

THE **FOREIGN SERVICE** JOURNAL

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FOCUS RISK MANAGEMENT FOR THE EXPEDITIONARY DIPLOMAT

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BY JAMES STEPHENSON

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THE FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

Editor

Steven Alan Honley: honley@afsa.org

Senior Editor

Susan Brady Maitra: maitra@afsa.org

Associate Editor

Shawn Dorman: dorman@afsa.org

AFSA News Editor

Donna Ayerst: ayerst@afsa.org

Ad & Circulation Manager

Ed Miltenberger: miltenberger@afsa.org

Art Director

Caryn Suko Smith

Editorial Intern

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Advertising Intern

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CONTACTS



AFSA Headquarters:

(202) 338-4045; Fax (202) 338-6820

State Department AFSA Office:

(202) 647-8160; Fax (202) 647-0265

USAID AFSA Office:

(202) 712-1941; Fax (202) 216-3710

FCS AFSA Office:

(202) 482-9088; Fax (202) 482-9087

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Controller

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Assistant Controller

Cory Nishi: cnishi@afsa.org

LABOR MANAGEMENT

General Counsel

Sharon Papp: PappS@state.gov

Deputy General Counsel

Zlatana Badrich: BadrichZ@state.gov

Labor Management Specialist

James Yorke: Yorke.J@state.gov

Labor Management Counselor

Vacant

Senior Staff Attorney

Neera Parikh: ParikhNA@state.gov

Staff Attorney

Raeka Safai: SafaiR@state.gov

Staff Attorney

Andrew Large: LargeA@state.gov

Office Manager

Elizabeth Lee: LeeKE@state.gov

USAID Senior Labor Management Adviser

Douglas Broome: dbroome@usaid.gov

USAID Staff Assistant

Chioma Dike: cdike@afsa.org

MEMBER SERVICES

Member Services Director

Janet Hedrick: hedrick@afsa.org

Member Services Representative

Kristy Pomes: pomes@afsa.org

Administrative Assistant and Office Manager

Ana Lopez: lopez@afsa.org

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Director of Communications

Kristen Fernekes: fernekes@afsa.org

Director of New Media

Ásgeir Sigfússon: sigfusson@afsa.org

Special Awards and Outreach Coordinator

Perri Green: green@afsa.org

Editor/Publisher, FS Books

Shawn Dorman: dorman@afsa.org

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Web and Graphics Assistant

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PROFESSIONAL PROGRAMS

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Associate Coordinator, Retiree Counseling and Legislation

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Advocacy Director

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Jonathan Crawford: crawford@afsa.org

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Our Relationship with Congress

BY ROBERT J. SILVERMAN

It is mid-September as I write, and AFSA is preparing for its annual strategic planning weekend at an undisclosed location in Virginia. The five constituency vice presidents (State, USAID, retirees, FCS and FAS) and I have picked three broad areas to start the weekend: security (mitigating risks while increasing engagement); career development and education (equipping the Foreign Service for future challenges); and work-life balance (new things to add on the “life” side of the balance).

We expect a good discussion of all issues facing the Foreign Service, and I look forward to your feedback on the plan that emerges. In the meantime, I can say that AFSA's Governing Board, committees and staff are all energized to work for you in promoting a robust agenda with management and with Congress.

Engaging Capitol Hill is key to nearly everything AFSA wants to do. Here are some initial impressions of how that relationship is going after two months on the job, and seven meetings on the Hill.

First, the Foreign Service has a wide-open door on the Hill. Members of Congress and their staff quickly agree to our requests for meetings; they want continuing relationships and are listening to our concerns. There are several reasons for this openness, starting with the fact

that foreign policy issues are inherently interesting, and people on the Hill crave new sources of information. Seeing us in operation on congressional and staff delegations has reinforced their sense of the Foreign Service's value and respect for our field expertise. AFSA also has an active political action committee. So there is good will toward us in the halls of Congress.

But my second impression is that we also have persistent negative stereotypes to overcome, as richly detailed in the June study AFSA commissioned on “Congressional Staff Attitudes toward the Foreign Service.” Adjectives about us that emerge from 28 interviews include “odd, elitist, out of touch, defensive, risk-averse, socially inept and arrogant.” It is good to factor in these perceptions when we engage the Hill.

Third, we sometimes have a defensive agenda on the Hill, especially in the current budget climate, with proposals to cap Overseas Comparability Pay at the current level, or to establish a new lateral entry program allowing non-career hires to obtain existing overseas positions.

AFSA actively discusses these proposals with our friends.

We explain our opposition and work to ensure that such legislation doesn't proceed in ways that could harm the Foreign Service and through it our national interests overseas.

Promoting professional education in the Foreign Service supports AFSA's positions in Congress. That is why, in my first meeting with the new Foreign Service Institute director, I noted that AFSA supports expansion of the most rigorous education curriculum possible, at all levels.

Fourth, we also have a very positive agenda on the Hill. Here is one example. Representative Michael McCaul, R-Texas, recently introduced the Mustafa Akarsu Act, named after the local Turkish guard who was killed while preventing a suicide bomber from entering Embassy Ankara.

This bill would provide special immigrant visas for spouses and children of U.S. government employees killed abroad in the line of duty. It has passed the Senate, thanks to the sponsorship of Senator Chris Coons, D-Del., and we are working with a bipartisan coalition in the House on possible vehicles for its passage of that chamber. Stay tuned.

One of the pleasures of this job is the ability to promote the interests of the Foreign Service in Congress, and to make the case that a modern, professional Foreign Service is critical to promoting our country's interests overseas.

Be well, stay safe and keep in touch.

Bob

Silverman@afsa.org ■



Robert J. Silverman is the president of the American Foreign Service Association.

Dissent in the Foreign Service

I have just finished reading the July-August issue of *The Foreign Service Journal* concerning professional ethics and dissent within the Foreign Service. The articles reconfirm my admiration for the authors and the actions they have taken to challenge authority on major policy issues.

Yet I do not believe they have gone far enough if the objective is to change those policies.

Resignations have little effect unless they involve someone at the sub-Cabinet or ambassadorial level, or higher, and are effectively publicized. At a minimum, those resigning must have special knowledge that gives their views credibility. Cyrus Vance and Elliot Richardson are the only two people in recent history who met these tests.

Those FSOs who picketed the State Department at lunchtime during the Vietnam War (I was one of them) may have felt good about their efforts, but they had no impact on policy. On the other hand, a resignation by Colin Powell might have stopped the Iraq misadventure—but he chose instead to be the good soldier.

The Dissent Channel, so widely admired by those who never use it, has a very poor record of accomplishment. So what can a public servant do when he discovers his government is engaged in possibly illegal and certainly unwise behavior?

The accepted course of action is to fight the issue up the chain of command. Good luck with that, particularly if your supervisors are part of the problem.



If you then do not choose to resign, should you just shut up and suck it up? I think not. Really rotten policies are often decided without much thought, on the basis of tightly held misinformation of questionable provenance, by people with little personal knowledge of the situation.

Or, to put it more succinctly: Strongly held ideology may be reason enough. That may sound hypothetical, but I have personal experience with several such instances.

In one case, after being stonewalled by State, I reluctantly decided to brief a member of Congress and a respected news reporter to get the sorry story out. A little sunshine was enough to stop some very serious foolishness.

Another time, it was possible to use bureaucratic delaying devices to keep the Secretary of State from making a major mistake until, by sheer luck, Mike Wallace came to the rescue. The gory details can be found in Charles Kennedy's oral history archives at the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training.

The choices I made regarding these issues are not for everyone, and do not lack moral ambiguity. But I have no regret for having blown the whistle when the other alternatives all seemed worse. I like to think it was part of earning my pay.

Samuel F. Hart
Ambassador, retired
Jacksonville, Fla.

Quiet Dissent

Your excellent July-August issue, which featured several articles focusing on dissent, called to mind an episode from the early part of my own Foreign Service career.

As a U.S. Information Agency FSO in 1964, I was working at State on U.S. exchanges with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Congress had just passed the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, which gave the president the authority to do whatever was necessary, including the use of armed force, to assist any member of the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty—all without a formal declaration of war.

One day I was called over to USIA, where a high official told me that the agency was establishing a task force on Vietnam, and wanted me to be its deputy director. I was certainly a logical choice for the job, having served as chief of the Voice of America's Vietnamese Service and spent two years in Laos (for which I was awarded USIA's Meritorious Service Award).

I replied that I was honored by the choice, but was the wrong man for the job, since I did not believe in the Vietnam War and did not think we could win it.

As it turned out, State declined to release me, and I continued to fight the Cold War from a desk in Washington.

Yale Richmond
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The Cruellest Month

Like many other Foreign Service employees, I have been reflecting on the first anniversary of the Sept. 11, 2012, attack on our mission in Benghazi, during which U.S. Ambassador to Libya J. Christopher Stevens and three of his American colleagues were killed. Inspired by T.S. Eliot’s poem, “The Waste Land,” I would like to offer the following tribute in their memory:

“April is the cruellest month.”
As floral dreams to rains surrender,
And so comes summer and so summer fades
In the cruelest month:
Not April—September.

Manhattan’s towers, Shanksville’s heroes,
Our fortress breached and we remember
Benghazi’s savior, made its martyr
In the cruelest month—that is,
September.

Leaves golden beneath bright blue skies
The sunlight fleeting, such sorrows render.
So weep for them, now do God’s work.
Transform the cruelest month:
September.

Rebecca B. Thompson
FSO
Washington, D.C. ■

Canadian FSOs Strike for Equal Pay for Equal Work

Canadian diplomats are locked in a battle with the conservative government of Prime Minister Stephen Harper and its Treasury Board over contract negotiations that had dragged on for two years before finally breaking down in January with Treasury's refusal to offer any concessions. At this writing, there is no resolution in sight to the escalating job action.

At issue is equal pay for equal work. Canadian Foreign Service members are subject to pay gaps compared to those faced by other federal professionals performing similar or identical work, often in adjoining cubicles in Ottawa and, increasingly, abroad. As of June, the gaps range from a minimum of \$3,000 per year at the FS-3 level to \$14,000 at the FS-2 level.



Canadian FS members picket in front of Prime Minister Stephen Harper's office in Ottawa, left, and at the High Commission in London, right.

The Professional Association of Foreign Service Officers, the union representing Canada's non-executive diplomats, was prevented from addressing the problem in the last round of contract negotiations in 2009, when the Harper government circumvented collective bargaining and

imposed wages through legislation.

In March, 82 percent of PAFSO's 1,350 members voted to walk out to bolster their position at the bargaining table. On April 2, PAFSO initiated job action measures beginning with "electronic information pickets"—automatic e-mail replies informing contacts of the breakdown in contract negotiations and expressing regret for any service delay.

Work-to-rule followed a week later, with FS officers refusing to put in overtime, check their BlackBerries outside business hours, fill in for their bosses or perform any tasks outside their job descriptions.

Contemporary Quote

“The [Egyptian] military was asked to intervene by millions and millions of people, all of whom were afraid of descent into chaos, into violence. ... And the military did not take over, to the best of our judgment—so far. To run the country, there's a civilian government. In effect, they were restoring democracy.”

— Secretary of State John Kerry, responding to a question about developments in Egypt during an Aug. 1 interview in Pakistan.

The Treasury Board's continued refusal to return to the bargaining table led PAFSO to escalate the struggle in mid-May. Union members began targeted walkouts in select missions abroad and at headquarters in Ottawa, for the first time in the association's 46-year history.

With the collapse of efforts to force the government into binding arbitration, in late July PAFSO extended their job action to the 15 largest visa-processing centers in Canadian foreign missions. Operations in Beijing, Mexico City, New Delhi, London, Paris, Abu Dhabi and Shanghai have been affected, among others.



According to PAFSO, visa processing volumes dropped by 65 percent in June at the three processing centers the union targeted. Tourism groups estimate that the strike could cost the industry \$280 million by the end of this summer. Organizers of the Montreal and Vancouver international film festivals are concerned; and Canada's education system, which attracts many thousands of foreign students each year, stands to have its reputation, if not income, damaged.

While Treasury Board President Tony Clement charges the union with sink-

ing the binding arbitration option, and maintains it is making unreasonable comparisons between substantively different jobs in the public service, PAFSO President Tim Edwards says that Clement is negotiating in bad faith by insisting on a series of preconditions before agreeing to binding arbitration.

PAFSO has already accepted the government's two key demands, wage increases of 1.5 percent per year (well below average national wage growth and inflation) and the elimination of severance pay on retirement and resignation (in effect a 2-percent annual pay cut).

"PAFSO can only conclude that the government is behaving prejudicially toward the Foreign Service, and is therefore negotiating in bad faith," Edwards told CTV News on July 26. "This should be of serious concern to all Canadians."

"You wouldn't know it from the bargaining tactics of the Treasury Board of Canada, but diplomacy matters," wrote Paul Heinbecker, a former Canadian ambassador to the United Nations Security Council and a former chief foreign policy adviser to Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, in *The Globe and Mail* on June 26.

In the interest of promoting public understanding, Heinbecker put the diplomats' action into perspective and exploded some of the myths about diplomacy that the government is using to stonewall.

PAFSO's fight has received widespread news coverage, both in Canada and internationally. "Challenging our employer in such a public way goes against our very nature as diplomats and dedicated professionals," PAFSO states in an official document explaining the strike.

"Our goal is simple: to have the Treasury Board recognize the real value of the high-quality work we perform, often under difficult circumstances, in deliver-

SITE OF THE MONTH: *Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons*

As we go to press, weapons of mass destruction—specifically, chemical weapons—are, lamentably, back in the news. The August shelling of suburban Damascus by nerve agents represents the third large-scale use of chemical weapons in the Middle East, and has broken the longest streak in history for the world to go without such an attack: 25 years.

The *Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons* website is a comprehensive one-stop shop for information about this terrible challenge and international efforts to combat it. For instance, an Aug. 28 press release posted there reports that United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon and OPCW Director-General Ahmet Üzümcü met in The Hague and called on all parties in Syria to extend their full cooperation to the U.N. investigation of the incident.

Elsewhere on the site, an historical overview of the issue notes that the first international agreement limiting the use of chemical weapons dates back to 1675, when France and Germany came to an agreement, signed in Strasbourg, prohibiting the use of poison bullets. The modern campaign to eradicate chemical and biological weapons efforts began with ratification of the 1925 Geneva Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases, and Bacteriological Methods of Warfare.

As the OPCW points out, a major weakness of the treaty is that it does not prohibit the development, production or possession of chemical weapons—merely the use of chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons in war. And even that provision is qualified to some extent.

The Chemical Weapons Convention, which entered into effect in 1997 following U.S. Senate ratification, is intended to rectify that omission. It consists of a preamble, 24 articles and three annexes (on chemicals, verification and confidentiality).

—Steven Alan Honley, Editor

ing on the government's international priorities. Ultimately, we want them to agree that basic fairness—a fundamental Canadian value that our members promote abroad every day—dictates that we be paid at least the same as those performing the same work.

"After eight years of seeing the can kicked down the road by our employer, the Foreign Service has declared resoundingly that the time has come to insist on a fair deal. Canada's face and frontline abroad deserves nothing less."

—Susan Brady Maitra, Senior Editor

Following Syria on Twitter

In an Aug. 30 posting on WorldViews, the *Washington Post's* foreign affairs blog, Max Fisher nominates "23 Twitter accounts you must follow to understand Syria." He breaks his list down into four categories: Syrians, journalists, analysts/thinkers and general observers.

