moscow with microwave radiation from the mid-1960s to the late 1980s and the importance of understanding the details of such attacks in addressing causes and effects of the ongoing Havana syndrome (January-February, March and April).

Two decades ago, I reported on my relevant experience while serving as an FSO in Moscow, living on the third floor of the main embassy building from 1963 to 1966 (“Blindsided at Embassy Moscow,” February 2002 *FSJ*, page 13). I emphasized the shortcomings in the analyses by the State Department and other government departments of possible health impacts due to the microwave radiation.

Then and now I have been particularly concerned about the problems that developed in my younger daughter’s eyes beginning in her early 30s: cataracts, numerous retina tears and detachments, and a macular hole in one eye.

There seems to be no conceivable explanation for these problems other than exposure to microwave radiation. She was not yet 2 years old when we moved into our apartment, in the direct line of the radiation, with only a double windowpane protecting her.

There are now several sources of information concerning the radiation targeting the embassy, beyond the reports in *The Foreign Service Journal*, that are of particular relevance. The National Library of Medicine has many significant documents concerning health effects of exposure to microwave radiation. The Institute of

Electrical and Electronics Engineers regularly obtains access to important reports and publications concerning the effect of microwave emissions on human health.

The Departments of State and Defense, together with the Defense Intelligence Agency, have released a significant number of declassified documents concerning the problems encountered in Moscow decades ago.

Given the continued interest in the microwave impacts in Moscow, during the next several months I plan to consolidate available information and begin a detailed evaluation of the subject.

I will address: 1) levels and frequency of radiation exposures within the embassy; 2) extent and significance of health effects of the radiation

(excluding cancer, which is dis-

cussed in a recent report of the National Academy of Sciences prepared for the State Department that could not definitively attribute cancer to the radiation in Moscow); 3) areas for future research; and 4) relevance of the findings concerning the Moscow radiation to improved understanding of the Havana syndrome.

If others would like to participate in these activities or have suggestions for other areas of focus, please contact me at Gschweitzer@nas.edu.

Glenn Schweitzer

Former FSO

Program Director, National Academy of Sciences

Menlo Park, California

A Moral Red Line in Ukraine

The atrocities being committed by Russia have gone well past any moral red

line. Since the U.N. Security Council has become dysfunctional, it is time for the U.N. General Assembly to act, establish an “emergency special session,” and then immediately authorize a true peacekeeping force for Ukraine to protect civilian sectors, evacuate civilians who desire to leave and investigate alleged violations of international law.

Obviously, such a move is risky. Russia has already shown itself capable of barbaric acts and a disregard for international norms, and the country does have a large strategic and tactical nuclear arsenal.

However, the world must not allow any one country, no matter how well armed, to bully the rest of humanity into submission. That said, this must be a defensive force and must be limited to only defending the territory of Ukraine, no more.

It must also use discretion in the pursuit of its goals. And probably the nations making up the force should not be from the Perm 5 or NATO.

There are huge risks. Let’s be honest about that. But are we really going to just sit nice, warm and safe behind our own borders while an entire civilization is destroyed, and millions dispossessed in the cold or killed? What does that say about us and our zeal for democracy as a concept? Instead, let the world stand together against genocide and tyranny.

Larry Roeder

State Department Foreign Affairs

Officer, retired

South Riding, Virginia ■

Share your thoughts about this month’s issue.

**Submit letters to the editor:
journal@afsa.org**

RESPONSE TO APRIL SPEAKING OUT, “NO ONE WAS LISTENING, 1992”

No One Was Listening ... ?!

BY DESAIX (TERRY) MYERS

Kristin Loken’s provocative opinion piece in the April *FSJ* builds on George Krol’s “Practical Lessons for Today’s Foreign Service” in the December 2021 edition. Ambassador Krol draws his lessons—Learn the Language, Adapt and Be Creative, Go Out and Discover, Know and Explain, Get Out of the Office, Learn to Listen and Listen to Learn, Team is Supreme—from what he learned in the hurly-burly of U.S. diplomacy during the transformation of a collapsed Soviet Union.

Ms. Loken argues that we didn’t listen during those years. We failed to follow the Krol lessons, she says; and, as a result, “the actions we took at the end of the Cold War set the stage for our problems today.” Her judgment is harsh. And her conclusion is wrong.

Certainly, there was much we didn’t know as we set up new embassies and USAID missions in the 15 independent countries emerging from the former Soviet Union. And we made plenty of mistakes.

An article I wrote for the online quarterly *American Diplomacy* admitted as much (“Launching USAID Programs in

the New Independent States,” February 2022).

But our mistakes didn’t come because we weren’t listening and trying to understand, were inflexible and isolated or fearful of exploring new territory.

And they certainly were not the stage-setters for today’s problems. Those problems have a history and complexity well beyond our failures of omission or commission.

Ms. Loken makes the same mistake she accuses U.S. diplomats and development professionals of making—she gives us too much credit. It is a hubris that assumes the United States is more powerful than it is. She overlooks the extent to which leaders in the former Soviet Union had agency.

She implies we didn’t travel. With seven trips to Russia and side trips to Ukraine, Armenia and Kazakhstan as USAID’s Russia desk officer (1992-1994), I know we traveled widely—delivering humanitarian aid, and visiting pig farms and grain mills, nuclear submarine factories converting to refrigerators, prisons with multidrug-resistant TB, drug addicts with HIV, local governments trying to govern, small businesses and newly independent newspapers.

Ms. Loken says we didn’t listen; but we listened to so many voices—from union leaders, environmentalists and heads of grassroots organizations like Soldiers’ Mothers, to leaders like Boris Nemtsov,



reform mayor of Nizhny Novgorod; Yegor Gaidar, an economist and 36-year old acting prime minister in 1992; Lyudmila Alexeyeva, a longtime human rights activist; Anna Politkovskaya, a journalist; and Andrey Kozlov, later deputy central bank governor and anticorruption crusader.

They were strong and courageous partners. They had plenty of ideas of their own—and they could look at Western experience and judge far better than we what might work. It is possible that even they, with lifetimes in Russia, underestimated the brutality of politics and corruption.

But they were courageous and, more probably, understood the dangers but were willing to take risks to confront it. They asked for our help, and we supported their programs.

Three—Nemtsov, Politkovskaya and Kozlov—would be assassinated; a fourth, Alexeyeva, was struck in the face with a brick at the age of 83, and Gaidar, who may have been poisoned in an unexplained incident, later died of a heart attack at age 53.

To say that our failures set the stage for today’s problems greatly oversimplifies the historical complexity of the region and overestimates our importance. It puts us at the center. It assumes for us much greater power and influence than we have or could have had. It ignores the most important lesson we should take from our work—humility. ■



Desaix (Terry) Myers is a retired USAID FSO who served as Russia desk officer (1992-1994) and as Moscow Mission director (2003-2007).

TALKING POINTS



U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Secretary of State Antony Blinken and Secretary of Defense Lloyd Austin III met with Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy in Kyiv on April 24.

U.S. Mission in Kyiv to Reopen

American diplomats will begin a gradual return to Kyiv, Secretary of State Antony Blinken told reporters on April 25 after a secret visit to Ukraine with Defense Secretary Lloyd Austin III. It marked the first time top U.S. officials have traveled to Ukraine since Russia's forces began their invasion on Feb. 24.

NPR reported that U.S. embassy staff, who relocated from Kyiv to Poland before the start of the war, would begin returning to Ukraine, starting with day trips to Lviv in western Ukraine, followed by other cities, with a longer-term plan to eventually come back to Kyiv.

In a press release, State Department Spokesman Ned Price said: "This action will strengthen the department's ongoing commitment to facilitate humanitarian relief efforts and the delivery of assistance to the government of Ukraine, while providing enhanced support to U.S. citizens."

At least 17 countries have already reopened their embassies in Kyiv or announced plans to do so, *Foreign Policy* reported on April 19, most of them European Union and NATO members. The return of diplomatic life to the capital represents a symbolic victory and a show

of solidarity from the beleaguered country's allies.

The U.S. cabinet secretaries' visit to Kyiv consisted of a three-hour meeting with Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy and his senior team. During the meeting, Blinken said the U.S. would give \$300 million more in foreign military financing, and that President Joe Biden was naming career Senior FSO Bridget

Brink to be ambassador to Ukraine.

Currently the ambassador to Slovakia, Brink has also served in Serbia, Uzbekistan and Georgia since joining the State Department in 1996. There has not been an official ambassador to Ukraine since 2019, when then-president Donald Trump removed Marie Yovanovitch.

Less than a week after Blinken's visit to Ukraine, House Speaker Nancy Pelosi led a congressional delegation to meet with Zelenskyy. Lawmakers spent about three hours on the ground in Kyiv during the unannounced trip on April 30. Pelosi told reporters at a news conference in Poland the next day that discussions had centered on security, humanitarian and economic assistance and eventually rebuilding Ukraine.

The visit came just two days after the U.S. mission to Kyiv announced the sad news that a locally employed bodyguard, who had taken leave from his job to join the Ukrainian Army, was killed in the line of duty.

Contemporary Quote

“Every war ends with diplomacy. This is how history works. In the end, it's diplomats who have to sit down and draft and sign an agreement. ...

The chances to meet a Russian diplomat negotiating in good faith are equal to meeting a Martian on Earth. But still, we have to be ready to negotiate with them, to defend our positions.

As a diplomat, I have to make sure that my country approaches this negotiation in the strongest position possible. And the strength of our position will depend on the level and quality of sanctions imposed against Russia, on the amount and quality of weapons supplied to Ukraine, on the level of isolation of Russia in the world and on the ability of Ukrainian army to push Russian army back.

I can do the three first things to help our army to do the force. As a diplomat, I'm focused on this. I am ready to negotiate, but I want my country to be very strong in those negotiations.

—Ukrainian Foreign Minister Dmytro Kuleba in a May 4 interview with NPR's "All Things Considered."

Russia Booted from UNHRC

The United Nations General Assembly voted on April 7 to remove Russia from its Human Rights Council.

The move marks the first time a country has been kicked off the council since 2011, when the government of Libyan authoritarian Muammar al-Qaddafi lost its seat.

U.S. Ambassador Linda Thomas-Greenfield launched the effort to suspend Russia, a permanent member of the Security Council, from the 47-member council.

In introducing the resolution, Sergiy Kyslytsya, Ukraine's U.N. ambassador, said Russia has committed "horrific human rights violations and abuses that would be equated to war crimes and crimes against humanity."

The resolution was adopted by a vote of 93 to 24, with 58 abstentions. Among those voting against the resolution were China, Iran, North Korea, Kazakhstan and Cuba, as well as Belarus, Syria and Russia.

Mission Havana Resumes Visa Services

In May, after a four-and-a-half-year hiatus, the U.S. embassy in Cuba resumed immigrant visa (IV) services on a limited basis for applicants in the IR-5 category, or "Parent of a U.S. Citizen."

At a news conference in February, Chargé d'Affaires Timothy Zúñiga-Brown announced that additional consular officers would be deployed to Havana to assist with limited immigrant visa processing for the parents of American citizens. According to the embassy's website, this decision recognizes "the priority of immediate relatives as well as the unique age, health and mobility challenges faced by this category of applicants."

Zúñiga-Brown stressed that IVs for Cubans will still be primarily processed

50 Years Ago

The Foreign Service Illusion

It is this over-vaulting confidence in its own ultimate wisdom that is the essential weakness of the Foreign Service and which, incidentally, has made power shifts to the White House staff, the Treasury, and others, all the more difficult to bear. Not only professional pride has been hurt, but the hubristic basis of the Foreign Service mentality has also been stung to the quick.

... The Foreign Service routine is, when stripped of its glamorous illusions, just that—a routine, little more. ... In psychological terms, what is needed is a form of collective catharsis that will force each officer to place his individual contribution and that of the Foreign Service as a whole in the proper perspective.

If the State Department is ever to be a viable contributor to foreign policy formulation, the hubristic bases of the Foreign Service illusion must, ultimately, be shattered.

—Foreign Service Officer James G. Huff,
from his article by the same title in the June 1972 FSJ.



in Guyana, as they have been since 2017 when the Trump administration slashed personnel and suspended consular services at the Havana facility following a series of "anomalous health incidents" that came to be known as Havana syndrome. There have been no recent reports of health incidents in Havana.

The consular suspension and the COVID-19 pandemic together created a massive visa backlog that has prompted the Biden administration to expand consular services at Embassy Havana. The resumption of processing IR-5 applicants locally, the embassy said, is the first step in that expansion. No timeline has been provided for the full range of immigrant and non-immigrant visa services.

Diplomatic Void in the Horn of Africa

David Satterfield, U.S. Special Envoy for the Horn of Africa and a career Foreign Service officer, resigned his post in April after just three months on the

job. The exit follows that of his predecessor, Jeffrey Feltman, who left the position in January 2022 after nine months as the special envoy.

Though no official reason was given for Satterfield's departure, *The National* cited unnamed sources who suggested that it stems from divisions within State's Bureau of African Affairs and disagreements between the envoy desk and bureau leadership.

The rapid succession of these short tenures raises questions about how the State Department plans to keep the region a priority as Washington is consumed by the crisis in Ukraine. At the time of writing, U.S. ambassadorships in Addis Ababa, Khartoum and Juba remained vacant.

Satterfield's departure, first reported by *Foreign Policy*, widens the diplomatic void in an increasingly critical region at an important moment and hampers U.S. efforts to help negotiate a truce to the civil war in the Tigray region, support the pro-democracy movement in Sudan's

unsteady transition, and de-escalate growing conflict around the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam.

Secretary of State Antony Blinken created the special envoy position for the Horn of Africa in April 2021, a decision many heralded as a sign that the administration was thinking strategically about its engagement and seeking to manage the entrance of influential actors in the region. That goal has taken on a renewed urgency amid reports that Russia is recruiting mercenaries for its war in Ukraine from East Africa.

The Russian mission in Addis Ababa has denied these claims, despite reports in April that hundreds of Ethiopians had lined up outside the embassy. Similar reports emerged from Eritrea in the same period.

Consular Fee Revenue Plummet

As a result of declining international travel during the COVID-19 pandemic, passport and visa fee revenue dropped more than 40 percent in 2020, the Government Accountability Office reported in April. State Department officials have indicated that fee revenue may not return to pre-pandemic levels for several years.

The Bureau of Consular Affairs collected nearly \$4 billion in revenue in Fiscal Year 2019, but that sum fell to \$2.3 billion in FY20. To compensate for the decrease, the bureau is drawing down on carryover funds. As standard practice, the bureau relies on this carryover from prior years to help fund its operations, since revenue from passports and visas peaks in the spring and summer but levels off for the rest of the year.

Aside from emergency COVID-19 stimulus spending, the bureau has been fully fee-funded since FY13.

Equity for All FS Families

Foreign Service Officers go above and beyond to represent the United States around the world. We should be doing everything we can to ensure their families, regardless of sexual orientation or gender identity, are afforded the same diplomatic accreditation abroad. I joined my colleagues Rep. Gregory Meeks, Rep. David Cicilline and Rep. Joaquin Castro in urging the State Department to expand opportunities for LGBTQI+ diplomats.

— Congresswoman Dina Titus (D-Nev.)
in a series of tweets on April 19.



Training for Diplomats

The budget provides for 570 additional personnel. We've been concerned in the subcommittee on the State Department in regard to the ability for training Foreign Service officials. In order to do that, you have to have a training float. We have ... put in a 15 percent goal on the training float ... so you can have individuals assigned for training without a loss of capacity within the mission.

— Senator Ben Cardin (D-Md.), speaking to Secretary of State Antony Blinken on April 26 during the Senate Foreign Relations Committee's Review of the FY 2023 State Department Budget Request hearing.

A Lack of Transparency?

I am troubled that the State Department made the most significant changes in 100 years to the Foreign Service admission process without consulting Congress, the American Foreign Service Association, or seemingly anyone else. The result of this closed-door decision-making is now some of our hard-working Foreign Service officers are demoralized, and future applicants face a subjective evaluation that is susceptible to political manipulation. Reforms are always welcome, but whatever happened to high, objective standards and transparency?

— Congressman Michael McCaul (R-Texas)
in a May 3 press release.

GAO expects that the bureau's carryover balances will continue to decline from Fiscal Years 2022 to 2026 if the fees it charges remain unchanged.

Although travel is on the rise again, GAO noted that the State Department faces a "structural imbalance" that predates the pandemic: the bureau doesn't retain all the revenue it collects. It sends about 16 percent to the Treasury Department's General Fund, which supports day-to-day federal operations.

It must also cover the cost of overseas citizen services it either doesn't charge for, or whose fees it doesn't keep.

To mitigate these challenges, the State Department has called on Congress to change its fee authorities to provide the agency with greater flexibility to cover its costs.

GAO recommends that State assess what actions would allow it to cover future consular costs and document its cost, demand and revenue estimates.

USAID Names a Chief Diversity Officer

On March 14, USAID announced its new Office of Diversity, Equity, Inclusion and Accessibility and appointed Neneh Diallo as chief diversity officer.

Reporting directly to Administrator Samantha Power, Diallo will lead USAID's efforts to advance diversity, equity, inclusion and accessibility in the agency's workplace and programs.

Diallo began her federal career at the Millennium Challenge Corporation, where she directed public affairs campaigns and served as the corporation's director of diversity and inclusion, developing a five-year diversity and inclusion plan.

Most recently, she served as senior vice president for marketing and communications at pocstock, a global Black-owned media platform that seeks to increase diversity and representation in stock media.

At Diallo's swearing-in ceremony on March 16, Administrator Power spoke of the importance of elevating diversity at USAID: "If we want an agency that reflects the best of what America has to offer—all our dynamism, all our fresh perspectives, all our best thinking—then we must prioritize the hiring and retention of staff that look like America."

In an April 19 interview, Diallo told news program "Government Matters" that USAID is making data-backed improvements and undergoing a barrier analysis to determine where it might be deficient in its diversity efforts. USAID aims to be more intentional with hiring from underserved populations, she said, and is focusing on inclusive development to ensure the agency's work is reaching the right people around the world.

Though the Office of Diversity, Equity, Inclusion and Accessibility was created this spring, it's not the first office of its kind at USAID. The agency's Office of Civil Rights and Diversity had long been led by a director who served as both equal employment opportunity official and USAID's chief diversity officer.

A June 2020 report by the Government Accountability Office found that OCRD was understaffed and had achieved "mixed progress" in increasing diversity. That office was reorganized in February 2022 and renamed the Office of Civil Rights.

Some employees have expressed concern that this new chief diversity officer position was not filled by a career USAID person, a step that would have both affirmed the Biden-Harris administration's support for career federal employees and helped institutionalize the new office and role for the long term.

In an interview with *Government Executive* on April 21, Diallo said OCR would continue to help advance DEIA objectives and implement the agency's equal opportunity responsibilities, including affirmative employment and disability employment.

"We're going to be expanding our DEIA advisors across the agency at the bureau and independent office levels," Diallo said, "which, together with existing DEIA councils, will help us further activate the network of the DEIA champions and innovators that we have across the agency."

To date, USAID has been challenged to produce timely, accurate DEIA data on its U.S. direct-hire employees (FS and GS), as well as its more opaque personal service contractor and institutional support contractor workforce.

New Risk Management Regs

In February, the Enterprise Governance Board released updates to the State Department's risk management policy and principles, spelled out in new regulations in the Foreign Affairs Manual (2 FAM 030).

The principles outlined there include: being risk aware but not risk averse; determining risk tolerance at the appropriate leadership level; applying risk management holistically and continuously; considering the risk of inaction; and including risk statements in policy documents.

The EGB serves as the department's enterprise risk management council and includes Deputy Secretary Wendy Sherman, Deputy Secretary for Management and Resources Brian McKeon and all under secretaries.

In a letter sent to department staff April 18, Deputy Secretary McKeon noted: "The work we do at the Department of State ... requires us to take smart, considered risks to innovate and achieve mission success. As the Secretary has said, 'A world of zero risk is not a world in which American diplomacy can deliver.' We must be risk aware, not risk averse."

The topic of risk management has featured often in this magazine; in the March 2021 *FSJ*, Ambassador (ret.) Ronald Neumann and FSO (ret.) Greg Starr discussed how risk aversion undermines diplomats' abilities to do their jobs in their article, "Changing a Risk-Averse Paradigm at High-Threat Posts Abroad."

They proposed several areas for change, stating that the department must identify best practices and new techniques on how to operate in high-threat locations, and that the culture of risk aversion in foreign affairs agencies must be addressed.

State Launches Negotiations Unit

On March 17, the State Department publicly launched its new Negotiations Support Unit, a permanent team of subject matter experts who will provide technical and advisory support to diplomats and policymakers working on peace processes and complex political negotiations around the world.

Housed in the Bureau of Conflict and Stabilization Operations, the unit will act as an internal consultancy for the State Department on both the process and substance of negotiations and peace talks, from the strategic planning phase through implementation. It will also be available to other agencies, including USAID and the Department of Defense.

CSO Assistant Secretary Anne Witkowsky said Foreign Service colleagues have told those in her bureau that while they know the people, region and politics in a conflict situation, they could benefit from internal experts to help think through negotiations.



NSU team members (from left to right): Meghan Stewart, Tyler Jess Thompson and Aimee Breslow.

“The State Department has top-notch negotiators who have brokered peace agreements successfully,” Witkowsky said at the virtual launch event hosted by the Alliance for Peacebuilding. “But in our team’s outreach with senior diplomats, they noted that even the most experienced negotiators may engage in only a few major negotiations throughout their careers. The NSU offers a permanent team whose sole purpose is to provide expert technical advice on peace processes and complex political negotiations.”

Witkowsky added that over the last few months, the NSU has already contributed to U.S. engagement and negotiations around the world, including in Ethiopia,

Yemen, Sudan, Georgia and Venezuela.

Staffed by a team brought on from outside the Foreign Service, the new unit was launched internally in December 2021, and State Department officials currently engaged in negotiations can solicit support as needed.

Deputy Assistant Secretary Ariel Eckblad described the work of NSU staffers as falling into three categories. The first is behind the negotiating table, advising on process and substance, while also determining the agenda, who should participate and how to deal with potential spoilers.

The second is at the table, providing real-time support to people in negotiations, which could eventually lead to embedding NSU staff into the State Department’s special envoy teams.

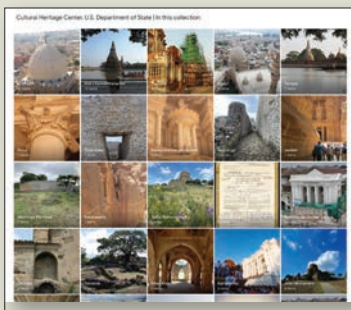
The last category deals with what happens once the negotiations end—namely, how the unit can support implementation of an agreement once it has been reached. ■

This edition of Talking Points was compiled by Julia Wohlers.

Site of the Month: Cultural Heritage Center (bit.ly/GoogleAFCP)

On the occasion of World Heritage Day, the State Department’s Cultural Heritage Center teamed up with Google to offer a virtual exploration of its heritage preservation projects around the world. Launching for the first time on Google Arts & Culture, the center is sharing immersive photography examples from more than 1,100 projects in more than 130 countries.

On the platform, you can tour the ruins of the 9th-century Kilwa Kisiwani palace in Tanzania, glimpse Late Preclassic Mayan murals in Guatemala, or learn about efforts to restore the ancient Nabataean flash flood protection system in Petra, Jordan. The preservation of these sites



and hundreds more has received funding support from the U.S. Ambassador’s Fund for Cultural Preservation.

Since 2001, the AFCP has worked with governments and organizations to protect cultural heritage from both natural and man-made threats. The fund is available to historic buildings, archaeological sites, ethnographic objects, paintings, manuscripts, indigenous languages and other forms of traditional cultural expression.

According to Lee Satterfield, assistant secretary of State for the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, additional sites and images will be continually added to the Google platform.

The appearance of a particular site or podcast is for information only and does not constitute an endorsement.

iMatch: Ready for Takeoff?

BY UBAH KHASIMUDDIN

As an office management specialist (OMS), I was mandated to participate in the pilot iMatch program in the summer of 2021. iMatch is an algorithm-based program to match bidder and bureau preferences. It is modeled after the National Resident Matching Program that is used for American medical students when applying for medical residency. iMatch is touted as more objective and fairer than existing bidding systems and is being evaluated for possible adoption as *the* new bidding tool for State. When the 2021 bid season opened, OMSs were instructed to follow our regular bidding procedures but also register for iMatch at the same time.

Traditionally, bidding for an OMS job is exactly like that for the other specialties in the Foreign Service. The specialist goes into Talent Map, the user-friendly administrative arm of the bidding operation, where the job descriptions, points of contact and numbers of bidders for the position are logged. He or she uses the Community Lobby Center (CLC) to gather recommendations from supervisors, co-workers and subordinates. These recommendations are available for viewing by posts/bureaus when making selections on candidates. In addition, the bidder still has to send out

If the point was to end the lobbying and jockeying element of bidding, iMatch failed.

email letters of interest to potential posts and do phone/video interviews.

Typically, each open OMS position gets roughly five to seven bids, with the low end being one bid and the high end, for very select nonhardship posts, being 35. OMS bidding is not as politically loaded with preferential treatment as generalist bidding. The kind of senior management and bureau interference commonly spoken about in connection with generalist bidding is not seen at any equivalent level by OMSs.

