MARC GROSSMAN
TOWARD A “NEW” DIPLOMACY

PUBLISHED BY THE AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION
SEPT EMBER 2014

ON ASSIGNMENT WITH AFSA’S 2014 AWARD WINNERS

TURNING THE TABLES ON STU KENNEDY

MARC GROSSMAN
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BY MARC GROSSMAN

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Serving at Embassy Kabul / 46
Life on a secure compound in a war zone is somewhat surreal.
BY BILL BENT

On the cover: (Top) The four winners of AFSA’s 2014 awards for constructive dissent are shown on the job. From left: Ambassador Jonathan Addleton, winner of the Herter Award, in Afghanistan; David Holmes, winner of the Rivkin Award, briefing President Barack Obama aboard Air Force One; William “Ed” O’Bryan, winner of the Harriman Award, in Dhahran; and Nick Pietrowicz, winner of the Harris Award, in Chad. Composition: Jeff Lau. (Middle) Charles Stuart “Stu” Kennedy, winner of AFSA’s Award for Lifetime Contributions to American Diplomacy.
Advocating for the Foreign Service in Congress and the American public over the past year has taught me some lessons. One is to focus on the positive—here is what the Foreign Service brings to the foreign policy table, and here is why the diverse and skilled women and men of the Foreign Service should be at the center of our policymaking and execution.

Perhaps in a prior generation that sort of advocacy was unnecessary. But I do feel that in today’s globalized American society, with dozens of NGOs, businesses and think-tanks producing cadre with international savvy, the Foreign Service must make its case to the public. To strengthen that advocacy, we must look inward to sharpen our tools and keep our profession current.

Conversations with colleagues have surfaced two concepts along these lines that I want to share with you.

Information Dominance. One way for Foreign Service members to lead—for instance, to prevail in a debate over policy X in country Y—is for that person to know more about X and Y, and how other U.S. government operations interact with them, than anyone else.

A colleague with plenty of National Security Council experience calls that information dominance, and she sees a need for more Foreign Service people to adopt the concept. It shouldn’t imply being overbearing or aggressive—just having the relevant knowledge and the good sense on when to deploy it.

Service in country and taking an FSI course are necessary but quite insufficient to achieve information dominance. Here is an example. I used to sit in Near Eastern Affairs Bureau meetings next to an FSO named Alberto Fernandez who took detailed notes—in Arabic. He went on to reach an extraordinary level of fluency, and deployed it in media interviews that established his pre-eminence in that difficult language.

My advice is to seek appropriate opportunities to acquire the highest possible level of expertise in areas of interest for current and future assignments, to go beyond what the State Department can provide through personal investment of time and energy.

This level of expertise, along with strong leadership and interpersonal skills, is key to the “wow” factor of the top Foreign Service cadre.

A New Career Track for Expeditionary Diplomacy. In May I wrote about the Groundhog Day experience of reliving our nation-building interventions, without learning from past experiences, from Vietnam and Bosnia to Iraq and Afghanistan. That led to a conversation with several colleagues about how one might institutionalize the Foreign Service the skills needed to be successful in these situations.

One idea we discussed was seeking to establish a new career track or cone for expeditionary diplomacy. True, we are reducing the presence of provincial reconstruction teams in Afghanistan and Iraq. But the need for volunteers to serve in similar situations is present elsewhere—for instance, in Syria and South Sudan—and the need for expeditionary diplomacy skills isn’t going away.

What skills? They involve the ability to work in fluid situations without a strong central host government or U.S. embassy infrastructure to promote the local government’s rule of law, reconstruction and economic development, and delivery of services.

Different in nature from the work of the other FS cones and skill codes, expeditionary diplomacy is more akin to the work of the U.S. military’s civil-military affairs or the United States Institute for Peace’s post-conflict reconstruction.

This Foreign Service discipline would require intensive interagency leadership training. The homes for it already exist in State’s Conflict and Stabilization Operations Bureau and USAID’s Office of Transition Initiatives.

The main purpose of establishing this new track would be to deepen the Foreign Service’s expertise in critical areas for the U.S. national interest. It would demonstrate Foreign Service leadership in hardship environments through a sustainable institutional framework.

Willingness to lead in the toughest places would also resonate with the American public and strengthen our advocacy.

Bob Silverman@afsa.org

Robert J. Silverman is the president of the American Foreign Service Association.
Celebrating AFSA’s Award Winners

BY SHAWN DORMAN

This month, AFSA celebrates and honors our own: members of the Foreign Service community who stand up for what they believe to be right, even when it’s not the easy path; those who have made lifetime contributions to diplomacy; and those whose performance has been so outstanding that their colleagues single them out for recognition.

Every June, AFSA presents its annual dissent and performance awards in the grand Benjamin Franklin Diplomatic Reception Room on the State Department’s eighth floor. AFSA and State Department officials (including, this year, Deputy Secretary of State William Burns, Under Secretary of State for Management Patrick Kennedy, and Assistant Secretary for Economic and Business Affairs Charles H. Rivkin) serve as presenters.