Recognizing that following so many commentators, however compelling, is a daunting task, Fisher recommends starting with the general observers:

(1) Laura Rozen: Picks up every detail, assiduously fair-minded, insight-



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"Limited" strike = no solution to refugee crisis; no solution to growing strength of AQ-backed jihadists; no solution to human suffering

2:53 AM - 28 Aug 2013

43 RETWEETS 9 FAVORITES



The 47th
 @THE_47th



Think of the preparations Assad is doing: emptying Gov & Mil buildings, filling them up with prisoners, relocating CW, artillery in 2 cities.

1:26 AM - 28 Aug 2013

56 RETWEETS 11 FAVORITES



Jenan Moussa
 @jenanmoussa



I am here w/ lady from Idleb. I ask if shes with/ agnst intervention. Says: 'Don't know wut 2 think anymore. I'm with only if Assad go down'

10:13 AM - 30 Aug 2013

30 RETWEETS 3 FAVORITES



ful; if you follow only one person on this list.

(2) Lara Setrakian: Founder of the invaluable Syria Deeply.

(3) Michael Weiss: Deeply knowledgeable on Syrian rebels and opposition activists.

(4) Dan Trombly: No one is sure how he knows so much, but he does.

(5) Jeffrey Goldberg: A habit for putting it well.

(6) Brown_Moses: Great at finding, evaluating and verifying on-the-ground

videos, photos and first-hand accounts.

(7) Laila Lalami: A novelist's eye.

Fisher concludes: "You might find yourself disappointed by the dearth of women on this list, other than among the journalists. I am, too. The Washington foreign policy community has a well-documented and unfortunate habit of favoring men. As for the near-total absence of women from Syrian online activist communities, this suggests some theories."

— Steven Alan Honley, Editor



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Comrade Bob Moves to Rebrand Himself

On Aug. 3 President Robert Mugabe was declared the re-elected leader of Zimbabwe, claiming 61 percent of the 3.5 million votes cast in July 31 balloting. His main rival, Prime Minister Morgan Tsvangirai, picked up just 34 percent, a far cry from his previous result. The rest was shared among three fringe candidates.

As *The Economist* ruefully reported, “The man Nelson Mandela mockingly called Comrade Bob, who has already ruled Zimbabwe for 33 years, had

clinched yet another election victory. His Zanu-PF party secured a similarly large majority in parliament.”

There was little violence this time, at least compared with the previous presidential campaign, back in March 2008. But the unexpectedly large margin of victory still makes the result hard to credit for observers—and hard to stomach for many ordinary Zimbabweans.

The chaotic electoral process did have one bright side, however. It inspired Nigerian-British viral video-maker Ikenna Azuiked to put together a video titled “What’s Up, Africa?” *Washington*

50 Years Ago: Short Form of Service to Be Used in Government Offices

Let us pray: O Lord, grant that this day we come to no decisions, neither run into any kind of responsibility; but that all our doings may be ordered to establish new and quite unwanted departments, for ever and ever. Amen.

Hymn:

O Thou who seest all things below,
Grant that Thy servants may go slow,
That they may study to comply
With regulations until they die.

Teach us, Lord, to reverence
Committees more than common sense;
Impress our minds to make no plan,
But pass the baby when we can.

And when the Tempter seeks to give
Us feelings of initiative,
Or when alone we go too far,
Chastise us with a circular.

Mid war and tumult, fire and forms,
Thus will Thy servants ever be
A flock of perfect sheep for thee.

—“A Bureaucrat’s Orisons” (Letters to the Editor) by “Ahmen;” FSJ, October 1963.

Post WorldViews blogger Max Fisher praises Azuiked's depiction as "two quick, funny, easy-to-understand minutes." (Think of it as laughing to keep from crying.)

Meanwhile, Mugabe has wasted no time in pronouncing his reputation fully rehabilitated. As we reported in the July-August 2012 edition of *Cybernotes* (as this department was then known), last year the United Nations' World Tourism Organization appointed Mugabe and Zambian President Michael Sata, a political ally, as "Global Leaders for Tourism"—a position they will hold until 2015. Shortly after Mugabe's victory, the two leaders co-hosted a meeting of the UNWTO General Assembly.

Critics were quick to note the irony of the appointment: Mugabe remains subject to comprehensive European and American sanctions that include travel bans, making it rather difficult for him to promote tourism effectively.

In an Aug. 23 press release the nongovernmental human rights group U.N. Watch expressed "grave disappointment" at the U.N. decision to go ahead with the global tourism summit, calling it a "disgraceful show of support — and a terribly-timed award of false legitimacy—for a brutal, corrupt and authoritarian regime.

"Amid reports of election-rigging and ongoing human rights abuses, Zimbabwe is the last country that should be legitimized by a U.N. summit of any kind," commented U.N. Watch executive director Hillel Neuer.

According to local media, Neuer added, the Mugabe regime wants to use the event to rebrand in the post-election period. "It's outrageous that the U.N. is allowing itself to be used like this as a propaganda tool," complained Neuer.

The NGO welcomed reports that Britain and Canada will not be sending any representatives to the event. But despite calls for other countries to stay away, more than 500 diplomats and dignitaries from 150 countries attended the UNWTO's 20th General Assembly at Victoria Falls.

Human rights activist Ephraim Tapa told SW Radio Africa on Aug. 20 that the U.N.'s decision to allow Zimbabwe to host the meeting is "hypocrisy at its worst." Tapa stated: "We would have thought this was a good opportunity for the U.N. to remain true to its values of freedom, of human rights, the rule of law and democracy, which in Zimbabwe were sold short."

He added: "If this is the stance of the United Nations, then where else can Zimbabweans turn to (for human rights protection)?"

— Steven Alan Honley, Editor

Gamesmanship

Alexandra Petri, who writes the *Washington Post's* humor blog, *ComPost*, devoted an Aug. 4 column to a riff on board games. Specifically, she expresses mock consternation at the announcement that Hasbro, which makes Monopoly, has come out with a new version, *Monopoly Empire*, that players can theoretically finish in just half an hour.

As Petri observes, "Is speed really worth it? If speed is all that we crave, we'll ruin everything! And if Hasbro is doing this to Monopoly, what are game-makers going to do to the rest of the

board-game world? What next?"

Though Petri doesn't include *Diplomacy* in her list of answers to that anxious question, here are a couple of other board games whose "new and improved" versions might interest *Journal* readers.

RISK: Instead of invading territories to take control of the board, the new *Risk* requires United Nations approval from other players. Kamchatka's permanent seat on the *Risk* Security Council makes any movement difficult. The highlight of the game is when you all send a single cavalryman to observe an election in Irkutsk, and it goes pretty okay. (This is not shorter than regular *Risk*, but it is too boring to play for more than 20 minutes at a time.)

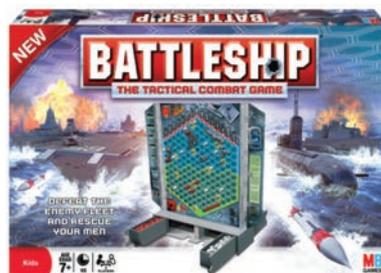
BATTLESHIP: The new edition includes a nuclear option—a button to sink all of the other player's ships at once. And destroy the entire board.

Pro: Game ends in a single second!
Con: Have to buy a new game board; rest of toy box contaminated with fallout.

Petri offers an alternative version of the game that is even quicker, in which the goal is to close the Strait of Hormuz instead of nuking the board.

Then she adds, "That's crazy! Who would close the Strait of Hormuz?"

— Steven Alan Honley, Editor ■



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PAYING THE PRICE OF EXPEDITIONARY DIPLOMACY

The challenge today's Foreign Service faces is how to determine the reasonable amount of risk worth taking to attain policy objectives.

BY JAMES STEPHENSON

Back in 1997, I attended mandatory counterterrorism training at the Foreign Service Institute in preparation for my next overseas assignment. There were perhaps 30 of us in the cavernous lecture hall when the instructor began by having each student state his or her posting.

When my turn came and I said, "Beirut," every head in the class swiveled to stare at me, some with looks of horror. Yet, far from having qualms about security threats, I looked forward to the challenges of reopening USAID's mission after a six-year hiatus.

The author is interviewed by *Army Times* at Tikrit Bridge in northern Iraq in 2004. (All photos courtesy of James Stephenson.)



James "Spike" Stephenson, a retired USAID Senior Foreign Service officer, has worked for 34 years in the field of development in conflict and post-conflict environments. He spent 13 months as USAID mission director in Iraq (2004-2005) and, until his retirement from the Foreign Service in 2005, was a senior adviser to the State Department's Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization. He also served as a USAID mission director in Serbia & Montenegro, and in Lebanon, in addition to assignments in Egypt, Barbados, Grenada, El Salvador, the Philippines and Washington, D.C.

Now the senior adviser for stabilization and development at Creative Associates International, Stephenson is a frequent lecturer and guest speaker on the changing nature of conflict and post-conflict engagement and civilian/military cooperation.



Route Irish, “the most dangerous road in the world,” according to the author, as seen from the passenger’s seat. Baghdad, 2004.

Don’t get me wrong: Just as was the case when I was posted to El Salvador, Serbia and Iraq, I was always pragmatic about the risks I was taking and asking others to take. And while I never had the privilege of meeting Ambassador Chris Stevens, what I know of his career convinces me he took a similar approach.

There is no doubt in my mind that when Amb. Stevens was killed last September, he was doing what he loved to do—and thought the mission was worth the risks to himself and his staff. Yet as I write this, another partisan committee is holding hearings to find evidence of willful negligence and a political

If he were still with us, Chris Stevens would be making the case that diplomats must go to dangerous posts—and, once there, cannot lock themselves inside bunkers.

cover-up. While I can’t say for sure, I very much doubt a persuasive case will ever be made for any of those charges.

Did Amb. Stevens make fatal mistakes in Benghazi? Undoubtedly. If he hadn’t died at the scene, he might well have been censured for poor judgment that cost lives. (Indeed, I wouldn’t be

surprised if he were criticized for that in the classified portion of the Accountability Review Board report.)

Should former Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton be censured for reportedly pressuring Amb. Stevens to establish a permanent presence in Benghazi, despite deteriorating

Plenty of FSOs willingly accept the risks of assignments to high-risk, high-threat places. There is no need to coerce their colleagues to bid on them.

security there in the months before his death? Perhaps.

However we answer those questions, one thing is clear: If he were still with us, Chris Stevens would be making the case that diplomats must go to dangerous posts—and, once there, cannot lock themselves inside bunkers. Doing their jobs properly puts them in harm’s way, which means some of them are going to die. Such is the price of expeditionary diplomacy.

Small Is Better

It was right and proper for Secretary Clinton to convene a distinguished Accountability Review Board, co-chaired by retired Ambassador Thomas Pickering and the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Admiral Mike Mullen, to identify multiple mistakes and errors in judgment and recommend steps to avoid future tragedies. However, it appears the very global doubling down on security the same report warned against has already come to pass.

U.S. diplomacy and development are increasingly conducted from fortress embassies, from which diplomats sally forth in four-car convoys of armored vehicles, protected by shooters who intimidate and alienate the very people the diplomats are trying to help and influence. That constraint on the work of diplomacy and development is a sword of Damocles hanging over the necks of decision-makers, from regional security officers to ambassadors and Cabinet members.

The minutiae of providing overseas security—threat levels, static and mobile protection, setbacks, convoy protocol, movement approval, risk evaluation—are vital. But perhaps they are not as important as the initial decision on the size of the U.S. mission. Is it really worth risking the lives of hundreds of diplomats in Baghdad, along with thousands of contractors, when they are effectively locked away from Iraqis in a fortress embassy compound? Similarly, did the civilian surge in Afghanistan accomplish anything of significance?

In June 2011, before the downfall of the Moammar Qaddafi regime, the Center for Complex Operations at the National



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Defense University convened a group of senior civilian and military veterans of Iraq and Afghanistan. They advised the State Department to opt for a small contingent of highly experienced diplomats in postwar Libya, rather than the huge footprint being employed in Iraq and Afghanistan.

They did so because they felt a small cadre of highly experienced officers could best engage the new government and civil society, encouraging Libyans to rebuild their own country. That model previously succeeded in Colombia and El Salvador, among other places.

Weighing the Risks

So who should decide which risks are acceptable? Rajiv Chandrasekaran wrote admiringly in the Aug. 13, 2011, *Washington Post* about Carter Malkasian, a State Department temporary hire who served for two years in the Garmser district of Afghanistan's Helmand province. There he basically rewrote his own job description and security protocols to reflect local conditions.

"Carter Sahib" learned Pashto, adapted to local customs and won the trust of local elders, thus gaining great if subtle influence. He even eschewed an armored convoy, instead traveling in a pickup truck with the district police chief. When I asked Malkasian if he ever worried that the police chief would betray him to the Taliban, he responded that there was a bigger downside to betraying him than supporting him.

As that comment shows, Malkasian took calculated risks that he deemed acceptable. But not all State employees have that luxury. In April, 25 year-old FSO Anne Smedinghoff and four other Americans were killed by an improvised explosive device while attempting to deliver donated textbooks to a school near a coalition base in Zabul province.

In the midst of our mourning over the tragic loss of an aspir-

My own close calls in Iraq in 2004 and 2005 quickly made me averse to asking my staff to assume risks I would not accept.



The author (at left) visits the Taza Power Plan in northern Iraq in 2004.

ing officer, few people asked why a dozen U.S. government civilians and soldiers were outside the wire, on foot, for what was essentially a photo op.

The State Department is unlikely ever to convene a Zabul Accountability Review Board, given that similar incidents in Afghanistan and Iraq have been exempt from the review requirement since 2005. So we may never find out just who in Kabul decided such a mission was worth risking a dozen lives—much less why. But the Foreign Service ought to be asking that question anyway.

The challenge, of course, is striking a balance between risk aversion and recklessness, to arrive at the reasonable amount of risk to attain policy objectives. Too often,

the assessment comes not from the officers actually facing the danger, but from policymakers and career civil servants who may well never be in such a situation. The resulting bad decisions affect not only FSOs, but local nationals, contractors and members of nongovernmental organizations who work for or with the U.S. government—as well as innocent bystanders.

My own close calls in Iraq in 2004 and 2005 quickly made me averse to asking my staff to assume risks I would not accept. This sometimes meant refusing orders to undertake activities I deemed not worth the danger to my staff. (Even then, I sweated every convoy we sent into the red zone.) Personal exposure is a healthy caveat when decision-makers are assessing the risks they want others to take.

Expeditionary diplomacy and development missions are often partnered—or led, as in the case of provincial reconstruction teams—by the military. And whereas State and USAID strive for zero casualties, our colleagues at the Department of Defense only seek to reduce them, since they view them as a necessary cost of waging war. This is an important distinction to bear in mind.

Service at unaccompanied posts is dangerous and demanding, and a world apart from more traditional postings. In my experience, such jobs are for the few, not the many.

A Personal Decision

A near-zero degree of tolerance for the death or maiming of unarmed civilian employees in hostile environments induces a healthy caution in making decisions about how they are deployed and protected. However, Employee Evaluation Reports and Accountability Review Board investigations should not be used to drive diplomats behind high walls and keep them there.