A Clumsy Process

While iMatch had some of the same information as Talent Map, it didn't really serve any specialized purpose other than ranking one's choices. In addition, iMatch was not easily usable in controlled access area spaces because you had to scan a QR code from your mobile phone to register and get a six-digit authenticator code from the same mobile phone every time you wanted to log on to the system.

Further, you needed job position numbers from Talent Map to make your rank list in iMatch, because iMatch didn't

have them readily available. Also, perhaps because this was a pilot program, no one at post could assist if there were any technical issues.

Finally, the two systems (Talent Map and iMatch) had different dates for taskers to be completed, which added another layer of labor to keep track of various deadlines, thus making the exercise that much more onerous. For example, bidding season opened on Sept. 1, but OMSs couldn't get into iMatch until Sept. 20.

Qualitative Problems

Because the OMS job is very front-facing (i.e., heavy on customer service), there should be an emphasis on personality and informal references when making hiring decisions. Yet iMatch attempts to stamp these factors out. Although this might make sense on grounds of fairness for generalists, where subject matter expertise should be more valuable than who you know, it leaves OMSs at a disadvantage.

Many hiring managers don't know our job so they can't really gauge our effectiveness beyond standard department criteria. Further, I'm not sure how beneficial this stock yardstick is for the receiving office; one can learn how to do a travel voucher in E2 (the web-based travel management system), but a difficult temperament is hard to accommodate once enmeshed.

In the end, I am not sure how valuable iMatch was, despite its claims of trying to



Ubah Khasimuddin serves as the office management specialist (OMS) for the political section in New Delhi. New Delhi is her third tour; previous assignments included Regional Security Office OMS in Sarajevo and Rover OMS in Jakarta. She has been in the Foreign Service since 2012. Her husband, Ahsan, is a consular limited noncareer appointee in New Delhi. The couple and their two children will depart this summer for Singapore, where she will be the OMS in the political/economic section.



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make the playing field fairer. If the point was to end the lobbying and jockeying element of bidding, iMatch failed. It was more than evident that posts and bidders quickly figured out how the game was played, and behind-the-scenes machinations continued.

Prior to interviewing, some posts asked where they were on the applicant's ranking; in other instances, posts eliminated at-grade qualified candidates without explanation. From outside looking in, there appeared, in some instances, to be interference to guarantee certain positions to specific OMSs.

Because iMatch favors the bidder over the post, you have to be 100 percent on your number-one pick and lock it in a week before matching, even before early handshakes. In my case, some things changed in that week before match day, but my rank list was already locked in, and I could do nothing about it. In traditional bidding, this would not have been an issue, as I could have gotten handshakes from both posts (different bureaus) and then been able to make up my mind.

The iMatch system works in your favor if you and the post both register each other as number one. This necessitates finding out where you are on that post's list, which some posts don't want to tell you. iMatch forces the bidder to reveal all their cards and pick a number one very early on; but if, as happened to me, your family's situation changes as you are interviewing with posts, what looked like number one at the start of September may not be that by late October.

Also, with this pilot program, some of the posts didn't fill out the ranking list correctly, and people who should have been matched were not, or were incorrectly matched. This can hardly make anyone happy with the end result.

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. Responses are welcome; send them to journal@afsa.org.

Some Suggestions and a Question

To make iMatch more palatable, I would suggest the following:

- Merge Talent Map and iMatch (as it stands currently, bidders have to go to three different sites when bidding: Talent Map, iMatch and Community Lobby Center);
- Sync the deadline dates;
- Make iMatch controlled access area space-friendly and less onerous to sign up for; and
- Allow for changes closer to the deadline. (Why does iMatch need a week to make matches? Isn't it a computer program?)

I would be hesitant to advocate the iMatch program in its current form to the broader Foreign Service. As with so many things at the State Department, the fundamental complaint about the bidding process is its lack of transparency; and, sadly, I am not convinced iMatch solves that concern.

Ultimately, the question I have is this: What was the problem iMatch was supposed to solve? What was the improvement expected of iMatch over the old bidding method? Only when the objective is clearly articulated can we determine if this change improves bidding, makes it worse, or does nothing at all.

Meanwhile, I suggest iMatch remain grounded. ■

MOLDOVA

PUTIN'S NEXT TARGET?

A former ambassador to Moldova offers his perspective on the underlying issues of culture, language, ethnicity and history driving the current conflict.

BY JAMES PETTIT

As I write this article, we are seeing increased focus on a possible expansion of Russian aggression in Ukraine into the neighboring country of Moldova. Just recently, Russian General Rustam Minnekayev suggested that successful seizure of the entirety of Ukraine's Black Sea coastal regions would allow access to the Russian-occupied breakaway section of eastern Moldova known as Transnistria (or Transdniestria).

Moldova is neither in NATO nor the European Union and would appear to be extremely vulnerable to a Russian invasion. It is a small country, relatively poor in human and material resources, and its military and tiny population (thousands already have immigrated to the West) would offer little effective resistance to a determined Russian advance. The result of an advance would put Russian forces face to face with Romania, a NATO country with strong historical and cultural ties to Moldova.

I am among those who believe that Russian President Vladimir Putin's overarching goal is restoration of the Russian Empire and consolidation of a cultural myth known as the Russkiy Mir—a unique Russian space consisting of land and peoples who allegedly are an inseparable constituent component of a superior Russian culture and way of life. In this regard, the importance of Kievan Rus' (i.e., Ukraine) to the origin story of Russia is paramount. Putin is understandably embarrassed by the encroachment of NATO up to Russia's borders and has punished Moldova,

Ukraine and Georgia for even contemplating NATO membership, but a military threat from NATO is not really his motivation.

Rather, his sole desire for a legacy is to restore to the greatest extent possible the imperial grandeur of a Russian-dominated region that would resemble the Soviet state he once served as a KGB agent and, more important, establish the dominance of a specifically Russian nation united by one church, one language and one culture. In other words, this is a cultural confrontation. Putin's anger with NATO encroachment is not based so much on a perceived security threat as on an embrace of Western values over Russian ones.

While Russia is performing poorly on the military, strategic and logistical front in Ukraine, the real challenge and focus for Putin is linguistic and cultural hegemony. Russification was a tactic used in czarist times to conquer through forced assimilation. It is still Putin's preferred strategy. He denies that Ukraine was ever a separate nation and claims that the Ukrainian language is a "peasant dialect" of Russian. His current tactic of exiling Ukrainians from occupied territories to the interior of Russia is also a practice from czarist times and creates facts on the ground by simply relocating non-Russians to Russia proper.

After the USSR's Collapse

My involvement with Russia spans more than four decades. Following my first trip as an undergraduate in 1977 to study Russian in Moscow, I served at our embassy there three times in three different decades (1980s, 1990s and 2000s). I watched the final days of the pre-Gorbachev Soviet Union, as well as the immediate aftermath of its collapse in the early 1990s.

I then saw Putin's rise in this century and the general relief and approval throughout Russia as he curbed the power of organized



James Pettit served in Moscow three times in addition to a number of other overseas posts. He was deputy chief of mission in Kyiv (2007-2010) and ambassador in Chisinau (2015-2018). He retired in 2018 after 38 years in the Foreign Service.

Putin's anger with NATO encroachment is not based so much on a perceived security threat as on an embrace of Western values over Russian ones.

crime, brought a measure of prosperity and restored a modicum of previously shattered national pride. As a witness to the economic and psychological devastation brought to Russia after the collapse of the Soviet Union, when formerly content Muscovites were reduced to selling their own possessions on street corners in order to eat, I understood the growing optimism among everyday Russians as Putin reasserted a sense of order and power.

Although this optimism was overshadowed by the war in Chechnya, domestic terrorism, the persistence of corruption and continued poverty outside the major cities, thousands of Russians had a taste of Western products and lifestyles. For the average Russian, this was enough; but for Putin, the attraction to the West was a source of shame, jealousy and anger. Coupled with this resentment was anger toward any kind of domestic resistance. His near destruction of the Chechen capital of Grozny foreshadowed how he would deal with any resistance to his dream of a new Russian Empire.

Meanwhile, Ukraine and Moldova had significantly different experiences after the collapse of the Soviet Union. I served as deputy chief of mission in Kyiv from 2007 to 2010 and saw the flowering of an empowered Ukrainian identity under President Viktor Yushchenko and Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko. Although Kyiv and most of eastern and southern Ukraine at that time (and, to be honest, even today) were largely Russian-speaking, the Orange Revolution and government policies fostering Ukrainian language and culture took root and had a great impact, especially on the new post-Soviet generation. Alas, Yushchenko was horribly poisoned and disfigured by probable Russian agents and might well have been physically unable to see through his transformative policies of a new Ukraine fully.

Yushchenko's illness, as well as unproductive infighting with an overly ambitious prime minister, pervasive corruption and a struggling economy, led to widespread disillusionment and the shocking election of pro-Russian Viktor Yanukovich to the presidency in 2010. As I accompanied our new ambassador, John Tefft, to his introductory meetings with the new Yanukovich Cabinet, our Ukrainian interpreter and I were flabbergasted as nearly each new official made their remarks in Russian rather than Ukrainian. Ukraine's trajectory toward a pro-Western, European future would

have ended there if not for the more violent 2014 Euromaidan Revolution that led to Yanukovich's ouster and flight to Russia. This experience led to a solidly pro-Western and, more important, completely Ukrainian reality.

Different Paths

In Moldova, things were more complicated. A violent civil war that resulted in establishment of the breakaway territory of Transnistria in Moldova's eastern region posed a significant challenge for the future political development of the new Republic of Moldova. While Russian troops took charge as sanctioned "peacekeepers," a multinational forum chaired by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe known as the "5 plus 2" (OSCE, Russia, Ukraine, Moldova and Transnistria, plus the U.S. and E.U. as observers) was eventually established to work toward a resolution of the issue. To date, almost 2,000 Russian troops are in Transnistria.

As happened with the Budapest Memorandum (which established Russia as a "guarantor" of Ukraine's security once the latter renounced its nuclear arsenal) and the Minsk Agreement (which includes Russia in any resolution of its 2014 seizure of Crimea and occupation of the Donbas), Russia has remained in the bizarre role as a guarantor of the peace in regions it occupies and threatens. This has helped Putin cultivate his desired image as an important global, or at least regional, player and gives him leverage against the West on issues close to his heart.

Why did Transnistria opt out of Moldovan independence? The answer is twofold: Unlike the rest of Moldova, Transnistria was not part of the interwar Kingdom of Romania; and it had a larger concentration of ethnic Russians. There was a significant Moldovan/Romanian population in the breakaway territory, but many fled during the post-Soviet conflict.

Meanwhile, the rest of Moldova struggled with creation of a national identity. In this regard, the challenges were far greater than in Ukraine, where a sense of Ukrainian identity had existed for centuries. In Moldova, national identity was inextricably linked with Romania. While I was ambassador in Moldova (2015-2018), Romania actively participated in a wide range of Moldovan educational and cultural efforts to instill a strong sense of Romanian historical, linguistic and cultural identity.

When I once suggested on a Moldovan radio program celebrating the nation's independence that Moldova had its own unique historical and cultural legacy that argued for its continued independence, I experienced a fierce backlash (more in Romania than in Moldova) by Romanian nationalists who to this day insist that the Republic of Moldova is properly part of Greater Roma-

nia. While most Moldovans reject this overreach, the affinity for all things Romanian remains strong and has, in my opinion, stalled a stronger sense of national identity and driven a wedge between the Romanian-speaking majority and other ethnic minorities in Moldova, most notably in Transnistria.

I worked hard as ambassador to improve American relations with Transnistria. I developed a cordial relationship with the current “president,” Vadim Krasnoselsky, and his “foreign minister,” Vitaly Ignatiev. I hosted Transnistrian businesspeople and exporters who made forays into the U.S. market. The embassy hosted and participated in numerous academic and cultural exchanges and events in Transnistria. We even had some sporadic dealings on both security and intelligence issues. That said, neither Transnistrian authorities nor residents had any interest in giving up their close relationship with the Russian Federation, which still includes subsidies and fairly robust military protection.

The recent explosions reported in Transnistria targeting police and infrastructure targets have all the hallmarks of a “false flag” operation designed to encourage Russian intervention. More recently, there were reports of an armed assault on the Soviet-era munitions storage facility in Cobasna, also in Transnistria. Cobasna poses both a safety threat to surrounding villages as well as a possible attractive military objective for invading Russian forces. Given the near total reliance of Transnistria on Russian largesse, it is unlikely that the Transnistrians would in any way block such intervention.

Moldova’s Vulnerability

As in Ukraine, Moldova is making progress in fostering a pro-Western society. After years of corruption under various oligarchs, Moldova recently elected a pro-E.U. president, Maia Sandu. She replaced the very pro-Russian Igor Dodon, whose party’s campaign slogan had been “Together with Russia.” Per capita, Moldova has taken in more Ukrainian refugees than any other nation. A neutrality clause in its constitution has thus far prevented Chisinau from applying for NATO membership, but it is vigorously seeking to accelerate its membership in the E.U. With neither E.U. nor NATO membership, Moldova’s vulnerability to Russian aggression is palpable and cause for great concern.

Even were Russia not to invade Moldova beyond the Nistru (or Dniester) River (i.e., beyond the security zone demarcating Transnistria), the breakaway territory would be a logical western anchor to Moscow’s desired control of Ukraine’s southern



flank—an anchor that, in my perception, would welcome a more direct relationship with the Russian Federation. As a territory recognized by no one, not even by Russia, as a sovereign country, many, if not most, Transnistrians crave the prospect of enhanced Russian protection and recognition.

While Moldova’s official stance and that of the OSCE-chaired 5 plus 2 is the ultimate reintegration of Transnistria, most Moldovan citizens I spoke with had little interest in Transnistria and considered it a foreign country. Therefore, the main obstacle for the Russians at this point in time—albeit a significant one—is the Ukrainian port of Odesa (or Odessa), which by all accounts will put up stiff resistance to the Russians.

This supposition leads to the question posed by this article: Will Russia invade Moldova? Only Putin knows the answer. On its face, an attack on this tiny nation would not present Russia with anything near the difficulties of its ongoing, halting efforts in Ukraine. What I often heard as ambassador, however, gives rise to an alternative possibility. Given Romania’s intensely close relationship with Moldova, would this NATO country sit by as Russia takes over Chisinau? What would the impact be for other NATO allies were Romania to dispatch troops to Moldova?

Individual member nations of NATO have engaged in military combat outside the NATO region for various political and strategic purposes over the years. Such “adventures” in a third country fall outside the North Atlantic Treaty, but are not completely without risk of drawing NATO into a conflict should escalation lead to consequences that might require a response by other NATO members under Article 5.

Hopefully, these troubling possibilities will give pause to Putin as he contemplates achievement of his own feverish dream of a new and very destructive Russian world order. ■



LOADING...

The Office of Diversity and Inclusion Turns One

An Interview with Ambassador Gina Abercrombie-Winstanley

Editor's Note: This interview is adapted from the transcript of AFSA's April 5 "Inside Diplomacy: Creating a More Diverse and Inclusive Foreign Service," featuring a dialogue between AFSA President Eric Rubin and Chief Diversity and Inclusion Officer Gina Abercrombie-Winstanley. The conversation, which took place on Zoom with an audience of several hundred, was followed by questions from the attendees presented by AFSA Outreach and Strategic Communications Manager Nadja Ruzica; Ambassadors Rubin and Abercrombie-Winstanley then wrap up the discussion. To view the entire event, go to AFSA's YouTube page, AFSAtube.

AFSA President Eric Rubin: April 12 marks the first anniversary of Ambassador Gina Abercrombie-Winstanley's tenure as the State Department's first Chief Diversity and Inclusion Officer. She was charged by Secretary of State Antony Blinken with changing the culture, the norms, the behaviors and the biases of our State Department and the Foreign Service. It's a tall task. Any bureaucracy is resistant to change.

Ambassador Abercrombie-Winstanley's 30-year career includes such highlights as being the longest-serving ambassador to the Republic of Malta, advising the commander of U.S. cyber forces on our foreign policy priorities, and expanding our counterterrorism partners and programs as deputy coordinator of counterterrorism. She is one of our most distinguished leaders, and we are very lucky to have her in this position. Today's event is an opportunity to discuss the work that's been done so far, what's underway and the challenges that still lie ahead.

When Secretary Blinken appointed you as the first CDIO, he charged you with a mandate to improve diversity and inclusion in our workforce, in our work and in the product that we deliver for the American people. What does that mean in practical terms? And how did you decide where to start?

Chief Diversity and Inclusion Officer Gina Abercrombie-Winstanley: Thank you for setting up this

opportunity to speak with so many of our colleagues about this new turn that we are taking as an organization, as an institution, and this new bold walk into a better future for everyone.

I came to this position knowing that I had a strong mandate. The Secretary was clear that he would judge his success by whether he left behind an organization that reflects the greatness of the United States of America as this will help us better navigate, address and meet the challenges of the 21st century. Then,

If you also recognize that those who get those jobs come from a pretty narrow band of folks who've had the "right" jobs, who've done the seventh-floor jobs, worked in this particular mission, or know that person in that position, and you don't have the same access to it, you understand that greater transparency is going to help you.

of course, the president came out with his executive order that called on every federal agency to set up a process for improving diversity, equity, inclusion and accessibility.

I had a strong mandate within the organization itself from our leadership, from the president and from the workforce itself. I cannot tell you how many times people have reached out to me to say what high hopes they have for what this office will help our organization do. It does take a lot of effort to move this great machinery that is the Department of State, but I believe we have the pieces in place for that.

To the second part of your question, we started with three things that I spoke about before I rejoined the department, and that is intentionality, transparency and accountability. Those are the three things I believe are integral to not only success but lasting change.

So, **intentionality**. Not nibbling around the edges, but actually looking at things through a DEIA [diversity, equity, inclusion and accessibility] lens. Who is at the table? Who is not at the table? If they're at the table, do they have the expectation that they should be speaking up, that their views, their insights, are going to be welcomed and valued and added to the whole? Again, it's about how we're treating our workforce internally, but also how we're doing our jobs overseas, where our programming is, whether we are reaching every part of the population in our host nation.

As you know, the department and AFSA negotiate new Foreign Service core precepts every three years. The precept dedicated to DEIA that goes into effect starting with the 2022-2023 rating period is part of that intentionality. We've had a lot of questions about it. *The Foreign Service Journal* had a great article by one of my senior advisers [Kim McClure] giving some excellent concrete examples of what is expected of us now as an organization. And that, frankly, boils down to treating each other a lot better than we often do.

We're a highly competitive group of people, but that inclu-

sion piece is a must. Are we reaching out, not just to the people who look like us, with whom we're familiar or comfortable, but also making sure that those who are underrepresented feel welcome to speak up, to become truly a part of the whole? Are we making sure that they have a clear and open progression to reach their full potential in the organization? That's what these precept changes will do, ensure that all of us understand it is all of our responsibility and we are going to be judged on it. That's what we learned from the private sector: If you value it, you judge it, you reward it.

Key to **transparency**, of course, is the data. We all know we are a highly skeptical bunch. We don't believe anything unless we can see numbers to support it. One of the first things I did in setting up the office was set up a DEIA Data Working Group—this in addition to pulling together a crackerjack staff. The people who are working alongside me are extraordinary warriors who love this organization and want to see it at its best.

Led by the deputy CDIO and one of our senior advisers, the DEIA Data Working Group, which includes data experts from key partners within the building—Management/Strategy & Solutions, the Bureau of Global Talent Management and the Office of Civil Rights—meet weekly to gather and analyze the data so that we can see who we are, where we are, and where we need to go. The group has established a Demographic Baseline Report for the department—and it's already on our website—that shares that information for the first time in a disaggregated fashion with our entire workforce. It will allow us to judge our progress. The Department of State is so serious about this that we have committed ourselves to no longer hiding. We're putting our numbers out there for all to see.

The final thing is **accountability**, and that is rewarding people who are doing this important work. With regard to the precepts, you get promoted if you can put in those concrete examples, not just that you support DEIA, but what you are doing to forward it.



U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Ambassador Gina Abercrombie-Winstanley at the podium, 2022.

We are going to reward it; we're going to be promoting people. I can tell you already it is a prime part of the discussion of the DCM/PO Committee and the Deputy Chief of Mission and Principal Officer [DCM/PO] Committee.

We will also be holding those accountable who are not doing the work, who are either contributing to or tolerating a toxic work environment. Anyone who carries out or tolerates discriminatory behavior or harassment. People who have the reputation of allowing that will not be in chief of mission, deputy chief mission or principal officer positions. But that requires that we all speak up and be truthful about the experiences that we're having so that we have the information we need to ensure we're getting the leaders that our workforce deserves.

AFSA: *Two years ago, the Government Accountability Office did a study, and it reported uneven progress in improving diversity from 2002 to 2018. And recent studies show that the senior ranks of our Service are less diverse now than they were 20 years ago, which I can testify to from personal experience. Why do you think the efforts have not been successful? And how are you using the lessons learned to work on the new strategic plan and the new approach?*

CDIO: The lack of diversity, most acutely in our senior ranks, is something that we should all be aware of. The numbers from the GAO report were stark. You'll see a bit more granularity when you look at our data dashboards. A lot of people push back against diversity and inclusion work, saying that to make a more diverse workforce up and down the ranks means to set aside merit-based promotions. That has been the major force behind

the pushback, that we won't be judging people on how good they are for the position if we are looking to have a diverse workforce. And that is absolutely not true.

You don't get to 87 percent of one group that is not 87 percent of the population and feel confident that all of those selections were made on the basis of merit. We intend to improve merit-based hiring by ensuring that everyone has an opportunity to reach their highest potential, not because they look a certain way, or are part of a certain gender or sexual orientation. Not because they've had the "right" assignments, or they know the "right" people or have the right people advocating for them. All of those things have kept senior positions in a fairly closed shop.

And let's be frank, we have to call spades spades. Those who have the vast majority of senior positions are primarily European American men. That does not come about through merit, not all of them. We are improving merit by putting that focus on diversity and inclusion. That's what ensures that the best, regardless of background, have a real shot at success. We're also monitoring progress and success from the employee's perspective, as well.

Now we are doing an overall survey [the "climate" survey] that's going to start by checking in with the Civil Service and Foreign Service, on where we are, what people think about what we're doing. The changes that we've already begun to make, are they working? We're going to have a granular view of this agency.

We've also ensured via the new core precept that it is now everyone's job to make this work. It isn't just my job, it's not just the Secretary's job, or those in this office. And it's in the strategic plan that has been finished and is now awaiting approval from

We are prioritizing the need for data-driven, evidence-based approaches to making changes.

OPM. We put a preliminary version of it up on our website in November, so people have a general idea of the direction we're heading. We put it out to receive feedback and observations and recommendations based on the lived experience of Foreign Service generalists and specialists and Civil Service officers and contractors in this building (of which we have thousands), eligible family members and locally employed staff.

As a result, we had over 700 contributions to our strategic plan! We set up working groups to distill and discuss and figure out what was workable, what timeline, what resources would be necessary to make some of the amazing suggestions real in this organization. We did it in a way that I believe will truly reflect the beliefs and will and desires of our workforce in its entirety, but in a fashion that brings real-world data and resources and time commitments to making sure that it comes about. I think that's the major difference.

AFSA: *Could we talk a little bit more about the DEIA strategic plan that's with the Office of Personnel Management? Assuming OPM approval, what do you hope to be rolling out when it's approved?*

CDIO: I don't expect OPM to make any changes, because we very closely followed the requirements they laid out. The plan captures a lot of the work that was already being done in pockets of the building.

We are working from what has gone before us. And from many of our partners around the building, including the employee organizations [formerly employee affinity groups], that gave a lot of support. There was a lot of support from individuals because they had the opportunity to contribute. We have a lot more input from the workforce than we had before. We are prioritizing the need for data-driven, evidence-based approaches to making changes. I believe that people will see the work. It will make sense to them.

And then we're going to have an implementing document. In fact, our organization is ahead of many. We needed this implementing document, because we wanted to drill down with when this is going to happen, how this is going to happen, how it's going to be measured. A lot more information is going to be coming out

and shared with the workforce, even after the strategic plan comes out. Look for the implementation document that will follow it.

AFSA: *Great. And in talking about the importance of data, obviously progress toward diversity can be quantified to a certain degree, but inclusion and the workplace atmosphere are much harder to quantify. How do you hope to assess that piece of the puzzle?*

CDIO: You're absolutely right about that. And inclusion, frankly, is the most important part. It isn't that you just let people in the room. If they still don't feel like their views are valued and welcomed, they might not speak up, and their presence won't make a difference at all. If they feel that they cannot add a contrary opinion to the discussion, or one that's a little bit outside the normative thinking, then the value of having them in the room and at the table is going to be lost.

The inclusion piece really demands that we all speak up. As we look at the challenges that we're facing around the world, it's clear we need a wider variety of recommendations on how to address them, how to resolve them. That inclusion piece means *everyone*. This is something that we stress when I'm doing town halls with bureaus or embassies, or traveling and meeting with our colleagues to talk about what these changes mean. So that nobody needs to fear that their opinion isn't going to be valued or sought.

On the survey that I mentioned earlier, the climate survey, we worked with Ernst & Young, who are specialists in this field. When I first came to the office, there were any number of organizations that were eager to help us spend our money on improving DEIA at the Department of State. To each and every one of them, as they gave their PowerPoint display about what they could do or what they thought we should be doing, my question always was, what does your organization look like? What have you done within your own organization? Why should I give you my money if your organization looks like I think it looks? And then I'd pull out a photo or video of their leadership to emphasize the point.