The State Department co-sponsors the ceremony, highlighting the unusual but powerful message that dissent is not only tolerated in the Foreign Service, but respected and perhaps even welcomed.

Or is it? We hear such disparate views today on the state of dissent and the inclination and ability to speak up and be heard—without retribution—when you disagree with a policy or see a better way forward.

This month we bring views on dissent from AFSA award winners, past and present. In “Integrity and Openness: Requirements for an Effective Foreign Service," three-time AFSA dissent award winner Ambassador Kenneth Quinn reflects on his experiences speaking out over the course of a long and successful Foreign Service career.

And Ambassador Jonathan Addleton, the 2014 Herter Award winner, shares the story of his challenges with restrictions on local outreach efforts in Afghanistan in “A Reflection on Bravery.” Profiles of Amb. Addleton and all the other AFSA award winners can be found in the AFSA News section.

David Holmes, winner of the Rivkin dissent award for a mid-level FSO, called for a more strategic approach to U.S. South Asia policy. Nick Pietrowicz, winner of the Harris dissent award for a Foreign Service specialist, raised concerns about a border security program.


Carol Backman, winner of the Delavan Award for exemplary performance by an office management specialist, used her IT expertise and management skills to improve life at Embassy Ankara; Mary Kay Cunningham, winner of the Guess Award for an outstanding community liaison office coordinator, lifted the spirits of the embassy community in Kabul in a big way.

And Kari Osborne, winner of the Bohlen Award for an FS family member, made a real difference to embassy community life in Mexico City.

It was my distinct pleasure to “turn the tables on Stu Kennedy,” this year’s winner of AFSA’s prestigious Lifetime Contributions to American Diplomacy Award, by interviewing the interviewer about his work creating and growing the Foreign Affairs Oral History Collection, and his life and work in the Foreign Service.

The oral histories are a national treasure, capturing U.S. diplomatic history of the 20th and 21st centuries through the voices of the practitioners who were there. Kennedy is quick to point the microphone away from himself, praising others and most especially the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training, which is home to the oral history program today.

He says, “Remember, I’m not the Foreign Service oral historian.” But truly, he is precisely that, and I can think of no one more deserving of the Lifetime Achievement Award than Stu Kennedy.

Elsewhere in this issue, former Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs Marc Grossman outlines “A Diplomacy for the 21st Century: Back to the Future?” He explores how the quest for “new” diplomacy might just bring us back to some traditional values—optimism, justice, honesty and realism.

In his President’s Views column, Bob Silverman reflects on Foreign Service advocacy and pitches a new career track for expeditionary diplomacy. And finally, as a preview to our December focus on Afghanistan, we offer FSO Bill Bent’s first-hand account of what it’s like to live and work on the U.S. embassy compound in Kabul today. Spoiler alert: It’s no picnic.

We want to hear from you, about what you read in these pages, and especially what you think about the state of dissent today, or anything else on your mind.
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LETTERS

The Weight of Waiting

Three hundred and sixty. It’s a nice round number, but a long time to wait when counting the days. I had the honor of being nominated as the U.S. ambassador to Peru in June 2013 and was confirmed in June 2014—360 days later.

During that year, I heard a lot about the unprecedented political and procedural battles in the Senate that saw some 250 executive branch nominees wait endlessly for confirmation.

Secretary of State John Kerry, the Bureau of Legislative Affairs and many senior State Department officials advocated for us—first behind the scenes and then very vocally. Individual senators, in my own case two superb Rhode Island home-state senators, did everything they could to be supportive.

However, the disputes on the Hill often appeared intractable. The wait took a major toll on my family and on U.S. foreign relations. As I write this, there are still numerous highly qualified career officers awaiting confirmation for positions overseas and in Washington.

Those who might doubt the significance of the American Foreign Service Association’s decision to confront this problem should know that AFSA continues to play a vital role advocating for some three dozen career ambassadorial nominees waiting for confirmation. Through its network of contacts and vigorous advocacy, AFSA has engaged numerous congressional staff, senators and department officials to promote a solution.

In my case, AFSA provided invaluable advice on time-in-class regulations, allowances, tactics and options. AFSA also mobilized key constituencies like businesses and civil society to advocate for the critical work of ambassadors and senior officials.

The association also worked with the department to find creative solutions for those officers who were in temporary duty limbo between overseas assignments. Those efforts broke the logjam for more than 1,000 Foreign Service officers and specialists awaiting promotions and tenure, and helped smooth the way for progress on individual confirmations.

I have been at post for a month now, and remain honored and humbled to serve my country here. I owe a debt of thanks to a very long list of people who helped me along the way.

However, in this time of political polarization, the importance of an organization to advocate for those who have dedicated their lives and careers to the service of America’s national security interests has never been greater. AFSA is fulfilling that vital role.

Brian A. Nichols
Ambassador
Embassy Lima

Irreplaceable Reporting

Having reported from embassies in Vietnam, Korea and the Congo at critical junctures, I read the July-August issue on political and economic reporting with intense interest. I was glad for the chance to find out how technology has affected the reporting process in the 29 years since my retirement. AFSA is fulfilling that vital role.