Sadly, the Benghazi tragedy and subsequent ARB will likely have a global chilling effect on threat assessment and the deliberations of regional security officers. Yet except in cases of willful negligence, misconduct or egregious misjudgment, we need the ARB to be an instrument for learning—not an instrument for punishment. Otherwise, those on the ground will simply choose not to take risks, even when they are manageable and necessary to achieve a policy objective.

Ambassador Chris Stevens was in Libya because he wanted to be, not because State sent him there against his will. In contrast, USAID requires its FSOs to bid on at least one of the following critical-priority countries each assignment cycle: Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan, South Sudan or Yemen. Each of those posts meets the ARB's definition of "high-risk, high-threat": "high to critical levels of political violence and terrorism, governments of weak capacity, and security platforms that fall well below established standards."

Service at unaccompanied posts is dangerous and demanding, and a world apart from more traditional postings, where the officer is usually accompanied by family and pets. In my experience, such jobs are for the few, not the many.

For that reason, no one should be required to serve at a high-risk, high-threat post. Instead, leave those assignments to the officers who want to be there and willingly accept the risks. I am confident that, as in El Salvador, Colombia, Lebanon, Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan and other hot spots, the Foreign Service will always have more than enough qualified, committed personnel to meet the need. ■

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DEFINING AND MANAGING ACCEPTABLE RISK

A self-professed adrenaline junkie traces the evolution of her thinking about spending most of her Foreign Service career in tough places.

BY ANGIE BRYAN

The definition of what constitutes “acceptable risk” has evolved considerably during my 21 years in the Foreign Service. I still remember an A-100 instructor who assured us back in 1992 that State would close an embassy and pull out the entire staff if the host country could not (or would not) protect us.

Fast-forward to 2008. As I stood in the debris of a massive attack on our embassy in Yemen—during which host-country security forces literally fled the scene instead of defending our facility—I remembered that instructor’s comment. How different things had become over the course of my career!

Sure, we’d sent home family members before the attack (one of three during my tour), but the majority of our officers

Angie Bryan, a political officer, joined the Foreign Service in 1992. In addition to postings in Kuwait, Damascus, Algiers, Lahore, Islamabad, Lyon, Sanaa and Washington, D.C., she has been acting principal officer in Peshawar, Strasbourg and Marseille. She is currently political-economic counselor in Stockholm.

remained at post. After all, what we were doing in Yemen wasn't something we could walk away from just because it was dangerous. If anything, the fact that it was dangerous rendered our presence even more vital.

It was in Algiers that I began pondering whether the Foreign Service was taking the right approach to staffing danger-pay posts.

desperate attempts to staff such challenging posts. Almost immediately after I arrived, I began to get questions about whether I planned to extend, formulated in a way that made it clear the department wanted me to say yes. I had no idea

“A Self-Professed Adrenaline Junkie”

Looking back over the progression of my career since joining the Service in 1992 at the tender age of 23, I still remember how excited I was to discover that postwar Kuwait was on the list of vacancies for my A-100 class. With a background focused on Arab politics and Islamic extremism, I hoped to spend most (if not all) of my career in the Arab world, so Kuwait was a dream posting for me.

I devoted a great deal of energy to persuading the entry-level division of the Office of Career Development and Assignments to choose me for the job. When my efforts paid off on Flag Day, I discovered that many of my colleagues were delighted I had wanted to go there—so they wouldn't have to.

A self-professed adrenaline junkie, I followed Kuwait with assignments to Damascus and Algiers. Algeria was my first danger-pay posting, my first one-year assignment and my first experience living on an embassy compound. But because our movements were so severely restricted, it was difficult to form deep bonds with Algerians who did not work at the embassy.

It was there that I first began pondering whether the Foreign Service was taking the right approach with regard to staffing danger-pay posts. To be sure, the money was excellent—perhaps too excellent. Not an insignificant number of colleagues were quite open about the fact that they had chosen to serve there because (and only because) of the money.

Several of them appeared to be fleeing unpleasant personal situations (such as messy and costly divorces) back home—situations that often left them in a fragile emotional state and poorly equipped to handle the stresses of living under a constant security threat. I witnessed the same phenomenon years later in Sanaa, where some colleagues admitted to me that they were not coping well with the pressure. Yet they stayed, simply because they could not afford to give up the financial benefits of serving in an extreme hardship, high danger-pay post.

It was also in Algiers that I first experienced the sometimes-

yet whether I was going to like it there, and—more importantly—the department didn't know whether I was a good fit for the job or that kind of environment.

I found it troubling that State would push me so hard to extend, and had similar concerns when it unveiled the linked assignments program as an incentive to serve in Afghanistan, Iraq and Pakistan. Why should someone be rewarded with a highly competitive three-year posting for merely serving in a priority posting in an AIP country? Shouldn't the department and the receiving post wait to find out whether the employee actually did a good job in the position?

While the vast majority of my colleagues in such places were top-notch, there was a handful who were subpar. You can guess which ones: Those who had taken the assignment because their time in class was about to expire, and hoped that a posting in a high-visibility country would buy them some time to revive their flagging career.

Time for a Change?

After Algiers, I did a brief tour in Washington, then headed to Lahore and Islamabad, where I was posted as the Afghan watcher at the time of the 9/11 attacks. After extended temporary duty stints in Kabul and Peshawar, I spent the remainder of my tour running our refugee assistance program in Islamabad.

We experienced two terrorist attacks against the embassy and its personnel while I was in Pakistan, and for the first time in my career, I began thinking seriously about doing something different. Not forever, just for a tour. For the first time, I bid exclusively on non-hardship, non-danger postings.

Perhaps I had been naïve, but I was surprised to discover that there was no reverse version of fair-share bidding. My career development officer was quite open in telling me that there was no guarantee, even after nine years of nothing but hardship/danger postings overseas, that I would end up somewhere different. On the contrary, with Iraq opening up (I left Pakistan in 2003), the Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs would

Why should someone be rewarded with a highly competitive three-year posting for merely serving in a conflict zone?

expect someone with my background and experience to be among the first to volunteer.

I received quite a few e-mails from people telling me I had “gone soft,” “sold out” or was “neglecting my duty to my country,” but I stood my ground, arguing that I was on the verge of burning out and that Iraq would still be there three or four years down the line.

Luckily, things worked out, and I went to Lyon. I received a few “Are you bored yet?” e-mails in jest from friends, but the answer was always a resounding no. (Really, people, it’s France! How can you be bored in a country with that many varieties of cheese?)

In fact, that assignment opened my eyes to a whole new (for me, anyway) form of diplomacy. We worked with the French on issues pertaining to countries around the world, many of them in the same troubled countries where I had served earlier. In the process, I learned a lot about diplomacy (and cheese), extended, got promoted, and stayed anyway because I was so happy. But when it came time to bid, I decided I was ready to go back to what I’d always seen as my true calling: the Arab world.

How Many Other “Yemens” Are There?

Feeling refreshed and reinvigorated, I headed to Yemen in 2007, serving as deputy chief of mission for more than three years. My time outside the world of armored cars and bodyguards had been just what the doctor ordered, and I could once again feel my passion for adrenaline.

I also discovered a new kind of staffing/recruitment challenge. By now, the AIP incentive packages were so well-developed that it was very difficult for those of us at other posts in the region to recruit staff. This was particularly true at the section-chief level, since by that point in one’s career most people have family members.

Sanaa was an unaccompanied post, yet it was also a two-year assignment. If a mid-level Arabic speaker wanted to do a danger-pay post, he or she could choose one in Iraq (where he

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or she would be away from his or her family for only one year, and would receive regional rest breaks and more R&Rs). The FSO could also safehaven family members at the previous post, would be eligible for a linked assignment afterward, and would have far fewer expenses because of the access to free dining and medical/dental care. The only advantage of serving in Sanaa was the ability to live out in town and move around more freely, but that benefit eventually evaporated as the security situation deteriorated.

It was wonderful that the department had developed such strong incentive packages for AIP, but doing so really hurt places like Yemen which, as one colleague put it, “didn’t count” service-wise. So I was delighted when I learned after leaving Sanaa that State had finally put in place a more vigorous incentive program for service there. Still, I wondered how many other unrecognized “Yemens” were out there.

Give Time Off, Not Just Money

So what is the right way for the State Department to encourage and reward service in dangerous places? I’ve already expressed my concerns about overly high monetary incentives and linked assignments, although I would have no objection to giving people with a record of successful service in one or more danger-pay posts a competitive edge during bidding.

Along similar lines, I’m fine with giving faster promotions for proven strong performance. I’m also a big fan of the time-in-class extensions and the ability to safehaven one’s family at the previous post.

What I think would help the most, however, would be to grant increased leave days and minibreaks in a wider array of danger posts. I’ve found that I perform much better in such environments if I can take a short vacation (even just for a weekend) every eight to 10 weeks. Some time away can make a world of difference.

The department could also do a better job of instilling in its top managers, particularly at the ambassadorial level, an appreciation of the importance of work-life balance, especially in danger-pay posts. I remember two different ambassadors in high-threat countries who defended making people work on non-urgent matters until 11 p.m. or on weekends by saying, “There’s nothing else to do here anyway.”

State should consider granting increased leave days and minibreaks to personnel serving in a wider array of danger posts.

In fact, there’s always something else to do: laundry, Skyping with friends and family back home, hanging out with colleagues, playing cards, studying for an online course, writing (or reading) the great American

novel, exercising or planning the logistics of your next vacation.

If people are constantly expected to work late hours with no break, there’s no way to tighten the faucet when the security situation worsens. In the event of an attack, we need our people well-rested, sharp and focused—not burned out because they haven’t had any personal time for weeks (or months) on end.

Two Challenges to Keep in Mind

Despite the obvious difficulties, there are numerous advantages to serving in a hardship/danger post. The expatriate community tends to be an actual community, with people going out of their way to find fun things to do together. You often get the chance to work much more closely with military and law enforcement colleagues, experience that will make you much more competitive when you apply for DCM and principal officer jobs.

Such assignments also afford you the chance to experience life in places that would be difficult to visit as a tourist, and instill a heightened sense of gratitude for the not-so-little things: personal security, the ability to move around freely, reliable electricity and safe drinking water. They’ve also given me the ability to take things much more in stride. If nothing is exploding in my immediate vicinity, then don’t try to tell me that there’s a crisis.

There are, however, two challenges to repeated service in hardship and danger-pay posts that I don’t hear people discussing as openly as I think they should. The first one is medical: people who serve in unhygienic places are likely to get sick more often, and people who serve in places without good medical care may encounter problems that become far more serious than if they had been able to seek immediate treatment. These can include high blood pressure, teeth grinding, Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder and more.

The second challenge is relationships. If you have a family, it can be extremely difficult (and sometimes even damaging) to leave them behind for an unaccompanied tour. If you’re single, it can be next to impossible to find a long-term partner

The more skillfully the Foreign Service markets itself as an expeditionary force, the more successfully we'll attract people with the right skill sets.

if you're moving from one short-term unaccompanied posting to another—particularly when those postings are in countries where it is less culturally feasible to date among the local population.

Worth the Tradeoffs

All that said, I would still encourage people to seek out such postings at least once in their career. The trick is to go into them with your eyes open and to choose the right time for you and your family (if applicable). I did as many of those tough spots as I could when I was young because I didn't know whether later on I'd have other considerations, such as a husband, kids, elderly ailing parents or a health condition that could affect my bidding options.

Yet I also think it's important to encourage even the most diehard adrenaline junkies to balance their careers (and lives) by doing an occasional non-hardship/danger posting. Just as taking minibreaks from a danger posting can rejuvenate you, there is value in a less taxing assignment that reminds you what life-work balance is like elsewhere in the world.

Similarly, I always encourage colleagues who are bidding to look more closely at whom they'd be working for than where they'd be working. No matter where you serve, you perform better when you're happy, motivated and appreciated. And good performance—not merely serving in a dangerous place—is what ultimately leads to promotion.

My career didn't end up going as I had envisioned it at 23, but whose does? I've been happy for the last 21-plus years, whether serving in hardship/danger posts or in Western Europe, and I'm extremely grateful to the Foreign Service for giving me so many opportunities.

I've also been encouraged to see so many entry-level officers anxious to serve in more challenging places. The more skillfully the Foreign Service learns to market itself as an expeditionary force, whose members (like the military) routinely seek out tough jobs in tough places, the more such colleagues we're going to attract. ■



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THE USAID CIVILIAN RESPONSE CORPS

Corps members have bolstered the peace and prosperity of the United States through their dedication to the alleviation of human suffering in the world's trouble spots.

BY HARRY R. BADER



The author is suited up for a low-altitude aerial forest inventory in Kunar province in Afghanistan.

Back in 2011, a Civilian Response Corps specialist named Matt climbed a radio tower above a combat outpost in eastern Afghanistan, weighed down by 75 pounds of body armor, tools and specialized spare parts. While Matt worked on the tower, two Army Civil Affairs soldiers stood guard below.

To get to the site, the team had hiked for a mile, gaining more than 500 feet in elevation, in 95-degree heat. They would repeat the process, under similarly difficult conditions, another 10 times in different districts, as part of a military program to bring radios and broadcast

Harry R. Bader was a member of the U.S. Agency for International Development's Civilian Response Corps-Active from July 2009 through October 2011, during which time he twice served in eastern Afghanistan. He received USAID's Award for Heroism in 2011 for conduct related to the activities of the Natural Resources Counterinsurgency Cell, as well as an Individual Meritorious Honor Award in 2010 for "expeditionary diplomacy in disrupting terrorist networks." When not deployed overseas, Bader was an assistant environment officer in the Bureau of Democracy, Conflict and Humanitarian Assistance. He is now an associate professor of polar and environmental security studies at the University of Alaska in Fairbanks. (All photos are courtesy of the author.)

programming to remote corners of one of the most contested provinces in the country.

The project was designed to counter insurgent propaganda, provide much-needed information regarding Afghan government activities and programs in the province, and assist with extension agricultural education efforts. Later, when asked to explain its success, a lieutenant colonel responded with just three letters: “O-C-R,” referring to the Office of Civilian Response which administers the USAID Civilian Response Corps.

“There to Help Win the War”

Matt was not alone in that endeavor, of course. A total of 42 people, all current U.S. government agency employees, have served as USAID CRCA specialists around the world, providing direct assistance through hands-on expertise during crises. (The “A” is for the active designation, distinguishing its members from reserve and standby CRC participants.) Each member is a “one-stop-shop” project designer, program manager and field implementer, possesses a specific technical skill set, and has been trained to operate in extreme physical and social environments with minimal institutional support.

Following the guiding vision of Foreign Service officer John Champagne, who established the USAID component of the Civilian Response Corps, the men and women of the organization are committed to advancing U.S. strategic interests through the mechanisms of social capacity building, economic development and community mobilization. One CRCA participant debriefed by the National Defense University following his mission in Afghanistan (one of 200 accounts now archived at the U.S. Institute of Peace at www.usip.org) reflected that “USAID CRCA was there to help win the war” by promoting national security in a manner that reflected the generosity and empathy of the American people.

I am honored to have been a member of the USAID CRCA from July 2009 to October 2011. Beginning with the four-month training regimen, the USAID staff and administrators instilled a set of principles that embody what expeditionary diplomacy is all about.