And we have worked very hard on the questioning across bureaus, particularly with the Bureau of Global Talent Management, which has a lot of experience doing surveys. We piloted the survey with the Bureau of International Organization Affairs, and have taken that feedback, and are reworking some of the questions to ensure that we get granular feedback from our workforce that will help us successfully attack this inclusion issue.

One of the best pieces of advice that we got as we started putting together this survey was: Don't ask any questions that you cannot

take action on. This office is about action. I'm urging everyone within the department to take the survey when it comes out in the next couple of weeks. And recognize that your answers to these questions are leading to specific steps in response. This is a very action-oriented survey, and it gets after the inclusion piece.

As we make those changes, shining that bright light, we are leveling the playing field for everyone.

AFSA: *Can you talk a little bit about how you've been challenging our bureaucracy? We've worked with you on core precepts, but how else are you challenging our bureaucracy?*

CDIO: There's a lot of work to do. Many of our workforce understand just how opaque this organization is. I know where all the rocks are to pull up and poke at underneath. And so, too, do my staff.

We ask questions. One of the things that we are going to be spending part of our budget on is working with other bureaus who have ownership over parts of the FAM [Foreign Affairs Manual] to reflect the changes that have already happened and are going to happen—to put it in black and white. So everybody knows exactly what's happening where and why. One of the things that has changed in the last year is publicizing who's on the D Committee, the DCM and Principal Officer Committee, and the Executive Resources Board, which covers the Civil Service. Many of us didn't know.

When you're looking for one of those high-powered, high-level positions, how do you go about getting it? There are a number of things that are quite opaque, or have been, that we are trying to shine a bright light on. And this goes again to the inclusion piece.

This is how I am able to increasingly melt down the resistance I find from those for whom the current system has worked, or those who think the current system is going to work for them. If you see that over 60 percent of the senior positions are going to white men, well, you might not want to change that, because that's pretty good odds for you [as a white man] in this organization. But if you also recognize that those who get those jobs come from a pretty narrow band of folks who've had the "right" jobs, who've done the seventh-floor jobs, worked in this particular mission, or know that person in that position, and you don't have the same access to it, you understand that greater transparency is going to help you regardless of your background. And this is strong. This is important for all of us.

Who's on those committees? Who do you need to talk to? How does the D Committee work? How does the vetting work? All of these things go to transparency.

As we make those changes, shining that bright light, we are leveling the playing field for everyone. The vast majority of us can understand and recognize and support the inclusion that those changes will bring about. Everything we do is focused on improving this organization for everyone in it. Not just brown people, not just people with disabilities, or gay people, or women. This work is for all of us.

AFSA: *You've laid out a really great sense of what the work is, what the challenges are. What are you looking forward to being able to say you accomplished?*

CDIO: Before I took the job, colleagues in the private sector told me the work is heavy and hard. But even after I leave, and this particular cohort of brilliant officers doing the work in the office leaves, the work will continue. I think my definition of success is that the office shuts down. That it is so well embedded in our culture that you don't need a special office to look at these things. But we are needed now to put the foundation in place.

I think we will continue to attract top-notch officers to this office as we have so far, for a couple of reasons. Most importantly, this is one of the places in the building where you are going to be able to see the changes you're working for. We're seeing things change almost on a daily basis from this office. We have so much in the pipeline. Again, the strategic plan is laid out, the blueprint, and then the work has to be built out, driven forward. It's going to make us better diplomats to do this work right.

We'll continue to get great people to carry out this work; and at some point, it's going to sunset. We don't want to be talking about this 10 years from now or, God forbid, 20 or 30 years from now. We've been talking about this for far too long.

The challenges are many because nobody likes change. I did this whole course on being a change agent. It was a reminder to me that everyone who is a drag on the change that we need to make isn't in that position because of animus or ill will. Sometimes it's just that change is more work, and people don't want more work, or they understand the system as it is. We have to be incredibly agile and informed and knowledgeable, and willing to look into all of the nooks and crannies to understand the law and make sure

My definition of success is that the office shuts down.

that we can use it to get where we want to go as an organization. We have to make sure that regulation and law is followed.

Our favorite line is *recruit for diversity and hire for merit*. Make absolutely sure that our recruiting efforts bring a diverse cohort into the department. But when you're putting together panels of officers to consider for positions, that list better be diverse. If you've done your job right, there's no compromise on merit. You have done your recruitment in a way that brings you great officers from a wide variety of backgrounds. Therefore, you can keep that mix going all the way to the top. That's what we expect.



AFSA Outreach and Strategic Communications

Manager Nadja Ruzica: *Thank you both for an excellent discussion. We've received a lot of questions, and we will try to get through as many as we can. ... Will the recruitment and testing processes, as well as medical security and suitability assessments, be reviewed to ensure there is no implicit bias there?*

CDIO: The short answer is yes. Things are happening even as we speak. But the Board of Examiners and that part of GTM have the lead. I will not steal anybody's thunder on making any announcements. I'd say watch this space, and watch it with hope. When I came into the Foreign Service, I remember I had 52 people in my class. We went out for a drink afterward, and the guys stood around at the bar speculating on which women came through another way, through the Mustang Program or through another program, and who didn't pass the written test.

The reality is that the written test has zero correlation to being a successful diplomat. Zero. Passing doesn't prove that you're going to be a good diplomat. It doesn't prove that you're going to be a terrible diplomat. It tests a certain body of knowledge at that time.

As you all know, we have the extraordinary Foreign Service Institute. Anything that we need, it can be taught, except for emotional intelligence, except for respect for the other. One of the things that our full process does not do—and I hope we can figure that out soon, because the oral exam actually does have a correlation to success as a diplomat—is test for racists, or sexists, or homophobes, or ableists. Those are the things that we need to be

screening for. There will be changes coming, watch this space.

AFSA: *There's a perception that FSOs who are people of color have been leaving the Foreign Service over the last few years in record numbers. This isn't necessarily reflected in the statistics that we're seeing. Do you have a sense of what is accurate?*

CDIO: I'm certainly aware of the perception. We'll get the data; we're going to be putting it all out there. Watch the ODI SharePoint site, our website and our dashboard. Frankly, because there are so few of us, when you lose one, you're losing a huge percentage. Each one, if it is someone who is a valuable, productive member of our cohort, is a heartbreaking loss. We don't want to lose people that we shouldn't be losing, but I don't have hard numbers yet.

AFSA: *Another questioner says they've heard many stories of people not filing grievances because the burden of proving discrimination is so hard. And as a result, there is a toxic work environment that's not properly dealt with. How can this be changed, so that people are finally held to account?*

CDIO: We are discussing a variety of options and ways, keeping in mind privacy law. There are some things that might appear logical to do, that we simply cannot do for privacy reasons. I urge every colleague, if you are having challenges at post, document them. Make a memo to the file. If you have witnesses, then send an email. Make sure that you've got a track record that will help you when you decide to file a case. Make sure you understand the difference between harassment and discrimination. I might suggest to people that you go to both parts of OCR [the Office of Civil Rights]—harassment, as well as discrimination—because the investigation part of the harassment is faster.

There are a variety of things out there that can help you hold accountable those of us who need to be held accountable. Now we have a system that seems to fail across the board. Both parties feel like they are being ill-used, that the treatment is unfair, that bad things are happening. If everybody feels like it's not working, we've got to figure out what else we can do. But there are privacy restrictions.

We work with GTM, its Office of Employee Relations [on conduct, suitability and discipline issues] and the Office of Civil Rights and employment lawyers, as well as our office, because we want more transparency. It is our belief that if people talk about bad things that are happening, that people will behave better.

We're trying to bring some more transparency here that follows the law and regulations, because it's needed.

AFSA: *Thank you. Disabilities were briefly mentioned, and the person asking the question would like more detail on the efforts to ensure that people with disabilities are included in the Foreign Service.*

CDIO: Absolutely. We're working to ensure that our colleagues with disabilities are not only welcomed at posts or in offices, but that the right things are in place so that they can fully contribute. Let me be honest. All of these things, microaggressions or worrying about whether you're going to have somebody with a disability, whether you're going to be able to support them properly, these concerns, these issues are with all of us.

You can go to our SharePoint site to get information. Things are in place to help us ensure that our colleagues are able to do their jobs like everyone else. We need to hear from you. We're working with our partners in the Office of Accountability and Accommodations. They do amazing work and have been full partners with us and GTM in other places, as well. But we've got more to do.

AFSA: *Are there any things that can be quickly implemented to advance demographic changes in the Foreign Service mid- and senior-level ranks that are not tied to recruitment and entry-level positions?*

CDIO: Well, we've had mid-level programs before with varying degrees of success. There's interest on the Hill for another one. GTM has the lead on that. We have certainly discussed it, but I have not been in any discussions recently on that. It's a challenge. Legislation was being advanced when I first came to the job a year ago that talked about a mid-level program, and one of the challenges is distinguishing between a mid-level program and entry-level FSOs.

Let's be honest. With the typical mid-level program, somebody might have five to seven years of experience and/or an advanced degree and/or something like that. But we come in with that as entry-level officers. So how would you make a distinction between mid-level versus entry-level when many entry-level officers come in with so much experience?

I certainly believe such a program needs to be examined, because I don't believe we can wait for numbers to work their way up. When I came in over 30 years ago, that's what we said would happen: "Oh, we're increasing the numbers at the bottom. They'll work their way up."

Our favorite line is recruit for diversity and hire for merit.

But we need to find out what's happening to people. My office is supporting GTM with our survey to find out what makes people leave, women as well as underrepresented groups. We want to make sure that we don't lose anyone that we don't have to lose.

How do we make sure that they believe they can make it to the senior ranks? I remember hearing a senior-level officer say, because somebody briefed him on this, that he understood that minorities and women don't raise their hands for the senior positions. I was silently groaning and ready to pull my hair out, because I was thinking, "No, we want those positions!" But I have been in touch with women, in particular, who say they're not sure they're going to go for a DCM job because they don't think they have a chance. And for sure you don't have a chance if you don't put your hand up. My mom always said, "Make them tell you no. Don't pull yourself out if you want it."

Knock on those doors. Make them tell you no.



Amb. Rubin: *Thank you for this terrific discussion. I hope we can continue this dialogue on a set of issues that we are committed to. I want to share that I heard from one member who said, "I know this is important, but in the middle of this crisis with Ukraine and Russia, should we really be stepping back and talking about this?" I replied, "If not now, when?" I mean, we're always in a crisis.*

CDIO Abercrombie-Winstanley: We can walk and chew gum.

Rubin: *We can walk and chew gum, and we need to strengthen our Foreign Service, strengthen our diplomatic capabilities for the American people. And we've got to work on that all the time. I'm really glad we have had the opportunity to do that today.*

Abercrombie-Winstanley: Thank you for this opportunity to shed some light, shine some light. We appreciate our partnership with you, and we expect you, colleagues, to hold us to account. Okay? Ask us questions: "What have you done? Where is this?" We need you to press us because that's how we press forward. Again, it's for everybody, and I'm privileged to be a part of this with my incredible, incredible team. Thank you. ■

The Payne Fellowship Network Advancing DEIA at USAID

Payne Fellows and alums have created a dynamic new employee resource group that is working to boost recruitment and retention of diverse FSOs.

BY MARIELA MEDINA CASTELLANOS

At the U.S. Agency for International Development, the nationally competitive Payne Fellowship continues to be a vital part of the effort to achieve a workforce that is representative of the rich diversity of the United States. The agency's only Foreign Service hiring and recruitment mechanism targeting underrepresented groups, the fellowship aims to attract outstanding leaders from diverse backgrounds to international development careers at the agency.

The Payne Fellowship turns 10 this year. It is modeled after the Pickering and Rangel Fellowships at the Department of State and, as such, is a critical mechanism for enhancing diversity, equity, inclusion and accessibility (DEIA) in the agency's Foreign Service.



Mariela Medina Castellanos is a USAID Foreign Service officer engineer in the Regional Economic Growth Office of the USAID West Africa Mission. She is a 2016 Payne Fellow and currently serves as the awareness raising chair for the Payne Fellowship Network Employee Resource Group.

It is highly selective, with an acceptance rate less than 1 percent—lower than that of USAID's Foreign Service.

USAID has made steadily increasing investments in the Payne Fellowship program, which enjoys bipartisan congressional support that transcends changes from one administration to the next, since its inception in 2012. The agency's recent commitment to double the number of fellowships is an important step to achieving a representative workforce.

About 50 Payne Fellowship alumni currently serve at USAID across 15 Foreign Service backstops. They serve in Foreign Service officer roles ranging from technical project managers to office directors in USAID missions worldwide; they also serve as advisers to USAID's front office in Washington, D.C., and support various employee resource groups in their endeavors to further the agency's DEIA agenda.

It has become apparent, however, that recruitment of Payne Fellows, by itself, is not enough. Diverse FSOs face problems of equity, inclusion and accessibility in tenure and promotion that, among other things, affect retention rates. In 2020, a group of Payne alumni created the Payne Fellowship Network, an employee resource group, to proactively tackle these challenges head-on, addressing obstacles throughout the course of the Payne Fellows' USAID career.

Enter the Payne Fellowship Network

Two years ago, a small group of Payne alumni began discussing the need to increase the profile of the fellowship, problems with onboarding Payne Fellows to USAID's Foreign Service, and obstacles to career development and advancement of Payne alumni at the agency. The challenges include a stigma associated with joining USAID through the fellowship program (based on the mistaken assumption that it is an "affirmative action" program rather than a highly competitive, merit-based program). Challenges also include data gaps in longer-term tracking of Payne cohorts once they enter USAID as FSOs.

Some challenges also extend to other members of the Foreign Service of diverse backgrounds at USAID; for example, Hispanic/Latino and Asian employees and FS members with disabilities resign at a higher rate compared to their permanent workforce percentage. And these groups plus Black employees are also underrepresented in the senior grade levels of the agency. Payne Fellows and Payne alumni, however, often face unique structural constraints. These issues jeopardize USAID's ability to sustain diversity at all ranks, which has been acknowledged as an agency priority.

Determined to address this, the group organized USAID's broader community of Payne alumni into a bloc and recruited "executive champions" in Washington and at overseas field missions. Executive champions are members of the Senior Foreign Service who serve as leadership liaisons and provide guidance to the group; the backing of at least one is required to establish a new employee resource group (ERG) at USAID. Payne alumni then worked with USAID's Office of Civil Rights and Diversity to consolidate their individual networks into the "Payne Fellowship Network," an officially recognized ERG. The network contains more than 150 members at all levels of the agency, including its current executive champions: Senior FSO and USUN Geneva Senior Development Adviser Sheri-Nouane Duncan-Jones and USAID Bureau for Global Health Deputy Assistant Administrator Melissa Jones.

The Payne Fellowship Network's objectives are to build greater awareness of and support for the fellowship at USAID; to support the recruitment, onboarding and retention of Payne Fellowship alumni; to provide fellows and alumni the means to better support one another; and to leverage the existing network of mentors, champions and resources within the agency to ensure the program's continued success.

The network maximizes its impact by strategically engaging allies and champions of the fellowship and forging partnerships that enable it to access resources and advance priorities. One such partnership is with USAID's rich employee community through

the Employee Resource Group Leadership Council. As USAID reinvigorated DEIA efforts under the Biden-Harris administration, the network partnered with other employee groups to elevate Payne alumni concerns and recommendations to incoming Administrator Samantha Power through her 200-day Action Plan on DEIA. Administrator Power selected Payne Fellow Katryna Mahoney to serve as the moderator for her presentation on "A New Vision for Global Development," where she first announced the agency's priorities.

The network also helped amplify calls to action for USAID leadership on DEIA issues including gender and racial equality, as well as issues affecting young professionals. Administrator Power approved USAID's DEIA Strategic Plan on her first day in office. The plan "commits USAID to improving and enhancing diversity throughout the agency, enhancing inclusion and equity for everyone in the workplace, and strengthening accountability for promoting and sustaining a diverse workforce and an inclusive agency culture." The network directly contributes to the strategic plan's goal by addressing systemic issues that inhibit the success of the Payne Fellowship program's participants in addition to DEIA efforts more broadly.

Strategic Partnerships

In addition, the Payne Fellowship Network (PFN) works closely with mid- and senior-level alumni of the International Career Advancement Program, a professional development and leadership program for mid-career professionals in international affairs, at USAID. The ICAP Payne Advisory Group formed in 2019 around the view that the Payne Fellowship Program would benefit from additional, concerted support focused on both recruitment and retention. ICAP Advisory Group members and PFN board members regularly coordinate advocacy efforts with USAID's Office of Human Capital and Talent Management, as well as with the USAID front office and Howard University (the fellowship's current implementing partner). Together, the PFN and ICAP Advisory Group have cemented connections to the agency's broader DEIA efforts, recruited a record number of FSO mentors for current Payne Fellows, and hosted a series of professional development seminars for Payne Fellows and alumni.

The Payne Fellowship Network also meets regularly with leadership of USAID's human resources division (through the HCTM Foreign Service Center) to develop solutions for concerns raised by Payne alumni. As Aaron Scherf, 2017 Payne alum and network member, notes: "The PFN [Payne Fellowship Network] leverages its connections and our alumni experiences to advocate for policies and programs that advance the retention of diverse FSOs



Ten Recommendations from the Payne Fellowship Network

In June 2021, the Payne Fellowship Network and the International Career Advancement Program Advisory Board jointly delivered a presentation to the USAID Executive Diversity Council on the Payne Fellowship's history and importance, as well as a set of recommendations for how senior leadership can better support the Payne Fellowship and its participants. The Executive Diversity Council is made up of USAID senior leadership and provides agencywide guidance for DEIA initiatives and investments and champions workforce diversity and inclusion as core values at USAID. The 10 recommendations are outlined here.

Education and Awareness Raising

1. Strengthen internal and external awareness of the Payne Fellowship, including program eligibility and structure, key stakeholder groups, and importance to diversity, equity, inclusion and accessibility at USAID.

Career Development of Payne Fellows and Alumni

2. Mentor, coach and sponsor Payne Fellows and alumni; and amplify annual calls for summer placements and mentors for Payne Fellows.
3. Institutionalize the encouragement of overseas missions and supervisors to support the career development of Payne alumni by assigning them meaningful work and nominating them for leadership opportunities.
4. Equip backstop coordinators, assignments and career counselors, and USAID/W supervisors to effectively advise and support alumni as they transition to USAID and start their Foreign Service careers.

Resource Allocation

5. Increase USAID staffing and/or level of engagement exclusively dedicated to the fellowship.
6. Allocate greater funding, both to increase annual Payne cohort size and to standardize baseline grade/step for equity.

Legislative and Policy Priorities

7. Foster greater Legislative and Public Affairs Bureau engagement in publicizing the Payne Fellowship, Hill engagement and facilitating Payne Fellows' summer placements.

8. Reinstate internal USAID policy that allowed the agency to limit competition for the Payne Fellowship implementing partner to minority-serving institutions. This policy was eliminated in 2019 and made specific to only small/disadvantaged businesses.

Monitoring, Evaluation and Learning

9. Ensure coordination among agency counterparts to regularly assess Payne Fellowship progress; and to identify and course-correct barriers to effective recruitment, retention and career advancement of Payne Fellows and alumni.

Strengthening Feedback Loops

10. Normalize communication between the USAID leadership and key USAID stakeholders (including fellowship alumni) to ensure mutual awareness of program-related accomplishments, challenges and support opportunities.

These recommendations feed into broader diversity, equity, inclusion and accessibility efforts at USAID, including workforce planning, recruitment and retention across demographic categories. PFN continues to work with the agency's front office and other institutional actors to advance these recommendations, organizing focused discussions on specific recommendations and identifying stakeholders to take institutional ownership of specific activities under each recommendation.

more broadly. As an example, PFN has pushed for greater consideration of the safety of LGBTQI+ officers in directed assignments and for more professional mentorship programs for officers of color.”

Since its inception in 2020, the network has regularly solicited Payne alumni feedback to raise issues with relevant stakeholders among USAID leadership. Partnership with the Foreign Service Center (HCTM/FSC) has helped make the onboarding and orientation processes more equitable and inclusive, improved external recruitment efforts and assignment processes for LGBTQI+ persons, and provided feedback on broader efforts on behalf of the USAID Foreign Service community.

Another important network partner is the Pickering and Rangel Fellows Association. Together, PFN and PRFA are exploring ways to exchange lessons learned on advocating for alumni needs and interests, support common advocacy efforts, and collaborate on professional development and networking opportunities among State and USAID FSOs overseas. All these efforts combined are building a solid foundation for FSOs of diverse backgrounds to access the resources and support needed for successful long-term Foreign Service careers.

These partnerships are the building blocks of the collective voice of Payne Fellows and alumni at USAID, whose advocacy efforts also benefit other FSOs from diverse backgrounds at the agency. A rising tide lifts all boats.

Raising Awareness

PFN Executive Champion Duncan-Jones has emphasized the important role the network plays at USAID: “The Network is instrumental in providing leadership and strategic direction to increase awareness and understanding about, and support for the Payne Fellowship and Payne alumni. After only a short period, the Network has quickly become a recognized valuable Agency resource, high employee retention is expected, and the qualified Payne Fellowship applicant pool has steadily increased since its inception.”

The network has advocated for the unique needs of Payne alumni in high-level fora and institutionalized regular communication and feedback between Payne Fellows and alumni, the



The Payne Fellowship Network leadership.

USAID front office, human resources, Payne Fellowship founders, and the implementing partner university, among other stakeholders. PFN has educated USAID staff worldwide about the Payne Fellowship and has created sustainable channels

for Payne Fellowship alumni to engage with USAID leadership to solve problems for years to come. The alumni feedback facilitated by the network, for example, has enhanced the Payne Fellowship’s follow-on award and helped improve broader FSO processes like onboarding and assignments.

The Payne Fellowship Network is proud to be a change agent in the DEIA space because these achievements benefit FSOs across USAID. We hope that this momentum will continue to be embraced by the agency at all levels through targeted and actionable reforms. PFN is setting the groundwork to recruit and retain a more inclusive and representative USAID Foreign Service and diplomatic corps, thereby increasing returns on USAID’s investment in DEIA across the agency. The growth of the Payne Fellowship and the work of the network can illustrate the power of a Foreign Service that increasingly represents the rich diversity of the United States abroad.

How FSJ Readers Can Support PFN

Now that readers are familiar with the Payne Fellowship Network at USAID, we ask our interagency colleagues to help spread the word about this prestigious fellowship throughout your networks. For USAID readers, we ask you to support the career development of Payne Fellows and alumni by:

- Mentoring fellows and alumni.
- Hosting fellow summer placements.
- Supporting fellow and alumni rotations, details and temporary assignments.
- Providing guidance to alumni through critical career junctures including bidding, tenure and promotions.

PFN is always looking for new members to help champion its cause at USAID. To connect with the PFN Board or get involved in PFN efforts, please email PayneFellowshipNetworkBoard@usaid.gov. ■

The FAS Diversity Fellowship Answers “Why Not?”

The Foreign Agricultural Service has launched a pathbreaking initiative to bring diversity to its ranks.

BY VALERIE BROWN

“Diversity” is often a moral box to check, a brand statement, a nice addition to a human resources page, but is it ever truly the foundational culture? When implemented daily, we see its domino effect. When absorbed, it has meaning. When followed through, the word “diversification”—the process of becoming diversified, adding variety—has impact and sustainability. It instills trust and establishes accountability; but, most importantly, when that word is applied, it has power.

“But ... it is when that word is applied that it has power.” There could be no truer statement. I wrote those words almost two years ago for *The Foreign Service Journal* article I penned, “Diver-

sification in the Foreign Agricultural Service” (October 2020). What a difference two years can make. Since then, the world has experienced such inexplicable lows; but we are resilient, we adapt, and we remain steadfast because we realize that no storm lasts for an eternity.

In that 2020 article, I briefly shared bits and pieces of my journey as the first African American woman to sit for the USDA Foreign Agricultural Service’s Foreign Service Exam in the fall of 2000. At that time, there was only one African American woman in our Foreign Service, Mattie Sharpless. Ambassador Sharpless was a pioneer and groundbreaker, but sadly she was it, my one and only role model. And the question that I would ask of others over my career was: “Why?”

Why in the year 2000, a half-century after the American Civil Rights Movement, were we, and others, not better represented in our diplomatic corps? Why weren’t more of us the face of



Valerie Brown, who currently serves in Dubai as the regional agricultural counselor, was instrumental in creating the USDA-FAS Diversity Fellowship Program. She continues to collaborate with the FAS Office of Civil Rights on diversity and inclusion programs. During graduate studies in agricultural economics, she worked for the U.S. Agency for International Development in Sri Lanka. She joined FAS in 1995 as a civil servant and entered the Foreign Service in 2001. She has served in London, Mexico City, Taipei, Shanghai and, most recently, in Washington, D.C., as the senior director of Asia operations at USDA. She recently received her life coaching certification, which she utilizes to empower women through the group she co-founded, “Real Women Wine.”

America abroad? Why did our department not showcase to the world the true melting pot of the United States? Unfortunately, no one had a good answer for me.

Changing the Question

So I changed my “why” questions, which were accusatory, to: “Why not?” Those questions were more thoughtful, created dialogue and gave birth to a way forward.