Initially, CRC’s goal was to act decisively, under extreme conditions without significant support, to promote American objectives. Under training manager Tim Sikes, this mission expanded to include the acquisition of the knowledge and skills necessary to make good decisions in the field, taking into account the mission’s value, the probability of success, and a reasonable assumption of risk within the context of a threat



David Postwick

The author returns from a dismount patrol to investigate illegal saw mills in an insurgent-controlled valley in Afghanistan’s Kunar province.

matrix. The threat matrix involved the integration of such considerations as the potential for harm to personnel, the degree of harm, and the irreversibility of detriment to the mission's objectives should the mission fail.

A key premise was that corps members voluntarily assumed inherent risk, recognizing that it was impossible to avoid danger when carrying out overseas missions. But that did not mean it was acceptable to be reckless. Instead, we adhered to practices USAID personnel had developed during earlier operations in Vietnam, El Salvador, the Philippines and Iraq.

The Natural Resources Counterinsurgency Cell

During my two deployments to eastern Afghanistan in 2010 and 2011, my mission was to help create, and then co-lead, a joint military-civilian team, the Natural Resources Counterinsurgency Cell. Our mission was to deny insurgents access to financial and human capital derived from the illegal exploitation of natural resources within the provinces of Kunar, Nuristan, Laghman and Nangarhar.

The composition of the NRCC eventually grew to include personnel from USAID and several elements of the U.S. Army: Civil Affairs, Special Forces, Counterinsurgency Advisory and Assistance Teams, and Human Terrain Teams.

The primary focus of the NRCC was to ascertain the extent to which profits derived from illegal timber extraction and trafficking supported the various insurgent organizations operating in eastern Afghanistan. We also sought to assess the impact of the illegal trade on sustainable development programs and civil society capacity building efforts. We then drew on those findings to design and implement (without the use of contractors) programs to disrupt insurgent smuggling networks and promote local self-sufficiency in forest-based villages.

Our first step was to obtain an estimate of the extent and condition of forests in our section of Afghanistan. With logistical support from Task Force Mountain Warrior, Colonel Randy George and Senior Department of State Representative Dante Paradiso, the NRCC mounted a science-based forest survey and inventory.

During a single 30-day period in 2010, I participated in low-altitude helicopter survey flights, foot patrols in the mountains and local meetings on 20 separate missions, operating out of

Corps members voluntarily assumed inherent risk, recognizing that it was impossible to avoid danger when carrying out overseas missions.

17 different overwatch posts, combat outposts and forward operating bases. Assets and guidance for these missions were coordinated by the task force's civil affairs commander, Major Clint Hanna.

The second phase was to conduct a detailed assess-

ment of the structure, control and operation of smuggling networks. This required several months of dismount patrols to investigate clandestine logging operations, saw mills and illicit markets, as well as conduct dozens of interviews with a wide variety of smuggling participants. Once we understood the extent and nature of the timber extraction and smuggling syndicates, we began to organize a response that thwarted the insurgents' village mobilization efforts.

Specifically, the NRCC designed programs to bolster local communities as the primary bulwark against the insurgency, in a manner that reinforced local custom and beliefs. We concentrated on identifying the men most likely to be recruited by insurgent organizations as mid-level, local leaders.

It Takes a Village

Consistent with data provided by the USAID Evidence Summit for Countering Insurgency, convened in late 2010 by USAID Administrator Rajiv Shah, NRCC research found that the individual fighter was irrelevant in guerrilla war. Rather, the community is the essential organizational unit.

Thus, developing effective tactics to defeat the enemy requires an appreciation of the local social structures that hold the loyalty and respect of these men. That knowledge, in turn, paves the way for programs to decouple the community from the insurgency.

Investigating the motivations of these men produced the realization that the desire for economic gain and material advancement contributed little to the decisions of these particular high-value men to join insurgent groups. The NRCC found that the three primary motivations for joining the insurgency, in descending order of priority, were: the desire to protect local values from outside influences; belief in a theocratic social order; and membership in an obligation network requiring loyalty to a person, family, organization or place.

The targeted men wished to promote these goals while demonstrating integrity, piety, physical fitness, intellectual acumen and honor. With that in mind, the NRCC partnered

with Special Forces and Counterinsurgency Advisory & Assistance Teams, which were created in 2009 to conduct timely and accurate assessments of local conditions, and make recommendations directed at the tactical level across the theater.

Some of these teams were tasked with conducting Village Stability Operations, based on the notion that the integration of security, development and governance leads to stability. Under this initiative, Special Forces teams lived in selected communities and established collaborative relationships with villagers and their traditional governance structures.

Drawing on Best Practices

Expeditionary diplomacy requires the same best practices as other diplomatic and development activities. Close com-

Expeditionary diplomacy requires the same best practices as other diplomatic and development activities.

munication with supervisors and officials back in the embassy and in Washington is essential to ensure unity of effort. Conversely, it also requires constant communication with colleagues and operators in the field to

ensure tactical consistency.

My own role in the NRCC was officially listed under both chief-of-mission and combatant command authority, in an arrangement that was evocative of some aspects of USAID participation in the Civil Operations and Revolutionary Development Support program four decades ago in Vietnam. Coordination with colleagues in the USAID Office of Transition Initiatives, the U.S. National Guard Agribusiness Development Teams, and the various Provincial Reconstruction Teams located within the NRCC's area of operations was critical.

In the case of USAID CRCA, because of important sensi-

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tivities regarding the role of development within a wartime context, a high priority was placed on effective communication with the larger development community. Corps members were frequently imbedded within military institutions as a force multiplier.

As such, they had to take care not to contradict traditional USAID assistance programs. In addition, their activities had to be cognizant of the needs of nongovernmental organizations so as not to engage in conduct that could jeopardize independent humanitarian assistance providers.

During my service with USAID CRCA in Afghanistan, I participated in 58 NRCC missions “outside the wire.” Often, these missions involved finding and inspecting clandestine timber cutting operations, saw mills, wood transit depots and smug-

One of the most useful outcomes from the NRCC is the detailed description of timber smuggling networks and their relationship with communities.

gling routes to Pakistan.

Most of these operations took place at the platoon level or with small teams with fewer than six men. About a half-dozen of them involved dismounted patrols between 10 and 15 kilometers in length.

One of the most useful outcomes from the NRCC’s work is a detailed description of timber smuggling networks and their relationship with communities. We learned that interdiction efforts alone, as a mechanism to combat illegal timber exploitation, could not work. As a consequence, changes were made in military tactics, from kinetic operations to development spending.

Assessing the NRCC’s Legacy

Beyond that, the ultimate impact of the NRCC on the war effort is difficult to ascertain. The complex interaction of military operations, standard international development programming by USAID and coalition partners, and internal insurgent dynamics creates a milieu within which it is nearly impossible to divine cause and effect.

These missions did, however, bring home to us the wisdom of what we had learned during our training: Keep the calculus of risk assessment, mission value and probability of success at the forefront of every decision to undertake a mission. In addition, effective expeditionary diplomacy takes into account both the requirements and the limitations of whole-of-government collaboration. Success demands that no one individual or organization can act unilaterally or in isolation. We all depend on one another.

The training and vision of USAID CRCA made clear that our mission was to promote the critical security interests of the United States while ensuring the very highest standards within the American tradition of socioeconomic assistance. I was fortunate to work with 41 other USAID CRCA members that exemplified this commitment.

Wherever deployed in the world’s trouble spots, these men and women served with distinction to ensure the peace and prosperity of the United States through a dedication to the alleviation of human suffering. Though the USAID CRCA is scheduled to end soon, and no new appointments will be made as current contracts expire, the CRCA experiment within USAID truly exemplified effective expeditionary diplomacy. ■

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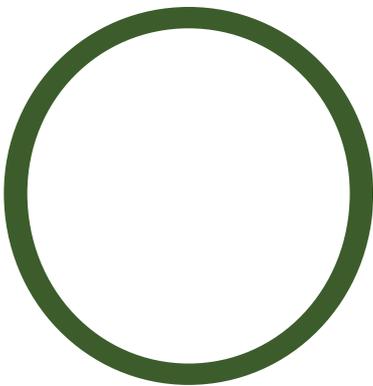
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REBALANCING NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY AFTER AFGHANISTAN AND IRAQ



ver the past 500 years, every major war has ended with the combatant powers reassessing their interests, relationships and power, then crafting new strategies to guide policy in the postwar world. Not all these reassessments, how-

ever, produce coherent, consistent strategies.

Since 1898 the United States has fought five major conflicts, and emerged from two of them with viable strategies: the Spanish-American War and World War II. After two others—World War I and the Cold War—we failed to produce viable strategies. The fifth conflict, which I call the Post-9/11 Wars, is ending now, and we face the challenge of another assessment.

Unfortunately, we seem ill-prepared for the challenge. One example symbolizes the shortsightedness that hobbles our current politics and thinking. In February 2011 the House

It is time to educate the American people about national security fundamentals, so we can conduct a meaningful reassessment of our current strategy.

BY THOMAS E. MCNAMARA

Appropriations Committee decided that only Defense, Veteran Affairs and Homeland Security constituted “the national security budget,” where it would allow no cuts. It then cut the budgets of the foreign affairs agencies. This decision prevails in the House today.

Such choices prove the wisdom of that great strategic

Thomas E. McNamara, a retired career Foreign Service officer, served as assistant secretary of state for political-military affairs, ambassador to Colombia, ambassador-at-large for counterterrorism, and on the NSC staffs of Presidents Reagan and George H.W. Bush, among other senior assignments. This article is adapted from his May 23 address to the Foreign Affairs Retirees Association of Northern Virginia.

thinker, Pogo, who observed: “We have met the enemy, and he is us.”

We suffer from a form of national narcissism, falling in love with our own military might.

What Went Wrong?

After a good start by President George H.W. Bush, we decided “it’s the economy, stupid,” and focused inward. As a result, we prospered domestically, but with no viable strategy; and we were tentative and inconsistent internationally. Overly involved in Somalia, we departed ignominiously. We hesitated over NATO expansion, and in strategically important Yugoslavia, and then stood and watched the Rwandan genocide. In Haiti, we got it right—on our second try.

We were not alone in our hesitancy. Our European allies, older and supposedly wiser, obsessed over the European Union and dismantled their militaries. Also lacking a strategy, they badly fumbled the Balkan and Caucasus crises in their own backyard. These mistakes cost, as power ebbed away.

After 9/11 a “pendulum swing” (to which Americans are susceptible) made us overconfident and impulsive. We adopted another false slogan, “global war on terror.” President Bush 43 said history offered no guidance for this unique, new, global threat—which was neither unique nor global.

We enjoyed initial success against the Taliban and al-Qaida, but without a strategic vision, mission creep led to a decade-long attempt to restructure Afghan society—ignoring the country’s history, culture and politics, as well as South Asian power relationships. Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld’s declaration that “The mission determines the alliance; the alliance does not determine the mission” epitomized the hubris of the time.

Without finishing Afghanistan, or pausing to think, we sought another monster to destroy and started a second land war in the region. The administration belittled its partners’ concerns about Iraq, and offered widely-differing explanations and objectives for the intervention, including the belief that it could transform the Middle East.

Because the two wars competed for scarce resources, neither got enough. Both campaigns were conducted off-budget, sapping our economic strength. These expensive, inconclusive conflicts have contributed mightily to our economic, political and military deficiencies today. We suffered from strategic astigmatism by following slogans, not coherent strategy.

It is time for a reassessment, and time to educate the Ameri-

can people in national security fundamentals. Leaders who cannot explain strategy, or mistake tactical success for strategic strength, fail in an essential duty.

Both in the White House and in Congress, leaders of both parties have been guilty of this failure. By contrast with the aftermath of World War II, they have neither debated national strategy nor drawn the public into a discussion of it. Instead, our leaders are mired in petty, partisan bickering over inconsequential matters.

As a result, national misconceptions about the respective roles of foreign policy and military policy cloud our thinking, distort our worldview and overstate our ability to change that world.

Rebalancing the Elements: Foreign Policy

Let’s begin with foreign policy, and its means of implementation, diplomacy. The House Appropriations Committee’s benighted and destructive deprecation of foreign policy is symptomatic of a distorted view of this central pillar of national security. Congress’s disregard for diplomacy and fascination with force undermine national security.

The attitude reflects recent American impatience with the complexities of foreign policy, and a desire for simple, tough-guy quick fixes. Military action tends to evoke positive popular and congressional responses, at least initially. Yet the use of force is never quick, simple or cost-free.

To rebalance strategy, our leaders must revalue foreign policy. Since Richard Nixon, we have not had an articulate president explain the strategic role of foreign policy to the American people. President George H.W. Bush understood and valued diplomacy, but could not articulate “the vision thing.” His successors neither articulated it nor understood it. This has left the public adrift and our policy weak.

Today we again face protracted struggles, not unlike the Cold War. We can start a national discussion by recalling three Cold War lessons, which largely explain our success in that 45-year effort, as well as our failures in the two decades since.

- We succeeded primarily through vigorous diplomacy, backed (not led) by a strong, properly structured military force.

- We were strongest when we attracted, not demanded, the support of our allies and partners. As part of our outreach, we accommodated their interests and viewpoints.

■ We cultivated our economic, political, cultural and ideological power, while neither ignoring nor exaggerating military power. The Cold War is an excellent example of how complex power levers, manipulated wisely, can reduce the need for force, and succeed efficiently and effectively.

The Shield and the Sword

Seventy years ago, during World War II, Walter Lippmann wrote a book, *Foreign Policy: Shield of the Republic*. As the title suggests, the Shield, foreign policy, comes first and, when properly used, reduces the need to employ the Sword, military force. The role of foreign policy in peacetime is to hold up the Shield and to guide the Sword. Properly balanced, the two work symbiotically.

No recent president has used the bully pulpit to proclaim this central tenet. Our leaders are not telling the public that the Shield is the most cost-effective method to defend the republic, and that the Sword backs up our policies. We rightly support our military, yet Congress denigrates diplomacy and beggars foreign policy through budget cuts. Its persistent and consistent message to the public is this: military force counts; diplomacy is a waste of money.

Foreign policy and diplomats are like football linemen—noticed only for mistakes. The public does not understand that these linemen build and maintain the alliances and coalitions, increasing the effectiveness of the Sword. In ordinary times, diplomats are the peacekeepers.

Unfortunately, diplomacy is largely conducted overseas and out of sight. It has a weak constituency compared to the huge military-industrial complex that dominates our Congress and blinds it to military limitations. There is neither a diplomatic-industrial complex, nor a Chamber of Diplomacy supporting foreign policy.

After Benghazi, diplomacy has gotten more recognition, but for the wrong reasons. Our major problem is not bad talking points, or defending our embassies. Ignorance of the role of foreign policy is a strategic weakness. That is the problem we need to focus on, not finding scapegoats for the tragedy in Benghazi.

In our approach we differ from our British allies, who long ago learned that the Shield is their first and best defense, and

Effective field operations take into account both the requirements and the limitations of whole-of-government collaboration.

is almost always more efficient and effective than the Sword. Such an understanding is the way to long-term success.

Rebalancing the Elements: The Military

Far from disparaging military power, I welcome it. After all, a foreign policy unsupported by adequate military power is sterile and unsuccessful. At the same time, military force not guided by a coherent foreign policy is reckless and destructive.

Because we have forgotten that truth, we suffer from a form of national narcissism; we have fallen in love with our own military might. We have been excessively militaristic since 9/11.