Why not have a Foreign Service that truly represents the interwoven tapestry of so many ethnicities and cultures coming together for a common purpose? Why not reach out to young people from a range of different social and ethnic backgrounds, and get them excited about a career that would take them around the world helping bring about change? I continued to ask everyone, ad nauseam ... why not?

Over the two decades that passed since I first attempted to enter the dynamic world of diplomacy, a renaissance of sorts has taken place. I believe the why-nots took center stage. Conversations were going on at the water coolers, in the corridors and in those now-mandatory meetings focused on change. People were talking, that word, “diversity,” was flexing its muscles throughout the U.S. government—and FAS was no longer a spectator.

I was one of those people at the water coolers, in the corridors, and the first to show up at the diversity and inclusion meetings. Now that diversity was to be the cornerstone of the new and improved structure that we were erecting for our future America, how were we to get the right people to the table? It wasn't enough to set the table and prepare the meal if no one was there to partake of the feast.

Over my career, I've stood beside my colleagues, both domestically and abroad, telling of the small role I played in the diversity narrative, and the response has been tremendous. The emotional outpouring from young women with newfound confidence and clear direction for the future was extremely gratifying. At one assessment center, I was thanked by a young man for being an example of what is possible, just because of my presence.

The accolades, tears and compliments made my day, fed my ego and made me feel that change was brewing—but the impact was not long-lasting for them or me. Each Monday morning, I returned to my 9-5 (more like 7:30 to whenever), did my job, saddened by the fact that I did not have the bandwidth or a formal path forward for the young minds I had piqued.

That is, until now.

It wasn't enough to set the table and prepare the meal if no one was there to partake of the feast.

How It Happened

In the fall of 2021, under the leadership of newly appointed Administrator Daniel Whitley, the FAS Diversity Fellowship Program was created. This was a moral checkbox of the sort I referenced earlier. The FDFP is an intentional change that took place because it was time. Administrator Whitley, a former director of the FAS Office of Civil Rights, had worked throughout his career to amplify the voices of the fallen and correct obvious injustices. Fortunately for the agency, his perspective didn't change with his newest title.

It took a village to craft an impactful program for Administrator Whitley to sign. Here's how it happened.

Earlier in 2021, as I sat in Dubai doing the job I was assigned, I heard a rumor that our sister agency, the Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service, had just rolled out a fellowship program for their Foreign Service. They had figured out the answer to “why not?” and we had to follow! My fellow “ag avenger”—also known as Agricultural Attaché Lucas Blaustein—and I set out to determine how we could make this happen for FAS.

Our amazing colleagues at APHIS, Glenn Germaine (APHIS management analyst) and Eric Coleman (APHIS White House Fellow) introduced us to Patricia Scruggs and Nijhier Lattimer at Howard University's Diplomatic Fellowships division; and from there, the earth began to shake. The gentle rumblings of transformation took place, and it was time to present the proposal to FAS' current civil rights director, Adriano Vasquez. He was receptive and willing to do what was necessary but needed more than just a notion.

The road to success was filled with a few potholes, starting with the fact that I lived on the other side of the world attempting to drive a program that had never been attempted previously. There were many sleepless nights, but anyone that knows me would say, “What's new, Valerie; you never sleep anyway.” What was new was that the clock was ticking, and roadblocks were plenty. Fortunately, with fierce determination and the support of Brooke Jamison (FAS associate administrator), Mary Ellen Smith (FAS deputy administrator of foreign affairs) and Earnest Smith (FAS acting chief financial officer), an idea became a reality. Within a few months, the team had created a proposal that would change the future of the FAS' Foreign Service ... forever.

The Fellowship's Mission

The FAS Diversity Fellowship Program mission statement reads: "The FAS Diversity Fellowship Program seeks to identify and prepare worthy and outstanding individuals for careers in the FAS Foreign Service. The fellowship advances the department's goal of a more diverse, inclusive and equitable Foreign Service that reflects the strength of America."

The FDFP will recruit outstanding candidates from across the country and include the following:

1. Funding up to \$42,000 per year to attend two-year graduate programs in agribusiness or agricultural economics at U.S. universities.
2. Two summer internships, one domestic and one overseas, at a U.S. embassy/consulate.
3. Mentoring from a Foreign Service officer.
4. Professional development activities to prepare individuals for their Foreign Service careers.
5. Pathway to employment in the Foreign Agricultural Service for those who complete the program and FAS requirements, with a five-year obligation.

We have all been asked, at one point or another, what type of thinker we are: "glass half full," or "glass half empty"? My response has always been that I am simply happy to have a glass. Our current environment still may not be ideal, fair or even transparent. We are confronted daily with news that disappoints and tries to break our spirits, but if we continue to hope, dream, aspire and persevere, all is not lost.

FDFP is the product of those of us who continue to get back up when we are knocked down. Through tears and with a grateful heart, I can confidently say that: The FAS Diversity Fellowship Program is a budding legacy. FDFP answers the question "why not?" FDFP is the word "diversity" being applied, carrying power and representing the cultural milieu of America.

As pathbreaking woman computer scientist Telle Whitney has said, "Diversity drives innovation—when we limit who can contribute, we in turn limit what problems we can solve." The FDFP promises to help bring about a qualitative expansion of FAS' problem-solving capabilities abroad. ■



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A Foreign Service Career Blindness Didn't Stop Me

The evaluation and promotion process contains potential pitfalls for disabled members of the Foreign Service, the first blind FSO at State attests.

BY ROY GLOVER

Avraham Rabby, the blind FSO who died in April 2020, is rightly recognized as a trailblazer for disabled individuals who seek careers in the U.S. Foreign Service. Although our years of service overlapped, Rabby and I never met. I became officially blind in 1981 as the result of an injury, joined the United States Information Agency in 1983 and retired in 2008.

After passing the Foreign Service written and oral exams five times, Rabby finally entered the Department of State as an FSO in 1990. I recently learned of his death when I was searching for information about him and came across his obituary. Some of the comments by senior FSOs (published with the obituary) expressed views about excluding the disabled from Foreign Ser-

vice employment that both surprised and disturbed me.

I'd like to believe that those views are not widely shared, but reading them convinced me that it was time to record some of my own career experiences.

The First Blind FSO

Rabby was not the first blind officer in the U.S. Foreign Service, nor was Maryanne Masterson, who was a member of Rabby's entry class. I entered the U.S. Information Agency in the Junior Officer class of May 1983 after what may have been a record span of years between passing the FS exam and reporting for duty. I took the written and oral exams in 1979 (my third attempt) while teaching philosophy at the College of St. Benedict and St. John's University in Minnesota. I also applied for a Fulbright Fellowship in Sweden at that time.

When offered the Fulbright lecturing position, I accepted. My wife and two children accompanied me to Gothenburg University in the summer of 1979. Shortly after we had settled in Sweden, I received an offer to join USIA. Once I explained my situation to USIA personnel, they told me that my place on the register was secure. The Fulbright Fellowship, they explained, also served U.S. interests. I received three more offers to join USIA during the two-



Roy Glover joined the Foreign Service with the U.S. Information Agency in 1983, having passed the Foreign Service Officer Test four years earlier. He retired in 2008 and lives in Minneapolis, Minnesota.

My experience was that it became part of my job to discover technological innovations that would make me more effective in the workplace.

year term of my Fulbright grant, and we went through the same back and forth each time. I returned to the United States with my family in the summer of 1981 without a job, but with the expectation of another offer to join USIA when the next class formed.

As we hoped, an offer to join USIA arrived in September. What we hadn't planned on was that I would be unconscious in a hospital in St. Louis Park, Minnesota, when my wife received the offer. I had suffered a traumatic brain injury in August, and the prognosis was uncertain. I remained unconscious for two months, with complications caused by meningitis. USIA personnel assured my wife that they would hold my place on the entry register. Conveniently, a federal budget crisis gave me time to leave the hospital and undertake physical therapy.

We hoped that a new offer from USIA would be the answer to our prayers. However, there was a possible complication: I was legally blind when I recovered consciousness. I couldn't drive. I could see just enough to read one word at a time. When the next entrance class was formed at USIA, I was advised that my blindness meant that I no longer qualified for the duties of a Foreign Service officer. The EEO counselor at USIA intervened on my behalf, and the rejection of my candidacy was reversed. I finally entered USIA as a member of the class of May 1983.

One Among Equals

Think back now to Avraham Rabby, who was rejected five times between 1980 and 1990. Although I managed to get in the door before he did, there was no grand welcome to greet me when I showed up for training. I was one among equals, which was the way it should be and was what I expected. I didn't look for any special treatment, and I wouldn't have known what to ask for in any case. The policy of providing special accommodations and training hadn't really developed yet in USIA—or, if it had, I didn't know how to get it.

In addition to the physical therapy that was part of my recovery, I took advantage of that period to resume work on my Ph.D. dissertation and to sharpen other skills that would prove useful in my Foreign Service career. One of the most useful things I did was

take lessons in keyboard skills. A revolution in office management was taking place during those years, and the change had a major impact on the functions expected of all office workers.

My first assignments in Washington and overseas were in office environments where secretaries and receptionists were prominent elements of the workforce. One

example of advanced office technology was the IBM Selectric typewriter, which enabled a typist to correct a mistake by using a backstroke to erase the typo so he (or more often *she* at that time) could type in the correct letter or letters. Word processors were not yet in widespread use. New office technology swept over our embassies in waves early in my career. It was not just the IBM Selectric that disappeared, but the secretary who operated it.

These changes had a major impact on the work of diplomats, who regularly received training in managing the new technology. I have a very strong impression that officers with visual disabilities were affected more by these changes than their sighted colleagues. That differential impact is counterintuitive. Technological advances generally bring with them opportunities to reduce the problems faced by persons with physical disabilities. My experience, on the contrary, was that it became part of my job to discover technological innovations that would make me more effective in the workplace. I suspect that this has not changed, though I would welcome being proved wrong on this point.

The lesson, whether I am right or not, is that employees are best served if they bring their knowledge about special skills and equipment with them when they enter the federal workforce. These concerns, however, are not the ones that stand out prominently as obstacles to a successful career in the Foreign Service. I want to focus on one incident in my career that raises warning flags for employees, particularly those with physical disabilities.

A Bolt of Lightning

I experienced frustrations more than 10 years into my career. Because promotion from FS-3 to FS-2 was slow in coming, I turned to the officer who had been my supervising public affairs officer (PAO) during my USIA Junior Officer Trainee assignment. I asked him whether he could pinpoint anything in my performance that would help me understand why I hadn't been promoted. Was there something I should know about my "corridor reputation"? I had a good relationship with him and knew I could trust him.

His quiet response was like a bolt of lightning. When he was

in Washington preparing to come to post, he told me, the area director had called him aside and told him very clearly that there was no place in the Foreign Service for a blind officer. High on his list of priorities, she told him, was to drum me out of the Foreign Service! I will never forget that. And I will never forget what he told me next.

Remember, he was describing what had happened before he knew me, at a time when he was simply my future boss and reviewing officer. He said he had listened to his “orders” and decided he would wait until he observed me on the job. Based on that experience, he would decide whether he would do what his superior had told him to do. He followed through on that. And when he wrote my employee evaluation report, he recommended me for promotion! In other words, he put his career on the line to go on the record in support of my competence. I call that integrity.

That experience gained my supervisor my utmost respect. It also haunted me for the remainder of my career. What if something like that had happened on my other overseas assignment? What other hidden traps might be waiting for me, or for any officer in a similar situation?

A Sense of Accomplishment

I never did have full confidence in the evaluation and promotion process. While I was on a domestic assignment in Washington, one of my colleagues suggested a trusted strategy for increasing the chances of a promotion. I bid on an assignment to the PAO position in Kabul in response to the call for a major increase in our presence in Afghanistan after 9/11. I was an FS-2 by that time and was well qualified for the position. I got it.

The experience in Kabul was unlike any other assignment in my career. It was in many ways primarily an administrative challenge. When I arrived, I was the only American officer in the public affairs section. In the course of my one-year assignment, a new ambassador arrived with a new Afghanistan Reconstruction Group made up of noncareer officers, including a three-member public affairs team with no diplomatic experience. The embassy team grew so rapidly that a new housing complex was added across the street from the main embassy compound.

My performance in Kabul did not lead to a promotion, but it did set me up for my final assignment as public affairs officer in our embassy in Wellington, New Zealand. I can’t imagine any change as dramatic as the one from the shipping container I lived in as PAO Kabul to my very comfortable PAO residence in suburban Wellington. The promotion I sought didn’t happen, but I felt a real sense of accomplishment and fulfillment at the end of my 25-year career. ■

Disability Resources at State

BY HEATHER PISHKO



The Disability Action Group is a Department of State employee organization that strives to promote full and equal participation of people with disabilities department-wide, offer a forum for information exchange and advocate for the rights of people with disabilities.

DAG hosts two or three Coffee Chats every other month. These informal conversations about disability offer the opportunity to share whatever is on your mind with the DAG Council. We also host events with State Department leaders, including Secretary of State Antony Blinken, CDIO Ambassador Gina Abercrombie-Winstanley and Deputy Secretary for Management and Resources Brian McKeon.

We bring issues such as hoteling (a method of office management) in domestic offices to the Office of Accessibility and Accommodation to remind bureaus to include accommodations in these new arrangements, and we work with the Office of Buildings Overseas to create the Accessible-Adaptable Housing Acquisition Program and increase housing options overseas.

We encourage you to join DAG by visiting our SharePoint site and submitting your name. The group is open to everyone. Your membership costs nothing and requires no action, but ensures you get messages about disability-focused topics. You may also join the DAG Microsoft Teams channel by entering code Op7xfcw at the bottom of your Teams list.

Requesting reasonable accommodations. Please use the online GTM Next Employee Portal to request a reasonable accommodation from the Disability and Reasonable Accommodations Division. Click on “Service Catalog” at the top left, then click “Accessibility & Accommodations” on the left, and choose an accommodation. Employees unable to access the GTM Next Employee Portal should contact GTM/OAA at OAA@state.gov.

DAG SharePoint: <https://usdos.sharepoint.com/sites/DAG/SitePages/Home.aspx>

DAG email: DAGCouncil@state.gov

Office of Accessibility and Accommodation: OAA@state.gov

CDIO: diversity@state.gov

Heather M. Pishko, chair of the Disability Action Group, is an office management specialist currently serving at the Foreign Service Institute.

Supporting State's LGBTQI+ Workforce

A gay FSO working in the Office of Diversity and Inclusion discusses what the initiative means for the LGBTQI+ community.

BY THOMAS COLEMAN

The Secretary's Office of Diversity and Inclusion (S/ODI) is strengthening existing and developing new policy to integrate diversity, equity, inclusion and accessibility (DEIA) into our day-to-day work, which will make us a stronger, smarter and more creative institution.

I am a gay employee, and part of my job in S/ODI is looking out for the interests of our LGBTQI+ workforce, which has made great advances since glifaa was founded in 1992. This month we celebrate these

successes, but I remain worried about LGBTQI+ employees' ability to maintain the rights we have gained and pass on our heritage.

Speaking as a member of the LGBTQI+ community, I am concerned by the ongoing, often vitriolic pushback against the transgender community living openly and freely and enjoying the same human rights as others. I worry about states banning children's books because authors address topics like sexual orientation and gender identity. I worry about state laws that make it illegal to refer to any part of the LGBTQI+ community in front of children, even though many of those children have LGBTQI+



Thomas Coleman is a Foreign Service officer currently serving as a senior adviser in the Secretary's Office of Diversity and Inclusion. His overseas postings include Brazil, Turkey, Israel and the Netherlands. In Washington, he has served in the State Department's Operations Center, Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs' Office of Regional and Multilateral Affairs, Bureau of South and Central Asia's Office of Regional Affairs, and Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs' Office of Transportation Policy. He also served as president of glifaa, a State Department employee organization supporting LGBTQI+ employees. The opinions expressed here are his own, and not necessarily those of the U.S. government.

parents, friends and neighbors. This creates disunity in society, stigmatizes our community and degrades our humanity. I know that many others, in and outside the community, share these concerns.

This is not the first uncertainty for our community. Glifaa was founded in part to prevent another “lavender scare,” the period in the 1950s when government employees were interrogated, harassed and fired because of their sexuality. S/ODI wants to ensure employees are never again frightened or uncertain about living their truth and embracing and sharing who they are. S/ODI has contracted with the producer of the 2019 documentary “The Lavender Scare,” which ran on PBS, to give all posts the ability to air it free of charge if they wish during Pride Month, as part of the office’s work to make a safe and inclusive workplace.

The LGBTQI+ workforce is an important focus of the department’s five-year DEIA Strategic Plan that S/ODI recently finalized. It prioritizes equity in accreditation for all spouses overseas, to make it easier for families to work abroad without fear of harm or maltreatment because of their sexual orientation or gender identity. Building on the work of the Bureau of Global Talent Management and the Same-Sex Spouse Accreditation Working Group, Deputy Secretary for Management and Resources Brian McKeon elevated the issue this year by launching a campaign to reframe how the State Department engages with countries on accreditation. For more information, contact Staci Ali-Ibrahim at ali-ibrahim@state.gov.

S/ODI is also raising LGBTQI+ employees’ visibility and beginning to leverage data to assess equity in employee career progression. Current law does not allow collection of LGBTQI+ workforce data, so voluntary self-identification is essential. This year, S/ODI dedicated part of its budget to expanding how employees can voluntarily self-identify in the GEMS personnel system and hopes to deploy the pilot in late summer. This will provide a more complete snapshot of department diversity regarding LGBTQI+, national origin and heritage, and educational background. S/ODI encourages all employees to show allyship by self-identifying these new categories when they become available and ensuring that you have already self-identified race/ethnicity and disability.

As a helpful March 31 DipNote op-ed by three transgender colleagues points out, roadblocks to transgender equity,

S/ODI wants to ensure employees are never again frightened or uncertain about living their truth and embracing and sharing who they are.

inclusion and accessibility remain. This is another focus area in my work in S/ODI. A major step forward came because of the great work of the Bureau of Consular Affairs. On March 31, Transgender Day of Visibility, Secretary of State Antony Blinken announced that, starting April 11, the department will be the first U.S. agency to offer an X gender marker option on an identity document—a U.S. passport. The new X gender marker will directly benefit transgender, nonbinary and intersex employees and eligible family members.

S/ODI is working to make processes to get a name changed on a department badge and in an Outlook profile more clear and efficient. S/ODI worked with the A Bureau to make bathroom signage more inclusive and encourage development of more all-gender bathrooms. As a result of these discussions, the A Bureau is including all-gender bathrooms as part of its design standard for ongoing modernization of the Harry S Truman Building and other facilities. In my opinion, other positive steps would be using the “Mx.” honorific in the opening of all department correspondence instead of “Mr.,” “Ms.” and “Mrs.” and expunging gendered language from the FAM/FAH.

I encourage employees to get to know their transgender and other LGBTQI+ colleagues and make transgender and other LGBTQI+ friends. Learn how to be an ally; recognize boundaries; unlearn offensive terms; show respect even when you don’t understand; consider how to better use language; and push for inclusivity, not just tolerance.

Now as ever, straight and cisgender allies are essential. My LGBTQI+ colleagues and I thank the many allies who have contributed to our success. Please continue to stand with us as we seek full integration of our community at State.

To learn more on how the department is advancing equity for LGBTQI+ persons within our institution and abroad, tune into the S/ODI townhall on June 29, 9-10 am EDT, at www.interactive.state.gov/DEIA-advancing-equity. ■

Why the Office of War Information Still Matters

Established in 1942, the OWI popularized a global vision for the war effort—underscoring the importance of public diplomacy for U.S. national security today.

BY NICHOLAS J. CULL

Eighty years ago, in 1942, in the wake of the attack on Pearl Harbor, the United States government launched a new federal agency to oversee wartime communication work at home and abroad. The Office of War Information became an essential element of America's domestic war effort in World War II, shaping a swathe of Hollywood films, mounting radio broadcasts and designing posters that remain in the collective imagination (think of Norman Rockwell's groaning Thanksgiving table to illustrate "Freedom from Want").

Fully 80 percent of OWI's budget was devoted to its international work, and in this respect, this predecessor to the U.S. Information Agency marked a milestone in U.S. statecraft. Despite the evolution of communication technologies in the



Nicholas J. Cull is professor of public diplomacy at the University of Southern California's Annenberg School for Communication and Journalism. He is a historian of public diplomacy, and his works include The Cold War and the United States Information Agency: American Propaganda and Public Diplomacy, 1945-1989 (Cambridge, 2008).

intervening years, OWI's foreign activity still merits attention. Seen in retrospect, it shows that communication is full of dilemmas and inherently difficult to manage—whether one is dealing with the tension between policy and ideology on the one hand and a reporter's objectivity or personal agenda on the other, or with the inevitability of “unintended consequences,” or with disinformation and psychological warfare.

More than anything else, however, OWI's history points to and illustrates the vital importance of public diplomacy to national security that is no less true today than it was 80 years ago.

A Belated Realization

OWI's international work was born from a belated realization in Washington, D.C., that propaganda and global communication had become essential to modern statecraft. During World War I, the United States had virtually overnight built a global communications network under the Committee on Public Information, successfully propagating Woodrow Wilson's vision of the peace abroad if not at home. But the structure had not survived into peacetime. Moreover, though friendly nations and competitors alike stepped up media outreach with state-sponsored radio stations and international cultural agencies during the interwar period, the U.S. government had remained largely aloof.

The United States had no equivalent to the BBC Empire Service radio (established in 1932) or the British Council (established in 1934). When, in 1929, Weimar Germany stunned the world with its cutting-edge contribution to the Barcelona Expo,

the U.S. government was absent. The U.S. contribution to the Expo in Paris in 1937 underwhelmed, whereas the pavilions built by Nazi and Bolshevik propagandists at the height of their game put the competition quite literally in the shade.

The Roosevelt administration used sophisticated media tools to sell its New Deal at home but was late to develop a capacity for communication in foreign policy. Initiatives were initially limited to educational exchanges with Latin America launched as part of the Good Neighbor policy. The fall of France in the spring of 1940 prompted a change of heart, and a flurry of U.S. government communication activity followed, including external programs.

In the summer of 1940, FDR appointed Nelson Rockefeller to the new role of Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs to further

develop cultural and economic contact with Latin America with a dedicated office of the same name within the Office of Emergency Management. Then, in 1941, Roosevelt launched a Foreign Information Service, which included U.S. Information Service (USIS) posts around the world to assist foreign media. In the early weeks of 1942, FIS began shortwave broadcasts that eventually became known as Voice of America (the name was surprisingly fluid during the war). But the patchwork of activity lacked coherence.

Seeking to bring a level of order to wartime communication, FDR signed Executive Order 9182 on June 13, 1942, establishing a single Office of War Information.



The Office of War Information produced this large color poster, of which 4 million sets were printed from 1943 to 1945. The poster features the four freedoms as illustrated by Norman Rockwell whose paintings famously depict American culture and everyday life.

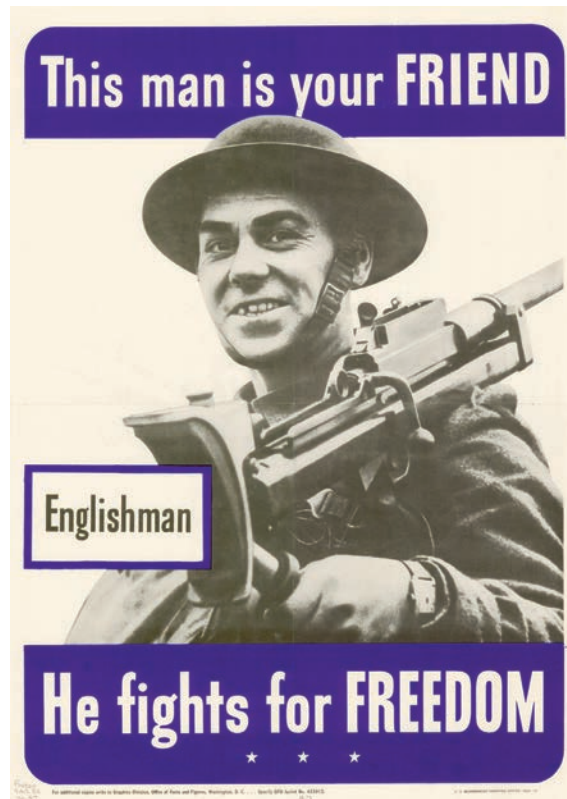
This poster came from the U.S. Office of Facts and Figures in 1942, months before the Office of War Information was established. There were six posters in the series, each with a soldier from a different Allied country.

Establishing the Centrality of Public Diplomacy

OWI drew VOA and almost all wartime communication initiatives into a single home. Only Nelson Rockefeller's Latin America work remained outside the corral. (It helped to be a friend of the president.) An avuncular CBS radio journalist, Elmer Davis, oversaw the new agency as its director. New Deal speechwriter and playwright Robert Sherwood oversaw foreign activity. The agency's constituent elements included offices encouraging helpful content in movies, domestic broadcasting and magazines, and even popular fiction.

Overseas, OWI further developed the Foreign Information Service program. It expanded the USIS network and opened libraries in major cities around the world. It worked in partnership with the Office of Strategic Services (precursor agency to the CIA) and the British Political Warfare Executive to create a Political Warfare Division that used propaganda effectively as a force multiplier on the battlefield. Its achievement after D-Day in accelerating enemy surrender in the European theater turned General Dwight D. Eisenhower into a true believer in the value of a psychological approach.