Our military leaders understand the problem and are not infatuated with force. Admiral Mike Mullen, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, has flatly declared that “U.S. foreign policy is still too dominated by the military.” He amended the Weinberger-Powell Doctrine with Mullen’s Corollary: We will commit military force “only if and when the other instruments of national power are ready to engage, as well.”

Along the same lines, former Secretary of Defense Bob Gates said specifically that military operations should be “subordinated to measures aimed at promoting better governance, economic programs that spur development, and efforts to address the grievances among the discontented.” That sounds strikingly like what diplomats do every day.

An intensive national debate established a balanced strategy after World War II. The wisdom of those “present at the creation” laid the foundation for successes by eight presidents, who adopted and adapted the strategy of containment. In his book, Lippmann defined a correct, effective foreign policy based on a principle we seem to have forgotten:

“In foreign relations, as in all other relations, a policy has been formed only when commitments and power have been brought into balance. ... [T]he nation must maintain its objectives and its power in equilibrium, its purposes within its means and its means equal to its purposes. Its commitments related to its resources and its resources adequate to its commitments. ... [Without this principle] it is impossible to think at all about foreign affairs.”

Lippmann’s admonition remains valid 70 years later. Our policies today are in disequilibrium. The world has changed.

It is less dangerous, but also more complicated, than it was during the Cold War. We now risk suffering a thousand cuts, not one massive strike.

But instead of aligning our military structures, doctrines and missions to reflect this understanding, we have abused and exhausted our military personnel and equipment. Our armed forces always salute and say “can do,” even when they never should have been asked. Lacking strategic priorities, America has overused the Sword, so that its blade is now chipped and dulled.

And these are only the political-military policies. Industrial, financial, trade, environmental, refugees, human rights and nonproliferation policy all need strategic prioritization. Strategy is about priorities, yet our pendulum swings demonstrate we have not established priorities. Tactics rule when strategy is uncertain, and the nation is weakened.

Today presents the best opportunity since 1993 to rebalance national security. Fortunately, the beginnings of that process are already visible. President Barack Obama and our military leaders deserve credit for recognizing the need to reassess, rebuild at home and revivify alliances and partnerships. A national discussion of national security strategy is the next step.

Toward a Post-9/11 National Security Strategy

Here are some principles for that strategy:

- Domestic strength is absolutely fundamental. Our strongest assets are our economy, society, culture, political institutions and democratic ideology. Let us rebuild these first, without partisanship.

- The essence of strategy is to balance commitments with capabilities by setting priorities that recognize our strengths and limitations. Our reach should exceed our grasp only in our aspirations, never in our actions.

- We should restructure our military and diplomatic resources so each plays its proper role. Flexibility, agility and imagination are critical. In peacetime, the Shield guides the Sword, which is used only when the Shield is insufficient.

- We should strengthen alliances, partnerships, international organizations and relations with new, emerging powers. No great nation has remained great, except as the leader of a powerful coalition.

Since Richard Nixon, we have not had an articulate teacher at the bully pulpit explaining the strategic role of foreign policy.

- We should work hard, but patiently, to promote international stability, the rule of law and respect for liberty, and should give a high priority to transnational issues. At the same time, however, we must understand and

accept that most nations’ interests are different from ours.

Regional Issues

- Our Asia-Pacific “pivot” should make clear our desire that no one nation dominate the region.

- With that in mind, we should maintain our Asian-Pacific regional alliances and presence, and strengthen partnerships. These threaten no one, but they enhance regional stability, as they did in Europe during the Cold War.

- We cannot and should not “contain” China, but should pursue mutually beneficial cooperation and encourage Beijing to assume a stabilizing role as a major power.

- We should continue to support NATO and a revitalized European Union, whose members should employ active leadership in Europe and well beyond. Promoting democracy and development in Eastern Europe continues an important objective, but must be balanced with mutually beneficial relations with Russia—even as Russian democracy fails.

- We should encourage modern, pluralist societies in Africa, the Middle East and throughout the Muslim world, discouraging radical ideologies that espouse rigid, militant intolerance. But we should actively oppose only regimes that are actively hostile to us.

- In our Western Hemisphere neighborhood, democratic stability with economic and social development must be our focus, especially in Mexico, Brazil and the Caribbean. A hemisphere-wide free trade agreement should be a cornerstone strategic objective.

Bucking the Trend

Let me end as I began, on a historical note—a cautionary observation, not a prediction. For the past 500 years, the world’s leading power at the turn of each century has lost that position within the first 30 to 50 years of the new century. If we are to buck that historical trend, we will need to be much smarter and more agile than we have been recently.

Fortunately, we have managed that feat before. And we can do so again. ■

TOGO TODAY AND IN 1970

A former Peace Corps Volunteer and USAID FSO reflects on his longstanding involvement with Togo.

BY MARK G. WENTLING

When I first landed in Lomé in 1970, along with a dozen other new Peace Corps Volunteers, I beheld this slogan on a colorful poster in the poorly lit airport: “Si vous ne connaissez pas le Togo, vous ne connaissez pas le Afrique.” *If you don’t know Togo, you don’t know Africa.* Pasted lopsidedly on a bare wall, that poster was the only bright spot in what was little more than a dilapidated warehouse.

After flying from New York through Dakar to Lomé, we were too tired to ponder the significance of that message. Still, I was excited enough about finally setting foot in Africa to spend most of the night walking the capital’s streets.

I have reflected on these words countless times during my 43 years in Africa. Likewise, my three-year Peace Corps posting in the village of Agu-Nyogbo was a formative experience that has continued to guide me ever since.

In 1987 I returned to Togo for four years as USAID repre-

sentative. It was an especially tumultuous period as the Togolese struggled to make the transition to democracy, and in 1990 their country seemed on the verge of taking off. Instead, it failed to do so and began a long downward spiral.

“When Togo Was Still Sweet”

This past March, I returned to the country for the first time in a decade. After visiting Lomé, I traveled 120 kilometers to Kpalimé, stopping at villages I had worked in as a Peace Corps Volunteer.

My goal was to compare today’s Togo to the country I knew 40 years ago, but I found this hard to do. For one thing, it was only in the cemeteries that I could find the people I once knew. There, I said my sad goodbyes.

I was pleased that my command of the local language,

Mark G. Wentling, a retired USAID Senior Foreign Service officer currently working in Burkina Faso, is the author of the recently published novel, Africa’s Embrace, a fictional account about the adventures of a young man from Kansas who travels to Africa and becomes caught up in a mystical, larger-than-life adventure. (All photos are courtesy of the author.)



The old U.S. embassy building in Lomé, as it looks today.

Ewé, was still good enough for basic conversation. Even a few words brought smiles to the faces of the people I greeted.

In Kpalimé, I told one old man that I had lived 40 years before in Agu-Nyogbo, at the foot of Mount Agu. As we talked, I could tell he was a bit senile, but he said one thing that intrigued me: “I am happy you knew Togo when it was still sweet.” He repeated this many times in a sing-song fashion, “When Togo was still sweet.”

I knew what he meant. There is still some sweetness in Togo, but this visit was mostly bittersweet for me.

Too many things stop in Africa when the original owner dies. Almost all the old bars and hotels I’d known were gone; Hotel Concordia, where I’d once stayed in Kpalimé, was abandoned and in ruins. I was told it had closed after the owner’s death 20 years ago. And the world-famous Kennedy Bar is

After a decade’s absence, this past March I returned to the country where my African saga began 43 years ago.

now a lottery office. And one of my favorite places, Chez Henri—a general store, bar and restaurant—had also disappeared.

Still, a few of my old haunts were still around, and I explored some new

establishments, as well. Over lunch at a new restaurant named “Happy Yourself,” I reflected that happiness was exactly what I needed.

Back in the 1970s I had taken the train from Agu-Gare to Lomé many times—always an exciting experience. Twenty years after the last train ran, the station in Agu-Gare now houses goats and the tracks have been overgrown by the bush. As far as I can tell, Togo has become one of the few countries in the world without any rail service.

I saw more people than ever before struggling to survive in Agu-Gare. Farmers used small hoes and machetes to eke



In a March 2012 ceremony in Ouagadougou, the author was given the title “Naaba Toega,” or Chief Baobab in the local Mooré language.

out a meager living. I saw few new buildings; instead, old homes were braced up to lodge large extended families.

During my Peace Corps service, I interacted extensively with local authorities and traditional chiefs. One of my most precious possessions is a letter begging me to stay longer following the end of my service in 1973—signed, stamped and thumbprinted by all 33 village chiefs of the Agu district.

There were some bright spots along the way. I was particularly pleased to see the German hospital, “Bethesda,” in Agu-Nyogbo still functioning. I once gave blood there to save the life of another volunteer, and my own life was saved after a bad case of malaria.

Agu-Nyogbo still looked good. But many of the villagers looked at me as though I was lost, and asked if I needed help. I wanted to reply, “Yes, I need help in finding the past.”

It was only in the cemeteries that I could find the Togolese people I once knew.

How Much Has Really Changed?

My main job during my Peace Corps stint was to cultivate school gardens and construct schools. So on my return visit, I stopped in a

village named Glekopé to see whether the three-classroom school I had built there was still standing. There was no sign of it, but on closer inspection, I could at least make out the old foundation. So I consoled myself with the thought that I had laid the foundation for things to come.

Back in the 1970s, the Peace Corps built more schools in Togo than any other organization. When I became associate Peace Corps director in Togo in 1973, following the end of my three-year stint as a volunteer, I worked to have this impressive achievement celebrated with a huge reception. For the photo of the assembled volunteers, diplomats and government officials who attended the 1974 celebration, hosted by

the Togolese minister of education, I was honored to be placed between the minister and our ambassador, Nancy Rawls (see the photo on this page).

During my March 2013 visit, some Peace Corps Volunteers passed me on the road. I wanted to talk to them, but what does a person who was a PCV more than 40 years ago say to a 22-year-old? Besides, they looked so quiet, walking on foot or riding their bicycles.

I recalled the volunteers of my day as being much rowdier, zooming about on motorbikes. While these were carrying lots of electronics wherever they went, I remember writing a letter home and waiting months for a reply. Whatever happened to the art of letter writing? How can you be immersed in a cross-cultural experience with a laptop, a cell phone and Internet everywhere?

Still, in some ways I envied the new PCVs, for they only know the present. Unlike me, they are not frustrated by having known Togo 40 years ago. The past was my problem, not theirs.

Then again, how much has life really changed in Togo? Today there are better roads, and more electricity, schools and health clinics, etc. But life is harder for the average person.

The Togolese I saw in March seemed less happy than those I had known in the 1970s. Back then, post-independence euphoria was still alive. People were full of hope and laughed a lot more. Today, life is much more expensive. There are too many mouths to nourish, care for, educate and employ.

Togo was home to just 2.2 million people when I arrived in 1970. Today it has nearly seven million inhabitants, and 65 percent of the population is less than 25 years old. The capital city of Lomé had 200,000 people in 1970; today it has two

One of my most precious possessions is a letter begging me to stay on after the end of my Peace Corps service in 1973.

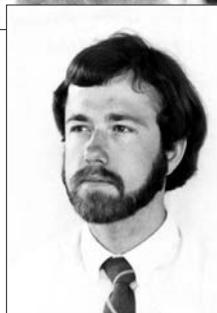
million. So it isn't surprising that the United Nations reports Togo's population density has risen from 30 per square kilometer in 1970 to more than 100 today.

Many more Togolese are educated now, but jobs are scarce. It is scary for me to see so many young people with diplomas, but without jobs. It is like watching a ticking human time bomb. How much longer before it explodes? Will the population finally rise up against 50 years of autocratic rule?

In 1970, we were warned not to talk about the president, his army or his party, and all would be well. Before going to Togo this time, I received the same advice.



Above, a 1974 reception in Lomé to thank the Peace Corps for all the schools it had built. U.S. Ambassador Nancy Rawls, Togo government officials and PCVs were present. At right, the author in 1970 as he set out on his Peace Corps assignment.



Lomé, Old and New

I was sure the century-old German wharf in the capital, where I used to fish, had disintegrated and fallen into the ocean by now. But its remnants were

still there. I recall some of the volunteers who arrived before me telling me how they had come to Togo via ship and were offloaded onto smaller boats at the wharf.

However, most of the places I once frequented in the capital have disappeared. The old U.S. embassy and cultural center are long gone, swamped by the overflow of the central market. Yet I could not look at the site without recalling a horrific scene from more than 20 years ago.

Our ambassador at the time, Harmon Kirby, had his office just above me on the second floor. We watched from his window on April 11, 1991, as a violent clash unfolded between government forces and hundreds of angry protesters. The crowd was standing around a truckload of dead people, killed the night before by soldiers.

In the midst of growing chaos, some demonstrators climbed the embassy compound walls. They eventually fled

after dumping their gruesome load of 28 bloated bodies in front of the building. It took many hours before the bodies were removed and we could leave.

Another spot on this same street is a bad memory for Togo and all of Africa. Sylvanus Olympio, Togo's first president, was murdered there, next to our embassy, on Jan. 13, 1963. Four Togolese soldiers recently released from the French army entered the compound to find Olympio hiding in a vehicle. They dragged him into the street and killed him.

This was Africa's first coup and the first assassination of a president. Sadly, coups soon became regular events on the continent. But I doubt the market women doing business on this spot in March knew what had happened here in 1963.

On a brighter note, there are some new restaurants and private hotels in Lomé. There are also many more Lebanese

How can you be immersed in a cross-cultural experience with a laptop, a cell phone and Internet everywhere?

than before, as well as lots of Indians and Chinese, new additions to the city's population. The weather has not changed, however. It is still hot and humid until about 5 p.m., when it becomes quite

pleasant.

I encountered various surprises, negative and positive, during my one-week stay in the capital. After checking into my hotel, I rushed to the bar and asked for a "BB." I was surprised when the bartender did not understand me. I explained to him that in the old days we all drank Bière Benin. He did not know when they had stopped making this popular beer that had made Togo famous for many.

The old tennis club located behind the presidential palace is still there. That is where I learned tennis and played it almost every day during the late 1980s. I was happy to see that some of the ball boys I knew then are now club pros. They

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The old wharf in Lomé, as it looks today.

greeted me warmly, the only time that I met any Togolese who remembered me. I am still glad I learned to play tennis in Togo.

I counted 50 ships anchored offshore in the harbor, most of them bound for ports in Cotonou and Lagos. Each one paid an anchorage fee to the Togolese government.

There were traffic police on every corner, but no more roadblocks, thankfully. Payment of a modest toll is now required on the Lomé-Kpalimé road. It's still hard to see where the western side of Lomé ends and Ghana begins, as there is urban sprawl on both sides of this artificial border.

The concrete podium on which President Eyadema's huge statue once stood, before it was demolished in 1991 by rioting protesters, is still there. (I still have a piece of marble from the statue.) The Dove of Peace statue on the road leading to the

Today I could make my own sign: "If you knew Togo 40 years ago, you don't know Togo now."

airport still stands, as if it is waiting for a genuine period of peace that has not yet arrived.

If You Know Togo's Problems...

I am glad I took this trip, but I remain confused by what I observed. I suffer from a strong case of nostalgia, so it is likely that my views are warped. Or maybe it's just not possible to look back over 43 years and tell a country's story in just a few words.