Though separate from State, OWI's range of overt communication activities toward Allied and neutral publics established media as an enduring component of U.S. diplomacy. It was the predecessor to postwar U.S. public diplomacy work, overseen during the Cold War by the United States Information Agency. During World War II, State had its own cultural attachés, and an assistant secretary of State for public and cultural relations position was created in December 1944 to which Archibald MacLeish was appointed. OWI offices overseas were subject to chief-of-mission authority, and some were collocated in embassy buildings. State simply took over OWI's international functions in the immediate postwar period.



While OWI increased its reach by guiding the media production of others, it had its own in-house creations for export, including the bimonthly magazine *Victory*, which launched in December 1942. OWI also made and distributed its own documentary films, which mixed representation of the war effort with insights into American civic life. Prime examples included "The Town," a portrait of Madison, Indiana, created by the great Austrian filmmaker Josef von Sternberg in 1943.

An audience favorite, "Autobiography of a Jeep" told the story of the GI's favorite vehicle as if in its own words. The high point in the docu-

mentary war came in 1945 when OWI won an Academy Award for a color documentary feature co-created with the U.K. about the Allied advance from D-Day, "The True Glory." Some of these films remained in circulation through USIA for decades to come.

Handling Disinformation

The experience of OWI can be instructive for today's communication dilemmas; its response to disinformation at home is a case in point. OWI experts were convinced that Germany would use disinformation to undermine the U.S. war effort and began systematically studying U.S. public opinion for signs of German rumors, using a network that included teachers and hairdressers as rumor collectors. Analysis of the rumors suggested that Americans were quite capable of undermining their country without Hitler's help. Homegrown rumors predominated, mostly based in the enduring cancer of domestic racism. While some in the agency suggested a radio program to repeat and rebut rumors, wiser heads at OWI realized that rebuttals tended to increase the currency of rumors.

OWI resolved rather to focus on the greater vision: selling the positive image of an America in which racial difference was subsumed within an integrated war effort. OWI pressed for African American service characters to join radio soap operas as a reminder of the Black community's role in the war. Similarly, at a time when racist fantasists reported that Jews were exempt from military service, OWI's Bureau of Motion Pictures encouraged war films in which brave Jewish characters served

OWI research workers in May 1943. (Inset) Elmer Davis, here seated at his desk, was appointed the first OWI director by President Franklin Roosevelt in 1942. Before joining, he worked as a reporter for *The New York Times* and later as a popular news analyst for CBS Radio.

shoulder-to-shoulder with other American ethnicities in the plane, platoon and submarine. Today the films are remembered, but the rumors are long forgotten.

OWI's international broadcasting had its own ambitions and issues. Broadcasts in the German-language transmission began with the admirable promise: "The news may be good. The news may be bad. But we shall tell you the truth." OWI broadcasts were, however, more complicated. The out-put sometimes included material that was deliberately



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AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION

OWI and the “Battle of Sweden”

By Williams S. Martin and Daria Gasparini

On June 13, 1942, after considerable debate within the U.S. government, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt established the Office of War Information, which was divided into a domestic branch and an overseas branch. From its headquarters in New York, the latter grew to include 40 outposts. London was the first, followed by Stockholm. This is the Stockholm story.

The playwright and FDR speechwriter Robert Sherwood, who headed OWI's Overseas Branch for its first two years, tapped a 35-year-old photographer and designer best known for having served as a personal secretary for the architect Frank Lloyd Wright to head the new office. Karl Jensen had been born and raised in Copenhagen and had the additional advantage of having been in Stockholm since March 1942, working for the Office of the Coordinator of Information, an OWI predecessor agency.

OWI Stockholm, which operated as the Press and Information Office of the U.S. Legation (as the U.S. embassy in Stockholm was then known), faced a daunting challenge. Jensen had to persuade the Swedes that the United States and its allies would win the war then raging across Europe and Asia. He also needed to make the case that the United States was a country Swedes should admire and even support.

This was in the face of a broad and pervasive propaganda campaign by the Nazis in Sweden that a German and Axis victory was inevitable, and that the U.S. war effort was doomed to fail, in no small part due to the country's internal



Villa Åkerlund, which has served as the official residence of the U.S. Ambassador to the Kingdom of Sweden since 1947. In 2020 it was added to the Secretary of State's Register of Culturally Significant Property.

societal challenges of racial conflict and crime. OWI Stockholm was tasked, as well, by OWI headquarters in Washington to report on what was going on in Sweden and nearby Germany and the occupied countries of northern Europe, and to convey news and information about the Allied war effort to their citizens.

Jensen and his colleagues in the legation, which was headed by the experienced U.S. Minister Herschel Johnson, had to tread carefully.

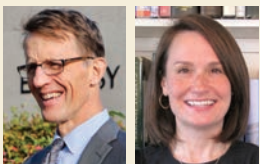
Germany's occupation of neighboring Denmark and Norway and its victories on the battlefield in the first years of the war were a constant reminder to Swedes that their neutrality and continued independence were fragile. While Swedes were inclined to support the United States, the Swedish government was determined not to give Hitler an excuse to invade.



Ingrid Bergman, in a still from “Swedes in America.”

Relations between Sweden and the United States, and its close ally the United Kingdom, were strained at times by differences over how Sweden's wartime trade, including in iron ore and ball bearings, with Germany and the Allies should be handled. Even the sharpest American critics of Sweden's trade with the Nazis, however, did not want Sweden to be occupied and the United States to lose its vantage point in Scandinavia.

To meet its mission, the new office needed space and staff. In time, Jensen got both. By January 1943, if not before, the Press Office (joined by the naval attaché) had taken over a magnificent villa designed and constructed



Williams (Bill) Martin was the public affairs officer in Stockholm from 2018 to 2021 and collaborated with Daria Gasparini, a Washington, D.C.-based architectural historian, on the 2021 exhibit, “Telling America's Story in a Time of War,” at U.S. Embassy Stockholm.



**Karl Jensen,
head of OWI
Stockholm at
Villa Åkerlund in
1944.**

in 1930-1932 for the Swedish publisher Erik Åkerlund. The U.S. government had rented it on and off since 1933 for the U.S. Minister and ultimately purchased it in December 1942 at Minister Johnson's urging.

Jensen and what would eventually be roughly 45 full- and part-time staff, including more than a dozen Americans, moved in. They boarded over the basement swimming pool and set up printing presses. The first-floor reception rooms and upstairs bedrooms were converted into offices. A radio tower was installed on the roof. Then they went to work.

Jensen's deputy, a Swedish-born photographer, oversaw the flow of U.S. and Allied information into Norway and Denmark, including illustrated magazines. Others supplied Swedish newspapers (as well as Finnish ones) the latest news and photos from the front and, together with their British colleagues, helped break what had been a Nazi news blockade. In time, hundreds of thousands of Swedes each week watched OWI-supplied United Newsreels. OWI-supplied American movies, including the 1943 OWI short "Swedes in America" featuring Ingrid Bergman, soon supplanted German films in the theaters.

Other OWI staff, among them a former *Vogue* editor and a celebrated novelist, made a persuasive case for American culture to Swedish women and men. Still others provided U.S. outlets with news about Germany. Jensen and what today we would call his public diplomacy team played a key role in winning what one American journalist labeled the "Battle of Sweden." They also helped lay the groundwork for the close people-to-people ties the United States and Sweden enjoy today.

To learn more about OWI's Stockholm outpost, please see the 2021 exhibit, "The U.S. Office of War Information's STOCKHOLM OUTPOST 1942-1945," which is now posted in digital format on U.S. Embassy Stockholm's website.

At times, Voice of America broadcasts were at odds with U.S. foreign policy.

tendentious, such as programming intended to demoralize U-boat crews. (It was only later, during the Cold War, with the division of labor between Voice of America as a softball voice and the CIA-sponsored Radio Free Europe and its sister Radio Liberation [later renamed Radio Liberty] playing propaganda hardball that the VOA's identity as a bastion of objectivity could truly emerge and be eventually enshrined in the charter of 1960.)

The effectiveness of the OWI broadcasts was widely noted. On one occasion, when the captured captain of U-662, Heinrich Eberhard Müller, not only confessed his enjoyment of the broadcasts but also asked to meet the broadcaster known as Commander Bob Norden, a meeting was duly arranged with the man behind the nom de guerre Norden, Ralph G. Albrecht of the U.S. Naval Reserve. A skilled German-language speaker, Albrecht went on to serve on the prosecution team at the Nuremberg war crimes trial.

Conflicting Aims and Unintended Consequences

Tension between government policy and the political views of individual reporters also surfaced. Some Voice of America writers were overly enthusiastic about the U.S. alliance with the Soviet Union, and a few at OWI and VOA were explicitly affiliated with the Communist Party. At times, Voice of America broadcasts were at odds with U.S. foreign policy. One of the most notorious clashes came as Italy left the war in July 1943. A VOA report included a reference to the "moronic little king" of Italy and dubbed the interim leader of the country a "high-ranking fascist." The slip made the front page of *The New York Times*. Other slips became visible only in retrospect.

As concerns increased, the Roosevelt administration cleaned house. Some leftwing writers bridled at the turn to what they saw as boilerplate patriotic propaganda at home and left the agency. The administration moved out other political writers associated with the New Deal and promoted veterans of the commercial media as voices of the mainstream. Some communists were explicitly fired. The widespread OWI sympathy toward the Soviets led to misrepresentation of some

Part of the effort in foreign policy must include explaining the approach to the domestic audience.

important episodes during the war. VOA misreported the massacre of 20,000 Polish officers in the Katyn forest, for instance, as a Nazi atrocity rather than a crime committed by the forces of Stalin.

In other battles, Director Elmer Davis argued for the integration of Japanese Americans into the war effort and for a more honest representation of the battlefield, including images of American dead. In due course, the War Department conceded and deployed Japanese Americans in the European theater. On the latter issue, understanding the need to damp down the expectations of the victory-hungry audience at home, the War Department allowed more of the horror of war to be visible in the work of combat photographers such as Robert Capa. OWI worked hard to ease the passage of American troops into Allied and, eventually, former-enemy territory, and helped to avoid major tensions with locals. Its outposts were often celebrated for their contributions. The OWI library in Cape Town, South Africa, for example, was remembered for many years as a major influence in the modernization of that country's libraries and a voice for political reform.

Perhaps most important was OWI's central role in popularizing a global vision for the war effort. Yet even here there was a catch. All propaganda comes at the price of unintended consequences. The agency's output emphasized the need for a collective effort, not just to win the war but to rebuild the world afterward. OWI helped lay the foundation for creation of the United Nations structure and ensured the domestic American enthusiasm for this project that had been missing in 1919. OWI built up expectations of the postwar system, overstating the degree to which the machinery would align with U.S. interests, exaggerating the capacity of some allies and the willingness of others to help. The bump of reality was damaging at home. When the valiant Chinese ally depicted by OWI crumbled under the pressure of a communist insurgency, the United States did not ask who misrepresented China between 1942 and 1945 but rather who lost China in 1949.

An Essential Capability

OWI was disbanded immediately after the Japanese surrender in August 1945, its domestic elements wound down and its foreign elements transferred to the State Department. The Harry Truman administration had accepted a report early that summer that argued that information work was an essential component of foreign policy. It seems that an innate discomfort with the idea of a government presence in communication at home in general and the OWI's track record of controversy hastened the process.

Seen in retrospect, the experience of OWI shows that communication is inherently difficult to manage. OWI had extreme difficulty reconciling the government's need to communicate policy and ideology with the interest of journalists at VOA in delivering objective coverage or, in some cases, advancing personal political agendas. The military were reluctant partners throughout. OWI got a lot wrong. Its exaggerations set the United States up for a disruptive postwar reality check. Over-reliance on left-of-center journalists in its early years made OWI a favorite target of anti-New Deal Republicans.

The controversies continued into the postwar period, though by the 1950s, when Senator Joseph McCarthy took aim at VOA, real cases of disloyalty were a thing of the past. VOA had a rough passage into its postwar incarnation as an official international radio station with a core mission to report objective news. Its enemies included the Associated Press, which hated the idea of the government providing the same commodity for free—news—for which AP charged.

Eighty years on from the launch of OWI, it is important to look honestly at the agency's record. Then, as now, the bottom line is that engagement of foreign publics matters, and that part of the effort in foreign policy must include explaining the approach to the domestic audience. It needs effort, creativity, leadership and a structure to reconcile the internal tensions between policy and reporting. Then, as now, we need international partnerships to overcome our shared problems; and partnerships require someone to articulate a compelling vision of a shared destination.

Today, like 80 years ago, is no time to neglect public diplomacy. It seems absurd that budgets for public diplomacy are so hard fought, and that positions like the under secretary of State for public diplomacy and public affairs kept vacant. A neglect of the military would provoke an outcry. It is time for a similar concern over the neglect of what Dwight Eisenhower called the psychological factor in foreign affairs. ■

Book Notes

***Lessons from the Edge* with Marie Yovanovitch**

AFSA was honored to host Ambassador (ret.) Marie “Masha” Yovanovitch for an in-person discussion of her new memoir, *Lessons from the Edge*, on March 30. This highly anticipated members-only event, conducted in a hybrid format, drew an audience of 50 people to AFSA headquarters and several hundred more to the Zoom livestream.

AFSA President Eric Rubin praised the book as he welcomed Amb. Yovanovitch: “Those of you who’ve read the book know that it is a wonderful memoir, but not just a memoir. It’s really about our profession, the values that we as diplomats bring with us when we carry out our missions overseas and here at home—doing the right thing in a tough situation.”

Integrity, Amb. Yovanovitch pointed out, is a key theme in her book but also, more broadly, in a public service career. “Even those little decisions that we make in the course of our work that don’t determine our foreign policy—it’s important to get them right,” she said. “As you rise in the ranks, you’re building on those past decisions. You need to set an example not only for our local employees, who are watching what we’re doing, but also for the Foreign Service officers who come behind you.”

Another thread running through Amb. Yovanovitch’s



Amb. Marie Yovanovitch and AFSA President Eric Rubin discuss the new memoir. Rubin is holding up a copy of his review of the book in the April *FSJ*.

memoir is the ever-present threat that corruption poses, both in the countries where she served and, at a certain point, in the country she represented abroad.

“I was pulled out of Embassy Kyiv because of a corrupt deal between Ukrainian government officials and private citizens in the U.S.,” she recounted. “It was a terrible time for me, but more broadly, it was a terrible time for U.S. diplomacy and our national security interests. Not only did it empower bad actors, but it also undermined our ambassadors, our embassies.”

The experience, she said, serves as a reminder that “we need to tend and defend our democracy if it is to endure.” As she notes in the book, sometimes public servants must be “willing to risk it all in the fight to make our institutions live up to our ideals.”



Amb. Yovanovitch also used the opportunity to thank AFSA for the support it provided during Trump’s first impeachment inquiry, when she was subpoenaed to testify before Congress.

“I want to thank the many people at AFSA who helped me personally during the terrible summer and fall of 2019,” she said. “It was the worst year of my life, but AFSA had my back. I had just been pulled out of Ukraine, and I didn’t know what to make of it. When I came to AFSA, I was believed, and that was so important to me.”

When asked what she would tell those considering a career in diplomacy, she said she advises them to take

CALENDAR

Please check www.afsa.org for the most up-to-date information.

June 15
12-2 p.m.
AFSA Governing Board Meeting

June 20
Juneteenth:
AFSA offices closed

July 4
Independence Day:
AFSA offices closed

July 20
12-2 p.m.
AFSA Governing Board Meeting

the leap. “I had a great career in the Foreign Service; I felt that I could make a difference every day, even as a junior officer. But you need to be realistic and know yourself, because what we do is really hard, both professionally and personally. A career in the Foreign Service comes with incredible highs and satisfaction, but it also comes with real challenges and sacrifices.”

Masha Yovanovitch served as the U.S. ambassador to Ukraine, Armenia and Kyrgyzstan, in addition to other senior positions during her 33-year diplomatic career. She retired from the State Department in 2020 and is a senior fellow at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and a nonresident fellow at Georgetown University.

AFSA members can view the entire book talk at afsa.org/video. ■



Ongoing Issues at State

I am devoting my column this month to a rundown of some key issues that we are working on as of early May.

Payroll issues. Thanks to all who took our survey and to the 1,440 Foreign Service employees who opted to join our cohort grievance. Our voices matter.

On April 29 Secretary Blinken sent a notice to all employees stating that the department will now pay interest on back pay delayed more than 30 days.

That is great news, but there are still issues that to resolve, including a full accounting and correction of leave balances, late TSP payments, interest on late payment of the lump-sum for leave, and expenses dealing with overpayments and credit card and loan debt. Regarding accountability, we understand there is a high-level team at the Charleston payroll center investigating, and we have continued to urge that the findings be made public as soon as possible.

D.C. locality pay for FS local hires. AFSA recently briefed Deputy Secretary for Management and Resources Brian McKeon and followed that up with a letter detailing why AFSA thinks the department should start giving D.C. locality pay to local hires now.

While encouraged by recent discussions with M and GTM/PC, AFSA stands ready to take further legal

action on behalf of affected local hires. The argument that FS orientation is not training simply because no assignment has yet been given has never made sense to us. The goal would be to obtain locality pay for incoming entry-level employees from the date they are hired, full stop.

Anomalous health incidents. We continue to advocate for all employees who have been afflicted with AHIs. At our urging, the department recently agreed to pay transportation and other costs for those who need treatment at Walter Reed or Johns Hopkins medical centers but are stationed domestically outside the national capital area.

The department recently sent OMB their proposal for implementing the Havana Act, legislation that provides financial compensation for those with AHIs. AFSA and others will be able to comment on this rule in May, when it is published in the Federal Register.

We would like to see the act changed to include assurances that those suffering debilitating AHI symptoms, but not formally diagnosed with a traumatic brain injury, are eligible to receive compensation. We also want to ensure that the provision of administrative leave is consistently applied for all who suffer from AHIs.

Assignment restrictions. The department was required

by the end of March, per the recently passed State Department authorization bill, to implement a provision from that bill which affords employees wishing to challenge assignment restrictions the same rights as employees appealing revocation of their security clearances.

AFSA has asked to review State's proposed implementing regulations, which includes a report to Congress on assignment restriction numbers, broken down by employment status, ethnicity, national origin, race, gender and country of restriction. We expect to receive this package by early May. We plan to engage in bargaining with the department concerning the impact and implementation of these proposed regulations.

In a related matter, AFSA heard from a senior department official recently that, while a decision on a new assignment restrictions policy is still pending, around 70 percent of current restrictions had been lifted.

DETOs with military spouses. Some members have been denied DETOs (Domestic Employee Teleworking Overseas) status while they are on their military or Department of Defense spouses' orders and living on or near overseas military bases. The apparent reason is that their location is too distant to come under the chief of mission security

umbrella, even though they are living on or near a U.S. military base!

AFSA has long advocated for a change to this policy so that State-DoD families can remain together and do meaningful work. We have heard from our GTM colleagues that the department is about to sign an interim agreement with DoD that will allow this to happen and that this will be completed before the summer transfer season.

Presidential Rank Awards. These prestigious awards recognize Senior Foreign Service members who have performed especially meritorious or distinguished service. SFS members eligible for consideration are nominated by their agencies and the Interagency Selection Board and recommended annually by the Secretary of State. The president decides the winners.

After a lengthy delay, we're pleased that President Biden approved Presidential Rank Awards for 53 Foreign Service members. (AFSA was advised that the names were sent to the White House in December 2021.) AFSA signed an agreement with the department requiring it to publish the names of the PRA recipients via ALDAC, unless the president directed that the names not be published.

Please keep your comments and queries coming to member@afsa.org. ■



When Is a Presidential Priority Not a Priority?

The agency has responded in starkly divergent ways to two specific presidential priorities: (1) advancing diversity, equity, inclusion and accessibility (DEIA), and (2) empowering the career federal workforce and engaging with their unions.

These prominently figure in the President's Management Agenda and are also poles apart from the previous administration's position. Yet to date, USAID has championed one and discounted the other.

Administrator Samantha Power has made "Inclusive Development" the centerpiece of her USAID vision, building on President Joe Biden's executive order (EO) on DEIA in the federal workforce. The Administrator signed USAID's DEIA strategy, created a front office DEIA unit and recently swore in its first chief diversity officer.

DEIA concerns are now actively considered in virtually all aspects of agency operations, and colleagues across the world are dedicated to advancing the agenda. Search "DEIA" on the USAID.gov site, and you'll get a series of press releases highlighting ongoing efforts including new partnerships with minority serving institutions (MSIs).

Search on the intranet and you will find extensive resources, ways to engage and a range of agency actions

addressing DEIA challenges. We have a valuable opportunity to make real change, and I will continue to partner with colleagues to champion the Biden-Harris DEIA agenda.

On career federal employees and their unions, the Biden-Harris administration has been unambiguous. On his second day in office, President Biden signed his EO on "Protecting the Federal Workforce," clearly stating: "It is the policy of the United States to protect, empower and rebuild the career federal workforce. It is also the policy of the United States to encourage union organizing and collective bargaining."

And in April 2021, he signed the EO on "Worker Organizing and Empowerment."

The administration has built on his policy declarations with high-level pronouncements and clear operational guidance. OPM directed agencies to negotiate with unions on "the numbers, types and grades of employees or positions assigned to any organizational subdivision, work project, or tour of duty, and the technology, methods and means of performing work," cautioning that "a failure by agency managers to engage in bargaining would be inconsistent with the president's directive."

OPM further explains: "It is not enough to carry out the specific directions in the

EO. Rather, there needs to be a commitment to a new way of engaging employees and their unions, as an indication of the contributions and expertise of the career Civil Service."

In February the White House Task Force on Worker Organizing and Empowerment, led by Vice President Kamala Harris, affirmed: "At its core, it is our administration's belief that unions benefit all of us. ... The federal government will promote broader labor-management engagement, as we know that such engagement helps to make the government more effective."

The report adds that the federal government should use "every available opportunity to include union voices in their formal advisory discussions and informal networks, outreach and other interactions." The tone, spirit and intent are not subtle!

But whereas USAID has rightly made DEIA a centerpiece, the agency has largely regressed on Foreign Service empowerment and union engagement. I was hopeful last November when the Administrator called for increased career hiring while calling out the "unsustainable workarounds" of the Bureaus of Conflict Prevention and Stabilization (CPS), Global Health (GH) and Humanitarian Assistance (HA) where some 90 percent of positions are short-term.

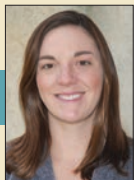
And to the agency and Congress' credit, the recent budget does envision increased FS and GS numbers—great news. But no agency leader has acknowledged the presidential policies on federal employees and their unions.

Furthermore, AFSA's repeated requests to partner on strategic workforce planning, "unsustainable workarounds," employee morale, mental stressors and the like have been largely rebuffed, often accompanied by claims of "management rights."

There has been no "new way of engaging employees and their unions." Instead, AFSA members see business as usual, with bureaus and offices filling their staffing needs "by any mechanism necessary" in line with their budgets, position allocations and, frankly, leadership biases. There is no addressing workarounds in GH and CPS. And AFSA-agency relations remain characterized by an adversarial atmosphere.

I am acutely aware that bureaucratic challenges years in the making will take years to address, and that changing agency-union dynamics is a major cultural shift. Yet the president's instructions are clear, and USAID is failing to follow them.

So, back to the riddle: When is a presidential priority not a priority? When is it ignored. ■



FY22 AFSA Appropriations Outcomes

On March 15, President Joe Biden signed the final FY22 appropriations package totaling \$1.5 trillion into law, including supplemental funding for the response to Ukraine. While the FY22 International Affairs Budget overall contained only a modest increase, well below what the House and Senate had proposed, accounts affecting AFSA's members and policy priorities fared very well.

For example, more funding was dedicated to Ongoing Operations at the State Department this year than in the past few years, moving away from the trend of increases to Worldwide Security Protection funds at the expense of Ongoing Operations funds. Both WSP and OO are part of the broader Diplomatic Programs account for the State Department.

Ongoing Operations includes funding for "core diplomatic functions," defined by the Congressional Budget Justification as: "in-depth knowledge and understanding of political and economic events in many nations [as a] basic requirement of diplomacy," through "reporting, analysis and personal contact work," as well as through public diplomacy activities "intended to understand, inform and influence foreign publics and broaden dialogue between American citizens institutions and counterparts abroad" (FY2002 CBJ Submission

for the Department of State, page 16).

Specifically, State Department Ongoing Operations funding increased by \$341.5 million from FY21.

AFSA also saw significant funding increases for the other foreign affairs agencies. Most notable was an increase in USAID Operating Expenses of more than \$250 million. Both FAS and APHIS saw significant increases for salaries and expenses, either meeting or exceeding the president's budget request.

USAGM was appropriated \$860 million, which is \$57 million above FY21 funding and \$46.6 million above the president's budget request. The Commerce Department's account (the International Trade Administration), including the FCS, was increased by \$29 million with instructions to expand in regions of international strategic significance for the United States.

The FY22 appropriations package also included a new authority to shift passport application and execution fees currently deposited in the General Fund of the Treasury to support consular operations. This authority was estimated to provide a minimum of \$340 million in additional resources for consular operations.