Much development progress still needs to be achieved. Sadly, Togo has already lost too much time, and a country as poor as Togo has no time to lose.

Sometimes I think that tourist poster I saw in 1970 should have read, "If you know Togo's problems, you know Africa's problems." Today I could make my own sign: "If you knew Togo 40 years ago, you don't know Togo now." ■

AFSA Celebrates the 15th Annual National High School Essay Contest

BY JENNIFER LOWRY, COMMUNICATIONS INTERN

On Aug. 8, Kailee Marie Pedersen, this year's winner of AFSA's High School Essay Contest, and her parents, Jon and Conni Pedersen of Lincoln, Neb., spent a day in Washington, D.C., with AFSA. During a breakfast meeting at the association's headquarters, AFSA President Robert Silverman presented Kailee with a check for \$2,500. The group then met with Secretary of State John Kerry at the Department of State, where he presented Kailee with AFSA's first-place certificate and a scholarship from Semester at Sea (a sponsor of the contest) for one semester on an educational voyage around the world.

In the afternoon, Kailee and her parents visited the U.S. Capitol with AFSA staff. Meg Murphy, protocol and foreign travel coordinator for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, graciously arranged a private tour. Kailee was invited to sit in the chair where such luminaries as President Barack Obama, former Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton and Secretary of State John Kerry have all sat.

In summing up her day in the nation's capital, Kailee said, "The making of policy is not only exciting, but it is also the making of history.



PHOTO BY MICHAEL GROSS, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Secretary of State John Kerry presents AFSA's first-place certificate, and Semester at Sea's scholarship, to Kailee Pedersen, this year's winner of the association's National High School Essay Contest, during a meeting at the Department of State on Aug. 8.

To witness the wheels of government turning is truly an astounding experience."

Upon returning home, Kailee met with Rep. Jeff Fortenberry, R-Neb., for a brief discussion. She also delivered 10 copies of AFSA's book, *Inside a U.S. Embassy*, to her alma mater, Lincoln East High School.

Kailee graduated from high school in June and began her studies at Columbia University in September. Keenly interested in foreign policy, she is engaged in

East Asian studies, with an emphasis on politics and literature. Kailee is proficient in five languages, but is focused on Russian, Japanese and French philology and culture. She firmly believes that the key to understanding a foreign culture is gained by knowing the language.

In 1999, AFSA created the annual nationwide High School Essay Contest for grades nine through 12, to stimulate student interest in U.S. foreign relations, and

Contest continued on page 48

CALENDAR

- 10/2/2013
12:00 - 2:00 PM
AFSA Governing Board Meeting
- 10/6/2013 - 10/11/2013
AFSA Road Scholar Program
- 10/13/2013 - 10/16/2013
AFSA Road Scholar Program
- 10/14/2013
**Columbus Day:
AFSA Offices Closed**
- 10/16/2013
12:00 - 1:30 PM
**Luncheon:
The 174th A-100 Class**
- 10/18/2013
12:00 - 2:00 PM
**Luncheon:
USAID's DLI-25 Class**
- 10/20/2013 - 10/24/2013
AFSA Road Scholar Program
- 10/21/2013
2:00 - 3:30 PM
**AFSA Book Notes:
"Mongolia and the U.S. -
A Diplomatic History"**
- 10/28/2013
12:00 - 1:00 PM
**Job Search Program
Brown Bag at FSI**
- 11/1/2013
12:00 - 1:30 PM
**Job Search Program
Reception at FSI**
- 11/6/2013
12:00 - 2:00 PM
AFSA Governing Board Meeting



Positions, Promotions and Paths: Oh My!

In last month's inaugural column I outlined three broad labor management priorities: career and professional development, security and work/life balance. This month I would like to discuss career paths and professional development for the Diplomatic Readiness Initiative/Diplomacy 3.0 generation, which now represents more than half of today's Foreign Service.

FS 101: SUPPLY AND DEMAND

The supply of, and demand for, Foreign Service employees have ebbed and flowed over time as a result of department leadership, geostrategic priorities and congressional funding. Intake fluctuated from the below-attrition hiring of the 1990s, to the new millennium's DRI and D3.0 historic hiring surges. Demand for Foreign Service employees increased because of the post-Cold War growth in independent states, the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan and shared executive and legislative branch desires for an increased Foreign Service training capacity (aka "the training float").

CAREER PATHS

The challenge for the department is how to accommodate the Foreign Service's rapid expansion and ensure that these new employees hired within the last 10

years have identifiable and rewarding career paths. The department has done a good job in introducing Career Development Programs for generalists and specialists to help prepare candidates for competition into the Senior Foreign Service. The CDPs are great at the individual level to guide professional development. However, AFSA members are beginning to express concerns about the macro picture. What happens to all of those new employees moving through the system—the proverbial pig in the python—as they start to approach the FS-2 and FS-1 levels? Where do they go, and how far and how fast?

DOWNSTREAM IMPACT

AFSA has started focusing on this macro question of career paths for generalists and specialists. In the Foreign Service personnel system, position numbers drive promotions—which is why it matters when a Foreign Service position, particularly a senior position, is permanently converted to a non-Foreign Service fill. This removes a Foreign Service position from the overall pool and has a corresponding downstream impact on all members of that skill code, not just the individual position in question. The impact is particularly acute in FS specialist skill codes that have few SFS positions to

begin with.

This is one of the reasons why AFSA has expressed concern about the disturbing trend of reductions in the number and percentage of senior positions encumbered by Foreign Service employees (*The Foreign Service Journal*, September 2013). In a rank-in-person personnel system such as that of the Foreign Service, every position matters, as it is a potential position and promotion prospect for a member of that skill code, without which there would be one less opportunity. The department is going to need additional Senior Foreign Service positions if it is to accommodate the members of the DRI/D3.0 generation as they progress through the system—not today, but gradually over time as they compete for positions.

COHORT ANALYSIS

The Bureau of Human Resources' Office of Resource Management and Analysis (*STATE* magazine, February 2011) is a great resource for personnel statistics. AFSA has encouraged this office to continue and expand its cohort analysis to better understand how employees who entered the Service in the last 10 to 15 years have progressed in their careers. Moreover, HR/RMA's complex models also have a predictive quality that can be used to forecast future

career progression and possible promotion rates. What do the promotion prospects look like so that we can better calibrate employee expectations? What additional information—cohort analysis or promotion prospects—could be included in the department's annual publication of promotion statistics?

The good news is that the department recognizes the coming challenges and has shown an interest in improving data analysis and distribution as part of an effort to better manage employee expectations, especially those regarding entry into the Senior Foreign Service. At one time, the rule of thumb was that a normal generalist career was one to the FS-1 level, and that one out of every three A-100 entrants would make it into the Senior Foreign Service. We do not know whether that is still the case. However, what we do know is that our people are our greatest asset and we owe it to them to "work the numbers" to be able to tell them what they can realistically expect. AFSA looks forward to partnering with the department in this endeavor.

I look forward to hearing from you about career paths in today's Foreign Service, especially from specialists. Next month I'll be writing about union democratic governance—what it is and why it matters. ■



Growing Pains at USAID

Numerous factors have eroded the long-term career Foreign Service cadre necessary to properly represent the U.S. government and provide the core leadership needed to promote our foreign policy objectives. With bipartisan agreement and strong AFSA support, the Development Leadership Initiative was launched by USAID to remedy this situation. The initiative, focused on hiring new Foreign Service officers to invigorate the Service, and re-establish United States' primacy in the global development arena, was completed in 2012.

As the premier development agency, furthering America's interests and improving lives in the developing world, USAID has attracted the best in its field. Between 2008 and 2011, USAID received more than 35,000 applications, with approximately 4 percent of applicants receiving offers, and more than 800 hired at last count. The success of the initiative has resulted in approximately half of USAID's Foreign Service being hired in the last five years. That is a great deal for any agency to absorb, and based on the feedback I've been getting, it appears USAID is going through some growing pains.

Such sudden growth would be challenging for any agency, and for USAID, it may be more complicated than most. Not only do we

have a huge surge in new employees, but we also have the dichotomy of different generations, different levels of experience, two different personnel systems within the agency (Civil Service and Foreign Service) and the complexities and logistics involved with managing a worldwide staff.

USAID is undergoing the strains and stresses of rapid expansion, learning curves and cultural clashes.

This era of a changing work force in the U.S., and at USAID, indicates that retaining talent is an ongoing challenge. Work-life balance and transparency in the decisions affecting employees are both paramount to today's work

force. If the agency does not try to align individual employees' needs with its objectives, talented people will leave.

The hurdle of doubling USAID's staff may be nearly complete. However, getting a diverse group of employees to act as a cohort, particularly when doubling in size, without a glitch is simply an unrealistic expectation. It takes skillful teambuilding, training and work-force planning to do it right.

USAID is undergoing the strains and stresses of rapid expansion, learning curves and cultural clashes. In the long run, I have no doubt that the struggles to address the concerns on all sides will pay off. As long as it strives to remain the premier U.S. overseas development agency, and keeps the lines of communication open,

then USAID will see its way through these growing pains. But this requires employees who are willing to learn from each other, admit fault when wrong, and adapt to changing conditions and demands.

"Everything works out in the end; if it's not all right, it's not the end," to paraphrase a quote from the movie, "The Best Exotic Marigold Hotel." USAID has made great strides in returning to its rightful place in global development leadership by strengthening its Foreign Service numbers, but the real work in adjusting to this growth and moving forward in strength is happening now. I look forward to hearing about your experiences, ideas and concerns, so please contact me at swayne@usaid.gov or (202) 712-1631. ■

ACTIVE AFTER ACTIVE-DUTY

At USAID, Sixty-Plus is the New Forty

Dear AFSA,

After re-entering the Foreign Service as an FS-limited appointee in December 2011, I had the privilege of working at the U.S. Agency for International Development mission in Islamabad for 15 months. It was one of the highest-pressure environments I have been in, particularly given regular State Department and congressional involvement in influencing funding decisions. This

might be expected for the second-largest civilian assistance program in the world, but kept me wondering how much real authority USAID retains in directing assistance flows.

Despite these frustrations, there were many rewards to working in Pakistan, but one struck me as especially important. Most of those pictured here have accrued decades of overseas experience. Indeed, roughly a third

of U.S. staff, direct-hire or contracted, are 60 years old or more. I find this significant for several reasons.

First, it indicates the benefits and uniqueness of experience. The officers shown here spent most of their careers in the developing world, dealing with instability and transitions in many countries. Our presence here reflects how many of us are drawn to these difficult places, where

Sixty-Plus continued on page 53



AFSA ON THE HILL

STOCK Act: A Victory for AFSA and Federal Employees

BY DAVID N. MURIMI, LEGISLATIVE ASSISTANT

On April 15, President Barack Obama signed into law S. 716, a bill modifying online financial disclosure requirements under the Stop Trading on Congressional Knowledge Act. The law required public, online financial disclosure reporting by congressional staff (except members of Congress and congressional candidates) and executive branch officers and employees, of certain financial disclosure statements and related forms.

NOT JUST ANOTHER BILL

For AFSA, this was not just another bill, but a bill that had the potential to jeopardize the safety of members of the Foreign Service. In fact, we were one of the first organizations to recognize that a bill prohibiting members of Congress and their employees from using nonpublic information derived from their official positions for personal benefit, requiring federal employees to post their personal financial information online, could end up putting thousands of federal employees and their family members at risk.

AFSA, along with a coalition of organizations representing federal employees, focused on eliminating certain provisions from the STOCK Act, in particular, the

provision requiring personal financial information from more than 28,000 federal employees to be posted publicly online.

For months, AFSA worked diligently to highlight the fact that Foreign Service personnel serving overseas already face the risk of being targeted. Posting their financial information on the Internet for all the world to see would constitute an even greater threat, including the possibility of abduction for ransom.

AFSA also worked with our coalition partners to pursue a legal challenge to the STOCK Act's public posting requirements on the basis that they violated federal employees' right to privacy.

THE VOICE OF THE FOREIGN SERVICE

The victory demonstrates the strength of AFSA's relationships with its coalition partners, our members and its advocacy efforts on Capitol Hill. We succeeded thanks to the tenacity of our coalition leaders, the merit of our arguments and through our outreach efforts to mobilize AFSA members to write to their members of Congress by arming them with information provided through AFSAnet messages, press releases and a STOCK

Act page created on our website. Those efforts helped secure temporary waivers of the provisions in September 2012 and March 2013, before passage of S. 716 finally fixed the problem.

WHAT DOES THE VICTORY MEAN FOR AFSA MEMBERS?

First, it means that we should not underestimate what AFSA can accomplish when we bring all our resources to bear. Second, it means that when given the freedom, our advocacy efforts make a difference. Third, that legislative success is within reach as long as we speak with a clear voice. Most importantly, that we acknowledge that our members are our greatest asset and that we continue to remind Congress of that fact every chance we get.

HISTORIC SUCCESS

This achievement was a group effort that drew on the support of many people: most notably, former Secretary of State George P. Shultz, former Deputy Secretary of State John Negroponte, former Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs Nicholas Burns and Ambassadors Thomas

Pickering and Ryan Crocker, who all wrote to Congress on AFSA's behalf. AFSA's team was led by Susan R. Johnson, AFSA's former president; Keith Curtis, former AFSA Foreign Commercial Service VP; and the association's advocacy, communications and outreach departments.

Together, our efforts serve as a model of what working collaboratively can accomplish.

SHARE YOUR VIEWS

We invite you to send us an e-mail at murimi@afsa.org to let us know how you feel about our advocacy efforts. Send us your suggestions on what our legislative goals should be; what issues are most important to you; what would you like to hear about from us; and do you view AFSA's efforts as effective? We are here for you. ■

AFSA on the Hill is a new regular column covering the association's advocacy efforts on Capitol Hill.

Adair Lecture: “Challenges Facing U.S. Diplomacy in Africa”

BY TOM SWITZER, DIRECTOR OF SPEAKER PROGRAMS

On Aug. 28, AFSA presented the 7th annual Caroline and Ambassador Charles Adair Memorial Lecture, kicking off the fall semester at American University’s School of International Service. Ambassador John Campbell, this year’s distinguished speaker, spoke on the topic of “Challenges and Opportunities Facing American Diplomacy in Africa” before a full house of students, faculty and guests in the Kay Spiritual Life Center at American University.

Amb. Campbell was an active-duty member of the Foreign Service from 1975 to 2007. In addition to serving twice in Nigeria (as political counselor from 1988 to 1990, and as ambassador from 2004 to 2007), he was also assigned to Abuja, Lyon, Paris, Geneva and Pretoria. His domestic assignments included deputy assistant secretary for the Bureau of Human Resources, and director of the Office of U.N. Political Affairs. He is now the Ralph Bunche Senior Fellow for Africa policy studies at the Council on Foreign Relations in New York.

During his lecture, Amb. Campbell remarked that in the past, many Africans believed that U.S. policy goals were democracy and economic development. However, he believes most Africans see U.S. priorities

toward Africa as moving away from diplomatic endeavors to security and defense concerns. The continent is not much of a U.S. priority—except when real or alleged terrorism makes it one.

Campbell asks why our military has established a significantly stronger pres-



Ambassador John Campbell meets with American University’s School of International Service students after delivering the Adair Lecture.

ence in Africa, while the traditional tools of diplomacy and development have seemed to stagnate? His broad answer is the so-called “securitization” of U.S. foreign policy since 9/11, a shift not well received by Africans. He went on to say that, “Too often in African missions, the understaffed Foreign Service is deflected into serving as a concierge for other larger agencies inexperienced at operating outside of the United States.”

What are possible solutions? According to Amb. Campbell:

- We need to develop a new consensus on what the role of U.S. diplomats should be, as well as a new consensus on the role of USAID. (He noted that AFSA has been doing yeoman service in

In closing, Amb. Campbell concluded by stressing that these solutions are not impossible. “Let us all remain positive and focused regarding the future of U.S. diplomacy. Positive outcomes are essential for our nation’s security,” he declared.

AFSA President Robert Silverman; Marshall Adair, former AFSA president and current Governing Board member; James Goldgeier, dean of the American University School of International Service; and Carola Weil, dean of AU’s School of Professional and Expanded Studies all joined Amb. Campbell on stage.

The Adair family generously supports the lecture series through a perpetual gift to AFSA’s Fund for American Diplomacy. The program is part of our national efforts to elevate awareness of the importance of diplomacy and development.

“The lectures are intended to expose students to individuals who actually practice diplomacy—to add the operational perspective to the academic perspective provided by the university. They are intended to challenge the students to get the most out of their universities’ curricula, and to inspire them to future public service, perhaps with the Foreign Service,” remarked Marshall Adair. ■

AFSA's National High School Essay Contest

Continued from page 43

inspire them to consider a career in the Foreign Service. This year's essay topic required contestants to write about how they would improve U.S. relations with one of the following countries: Burma, Greece, Kenya, Libya, Greece, India or Haiti. Ms. Pedersen's winning essay is entitled, "Burmese Days: Democratization and the U.S.–Burma Relationship."

Kailee is looking forward to her Semester at Sea voyage, during which she hopes to travel to Asia. AFSA's partnership with SAS (the shipboard program's academic sponsor is the University of Virginia) and its generous prize of a fully-funded Semester at Sea, has elevated the association's contest by raising the quality of the essays and attracting the brightest students from across the country.

In 2012, the National Student Leadership Conference became a new sponsor of the High School Essay Contest by offering an award for the second-place entry. This year, Joshua Ferry, a rising senior at New Jersey's Wall High School, was selected as the runner-up. His essay, "The United States and India: Beyond the Millennium," won him a full scholarship to the National Student Leadership Conference's international diplomacy program in Washington, D.C. and New York City this past July.

While in Washington,



PHOTO BY MICHAEL GROSS, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE



Left: Secretary of State John Kerry with High School Essay Contest winner Kailee Pedersen and AFSA President Robert Silverman.

Above: Rep. Jeff Fortenberry, R-Neb., meets with Kailee in his Nebraska office in August.



PHOTO BY JENNIFER LOWRY

Bottom: Joshua Ferry receives his High School Essay Contest runner-up certificate while attending the National Student Leadership Conference at American University in July. Left to right: Susan Lowitz, NSLC director of operations for D.C. programs; Joshua Ferry; Perri Green, AFSA coordinator for special awards and outreach; and Patty Hester, NSLC international diplomacy program director.

AFSA arranged a meeting for Joshua with the staff of Sen. Robert Menendez, D-N.J. He was briefed by legislative correspondent Jenipher Camino-Gonzalez, who spoke about bridging foreign policy with local communities; Christopher Barr, Sen. Menendez's Senate Foreign Relations Committee legislative assistant; and Meg

Murphy, who took him on an exclusive tour of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee Room.

AFSA's National High School Essay Contest is governed by an advisory committee and is chaired by retired U.S. diplomat Eugene Schmiel. Essay judges include teachers, AFSA staff and active-duty and retired Foreign Service members.

This year, approximately 500 essays were submitted from 42 states and abroad. Winning essays and the list of 2013's 25 finalists, along with contest information, may be found at www.afsa.org/essaycontest. If you are interested in serving as a judge for next year's contest or have further questions, please contact Perri Green, special awards and outreach coordinator, at green@afsa.org. ■

Diplomacy Begins at Sea for One Foreign Service Officer

BY LUCILLE RENWICK

What is a diplomat? There are probably several definitions, but the one that students on the Fall 2013 voyage received during a lecture from a Semester at Sea Fall 1988 alumna, Kelly Adams-Smith, while docked at the port for London, was this: “A diplomat is a representative.”

As participants in Semester at Sea, each student is already a “diplomat,” Adams-Smith explained. “Each time you get off this ship you are representatives too: of your school, of this program, of America or the country you come from, and of your country’s values.”

She should know. Adams-Smith is a diplomat serving as economic counselor in the U.S. embassy in London. She has been a Foreign Service officer for 16 years in such countries as Russia, Estonia and Bulgaria. However, long before that, in 1988 she was a student sailing on Semester at Sea, trying to figure out her future, just as many of the students on this current voyage are doing.

Adams-Smith credits her time on Semester at Sea with putting her on the path toward her work in the Foreign Service. It was on her voyage, while staying with a family in what was then part of the Soviet Union, that it clicked for her: she wanted to



PHOTOS BY BRYAN KOOP, INSTITUTE FOR SHIPBOARD EDUCATION, SEMESTER AT SEA



On Aug. 24, students aboard Semester at Sea’s shipboard campus, the *MV Explorer*, listen intently as Foreign Service officer Kelly Adams-Smith delivers the convocation on the Fall 2013 voyage. Semester at Sea is a sponsor of AFSA’s National High School Essay Contest, providing an all-expenses educational voyage for one semester to the first-place winner.

focus her studies on Russia and Eastern Europe.

SAS alumna Kelly Adams-Smith challenged students to think about the diplomats they’d like to be while aboard this year’s 50th-anniversary voyage and beyond. Twenty-five years after completing that pivotal semester abroad, she gave the students some sage advice. She urged them to think about the type of diplomats they want to be, whether on the current voyage or in life.

“All successful diplomats bring to their work an open

mind, respect for other cultures and a desire to bridge misunderstandings,” Adams-Smith told them.

In addition to her work overseas, Adams-Smith received the Department of State’s Cox Sabbatical Fellowship. And in 2011, she spent a year working with Semester at Sea to further strengthen its international programs. She most recently worked as the deputy executive secretary of the National Security Staff at the White House.

Her return to the *MV Explorer* to speak to students as the voyage began was special for many who already are entertaining the idea of working in the Foreign Service.

“She is a real inspiration. I got so much from hearing her speak about her career,” one student said.

Adams-Smith reminded students that their SAS experience is but one journey for them: “What I see in front of me is a group of student diplomats about to set on two journeys. The first is a voyage on a ship. The second is your life after Semester at Sea.

“My first journey let me sail around the world. The second took me from a ship to the White House and back. Now you get to decide where your two journeys are going to take you. So good luck, stay safe and enjoy it.”

See more at www.semesteratsea.org. ■

Lucille Renwick is an instructor of public relations and integrated marketing communications at the El Tecnológico de Monterrey University in Mexico City. She was communications coordinator for the Summer 2009 and Fall 2010 voyages and took part in several Forums on Global Engagement.

Inside the U.S. Military with *Inside a U.S. Embassy*

BY CATHY BLANK, STATE DEPARTMENT REPRESENTATIVE TO EUCOM

Thank you, AFSA. There are days at work that I don't know what I would do without *Inside a U.S. Embassy: Diplomacy at Work*. The book is a wonderful tool that I have used with scores of military colleagues over the past three years to give them a better idea of the role of the Department of State and of other civilian agencies overseas.

I represent State Department views and equities as a political adviser at the United States European Command in Stuttgart, Germany. Many of our military colleagues are posted overseas at some point in their careers, but have no prior experience with U.S. embassies or with the State Department. Nor are they familiar with the role and authorities of the chief of mission. As I attempt to explain how modes of work



FSO political adviser Cathy Blank, Shawn Dorman and LCDR Robert Morgan at the U.S. European Command in Stuttgart, July 2013.

and culture in the military are different from those at an embassy, I find that *Inside a U.S. Embassy* is one of the best tools to drive my key points home.

The book has been an eye-opener for many, particularly the stories that make embassy life real. Use

of my dog-eared copy caused many to order their own from Amazon.

I asked EUCOM's J9 Interagency Partnering Directorate to invite Shawn Dorman, AFSA's Foreign Service Books publisher, to help teach our inaugural (and pilot) interagency course in

July. She joined us for the two-day course and gave a well-received two-hour lecture, "Embassy 101." We look forward to continued cooperation with AFSA and expanded use of the *Inside a U.S. Embassy* book. ■

NEWS BRIEF

To Support the AFSA Scholarship Program Designate CFC #11759



This year, please consider supporting the AFSA scholarship program by designating #11759 on your Combined Federal Campaign pledge card or online donation. The AFSA Scholarship Fund has changed its name to Foreign Service Youth Scholarships-AFSA, but the number remains the same (CFC #11759). Last year, AFSA provided more than \$230,000 through need-based scholarships and merit awards to 90 Foreign Service students to aid in their college expenses. Please visit www.afsa.org for details.

NEWS BRIEF

"FS Stories" to Celebrate 90 Years

2014 marks the 90th year of the Foreign Service and AFSA. *AFSA News* invites active duty, retirees and family members from all foreign affairs agencies to tell a short story from your life in the Foreign Service, not just on the job, but also those memorable moments.

Articles should be approximately 750 words in length and high-resolution photographs are welcomed. Stories will appear in *AFSA News* throughout 2014.

Please submit your story to *AFSA News* Editor Donna Ayerst, at ayerst@afsa.org. For questions, please call (202) 577-3611.

AFSA/TLG Intern has a Rewarding Summer

BY JENNIFER LOWRY, COMMUNICATIONS INTERN

For 21 summers in a row, AFSA has partnered with the Thursday Luncheon Group to offer a minority college student an internship at the Department of State. AFSA's collaboration with TLG, whose mission is to expose black Americans and other minorities to foreign policy, provides valuable experience to students who may not otherwise have such an opportunity. Since the collaboration's launch in 1992, TLG and AFSA have supported 26 students.

This year's intern, Leah Castleberry, spent the summer working in the Office of India Affairs in the South and Central Asian Affairs Bureau. Projects Leah worked on included preparation for two annual events: the U.S./India Strategic Dialogue and the U.S.-India CEO Forum. She also worked on several state-to-state and city engagement projects, and various public-private partnership initiatives. Leah's favorite part of the internship was working directly with Indian nationals to implement projects that advance the U.S./India bilateral relationship and bring the two countries closer together.

Attending the Thursday Luncheon Group's 40th Anniversary celebration in the historic Benjamin Franklin Diplomatic Reception Room



2013 AFSA/TLG intern Leah Castleberry (far right) attends the Thursday Luncheon Group's 40th Anniversary Gala event in the Benjamin Franklin Room. Also in attendance were John W. Franklin, Smithsonian Institution, and Ruth Walker, U.S. Department of State.

on June 28 was a highlight of her summer. Seeing how happy the luncheon attendees were to meet her, Leah reflected, "I will never forget how it felt realizing that I had a support system throughout the State department, which was much larger than I could have ever imagined."

Prior to her internship, Leah had thoughts about joining the Foreign Service, but since her experience in the department, she now feels confident that one day she will be an official representative of the United States, serving abroad as a Foreign Service officer. Overall, Leah says her internship exceeded her expectations and that she plans on keeping in touch with several people she had the opportunity to work with, from fellow interns to ambassadors. ■

NEWS BRIEF AFSA Book Notes Goes to Mongolia

On Oct. 21, AFSA's Book Notes program will feature "Mongolia and the United States: A Diplomatic History," by Ambassador Jonathan Addleton. The book provides a pioneering firsthand look at the remarkable growth of civil society and diplomatic ties between two countries separated by vast distances yet sharing a growing list of strategic interests and values. Amb. Addleton will discuss the book and take questions. Copies will be available for sale, courtesy of the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training.

The program takes place at AFSA, 2101 E Street NW, at 2:00 p.m. To attend the event, please RSVP to events@afsa.org.

LIFE IN THE FOREIGN SERVICE



AFSA and ERM Partner for Education

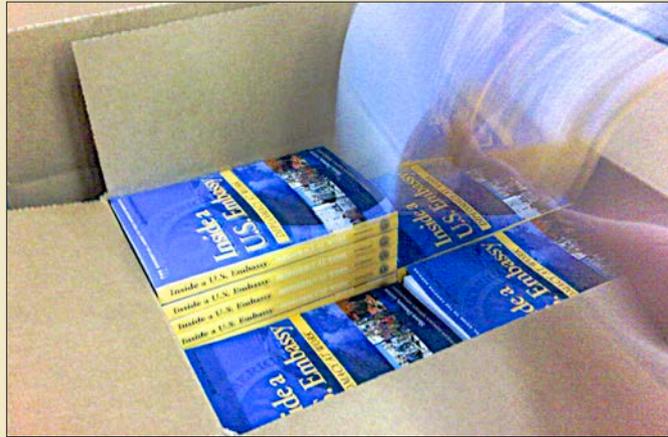
BY SHAWN DORMAN, FS BOOKS PUBLISHER

Thanks to a generous grant from the insurance company Embassy Risk Management, AFSA was able to send copies of our best-selling book, *Inside a U.S. Embassy: Diplomacy at Work*, to 500 high schools in challenged communities across the United States. The purpose of the book mailing is to introduce students, teachers and guidance counselors to the world of diplomacy and development and to the wide range of career opportunities in the Foreign Service.

HOPE AND RENEWAL

“Robert Louis Stevenson aptly advised, ‘Don’t judge each day by the harvest you reap, but by the seeds that you plant,’” observes Lloyd Yavener, chief operating officer of Embassy Risk Management. “This message of hope and renewal is the foundation of the AFSA-ERM partnership. We hope that students who might not otherwise hear about diplomacy and the Foreign Service career options will perhaps become inspired.”

Inside a U.S. Embassy brings students behind the scenes into the life and work of the U.S. diplomats, specialists and development professionals of the Foreign Service. The book brings to life the experiences of more than 80 diplomatic and development professionals

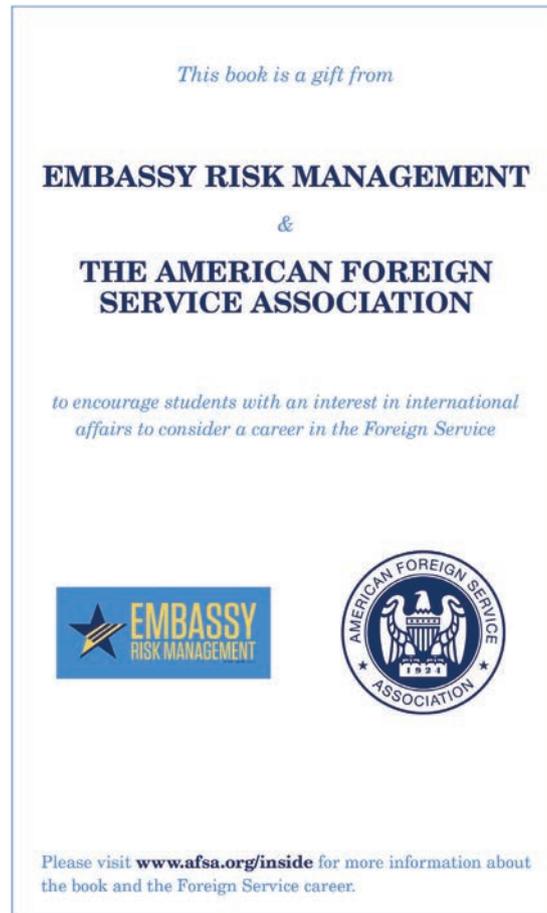


in 50 U.S. missions around the world, and reveals the diverse inner workings of an embassy. The day-in-the-life narratives and tales from the field illustrate exciting and challenging elements of life and work in the Foreign Service, and take readers on an intimate journey to places most people never dream of exploring. The book also includes an in-depth guide to the Foreign Service hiring process.