The package also included \$9.5 million to support the Office of Diversity and Inclusion at the State Department and \$6 million each for the

The package also included \$9.5 million to support the Office of Diversity and Inclusion at the State Department.

Pickering and Rangel Fellowships. The package also appropriated the authority for the State Department to provide up to \$8 million for paid internships to expand the pool of participants in the International Career Advancement Program. Paid internships have been among AFSA's advocacy priorities.

On AFSA's efforts to increase the number of positions at foreign affairs agencies, the following text in the package's explanatory statement was encouraging to see:

- The agreement includes funding for additional Foreign Service officers and Civil Service positions for the Department of State in Fiscal Year 2022. Prior to submitting the operating plan required by section 7062(a) of the act, the Secretary of State shall consult with the Committees on Appropriations on current staffing levels, including projected staffing levels for mid-level Foreign Service officers and major changes from the prior fiscal year.

- The agreement recognizes that USAID lacks sufficient personnel to adequately respond to many urgent and compelling needs around the world. Funds are included above prior-year levels to

support an increase for new Foreign Service and Civil Service positions.

Finally, supplemental funding of \$6.9 billion for the purpose of the Ukraine response in International Affairs Budget accounts was included, alongside the base omnibus funding. Unfortunately, another \$5 billion in supplemental COVID-19 response funding for State and USAID was removed from the final FY22 appropriations package.

The funding for position increases at State and USAID, significant increases for salaries and expenses at the smaller foreign affairs agencies and dedicated funding for both consular operations and DEIA initiatives were all priorities that AFSA advocated on Capitol Hill. We were pleased to see them fulfilled in the final FY22 appropriations package.

However, AFSA was disappointed that the double-digit percentage increase for the IAB proposed by Congress and in the president's budget request was not enacted in this spending package. We will continue to advocate increases to the IAB that meet the current needs of foreign affairs agencies and U.S. foreign policy initiatives on the global stage. ■

Inside Diplomacy Event

Creating a More Diverse and Inclusive Foreign Service

In a virtual event on April 5, AFSA President Eric Rubin interviewed Ambassador Gina Abercrombie-Winstanley, the State Department's first chief diversity and inclusion officer at her one-year anniversary in the position. They discussed plans for advancing diversity and inclusion at State, the progress to date and the challenges that lie ahead. (Excerpts from the interview start on page 25 of this issue.)

The question of whether we have adequately addressed the need for a Foreign Service that is diverse and inclusive has been with us since the 1960s, Amb. Rubin pointed out in his opening remarks. Just over one year ago, Secretary of State Antony Blinken appointed Amb. Abercrombie-Winstan-

ley to a newly created position with the goal of making the American diplomatic corps more representative of the country it serves.

Amb. Abercrombie-Winstanley said she began this undertaking with three pillars in mind: intentionality, transparency and accountability.

Intentionality, she said, means paying attention to who is speaking up at the table and who is not at the table at all. "It's how we're treating our workforce internally, but also how we're doing our jobs overseas," she added. "Are we reaching every part of the population in our host nation?"

Transparency requires gathering and analyzing data, and Amb. Abercrombie-Winstanley said this data work

was among the first things she put in place when setting up the Office of Diversity and Inclusion. The information that's been collected, she said, "is already on our website [via] a dashboard that shares [it] for the first time in a disaggregated fashion that will allow us to judge our progress." More data is coming.

Finally, accountability comes from rewarding those who are going to make the State Department a healthier, stronger organization and holding accountable those who are contributing to or tolerating a toxic work environment. According to Amb. Abercrombie-Winstanley, this pillar "requires that we all speak up and be truthful about the experiences we're having so that we can ensure



Chief Diversity and Inclusion Officer Gina Abercrombie-Winstanley shares her vision for advancing equality within the State Department.

we're getting the leaders that our workforce deserves."

As part of AFSA's outreach work, Inside Diplomacy is a series of discussions that explore current national security issues as they relate to foreign policy and the Foreign Service profession.

To view the entire conversation, visit bit.ly/InsideDiplomacyDEIA. ■



AFSA Governing Board Meeting, April 20, 2022

The board met on April 20 at AFSA headquarters in person, with some members joining virtually. Following bylaw requirements for voting to be only in person, those joining online did not have voting authority.

Interim Secretary: The board approved the appointment of Sue Saarnio as interim Governing Board secretary beginning in June, when the current secretary, Daniel Crocker, will resign his position, through the end of the current Governing Board term, which lasts through July 15, 2023.

Multiyear Financial Commitments: The board adopted a rule precluding any AFSA Governing Board from entering into new financial commitments that extend beyond its term of office plus 90 days.

Committee Dissolution: The board dissolved the Ad Hoc Committee on Foreign Service Reform, as it has successfully completed its work on a list of AFSA reform advocacy items.

Disbursement: The board authorized the disbursement of \$10,000 from the Legal Defense Fund to an AFSA member.

Awards: The board voted on the selection of two recipients for the 2022 Foreign Service Champions award. The board further approved a series of recommendations related to the George Kennan Award for Strategic Writing, renaming it the AFSA Strategic Writing Award and expanding eligibility to all Foreign Service students (generalists and specialists) attending all colleges under the National Defense University. An updated description of the award was also approved. ■

FSJ Wins a TRENDY Award

At the March 11 Association TRENDS 43rd annual “Salute to Association Excellence,” *The Foreign Service Journal* received a silver TRENDY award for publishing excellence.

The award, given in the “Monthly Professional Society Magazine” category, recognizes the September 2021 edition, which focused on 9/11 twenty years later.

Featured in the issue are several articles from current and retired FSOs about one of the United States’ grimmest days and all that followed.

FSO Nancy Ostrowski offers a firsthand account of escaping the Marriott World Trade Center and lessons for persevering through catastrophe. In “The Global War on Terror and Diplomatic Practice,” Ambassador (ret.) Larry Butler considers how



The September 2021 issue of *The Foreign Service Journal* received a silver TRENDY award.

war fundamentally changed U.S. diplomacy.

Anthony H. Cordesman argues that 9/11 did not foreshadow the major changes that now drive U.S. foreign policy and national security strategy, while veteran FSO Keith Mines reflects on his tours in



The Association TRENDS “Salute to Association Excellence” awards ceremony took place on March 11 at the Capital Hilton in Washington, D.C.

Afghanistan in “The Proper Measure of the Place.”

In “Intervention: Unlearned Lessons, or the Gripes of a Professional,” Ambassador (ret.) Ron Neumann provides four critical lessons drawn from the post-9/11 experience in military interventions.

The issue also contains excerpts from the FSJ archive

relating to 9/11, the war on terror, Iraq and Afghanistan.

The annual Association TRENDS event is attended by more than 500 association professionals to honor the best work published by the association community. The *FSJ* previously received two TRENDY awards in 2020 recognizing the May and November 2019 issues. ■

AFSA Panel Discussion: Mastering the EER

For entry-level and experienced officers alike, annual Foreign Service employee evaluation reports can be a source of anxiety. To help FS members learn to master this powerful determinant for promotions and tenure, AFSA hosted a panel discussion—“How to Write Your Best EER Ever!”—via Zoom on March 24. An astonishing 800 people signed up for the discussion.

Welcomed by AFSA President Eric Rubin and moderated by Governing Board member Maria Hart, the panel featured the insights of Ambassador Michele Sison and FSOs Tristram Perry and Rebekah Drame.

Amb. Sison, who has served on a number of selection boards, highlighted points to keep in mind when crafting an EER.

“Look at the core precepts, the building blocks of compe-

tency, and key what you’re writing about yourself, or rating about others, to those core competencies,” she advised. “Focus on the results you achieved rather than the process. Address the level above you that you’re aiming for.”

She also urged FS members to emphasize “we” over “me” by showcasing how they supported their team and the interagency. Supervisors should note how they developed a diverse and inclusive team.

Perry, who is currently serving as division chief in the Office of eDiplomacy’s Knowledge Leadership Division, encouraged the audience to volunteer to serve on selection boards or review panels to see how evaluations are ranked. He also recommended that employees maintain a file documenting their work through weekly or monthly activity reports to ensure this information is accessible when EER season comes around.

Road Scholars Get Crash Course in Diplomacy

As AFSA enters its 26th year of collaboration with the Road Scholar lifelong learning organization, it held two four-day programs in Washington, D.C., to educate participants about the work of the Foreign Service.

From March 27 through 31, and again from April 17 through 21, AFSA members and representatives from each of the six foreign affairs agencies led adult students through the “Inside American Diplomacy with the Foreign Service” program.

Held at the Hyatt Place Washington, D.C./National Mall hotel, the event’s presentations featured overviews of each agency and anecdotes drawn from the careers of FS members.

After an introduction to the Foreign Service from retired FSO Julie Nutter (AFSA policy



Julie Nutter, AFSA's director of professional policy issues, introduces the Foreign Service to Road Scholar program participants on March 28.

director), current and retired FSOs shared their insights and observations on the profession of diplomacy.

Speakers included State FSO (ret.) Joyce Namde, FAS FSO (ret.) and AFSA Governing Board Member Philip Shull, FSO with USAGM

and AFSA Governing Board Member Steve Herman, Ambassador (ret.) Robert Cekuta, FCS FSO Dao Le and USAID FSO (ret.) James Bever.

In seven lectures across four days, attendees received a crash course on the mission of U.S. diplomats in the Foreign Service, discussed hot-button issues such as Russia and Ukraine, and screened films about American diplomacy.

Participants also ventured outside the classroom to explore the U.S. Institute of Peace, Embassy Row, the DACOR Bacon House and Georgetown University's Walsh School of Foreign Affairs.

The two programs included a total of 67 students from across the country and ranging in age from 63 to 91. In post-event evaluations, they provided

positive feedback on the week's content, offering the following comments:

“Such learning is not available through any other program. ... Amazing combination of facts and real-life insight. Speakers were amazing.”

“The speakers were all very knowledgeable and articulate. They presented a comprehensive view of the Foreign Service. I learned a lot and was very impressed with the experience of the presenters.”

“Deep learning that I could not find elsewhere.”

“Every single one of [the speakers] was fabulous!”

The Road Scholars program remains a highly successful outreach and constituency-creating vehicle. For more on AFSA's programs and course offerings through Road Scholar, see www.afsa.org/road-scholar.

“The minute you finish your last EER process, start your next one,” he said. “And find someone more senior who you trust and who writes well to take a look at your EER.”

Drame, a career FSO with almost 20 years of experience, suggested reading strategy papers and mission strategic plans. “Your job is part of a bigger picture,” she pointed out. “You need to understand why you're here getting paid to do the work that you do and how you're advancing the goals of the mission.”

The panelists agreed that it is up to individual employees to present their accomplishments effectively. “No one will care about your EER as much as you do,” Perry reminded the audience. “Take ownership of the process.”

The topic proved to be highly popular. In addition to the hundreds online for the event, hundreds more have watched the recording on AFSA's YouTube. Watch it at bit.ly/bestEER.

New Contact Reporting Requirements

Diplomatic Security has implemented changes to security reporting requirements that are required across the federal government by Security Executive Agent Directive 3 (SEAD-3), issued by the Office of the Director of National Intelligence.

These changes, which went into effect at the State Department on Jan. 21, 2022, can be found in 12 FAM 270 (Security Reporting Requirements). Additional reporting requirements pertaining to counterintelligence concerns have not changed (although DS has advised AFSA that they are under review); they can be found in 12 FAM 260.

Most of the other foreign affairs agencies implemented SEAD-3 requirements several years ago.

The reporting requirements are very similar at all of the foreign affairs agencies, except that the Department of State only requires employees to report personal travel to countries with critical threat posts (and unusual or suspicious occurrences during travel to any foreign country or out-of-the-ordinary contact with foreign law enforcement or customs officials). The other foreign affairs agencies currently require employees to report personal travel to all foreign countries.

Employees who do not comply with reporting requirements may have their security clearances

suspended or revoked and/or may be subjected to disciplinary action.

Under SEAD-3 and 12 FAM 270, employees holding sensitive positions or with access to classified information must now provide more comprehensive and contemporaneous reporting on information that may have a bearing on their ability to hold a sensitive position and maintain access to classified information.

For example, in the past, employees needed to fill out a contact report on foreign nationals from countries with critical threat posts (per 12 FAM 264) but could wait to report “close and continuing association” with foreign nationals from other countries until it was time to fill out their SF-86 (in connection with the periodic reinvestigation of their security clearance).

Under the new rules, employees must promptly report new relationships with foreign nationals, regardless of the country, when certain criteria are reached. After an initial foreign contact report, follow-up reporting for continuing contact is only required if there is a significant change in the nature of the contact.

Notably, employees are *not* required to submit reports for activities going back to their last investigation, *but only reportable events that occur since the policy has been established.*

Under the new rules, employees must promptly report new relationships with foreign nationals, regardless of the country, when certain criteria are reached.

Prior to implementing changes to 12 FAM 270, DS consulted with AFSA and took several of our suggestions into account. AFSA did not have the right to negotiate these rules because they are governmentwide requirements and because they relate to security, an area where unions have limited bargaining rights.

Employees with access to Sensitive Compartmentalized Information have additional reporting requirements beyond those required of other employees. State Department employees should reference the chart found in 12 FAM 276 for a complete list of what needs to be reported. For more specific information, refer to 12 FAM 270 (and to 12 FAM 260, as applicable).

USAID: USAID’s Security Office is currently updating its guidance, which, we are told, will correspond more closely with State Department requirements. In the meantime, USAID employees should refer to the Dec. 26, 2019, and March 22, 2021, agency notices on SEAD-3 reporting requirements.

FCS: Employees should refer to the Feb. 9, 2021,

Broadcast Department of Commerce notice, which provides DOC Office of Security guidance on implementation of reporting requirements and continuous evaluation.

FAS and APHIS: We have been advised that USDA has not developed separate SEAD-3 guidance but is preparing “rules of behavior” for employees posted overseas that will address personal travel reporting and passport use requirements. We have requested that FAS share this draft with us for review.

USAGM: We have been advised that USAGM is currently reviewing SEAD-3 requirements.

State Department employees with questions should contact DSDirectorPSS@state.gov for further information. Employees from other foreign affairs agencies should contact their security offices.

AFSA is updating our security reporting guidance, which is available to members on our webpage, to reflect these changes. For more information, contact member@afsa.org. ■

New Virginia, Maryland Laws Benefit the FS

For members of the Foreign Service who reside in Virginia and Maryland, AFSA is pleased to announce the recent passage of two bills into state law.

On April 1, Virginia Governor Glenn Youngkin signed House Bill 540 into law. Sponsored by Virginia House Delegate Danica A. Roem (D-Manassas), this legislation grants the state's Department of Motor Vehicles the ability to extend Virginia driver's license validity from three years beyond expiration to six years beyond expiration for U.S. personnel serving overseas, including members of the Foreign Service, their spouses and dependents.

The extension cannot exceed six years from the license's original expiration date. This law will go into effect on July 1.

On April 12, Maryland Governor Larry Hogan signed Senate Bill 218 into law. Sponsored by Maryland State Senator Will C. Smith Jr. (D-Silver Spring), SB 218 gives the state's Motor Vehicle Administration the ability to issue temporary renewals of a driver's license or identification card for all members of the Foreign Service (whether serving overseas or domestically) for up to two years after the original expiration date.

These temporary renewals will also be granted to the Foreign Service member's spouse and dependents. This law will go into effect on Oct. 1.

AFSA thanks the sponsors of both bills for including members of the Foreign Service under these new provisions. We are increasing advocacy for similar legislation in the District of Columbia. ■

The Secretary Addresses Payroll Issues

AFSA welcomed Secretary of State Antony Blinken's April 29 announcement that the State Department will pay interest for any pay, allowance or differential that has been delayed beyond 30 days due to implementation of the new payroll software system in Feb. 2021.

The policy will apply to personal services contractors, U.S. direct hires and eligible family members.

AFSA filed a cohort grievance in Feb. 2022 seeking, among other remedies, interest for those adversely affected.

We also welcome the Secretary's advocacy on the CGFS Payroll Portal, which has been a source of frustration for all those seeking answers from CGFS. AFSA continues to call for a full resolution and investigation. ■

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AFSA Spotlight

Susan Maitra: 20 Years with the FSJ



It's no hyperbole to say that *Foreign Service Journal* Senior Editor Susan Maitra has brought her keen eye and artful touch to thousands of FSJ articles and features since joining the editorial team in 2002. AFSA News caught up with her as we celebrate her 20th anniversary with the magazine.

Raised in Manitowoc, Wisconsin, Susan studied English and history at the State University of New York at Buffalo, where she received her bachelor's degree. Drawn to wordsmithing from a young age, she got her start in the field as an editorial assistant for McGraw-Hill in New York City.

When asked about the early days of her career, Susan, in her characteristic no-nonsense fashion, replied, "Oh, there are only about two sentences before I came to AFSA."

Those sentences, how-

ever, are significant: In 1983, Susan relocated to India, where she lived for 16 years with her husband and their two children. There, she worked as an editorial consultant to book publishers, providing professional editing for what was then a nascent English-language trade publishing industry in New Delhi.

On returning to the U.S., Susan worked briefly as a technical writer in Northern Virginia before she was named associate editor at the FSJ. In the two decades since, she has become managing editor and then senior editor, always a guiding force behind the magazine's vision and content, commissioning and then editing articles, working directly with authors to shape drafts into print-ready pieces.

She's also played critical roles in major AFSA Publications team projects, including her work on Foreign Service

Books (AFSA's imprint) as an editor for the *Inside a U.S. Embassy* books and the AFSA history book. She was a lead creator for the FSJ centennial exhibit shown at the National Museum of American Diplomacy for three months in 2018.

No matter how rough initial submissions are (and they can be rough!), Susan finds the way to mold them into polished final products. She has mastered the art of the editor's "invisible hand," capable of strengthening the piece while maintaining the author's voice.

"Susan shines as both a writer and an editor," said managing editor Kathryn Owens. "She has been a great mentor to me, and to our team, and that's invaluable."

Susan has served with dedication and attention to AFSA's mission. She's been production manager, copy editor, proofreader and sub-

stantive editor all at the same time, keeping up with the relentless pace of a monthly magazine.

"I know of no better editor than Susan," says FSJ Editor-in-Chief Shawn Dorman. "She can look at any piece of writing and see the essence of it, pull the threads that need pulling and weave them together in just the right way. She's been a wonderful colleague, partner and friend for more than 20 years, and I honestly can't imagine the *Journal* without her."

After two decades in Leesburg, Virginia, Susan and her husband moved back to her home in Manitowoc—the same one she grew up in—but she remains all in with the *Journal*, and we're so grateful for that. ■

Concerns on New FSOT Process

AFSA is concerned about fundamental changes announced in late April by the State Department to the FSO admissions process.

The Foreign Service Officer Test (FSOT) has been a key component of the State Department's intake system since the modern U.S. Foreign

Service was created in 1924. Eliminating the requirement of passing the test without any consultation with AFSA or other employee groups goes against many commitments made by this administration to its public servants.

AFSA has strongly supported and publicly endorsed

taking a comprehensive look at how the department's Foreign Service chooses new members. AFSA believes that the status quo needs to be challenged and that reform is essential.

But we remain concerned that these unilateral changes risk being seen as excessively

subjective and subject to partisan influence. It is important to protect against potential future politicization of hiring through manipulation of a process that is now less easily explained.

We urge fuller transparency regarding hiring decisions made through this new system and further discussions with stakeholders on its implementation. ■

Retirement Planning Five to 10 Years Out

In an April 12 virtual presentation, AFSA Retiree VP John Naland reviewed important issues that employees should consider five to 10 years *before* retirement to best position themselves for life after the Foreign Service.

John Naland, a former director of the State Department's Office of Retirement, walked members through the steps they need to take to ensure they're prepared for near-term retirement. He shared a detailed checklist, viewable at bit.ly/checklist-ret, outlining how prospective retirees can ensure a smooth transition.

In his overview, Naland touched on the following topics:

- What if you resign before you can retire?
- Understanding your benefits.
- Growing your TSP: Roth IRAs vs. traditional; stocks vs. bonds.
- FEHB and the pros and cons of signing up for Medicare Part B at age 65.
- Social Security: deciding when to start.
- Prior service credit.
- Divorce decree (if applicable) and retirement benefits.
- Leave classifications: What adds to your pension, what's use-or-lose?
- Post-retirement employment with the government: potential impact on pension.

"Please do your own due diligence," Naland emphasized.

"The two-day and four-day Foreign Service Institute retirement planning seminars are excellent, and AFSA's website has State Department guidance. You can also hire a financial planner to give you individual advice."

He reminded the audience of the importance of signing up for AFSA membership in retirement, which is done by submitting an SF-1187a to the association. AFSA actively lobbies to maintain earned retirement benefits for Foreign Service members.

Naland's presentation and the Q&A session are available to members at afsa.org/video. You can also visit AFSA's one-stop shop for retirement information at afsa.org/retirement-services. ■



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Foreign Service Grievance Board: Supervisors' Duty to Counsel

The Foreign Service Grievance Board issued two important decisions recently that AFSA members should note. Both were in favor of the grievants, who were represented by AFSA Grievance Counselor Heather Townsend.

One grievant was appealing a low ranking; the other was appealing a selection out. In its decision, the board emphatically and explicitly underscored the importance of timely and specific counseling.

In both cases, the grievants prevailed because they were able to prove, by a preponderance of evidence, that the State Department had not provided timely and specific counseling on performance for which they were criticized in their EERs, and on which the low ranking and/or selection out had

been based. These decisions are important for both employees and supervisors.

Both decisions made similar points:

Supervisors have a duty to counsel, and that counseling must be both timely and specific. Ideally, counseling should be memorialized on a DS-1974 form. If it is not, there should be some other written record made of what was said. The absence of documentation does not constitute a lack of counseling, and oral counseling counts as counseling even if not subsequently documented.

However, the lack of a written record makes it difficult for supervisors to demonstrate that counseling took place. As the board noted in one decision: "We caution that the agency proceeds at its own risk when there is no written proof of counseling,

as counseling is a substantive requirement for the documentation of deficient performance."

"Timely" is not specifically defined in the FAM except in cases of unsatisfactory performance, in which case the employee must be given 30 to 60 days to correct the performance issue.

Otherwise, it is interpreted to mean that counseling must have been delivered early enough in the rating period for the employee to have time to correct the problem. In general, the more complicated the issue, the more time should be allowed. Notice given with less than a month left in the rating period is unlikely to be deemed timely.

"Specific" means there should be sufficient detail that the employee knows what the problem is and what

he or she has to do to fix it.

Significantly, in both these cases, the board did not focus on whether the criticisms were valid or not. In other words, the board made it clear that, even if a criticism is valid, it must be addressed with the employee in a timely manner in order to be included in the EER.

Additionally, the board rejected arguments that the raters had only learned about the alleged poor performance late in the rating period. The board has now established the clear expectation that supervisors should be aware of employee performance and may not use the EER as a substitute for counseling during the rating period if they are not.

What is the takeaway for supervisors? Pay attention to your employees' performance and conduct; address issues as early as possible and as often as necessary with documented counseling; and if you have not counseled the employee on something during the rating period, whether formally or informally, do not mention it in the EER.

If you learn about something only at the end of the rating period, you would be wise to establish it, instead, as an expectation at the start of the next rating period, and then counsel early and often. ■

NEWS BRIEF

USAID Framework Negotiations Underway

AFSA and USAID are renegotiating their framework agreement (aka collective bargaining agreement).

Signed in 1993 and slightly updated in 2008, the agreement provides a broad framework for AFSA–USAID relations, covering areas such as union rights and representation; management rights and responsibilities; and negotiation procedures.

AFSA and the agency have agreed on ground rules for discussions, and formal negotiations will begin in June 2022. The current framework may be found on the AFSA website under the USAID Vice President's page at afsa.org/USAID. ■

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Getting a Degree Overseas

An Option Worth Considering?

Globally minded students may find going abroad for a university degree an attractive alternative to the U.S. These FAQs are intended to help guide that decision.

BY REBECCA GRAPPO

Foreign Service students grow up living among diverse cultures, customs and languages. So, we can hardly be surprised when some of them express a desire to study abroad for their university degrees. These globally minded students see the world as their oyster and want to continue to study with students from around the world, travel and build a résumé that includes



Rebecca Grappo, M.Ed., and founder of RNG International Educational Consultants, LLC, is an expert on U.S. as well as international college advising and knows the Foreign Service lifestyle intimately, having lived it herself for more than 27 years. Rebecca is the mother of three adult Foreign Service TCKs who also see the world as their oyster.

relevant professional experience abroad. In sum, they are seeking to create a very internationally focused future for themselves.

The good news is that many universities around the world are eager to welcome students from other countries. In fact, BBC News recently reported that U.K. universities have seen a 50 percent increase in U.S. students post-Brexit, evidence of successful initiatives British universities have conducted in the last few years to recruit international students.

While many Foreign Service young people have honed their foreign language skills, it's also good to know that, more than ever before, universities throughout Europe are offering courses and degrees in almost every subject with English as the language of instruction. This offering puts other European university programs

on the table, so that English speakers have these in addition to the predictable U.K. and Irish options. What follows is an overview of the opportunities available overseas through responses to frequently asked questions.

What are the various options available to American students?