THE NEXT GENERATION

AFSA thanks Embassy Risk Management for their support, for helping us reach out to the next generation. ERM provides international property insurance and international auto insurance tailored to the unique needs of American Foreign Service members and other U.S. expatriates serving abroad. The company is part of the Rockingham Group, personal lines insurance specialists since 1869. The team at Rockingham includes professionals who have been involved in insuring the Foreign Service community since the 1950s, and the company is rated “A” Excellent by A.M. Best & Co. ■

The label on the left was affixed to 500 copies of *Inside a U.S. Embassy: Diplomacy at Work*. The books were packed and mailed to high schools in challenged communities across the United States.



AFSA and AFGE Screen the Historic Film, “The March”

On Aug. 22, AFSA was pleased to partner with the American Federation of Government Employees for a screening of the 1964 U.S. Information Agency documentary, “The March,” in the State Department’s Marshall Auditorium. The film chronicles the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom. The screening was organized as part of the many events commemorating the 50th anniversary of that historic occasion.

AFSA President Bob Silverman and State Department Vice President Matthew Asada both spoke prior to the screening, as did AFGE First Vice President Tony Bishop. AFSA and AFGE collaborated on this event to highlight the role unions played in organizing the march. We were honored to have retired Foreign Service officers Peter Kovach and Robert White join us at the screening. Both gentlemen took part in the march 50 years ago. ■



The National Mall was filled with protesters during the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom.

NATIONAL PUBLIC RADIO ARCHIVES

NEWS BRIEF

Registering to Become a Reemployed Annuitant (WAE)

The State Department’s Bureau of Human Resources is pleased to announce changes that will allow you to express interest in working as a reemployed annuitant within the Global Employment Management System self-service pages. This self-service process will provide additional functionality to both the application and the hiring processes. This change will be effective immediately.

The process to register is as follows:

- On iNet, under Employee Resources, click on HR Portal, then GEMS Self-Service.
- The Employee Information section located under the Employee Self-Service tab is divided into sections. Scroll down to the section titled: Reemployed Annuitant Global Registry.
- A Reemployed Annuitant Global Registry link has been added that will take you to the new page titled Reemployed Annuitant Global Registry from which you can indicate if you would like to be considered for Domestic or both Overseas and Domestic work.

If you are a current retiree and do not have system access, please contact HRSC (outside the U.S.) at 1 (843) 308-5539 or HRSC@state.gov. If you need help, please contact HRHelpDesk@state.gov.

Sixty-Plus continued from page 43

we can offer the intangible benefits of judgment and measure, which such a capable and experienced group of colleagues brings to the artful job of making foreign assistance productive and rational.

Last, on a more mundane level, the photo simply shows that we are living longer and therefore, need to work longer.

It was a singular pleasure serving with these officers in this important country and program.

Regards, Peter F. Kranstover
Cedarburg, Wisconsin ■



Top row, left to right: Al Merkel, Chuck Cutshall, Tim Moore, Kathrin Lauer, Ray Morten, Dale Lewis, Abdul Rahman, myself. Second row: Peter Hubbard, Alan Davis, Ross Hagen, Ray Lynch, Curt Wolters, Joe Tritchler, Pam Mazer. Front row: Elaine Grigsby, Mission Director Jock Conly, Deputy Mission Director Rodger Garner, John Morgan. Not pictured: Steve Crabtree, Darlene Cutshall, Geoff Lohsl, Geoff Minott and Martin Schulman.

PHOTO BY MARIYA KANWAL

AFSA Welcomes Fall Interns

Our interns make great contributions to the work that AFSA does on a daily basis, and we are happy to welcome the fall semester group to the AFSA family.

- Julian Steiner is the communications intern. He is a graduate student in global communication at The George Washington University's Elliott School of International Affairs, He obtained a B.A. in political science at the University of Vienna, Austria. His has worked as a radio host for Radio Arabella and in the Federal Press Service in Vienna.
- Tom van der Stelt is our new advertising intern. Tom continues a tradition of our advertising interns hailing from HAN University in Arnhem, Netherlands.
- Valerie Sanders is our *Foreign Service Journal* editorial intern. She is a double major in international relations and communications at the State University of New York–Geneseo.

- Hannah Knox is our labor management intern. A communications and sociology student at the University of Munich, she is currently enrolled in the American University's Washington Semester program.
- Lauren Stabler, a recent German and political science graduate of Ohio State University, is the executive office intern.
- Finally, Victoria Langton and Magda Borgarelli, junior and sophomore international studies majors at American University respectively, will be splitting the advocacy intern duties this semester.

We thank departing interns Jennifer Lowry, Andreas Doerner, Laura Loughran, Jesse Smith and Samantha Brew for a job well-done. ■

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NEWS BRIEF

U.S. Embassy Rome Seeks Historical Information

The U.S. Embassy in Rome is seeking assistance in obtaining historical photos of the U.S. Mission to the Holy See building. In 2014, the mission will celebrate its 30th anniversary and is preparing an audio-visual presentation for that event. They currently have many good materials related to U.S. presidential visits to the Pope, but none of the U.S. Mission to the Holy See.

After little progress, the embassy is now turning to AFSA members and other Foreign Service employees in the hopes it will prove fruitful.

Please contact Gimena Campos-Cervera, Information Resources Center, U.S. Embassy Rome, Office of Public Affairs, phone: (+39) 06.4674.2447 or e-mail camposg@state.gov.

NEWS BRIEF

PCS Lodging Program Expands

The State Department's Bureau of Human Resources has announced the expansion of the Permanent Change of Station Lodging Program. To create more housing options for employees participating in the program, there will now be three vendors. Twelve properties are now available in Crystal City, Arlington and Falls Church.

The PCS Lodging program is in its seventh year and was awarded the GSA's 2010 Travel and Relocation Award for Excellence. Some benefits of the program include employees not being out-of-pocket for lodging expenses regardless of the duration of training; free shuttle service to and from FSI and employees not having to sign a lease agreement. For more information please visit www.facebook.com/HREXPCLodgingProgram. If you have questions, please contact HRPCSLODGING@state.gov.

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Five Envoys, One Mission

Rendezvous with Destiny: How Franklin D. Roosevelt and Five Extraordinary Men Took America into the War and into the World

Michael Fullilove, Penguin Press,
2013, \$29.95, hardcover, 480 pages.

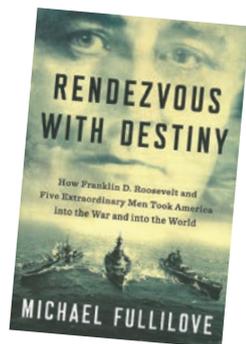
REVIEWED BY STEVEN ALAN HONLEY

We rightly think of Harry S. Truman, George Marshall, Dean Acheson and George F. Kennan as the prime movers behind America's assumption of global primacy following World War II. But it in no way diminishes their contributions to take the story back to the beginning of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's third term, as debate raged over whether the U.S. should, or even could, enter the war.

That is precisely what Australian historian Michael Fullilove does in *Rendezvous with Destiny: How Franklin D. Roosevelt and Five Extraordinary Men Took America into the War and into the World*. Although I initially found his subtitle's whiff of hyperbole off-putting, Fullilove largely proves his thesis. Framed by a magisterial prologue and epilogue, and organized chronologically, each chapter of the book focuses on a different "fact-finding mission" (as FDR usually described them to reporters) dispatched to Europe between 1939 and 1941.

Thankfully, the author does not share Roosevelt's pungent disdain for the State Department and the Foreign Service. However, he also does not always seem clear about the differences between public diplomacy and the practice of more traditional forms.

The first of the five special presidential representatives, Under Secretary of State Sumner Welles (deputy to Cordell Hull), was the only professional diplomat in the



group, and his Foreign Service career had actually ended in 1925. He visited Rome, Berlin, London and Paris in the spring of 1940 to determine whether a second world war was inevitable

and, if so, what the United States could and should do to assist its allies.

Each chapter focuses on a different "fact-finding mission" FDR dispatched to Europe between 1939 and 1941.

Ironically, perhaps the chief obstacle Welles and the next envoy, Bill Donovan—a World War I hero who would later head the Office of Strategic Services, precursor to the Central Intelligence Agency—faced was the U.S. ambassador at the Court of St. James's at the time. Joe Kennedy was publicly critical of the government to which he was accredited and did his best behind the scenes to undermine bilateral ties. (If one needed a case study to illustrate the perils of elevating incompetent political appointees to high positions, particularly at critical junctures, one could hardly do better than Kennedy.)

Lamentably, though Kennedy's successor in London, John G. "Gil" Winant, was by all accounts highly capable and energetic, the series of visits by FDR's envoys badly undermined his authority.

After winning an unprecedented third term in November 1940, Roosevelt threw a lifeline to the United Kingdom in the form of the Lend-Lease military assistance program, and promptly dispatched three men to London to help secure it. First Harry Hopkins, the frail social worker and presidential confi-

dant, was sent to explain the program to Prime Minister Winston Churchill; then Averell Harriman, a handsome, ambitious railroad heir, was tasked with expediting aid. FDR even put to work his Republican opponent in the 1940 presidential election, Wendell Willkie. (Imagine Barack Obama sending Mitt Romney to evaluate developments in the Middle East for him.)

The book makes clear that all five envoys were successful in their respective missions, which were both broad and vague enough to give FDR plenty of room to disavow any agreements he found inconvenient. But for my money, Hopkins was far and away the most effective diplomat, which explains why FDR sent him on three increasingly arduous and far-flung missions in 1941 (including a trip to Russia to confer with Josef Stalin). Hopkins was already suffering from dire health problems, so his dedication to duty almost certainly shortened his life considerably.

Drawing from a prodigious range of primary and secondary sources, including hundreds of letters and telegrams, Fullilove does a splendid job of setting the stage for each trip. He then describes how the envoy carried out his various tasks and assesses the trip's effectiveness. In the process, we get a great deal of local color, including approving accounts of the fact that two of the five envoys carried on extramarital affairs during their missions (one with Churchill's daughter-in-law!). That "boys will be boys" attitude makes all the more galling Fullilove's penchant for directing opprobrium at Sumner Welles' bisexuality, which had no bearing whatsoever on the performance of his duties.

Those concerns aside, I thoroughly enjoyed the book and warmly recommend it.

Steven Alan Honley is editor of the Journal.

A Growing Problem

The Road to War: Presidential Commitments Honored and Betrayed
Marvin Kalb, Brookings Institution Press, 2013, \$29.95, hardcover, 280 pages.

REVIEWED BY
AURELIUS (AURY) FERNANDEZ

For over half a century, Marvin Kalb has contributed a steady stream of perceptive and straightforward reports and analysis as a diplomatic correspondent, moderator and commentator; a resident scholar at Harvard, George Washington University and the Brookings Institution; and a prolific author. Here he delves into a topic he has touched on in many of his 12 previous books: the elusive nature of presidential national security commitments.

As he explains, such undertakings have led to misunderstandings, miscalculations and mistrust among our allies and adversaries all over the world—and the American public. That theme comes through loud and clear in Kalb's chapter headings, which usefully distinguish between commitments (without quotes) and "commitments" (with quotes).

A formal declaration of war by Congress is obviously the clearest way to deliver a definitive statement of U.S. support for an ally, but such declarations have become vanishingly rare. (The last congressional declaration of war was passed on Dec. 8, 1941, in response to Pearl Harbor.) Instead, U.S. defense commitments have come to take other forms, ranging from exchanges of presidential letters to detailed defense pacts.

While Kalb covers the arc of history from Harry Truman to Barack Obama, his main focus is on U.S. dealings with South Korea, South Vietnam and Israel. I particularly commend the chapter Kalb devotes to the exchange of presidential letters

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Kalb documents the degree to which national security decision-making power has migrated from Congress to the White House, and what that means in practice.

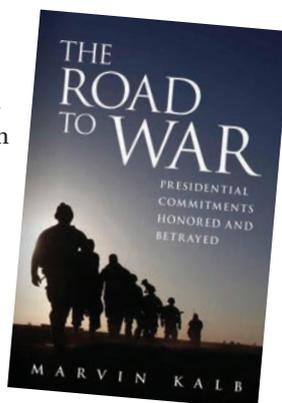
spelling out U.S. commitments to Israel, and his call for Tel Aviv and Washington to form a defense pact.

In the case of Korea, President Truman went around Congress by framing U.S. action in terms of supporting a “police action” under the aegis of the United Nations. That strategy gave him a freer hand to act in the short term, but it also eroded popular support for a war that ended in an armistice and still does not have a formal peace treaty 60 years later.

Kalb's analysis of the Vietnam War is praiseworthy for its breadth, no doubt enhanced with input from his brother and former State Department spokesman, Bernard Kalb. Readers who served in Vietnam during that period, or who faced possible assignment there (such as this reviewer), will profit from a close reading of the history of the 1964 Gulf of Tonkin resolution.

Along the way, Kalb offers valuable insights about the challenges Lyndon Johnson, Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford faced in dealing with the leadership of South Vietnam, and Henry Kissinger's ever-expanding diplomatic role.

As decision-making power has migrated from Congress to the White House, presidents have accumulated vast power to make national security commitments using an array of instruments. True, Congress has retained its power over the purse strings and has sometimes exercised it effectively to frustrate presidential priorities overseas. But in general,



it tends to acquiesce, abdicating its constitutional responsibilities for national security and foreign policy.

One exception to this trend is the 1973 War Powers Act, but it is so poorly drafted and vague that every president has felt free to ignore it. As a result, over the past four decades presidents from both parties have taken military action in Grenada, Panama, Iraq and Afghanistan, and made numerous other defense commitments, without any congressional action.

Kalb correctly observes that this situation is undesirable for many reasons, not least of which is the potential for a lack of continuity between administrations. At the same time, he gives his media colleagues low grades in carrying out their responsibility to inform the public about the extent and ramifications of presidential defense commitments.

The Road to War certainly stands on its own merits. But speaking as someone who had the pleasure of reviewing Kalb's last book, *Haunting Legacy: Vietnam and the American Presidency from Ford to Obama* (Brookings, 2011) in the January 2012 issue of the *Journal*, I would close by encouraging readers to study both volumes. ■

Aurelius (Aury) Fernandez, a Foreign Service officer with the U.S. Information Agency for 30 years, was posted to Santiago, Bucharest, London, Vienna, Paris and Washington, D.C. After retiring from the Foreign Service, he served on the AFSA Governing Board and Foreign Service Journal Editorial Board.

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John Elliott is a public diplomacy Foreign Service officer, presently serving as vice consul at Consulate General Rio de Janeiro. John often walks in the city to meet local people and seek interesting photos. He took this shot with a Nikon D-80 and 28 mm lens in 2012. You can see more of his photography at www.TheHumanPulse.com.

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