The most obvious choice might be study in a U.K. or Irish university, either private or public. Throughout Europe, however, there are private and public universities that also offer degrees using English-language instruction. For example, “with over 400 bachelor programs taught in English and over 1,300 master programs, the Netherlands is an excellent destination for students looking to study abroad,” says Dr. Kim Zwitterloot, who is responsible for international student recruitment at University College

Utrecht. “The diplomas are globally recognized, and the universities place high in many different rankings.”

Popular Dutch programs include the liberal arts colleges, but options are not limited to these degrees. Students can complete a STEM degree completely in English at several universities there. Outside the Netherlands, the Carl Benz School of Engineering at Karlsruhe University in Germany or the Czech Technical University in Prague are but two among the other options that exist for English speakers in Europe.

Some European, U.K. and Irish universities offer dual degree programs in partnership with American universities. For example, the prestigious French university, the Paris Institute of Political Studies (Sciences-Po), partners with more than 80 U.S. universities, including Columbia, Johns Hopkins, Northwestern and the University of California system.

The University of St. Andrews in Scotland is another example; it has a partnership with the College of William and Mary. And Trinity College Dublin now offers a dual bachelor’s program through its partnership with Columbia University.

American universities throughout the U.K., Ireland and Europe also feature an American approach to education with four-year degree programs. These universities are regionally accredited in the U.S., nonprofit and operate on U.S. academic credit systems.

How do I find out more, and how does the application process differ from the American system?

If a student is interested in studying abroad, be prepared to spend more time

researching the basics and organizing information independently. Admissions requirements can vary by program or course of study (degree) and need to be researched university by university. UCAS (the University College and Admissions Service) has a great tool for researching programs through its website (wwwucas.com). The Netherlands also has an excellent site at www.studyfinder.nl.



Some universities are found on the American application platform, the Common Application, which makes it easy to add another university to the application list. If students depend on finding a university using that only, however, they will miss out on a substantial number of opportunities.

British and Scottish universities use UCAS, a centralized system that allows students to apply to up to five universities. The Irish universities have their own unique application, the CAO (Centralized Application Office, found at www.cao.ie), as do many other universities.

Generally, the most important elements that universities abroad look for are the high school transcript, grades, personal statement, perhaps a letter of reference (recommendation) and standardized testing (look on each website to confirm what is needed for each major and course).

Extracurricular activities in many foreign universities are not scrutinized as closely as in the U.S., yet some private universities in Europe clearly state that they look for meaningful engagement and examples of leadership during the student’s high school years.

Regarding the timeline for applications, universities will publish the date their applications open and close, and the expected time it takes to render a decision. Applications open and close at different times of the year, too.

Because it takes extra diligence to research and organize all the options, it’s important and a wise strategy to start earlier than the action date the applications open.

What about testing in a test-optional world?

Since the United States does not have a national curriculum with leaving, or exit, exams, it’s more difficult for foreign universities to understand the various experiences and opportunities that American students have had. Therefore, students on track to receive a standard American high school diploma need to demonstrate some commonly accepted level of competence in certain subject areas. The SAT and ACT are relevant in these situations.

Universities abroad tend to be very specific, however, about the required scores to meet the standard for different programs at their institutions. Related

to that is the need for students to show AP exam results in certain subjects, depending on their field of chosen study. International Baccalaureate Diploma Program students may often use their IB grades, predicted grades or diploma in place of standardized testing.

Always read the website carefully to see if the institution is “test flexible.” Also, though many university admissions officers are aware of the difficulty students may have had doing testing during the COVID-19 era, some may be required by their Ministries of Education to have a qualifications-based admission process.


How are degrees earned overseas alike or different from a bachelor's in the U.S.?

If the chosen university is accredited by its national Ministry of Education, students can feel confident that their degree will be recognized in the U.S. for employment, as well as in application for graduate study.

Once again, however, it's important to do one's homework. Degrees offered in England, Wales, Ireland and other European countries are usually three-year degrees, while those offered in Scotland are earned in four years. American universities in Europe offer four-year degrees.




Why is this important? For those students who know what they want to study, a three-year degree offers a more streamlined path to graduation, and students might study a subject in greater depth as an undergraduate. That commitment to their field of interest must be demonstrated in their personal statement.


Many students, however, are not clear about what they want to study and therefore may want to explore several



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Admissions requirements can vary by program or course of study (degree) and need to be researched university by university.

topics. In those situations, the four-year degree might be a better choice so that they have more time before making a commitment, especially since changing a course of study (or what is referred to as a “major” in the U.S.) is difficult. Check also to confirm that the university of choice offers an “undeclared” option.

Further, professions that require licensure or certification might be problematic, since the credential would be earned abroad whereas in the United States, licensure is always local. Always investigate before pursuing degrees in such areas as teaching, psychology, medicine, dentistry and veterinary medicine. That said, an undergraduate law degree earned in the U.K. could streamline the path to a law degree through a one-year Master of Laws program followed by the bar exam in the U.S., potentially saving years of study and tuition dollars.

Let's talk money ...

Given the cost today of higher education in the U.S., many students consider studying overseas to save money. Overall, the cost may be equivalent to attending an out-of-state university in the U.S. What families should consider, however, is the additional travel expenses and student housing if searching options on the local market. For example, London or Paris are exciting places to study, but housing and living expenses would clearly drive up the cost of attendance.

There is good news, however.

Federal student aid programs, except Pell Grants, can be used at accredited programs overseas. There are 529 plans that can also be used abroad. Many universities offer full or partial merit-based scholarships, and some have set aside scholarships and even no-interest loans just for international students. Each university website will have specific information for international students.

International students are also usually allowed to work while in country, sometimes as much as 20 hours per week. Once again, verify with the individual university and country before

creating a budget, as laws and regulations can be subject to change.

Where do students live, work and eat?

Most universities that want to attract international students will guarantee housing, or accommodations, for first-year students. But that is not a given, and students are often expected to find their own housing on the local market and commute to school. Students attending a university in an urban setting can often expect to find more affordable housing farther away from their centrally located campus. So, once they leave for the day, they should not expect to return to their accommodation between classes. Yet other universities do offer dormitories with single rooms and kitchens on each floor, and some are even located on green, leafy campuses like many in the U.S.

Additional Resources

Here are some additional resources that will help students and families explore some of the English-instruction degree options available.

StudieLink — This is the application system for Dutch universities.

Dutch Research University Consortium — Information about study options and systems in the Netherlands.

Study in Holland — Website with links to resources related to studying in the Netherlands.

Education in Ireland — About education in Ireland, with application.

UCAS, University and College Admissions Service — Information about how to choose courses of study in the U.K., as well as links to the actual application.

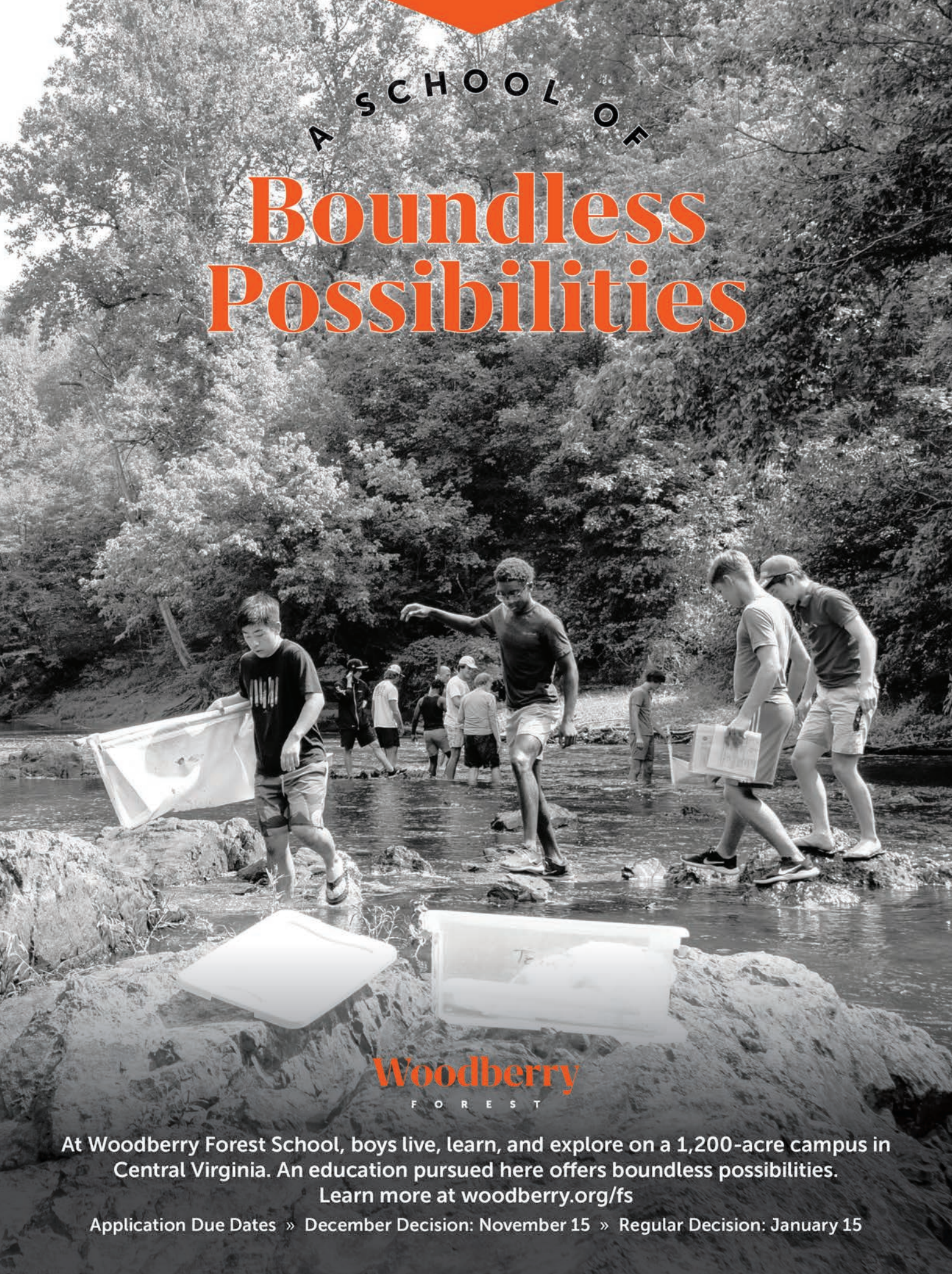
Study UK — Information related to studying in the U.K.

European Universities Consortium — A group of European universities that offers degrees taught in English and wishes to recruit international students.

Study in Sweden — For students exploring options in Sweden.

American Universities Abroad — A group of American universities abroad that promotes study at their member institutions.

Common App — Designed mostly for American universities in the United States, this application tool has a growing number of international member institutions.



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If the chosen university is accredited by its national Ministry of Education, students can feel confident that their degree will be recognized in the U.S. for employment.

Meal plans, or catering, are also variable, with some universities offering robust plans and others expecting students to be almost completely independent. As Dr. Zwitserloot explains, “Dutch universities do not usually offer housing, however, and students are expected to be independent and proactive. That’s something to keep in mind before you go Dutch.”

In short, where students will eat, live, study and play are all important factors to their well-being and success. Self-awareness and awareness of the situation are critical issues to consider when investigating options.

Is it possible to study abroad while studying abroad?

Some might think that students will

be excited enough to study abroad and, therefore, would not want to seek a study abroad experience from a foreign university. Many students who are drawn to these kinds of experiences want even more though—and they can find them through the Erasmus programs, which allow for study abroad throughout the European Union. As a result of Brexit, however, U.K. universities no longer participate in this program and are in the process of negotiating various bilateral agreements.

Many universities throughout Ireland, the U.K. and Europe also offer exchange programs at other universities, including American universities, and for the same tuition that the student is paying the overseas university. One

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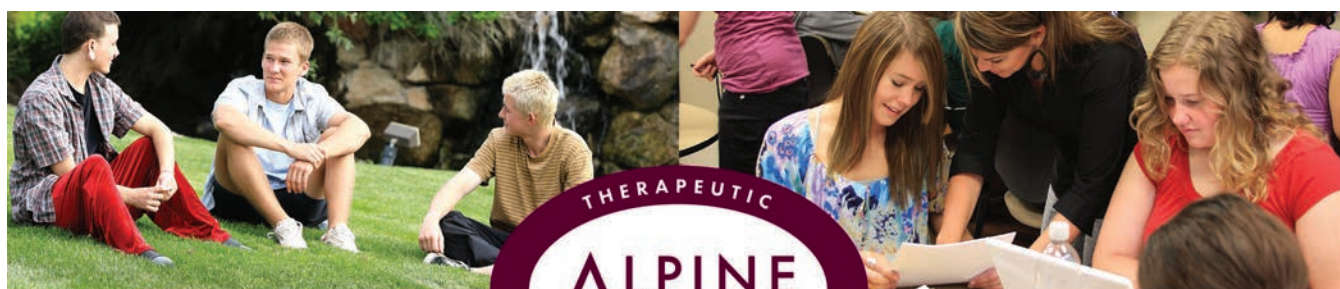
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Given the cost today of higher education in the U.S., many students consider studying overseas to save money.

example would be Bocconi University in Milan and its exchange program with Yale University. Though prestigious and enticing, it also has competitive requirements that students need to investigate.

What about career services, internships and work permits?

Many universities are proud of their theory-focused instruction complemented by real-world practical experi-

ence outside the classroom. Career service offices are committed to helping students find relevant internships, often referred to as a “sandwich year” in the U.K. That may even include internships at American companies, which often have offices overseas. Universities are also extremely proud of their alumni networks with a global reach, which can potentially open other labor markets to graduates.

In most situations, students are also allowed to stay on and work post-graduation for up to two years. For those wishing for permanent residency, this might give them the opportunity to become established with an employer who will sponsor them with a longer-term work visa.

What about “fit,” DEIA and support?

“Fit” is a concept that is often discussed when looking at American universities, and perhaps is not considered as frequently by international students more driven by the course of study they want, where it is offered and if they meet admissions requirements. But I would suggest that fit is still an extremely




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important concept when considering studying overseas far from home.

Students should consider whether they want urban, rural or in-between; large, medium or small; research-based or experiential; and a setting in which they would feel comfortable and at home. Weather should also be considered if the student is at all affected by longer, colder, rainy winters.

I would also recommend that students

and families assess the percentage of other international students and other Americans in the student body. What is important to one student may not be to another. The issue of diversity, equity and inclusion has also come up frequently for students who want to find a campus where they will feel accepted and safe. What policies are in place, and what initiatives have been undertaken?

For students wishing to access learn-

ing support services, it's important to understand what level of support can be expected and how accommodations are implemented and respected by various faculty members. Mental health services are a hot topic around the world now, but how accessible is campus support?

Studying abroad as an international student can be thrilling and life-changing. Students who successfully navigate the accompanying challenges usually possess a high degree of independence and tolerance for ambiguity, are skilled at problem-solving and eager to experience different cultures.

Before embarking on this adventure, do the research, know what lies ahead, and then be ready to embrace and enjoy the journey! ■



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Transitioning FS Kids to U.S. Public Schools

What You Need to Know

Here are tips and suggestions for FS parents whose children will enter U.S. public school following a move back to the States.

BY CHARLOTTE LARSEN

Children's educational journeys in the Foreign Service can take many turns, but perhaps the most confounding is when they return to a U.S. public school after attending an international school overseas.

Many Foreign Service parents find the process of navigating the transfer of their children to a U.S. public school very different from the adjustment to an international school. The issues become more complex as children reach middle and high school age, or when children have learning differences and parents must determine which state, school district and specific school would be the best option.

As a parent, you don't want to be caught unaware of the academic, logistical and other transition challenges upon moving back.

Being armed with information on new, evolving trends that FS families face when heading to a public school in the U.S. from an overseas international school can help mitigate enrollment delays and undue stress on both students and parents.

How to Prepare

Parents can start with the Department of State's Global Community Liaison Office, formerly known as the

Family Liaison Office. GCLO can provide parents from all FS agencies a wealth of information.

Parents can review the GCLO Education and Youth "Transitioning from School to School" web page, or talk with one of the GCLO Education and Youth team's subject matter experts (SMEs) who can offer guidance and resources to help inform and ease the transition back into local U.S. school systems. You can contact the GCLO Education and Youth Team at GCLOAskEducation@state.gov.

Parents can also reach out for support and guidance to their regional education officer (REO) in the Office of Overseas Schools (OS) if they have questions about the curriculum and transcripts from their child's international school. Each of the six REOs is assigned oversight of a geographic region, and together, they cover the almost 200 department-assisted international schools overseas. They are veteran educa-



Charlotte Larsen has been a Foreign Service family member at six overseas posts over the last 26 years. She joined the Global Community Liaison Office as education and youth program officer in 2020. She served previously as a global employment and a community liaison office coordinator in Asia and Europe and, prior to joining the State Department, taught in international and Department of Defense schools.

tors with extensive U.S. and international school leadership experience.

The REOs are well versed in the K-12 schools at post, the requirements for return to U.S. public schools and the process of transferring to the next international post. They give guidance on the full range of questions that parents should be posing to international schools related to the curriculum offered and their transferability to the next posting.

REOs can help parents understand how the courses taken in international schools can be transferred to U.S. public schools. It becomes more complicated in the middle and high school years, so connecting with the REO *before* leaving post is the best way for parents to understand what they should be asking the new school in the U.S. regarding courses and graduation requirements. Contact your region's REO.

Transferring from the IB Program

Recently, GCLO and OS have been advised of some special circumstances families should be aware of prior to returning to the U.S. public school system if their child has taken International Baccalaureate courses in middle or high school at an international school.

Recently, there have been a few cases in several DMV (the D.C., Maryland and Virginia region) school districts in which the student was denied admission to the anticipated grade level. This was based on an interpretation by a district-level staff member who reviews transcripts to determine the appropriate grade level.

REO for Western Europe Dr. Christine Brown suggests that as early as possible before the transfer, as students return to

U.S. public high schools or move between international schools, parents should work with the sending *and* receiving school counselors to make sure that middle and high school courses studied, and the resultant transcripts, reflect the course titles needed to advance from grade level to grade level.



“Parents should become familiar with the U.S. middle and high school requirements before they go abroad,” Dr. Brown suggests. “Often these are posted on the website of the U.S. public school that parents might consider using when they return to the U.S.”

The REOs can help parents understand the differences between the two systems and what courses might be required that the international school may not offer. It is the family's responsibility to ask the school overseas to ensure that the course titles and descriptions in the transcripts they send match up as closely as possible to the standard courses per grade level in the U.S. school curriculum.

Transferring from the British Curriculum

Some FS families have faced another curriculum-related roadblock after returning from British schools having taken the General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) exams given in the 10th grade. Some districts and states in the United States consider that successfully passing the British GCSE exam is the equivalent of receiving an American high school diploma. This can be problematic.

Dr. Brown worked extensively with a Foreign Service family whose child had been told that though age 16 and having passed a 10th grade exam, they would not be permitted to be enrolled in the district high school as a junior. They were considered to have graduated from high school.

Dr. Brown cautions: “If parents are choosing a British school at a post, they should investigate the consequences of their child passing the GCSE in the district or state to which they plan to return before high school graduation.” Contact the REO or the GCLO office for guidance.

Focusing Your Search

Some FS families returning to the DMV move back to their former home or neighborhood because they want their children to be in the school district they left. Other families don't have roots fully established in a specific DMV location and thus have the choice to move anywhere.

How do parents focus their search in three different states—and a dozen or so different school districts? “Choosing a School for Your Child,” published by the United States Department of Education, is a helpful guide for parents that outlines ways for them to exercise choice in school selection.

Although short- and long-term academic planning is important, it is not the only factor parents need to consider when moving back to the U.S. public school system.

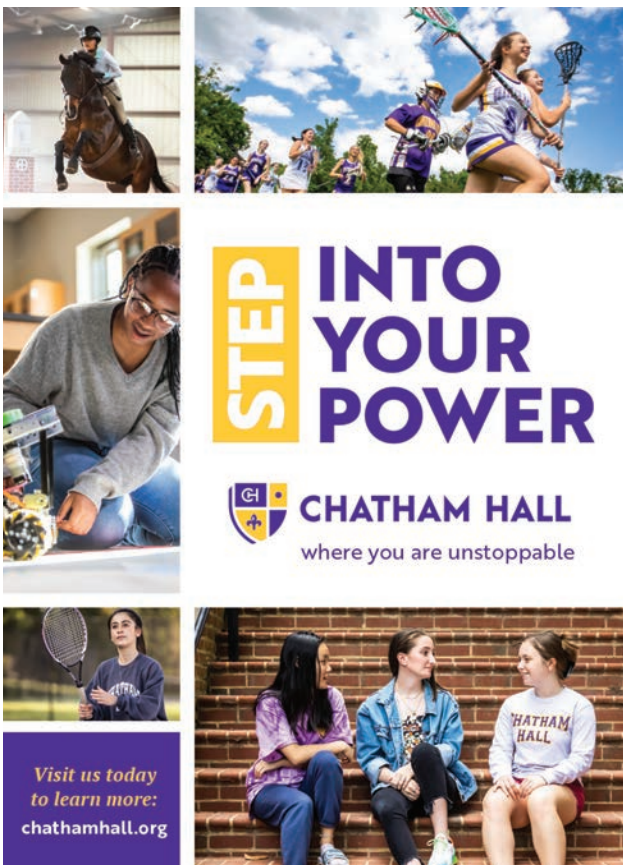
Being able to choose where to live based on the public school district or neighborhood schools, parents may have a choice between neighborhood schools, charter schools, out-of-district schools (in a lottery system like Washington, D.C.), or a private school. In narrowing down their school choice, parents should focus on the educational needs of their

children, their social and emotional needs, special needs, gifted and talented considerations, and other areas of interest and special programming their children can take advantage of.


One size does not fit all. If location is not a determining factor for choosing a school for your child, the following three factors should guide your search:

- **Think about your child and your family's needs.** What kind of learning environment and student-to-teacher ratio is best for your child? If your child needs after-school care, does the school offer it? What kind of learning style best suits your child, and which schools offer the subject focus that your child excels in?

- **Start early, and learn all you can about the schools you are considering.** Find out about the school's curriculum, its approach to learning, facilities, behavior policies, safety measures in place, extracurricular offerings and academic performance. You can research a school's "report card" at GreatSchools, a nonprofit organization dedicated to providing high-quality information



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Managing both your and your children's expectations for their re-entry is a big part of the process and ultimate success.

supporting parents' search for quality education for their children.

• **Once you've decided on a school, or narrowed it down to a few, find enrollment requirements on their websites.** Admissions processes can vary by district, so start early and make sure you have everything you need. Make sure not to miss enrollment application deadlines. If you run into enrollment issues in the DMV, please reach out to GCLO's

Education and Youth team at GCLOAsk-Education@state.gov for guidance.

"It's More Than Academics": Other Considerations

Although short- and long-term academic planning is important, it is not the only factor parents need to consider when moving back to the U.S. public school system. Just like when moving overseas, parents and students must

look at the school environment and how a child would fit there.

Managing both your and your children's expectations for their re-entry is a big part of the process and ultimate success. It may look very different from their adjustments to life at post overseas. Communicating often and listening are key to ensuring that you are truly hearing their concerns, desires, goals, fears and hopes for a new school.

Remember that they are the ones who will be there every day, five days a week.

Resources and Services

Although the unknown can be daunting, the good news is that there is a lot of support in the FS community.



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FROM THE JUNE 2021
FSJ EDUCATION SUPPLEMENT

What's New with Special Education Allowances?

The Family Liaison Office Talks with the Office of Child and Family Programs

Bidding on one's next assignment can be a daunting task for any Foreign Service family. It can be even more complex when education options in overseas settings for children with special needs are a part of that decision.

The State Department's Office of Child and Family Programs (known as CFP) under the Bureau of Medical Services (MED) works together with parents and overseas MED medical staff members to ensure children's psychological, behavioral health and special educational needs are identified and appropriately assessed. The goal is to have an effective treatment and education plan established in advance of and during overseas assignments.

Once the need for special education services is determined, families can apply for the Special Needs Education Allowance (known as SNEA). In the past, parents have faced challenges with this process; thanks to their advocacy, the department has put in place new procedures and updated guidance to improve application processing time, added staffing with geographical responsibilities, improved electronic reimbursement procedures and adopted a new appeals process.

The Bureau of Global Talent Management's Family Liaison Office's education and youth team (E&Y) works closely with CFP and can assist parents in navigating the SNEA process. Recently, FLO spoke with CFP to discuss available resources, previous challenges and new procedures to better serve all FS employees under chief-of-mission authority and their families.

In April, as education and youth program officer of the Family Liaison Office, I conducted a written interview with Deputy Chief Medical Officer for Mental Health Programs Charles J. Lilly, M.D., of the State Department's Bureau of Medical Services. We discussed new staffing and procedures in support of the Special Needs Education Allowance.

Charlotte Larsen joined the Family Liaison Office (now Global Community Liaison Office) as education and youth program officer in 2020. She served previously as a global employment adviser and a community liaison office coordinator in Asia and Europe and, prior to joining State, taught in international and Department of Defense schools. The complete interview appeared in the June 2021 FSJ.

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To ensure that children are active participants in their transition back to the U.S., there are resources specifically designed for them.

A great place to start is the Foreign Service Youth Foundation, a nonprofit organization dedicated exclusively to supporting children of U.S. Foreign Service employees.

FSYF offers a variety of programs, contests and resources for members worldwide. For families serving domestically, re-entry workshops for middle and high school students are provided to help

your children meet other FS kids in the area, plus other workshops and regular family events.

For parents, GCLO's "Bouncing Back: Transition and Re-entry Planning for the Parents of Foreign Service Youth" was written to offer parents guidance on how to help their children transition to the U.S. This publication—the revised version of "According to My Passport,

I'm Coming Home," first published in 1998—includes research and resources from professionals in the field of youth mobility and was written by adults and children who experienced the Foreign Service lifestyle firsthand.

In creating "Bouncing Back," GCLO's Education and Youth team incorporated excerpts from the original publication, updated the content and focused on how parents can help their Foreign Service child make a smooth and healthy transition back to the U.S. Included are resources and guidance on talking with school personnel, a school enrollment checklist, and healthy coping strategies.

To ensure that children are active participants in their transition back to the U.S., there are resources specifically

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designed for them. FSI's Transition Center offers "The Amazing Adventures of [Write Your Name Here]: A Guided Journal to My International Move," a resource for elementary school-aged children who are moving overseas with foreign affairs agencies.

Although written to start discussions between children and parents as they prepare and process for an international relocation, the book contains plenty of tips and tools that can be used to prepare children for any move. There is also a parent's companion journal.

For older children, FSI's Transition Center offers its first "zine" (a new series of magazines created for kids age 11-15), "Transitions: Preparing for Your Move." These zines offer guidance to help middle school students navigate the challenges and excitement of living overseas and in the United States.

Although you may be a seasoned parent having navigated multiple international moves, each move is different, and your child is likely at a different stage of life and education each time. Knowing who to turn to in the State Department for resources, guidance and answers is the first step in the right direction.

Understanding what pitfalls to be preparing for before the move, what documents to be collecting, and starting your research early can all aid in ensuring that the transition back to a U.S. public school from overseas is an experience you and your child can not only survive but thrive in.

Remember that your child, having navigated many moves, has likely gained coping skills that will help in making the transition "home." ■





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EDUCATION AT A GLANCE

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School	Page Number	Enrollment	Gender Distribution M/F	Percent Boarding	Percent Int'l.	Levels Offered	AP/IB*	TABS common application	Accept ADD/LD**	Miles to Int'l. Airport	International Students Orientation	Holiday Break Coverage***	Annual Tuition, Room & Board (US \$)
■ ELEMENTARY/JUNIOR/SENIOR HIGH													
Fairfax Christian School	78	330	50/50	15	20	PK-12	AP	N	Limited	3	Y	Y	60,000-67,620 ^{abdefg}
Garrison Forest School	83	530	All Girls	30	14	PK-12	AP	N	Limited	20	Y	N	63,875-69,475 ^b
Rochambeau The French International School	91	1080	45/55	NA	45	PK-12	IB	N	Limited	15	Y	Limited	23,640-28,580 ^{abd}
■ JUNIOR HIGH/SENIOR HIGH													
Chaminade College Preparatory School	75	825	All Male	15	6	612	AP	N	Limited	8	Y	Limited	49,385 ^{abdef}
Grier School	72	250	All Girls	85	40	7-12	AP	Y	Y	120	Y	Limited	59,900 ^{ad}
Thomas Jefferson School	91	81	58/42	31	23	7-12	Y	Y	Y	14	Y	N	62,600 ^b
Orme School	74	120	50/50	100	50	8-12, PG	AP	Y	Y	60	Y	Limited	49,500 ^{abcde}
■ SENIOR HIGH													
Besant Hill School of Happy Valley	81	100	50/50	80	50	9-12, PG	AP	Y	Y	90	Y	N	57,750-64,155 ^{bde}
Chatham Hall	78	150	All Girls	93	20	9-12	NA	N	Y	75	N	Limited	58,500 ^{bdefg}
Christchurch School	67, 86	210	60/40	70	25	9-12	AP	Y	Y	50	Y	Y	55,900-56,900 ^d
George School	87	540	48/52	46	27	9-12	AP/IB	Y	Limited	36	Y	Limited	69,600 ^b
Madeira School	72	330	All Girls	51	15	9-12	AP	Y	Limited	16	N	N	66,200 ^{be}
Marvelwood School	83	120	50/50	80	15	9-12	AP/IB	N	Y	55	Y	Limited	62,000 ^{abce}
Miss Hall's School	IBC	180	All Girls	73	40	9-12, PG	AP	Y	Y	136	y	N	66,400 ^{abde}
St. Mark's School	79	375	51/49	76	21	12-Sep	NA	Y	N	30	Y	N	67,590 ^{bf}
St. Timothy's School	91	175	All Girls	70	36	9-12, PG	IB	Y	Limited	20	Y	Limited	36,500-64,400 ^{bde}
Woodberry Forest School	69	403	All Male	100	10	9-12	AP	Y	Limited	74	Y	Limited	62,200 ^{bcd}
■ OVERSEAS													
American Overseas School of Rome	67	575	50/50	NA	70	PK-12	AP/IB	N	Y	20	Y	Y	11,800-28,000 ^{bc}
Berlin Brandenburg International School	71	720	50/50	10	70	K-12	IB	N	Y	22	Y	N	48,000 ^c
Carlucci American International School of Lisbon	70	689	48/52	NA	78	PK-12	IB	N	Limited	18	Y	N	10,490-22,232 ^{abc}
Ecole Des Roches	85	300	50/50	90	50	7-13	IB	N	N	95	Y	N	37,000 ^{ab}
Frankfurt International School	91	1800	50/50	NA	80	K-12	IB	N	Limited	12	Y	N	11,744-29,608 ^{b,c}
John F. Kennedy School Berlin	73	1,617	50/50	NA	47	K-12	AP	N	Limited	15	Y	N	None

*Advanced Placement/International Baccalaureate **Attention Deficit Disorder/Learning Disabilities ***Dec. 25-Jan. 1 NA, Not applicable
 IBC, Inside Back Cover ^aSibling discount ^bFinancial aid available ^cDollar value subject to exchange rate
^dAid for federal employees ^eGap year ^fNeed-blind admissions; will meet full financial need ^gHost families

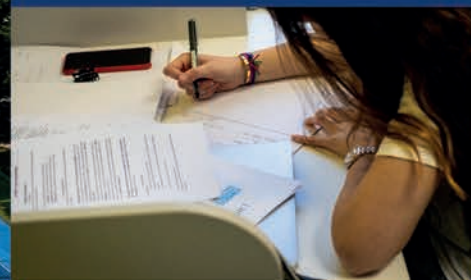


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School	Page Number	Enrollment	Gender Distribution M/F	Percent Boarding	Percent Int'l.	Levels Offered	AP/IB*	TABS common application	Accept ADD/LD**	Miles to Int'l. Airport	International Students Orientation	Holiday Break Coverage***	Annual Tuition, Room & Board (US \$)
■ OVERSEAS (CONTINUED)													
Leysin American School in Switzerland	73	300	50/50	100	85	7-12, PG	AP/IB	N	Limited	75	Y	N	104,000 ^{abd}
Ridley College	80	711	55/45	53	33	K-12, PG	IB	N	Y	41	Y	Y	53,833 ^{abdef}
St. Stephen's School - Rome	82	300	47/53	20	64	9-12, PG	IB	N	N	12	Y	N	46,180 ^b
TASIS The American School in Switzerland	80	700	340/360	37	93	PK-PG	AP/IB	N	Y	45	Y	Limited	95,000 ^{bode}
■ SPECIAL NEEDS													
Alpine Academy Therapeutic Schools	71	90	20/70	100	5	7-12	NA	N	Y	20	N	Y	162,000 ^f
Gow School	74	125	80/20	95	10	6-12, PG	NA	N	Y	25	N	Limited	72,500 ^b
■ DISTANCE LEARNING													
TTU-K-12 (Texas Tech)	79	2,257	49/51	NA	39	K-12	AP	N	Limited	NA	N	N/A	3,000-4,600
■ HIGHER EDUCATION													
Thunderbird School of Global Management	64	388	53/47	13	45	NA	NA	NA	NA	19	Y	Y	70,000-110,000 ^b
■ OTHER													
AAFSW	90	Associates of the American Foreign Service Worldwide: Publisher of <i>Raising Kids in the Foreign Service</i> . A volunteer organization that supports Foreign Service employees, spouses, partners and members of household. Visit www.aafsw.org ; FSHub.org.											
GCLO	75	Global Community Liaison Office: Information and resources for Foreign Service families. Contact GCLOAskEducation@state.gov .											
FSYF	75	Foreign Service Youth Foundation: A support network for U.S. Foreign Service youth worldwide. Go to www.fsyf.org .											
*Advanced Placement/International Baccalaureate **Attention Deficit Disorder/Learning Disabilities ***Dec. 25-Jan. 1 NA, Not applicable IBC, Inside Back Cover ^a Sibling discount ^b Financial aid available ^c Dollar value subject to exchange rate ^d Aid for federal employees ^e Gap year ^f Need-blind admissions; will meet full financial need ^g Host families													

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How to Qualify for In-State College Tuition

Proving “domicile” for in-state college tuition can be challenging for many FS families. Here’s more on the concept—and the new federal law that will help your case.

BY JOHN K. NALAND

If the prospect of funding your children’s college education appears daunting, and their chances of securing a generous scholarship at a private college seem unlikely, then public colleges are a great option.

The catch is that they will only save you money if your children qualify for the in-state tuition rate. Otherwise, adding the nonresident tuition surcharge can raise the price tag to that of private colleges. Foreign Service families face unique challenges in qualifying for in-state tuition. This article seeks to help you understand and overcome those challenges, and also introduces the new

provision adding Foreign Service members to the law allowing military families in-state tuition.

“Domicile” and Its Importance

For most Americans, qualifying for in-state tuition is simply a matter of applying to a public college in the state where they live. Qualification is automatic if you have been physically present in a state for a specified period—typically 366 days (see sidebar for a special rule applying to Foreign Service families living in Virginia).

So, for example, if you have been living in Maryland for the past two years



John K. Naland is the AFSA retiree vice president. He is also president of the Foreign Service Youth Foundation.

while working in D.C., then your child who applies now to a Maryland public college will qualify for in-state tuition based on physical presence. But the situation gets more complex if you are serving overseas or if your child is applying to a college in a state that you moved away from years ago.

The starting point is to understand the concept of “domicile,” which is sometimes referred to as “legal residence” or “permanent residence.” You acquire at birth the domicile of your parents. Your domicile remains the same as that of your parents while you are a minor.

After becoming an adult, your domicile changes only if you establish a physical presence in a new state with the intent of making it your permanent home. Joining the Foreign Service and repeatedly changing your location of assignment as directed by government orders does not automatically change your state of domicile.

Of course, many Foreign Service members do change their domicile by cutting their ties to the state where they grew up. If so, their children do not qualify for in-state tuition in that particular state.

Similarly, if you grew up in one state, went to college in another and held your first job in a third state, your children do not qualify for in-state tuition in any of those three states. Instead, the public colleges will look for evidence of your domicile in that state.

Maintaining Ties to Your State of Domicile

Thus, Foreign Service families who may someday seek in-state tuition can strengthen their case by maintaining

Instead of continuing to advocate with mixed results on a state-by-state and college-by-college basis, AFSA decided last year that a nationwide solution was needed.



continuing ties to their state of domicile. Whether that is the state where you grew up or a different state that you chose later as your permanent residence, you can prove domicile to that state through a variety of actions.

These actions include absentee voting, maintaining a driver's license when overseas (when serving in a domestic assignment, you may be required to get a driver's license in the state of that assignment), paying nonresident state income tax (when required) and reflecting that state in your will. It is vital to list that state as your state of residence and your address for service separation on your Official Form 126 “Foreign Service Residence and Dependency Report.”

Also listing that state as your home leave address on your OF-126 provides added evidence of domiciliary intent. If you own property in that state, that will strengthen your claim to permanent residency.

Unfortunately, Foreign Service families who have not changed their state of domicile sometimes receive adverse determinations from public colleges regarding in-state tuition. Most often, the institution will cite a prolonged absence from the declared state of domicile as the reason for denying eligibility for in-state tuition. In that case, you should appeal to the college citing your proofs of domicile as listed in the preceding paragraph.

AFSA Can Help

If a college rejects your appeal despite your presenting clear evidence of past and continuing ties to the state, AFSA stands ready to write to that institution to make the case that you remain domiciled there and, thus, should be given the in-state rate. Contact us at member@afsa.org.

Over the years, such letters from AFSA have often succeeded in convincing admissions offices to grant in-state tuition. But because many public universities face growing financial pressures, some state-supported colleges

States have long implemented the military provision, so they should have no difficulty in applying the same law to the Foreign Service.

including the University of California system have not been swayed by those letters.

Therefore, instead of continuing to advocate with mixed results on a state-by-state and college-by-college basis, AFSA decided last year that a nationwide solution was needed.

Working with bipartisan supporters in the Senate and House, AFSA secured

the insertion of a provision on Foreign Service in-state tuition in the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2022 that President Joe Biden signed into law on December 27, 2021. That provision will save some AFSA members more than \$100,000 per child in nonresident supplemental tuition charges during a four-year undergraduate education.

A New Federal Provision

The new law mandates that state-supported colleges grant the in-state tuition rate to Foreign Service members, their spouses and dependents in their state of domicile. It does so by adding Foreign Service families to the long-standing federal law (20 U.S.C. 1015d, see <https://uscode.house.gov/>) mandating in-state tuition for members of the armed forces and their families in two circumstances: (1) when their permanent duty station is in the state, irrespective of how long they have been physically present at that location, or (2) when that is their state of domicile, irrespective of how long it has been since they were last physically present there.

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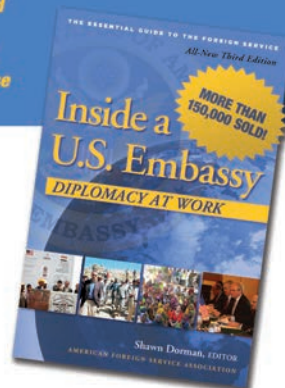
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You can prove domicile to that state through a variety of actions.

The new provision does not take effect until the first period of college enrollment that begins after July 1, 2024, because some state legislatures only meet every two years and may need to amend state law for compliance.

As 2024 nears, Foreign Service families interested in qualifying for in-state tuition should review their proofs of domicile and take steps to strengthen them where possible.

States have long implemented the military provision, so they should have

no difficulty in applying the same law to the Foreign Service. AFSA will contact colleges and state educational authorities that in the past have denied in-state tuition to our members to make sure they are aware of the new law.

If AFSA members with clear evidence of continuing domicile do encounter problems after July 1, 2024, please inform AFSA so we can contact the college and, if necessary, potentially assist the member in filing a lawsuit in federal court to compel adherence to the law. ■

A NOTE FOR THOSE LIVING IN VIRGINIA

Foreign Service members residing in Virginia currently benefit from special consideration in granting in-state tuition. If they have lived in Virginia for at least 90 days immediately prior to transferring overseas, their dependents qualify for in-state tuition while the parent is serving abroad. This eligibility is determined on a case-by-case basis by each financial aid office. If AFSA members encounter problems, email member@afsa.org asking AFSA to contact the college.

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A Disturbing Chapter in U.S. Diplomatic History

Chained to History: Slavery and US Foreign Relations to 1865

Steven J. Brady, Cornell University Press, 2022, \$39.95/hardcover, e-book available, 240 pages.

REVIEWED BY JOSEPH L. NOVAK

Steven J. Brady's new book, *Chained to History: Slavery and US Foreign Relations to 1865*, places a spotlight on the efforts of slaveholding interests to manipulate U.S. foreign policy to their advantage in the decades before the Civil War. *Chained to History's* inescapable conclusion is that slavery "shaped early American foreign relations from the beginning of the nation until the eradication of the institution itself."

As deftly related by Brady, a diplomatic historian at George Washington University, enslavers became increasingly alarmed in the early to mid-19th century that slavery was under concerted multinational attack by abolitionists. They were also rattled by periodic rebellions by enslaved persons such as that led by Nat Turner in Virginia in 1831.

Even as their fears grew, enslavers' profits were spiking as cotton production spread its brutal tentacles through the Deep South and toward the Southwest. To "preserve and protect" their increasingly lucrative "peculiar institution," they aggressively sought to maintain their leverage over U.S. government decision-making.

Polonius states in Shakespeare's "Hamlet": "Though this is madness, yet there is method in't." This is a highly accurate encapsulation of American foreign policy during the antebellum decades. Even while proclaiming adherence to such grand principles as "all men

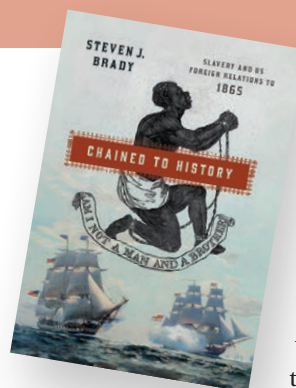
are created equal," the United States repeatedly distorted its foreign policy in order to defend slavery.

Foreign powers were not fooled by the U.S. government's smokescreen of high-minded declarations amid its selective efforts to make the world safe for slavery. Brady cites a British envoy prodding Secretary of State Louis McLane in 1833 on American pretensions. The envoy pointedly told McLane that the U.S. government's continued "subserviency to the feelings of their Slave-holders" would "do infinite mischief" to perceptions of the United States in Europe.

Foreign powers were not fooled by the U.S. government's smokescreen of high-minded declarations amid its selective efforts to make the world safe for slavery.

In setting out his case, Brady acknowledges that he is relying on earlier scholarly groundwork. The two most noteworthy among the studies cited are Don E. Fehrenbacher's *The Slaveholding Republic: An Account of the United States Government's Relations to Slavery* (2001) and Matthew Karp's *This Vast Southern Empire: Slaveholders at the Helm of American Foreign Policy* (2018). Both books are masterful in providing a comprehensive perspective on the pervasive influence of slaveholders.

Chained to History lucidly illustrates the separate strands of U.S. policy affected by the clout of enslavers. The slaveholders lobbied Washington, for example, to buy Cuba with the aim of adding it as a slave state, stepping back only when Spain expressed no interest in pursuing a deal. They were more successful in gaining Texas's annexation as a slave state in 1845



and in undermining U.S. cooperation in international initiatives focused on ending the trans-Atlantic slave trade.

The section examining U.S. foreign policy toward Haiti is particularly well written and convincing. As made clear by Brady, there were pronounced similarities between the American and Haitian revolutions as rebels successfully fought to overthrow European colonizers. That said, the United States peremptorily refused to recognize Haiti when it declared its independence in 1804.

Chained to History makes explicit that slavery proponents pushed for this non-recognition policy because they feared that Haiti's revolution of enslaved persons would be replicated elsewhere. Brady underscores that "slavery was viewed as a national security issue," and, thus, the U.S. government sought to isolate Haiti.

Although trade ties did move forward, Washington did not recognize Haiti until 1862. This compares to its relatively rapid recognition in the 1820s of several Latin American countries that overthrew Spanish and Portuguese rule. Julia Gaffield's superb *Haitian Connections in the Atlantic World: Recognition After Revolution* (2015) further documents the international challenges faced by Haiti in the decades after it became independent.

The author is at his best in providing vignettes that vivify his larger points.

He writes, for example, that President John Quincy Adams wanted to send a delegation to the Bolivarian Congress of Panama in 1826. Adams correctly saw it as an opportunity to augment commercial links and counter European influence in the Western Hemisphere, both major policy priorities.

The pro-slavery contingent in Washington was not convinced, however. Led by Vice President John C. Calhoun, a virulent racist, it worried that the gathering might “seek to abolish slavery” and that U.S. delegates might have to mix with nonwhites.

After prolonged debate and delay, Washington ultimately sent delegates to Panama City. But one died en route, and the other arrived late. In the process, the United States lost out while the Brit-

ish—though participating as observers—enhanced their diplomatic and trade ties.

If there is a criticism to be made of *Chained to History*, it's that it's a bit thin in places. The book's assessment of U.S. policy toward slavery during the Civil War period (1861-1865), for instance, deals in somewhat cursory fashion with the delicate mix of President Abraham Lincoln's wartime decision-making and his diplomatic strategy.

A more complete rendering of these complex issues is contained in Joseph A. Fry's excellent *Lincoln, Seward, and US Foreign Relations in the Civil War Era* (University Press of Kentucky, 2019), which was reviewed in the November 2019 FSJ.

Many studies have been made that demonstrate how crucial slavery was to

the development of the United States as a country. Written with objectivity and precision, *Chained to History* makes an important contribution by depicting how the distinct worldview of enslavers twisted U.S. foreign policy in troubling ways.

That influence was only extirpated by Lincoln's brilliant statecraft and the victories of the Union armies. As Brady accurately records in his book's epilogue: “Rarely has a major, long-term element driving U.S. foreign policy disappeared so quickly and completely.” ■

Joseph L. Novak is a writer based in Washington, D.C. He is a fellow of the Royal Geographical Society in London and a proud retiree member of AFSA. A former lawyer, he was a Foreign Service officer for 30 years.

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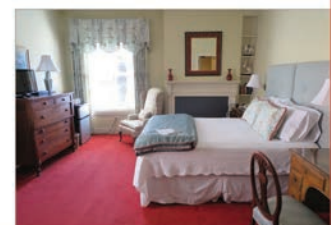
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Election Saga, Bangui

BY ROBERT E. GRIBBIN

Election day in the Central African Republic in 1992 was busy. I sent all embassy personnel hither and yon as election observers. I, too, made the rounds of voting precincts in Bangui.

Voters lined up and waited patiently for their turn. They then marked their ballot and stuffed it into the box, always accompanied by a resounding shout—“*a voté!*”—by a nearby poll watcher. Everything went smoothly.

After closing, the precinct officials and party poll watchers hovered around the counting table to ensure that ballots were correctly tabulated. Then the box was sealed and transported to the Supreme Court for the final official tally. Nonetheless, it quickly became apparent that incumbent President André Kolingba was destined to lose.

Two days later, at mid-morning, I got a phone call at the office from Chief Justice Edouard Frank. “Ambassador,” he said, “they are going to kill me if I start the count.”

Whoa! I thought. “Sit tight, I’ll be right over,” I replied.

There was too much at stake for

I took a front-row seat, and the process of counting began.

the nation and for the process to let it collapse at the end. I told my driver Robert to put on all the flags, and we drove to the Supreme Court. I found Justice Frank in his office. He was clearly shaken by the threat, emanating, he avowed, from the presidency; but after calming down, he realized his duty.

With my support, he agreed to go forward. So he and I, followed by the other justices, all in their judicial robes, walked across the courtyard to the court chamber. I took a front-row seat, and the process of counting began. It proceeded without interference.

Meanwhile, I contacted my German and French colleagues. At least one of us was present for the entire count. Kolingba came in fourth. (I was later told by a contact in the presidency that our presence in the court room had, indeed, caused a plan to disrupt the proceedings to abort.)

However, President Kolingba, who had obviously been misled by his

entourage as to his popularity, was not yet done. That afternoon he emptied the prisons, apparently hoping to cause civil unrest so that he could declare martial law and nullify the election.

A key part of this plan was to release former President Jean-Bédél Bokassa, who was president from 1966 to 1976, declared himself Emperor Bokassa I and ruled as such until 1979. Kolingba thought that the people might either rise up to support the aging mentally diminished monarch or revolt against him. Either way, it could result in martial law.

There were no uprisings, however. The city remained tranquil while thousands of prisoners in their prison-pink shorts headed home. Bokassa’s family moved him quickly into a protected residence, where he rusticated and eventually died.

To his credit, Kolingba finally conceded. He acknowledged the validity of the results and the election of Ange-Félix Patassé as president. One of his final acts was to bestow the Order of Merit of the Central African Republic on me and my French, German and European Union colleagues.

Ironically, one of the first acts of President Patassé the next week was to award the four of us the same medal as a token of appreciation for our role in mandating the election. So we each have two. ■



A career Africanist, Robert E. Gribbin was ambassador to the Central African Republic from 1992 to 1995. Subsequently, he was ambassador to Rwanda from 1996 to 1999. His memoir, In the Aftermath of Genocide—The U.S. Role in Rwanda (iUniverse, 2005), describes those years. His latest novels, The Last Rhino (iUniverse, 2020), weaves a tale of conservation efforts in the Congo, and The Serpent of the Nile (kdp.com, 2021) is a novel of South Sudan. Gribbin reviews books about Africa at www.rwandakenya.blogspot.com.

LOCAL LENS

BY AMANDA OGDEN ■ MAHE, SEYCHELLES

I took this photo of pitcher plants at the summit of the Copolia Trail in Morne National Park on Mahé Island during a recent R&R trip to the Seychelles—a country I didn’t know much about, aside from tropical beaches, but found to be a fascinating mix of Indian, African and European influences.

The endemic pitcher plant (*Nepenthes pervillei*) is carnivorous—attracting, capturing, killing and digesting insects. The lid keeps rainfall from diluting the acidic digestive fluid, and its color catches the insect’s attention. The collar secretes nectar to lure the insect inside, where the waxy inner walls of the pitcher cause it to slip and fall to its demise in the enzyme acid at the base. ■

Amanda Ogden is on her first Foreign Service tour, serving as the office management specialist in the political section at Embassy Kinshasa, Democratic Republic of the Congo. She took the photo with her iPhone8+.

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



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