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The Rev. Theodore L. Lewis
FSO and FSR, retired
Germantown, Md.

Education on the SAT

Thanks to the FSJ and always-excellent author and all-around-nice-person Francesca Kelly for her terrific article on the newly revised SAT in the June Education Supplement. It is very helpful to parents like us with children just departing middle school.

Joe Costantino
Information Management Specialist
Embassy Ljubljana

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“Every member of the Foreign Service should want to be part of the Senior Living Foundation.”

-AMBASSADOR EDWARD “SKIP” GNEHM

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Where Is Our Ambassador?

A FSA members are very familiar with the frustrating Senate logjam that has held up career Foreign Service members’ ambassadorial nominations for more than a year in some cases. The problem has been well documented in the pages of The Foreign Service Journal and on AFSA’s website.

One new twist in the story is that foreign media have started paying attention, particularly news outlets in countries where there has not been an ambassador for as many as 20 months.

A slew of articles have come out this summer, complaining loudly about the absence of a Senate-confirmed U.S. ambassador. Many have wondered out loud whether the absence means the U.S. is not concerned with its bilateral relations with that country—i.e., “Country X doesn’t really matter, so there is no rush to nominate a new ambassador.”

The Irish have been the most indignant, and for good reason. Ambassador Dan Rooney left Dublin in December 2012, and his replacement—political appointee Kevin O’Malley—was not nominated until June 5 of this year.

With the foot-dragging going on in Congress now, he may not show up in Ireland until November or December, meaning that the U.S. embassy will have been without an ambassador for two whole years. Both the Irish Times and the website Irish Central have been vocal about their displeasure with this unusual gap in representation.

Irish media are not alone. The Tico Times, a Costa Rican newspaper, has written articles speculating about when the Obama administration would nominate a new ambassador; campaign bundler S. Fitzgerald Haney was finally nominated to the post on July 9.

And the Jamaica Gleaner has on more than one occasion wondered why it has taken so long to replace Ambassador Pamela Bridgewater. Her successor was nominated in September 2013, but as of this writing he is still awaiting confirmation.

Media in Russia, Egypt and Romania have also raised questions about the unusually long wait for new ambassadors. In the case of Romania, the previous incumbent departed Bucharest in December 2012 and, as of this writing, no nominee has been put forward.

An interesting exception here has been media in Norway, where there seems to be little enthusiasm for confirmation of the nominee for Oslo, campaign bundler George Tsunis.

AFSA will continue to pay close attention to ambassadorial nominations. Please see this month’s AFSA News section (p. 55) for a chart showing how many ambassadorial nominees await confirmation and how long they have been waiting.

—Julian Steiner, AFSA Staff

Ferguson: Through a Foreign Lens

“No, this is not Egypt or Turkey. This is in the USA.” That was the comment, with a picture from Ferguson,
Missouri, tweeted by a popular blogger in Cairo, who writes under the pseudonym “The Big Pharaoh.”

The St. Louis suburb in the heart of the United States, where the Aug. 9 police killing of an unarmed black teenager ignited long-simmering racial and economic tensions, has drawn critical media attention from around the world.

“I have been to many warzones,” wrote Ansgar Graw in Die Welt. “But to get handcuffed, yelled at by police, and to see a prison from the inside, I had to come to Ferguson, Missouri, in the U.S.”

The German daily’s U.S. correspondent filed the story following his arrest and three-hour detention on Aug. 18.

The German press was not alone among European newspapers in spotlighting the problems of press freedom and police tactics in Ferguson. The French Le Figaro and others also raised questions.

In Britain, the Metro drew parallels to the London riots of 2011, stressing that “Ferguson is a living example of why we should be immensely grateful that those tactics (teargas and rubber bullets) were never used during the U.K. riots.”

The Russian and Chinese media joined in. On Aug. 18, Chen Weihua reminded China Daily readers of Chairman Mao’s support for the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s: “It seems that even today, Mao’s words half a century ago are not totally irrelevant. The U.S. also needs to clean its own hands before pointing accusing fingers at others.”


Even little Sri Lanka, as the LA Times noted in a survey of foreign press coverage, couldn’t resist.

Referring to an Aug. 8 U.S. security warning to Americans in connection with an increase in protests and anti-American sentiment in Sri Lanka, the island nation’s Daily News opined: “For the U.S. to issue a travel warning for Sri Lanka does seem odd at a time when there are race riots in Missouri.”

—Julian Steiner, AFSA Staff

QDDR Exercise Is Underway

On June 24, the American Security Project hosted a discussion billed as “an opportunity for congressional engagement” on the 2014 Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review.

Meant to serve as a blueprint for the State Department’s diplomatic and development efforts abroad, the first QDDR was issued in 2010 by Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton.

The second QDDR was officially launched by Secretary of State John F. Kerry on April 22. The ASP event was part of the outreach effort being made during the “discovery” phase of the exercise, expected to last through the summer.

Panelists were Deputy Secretary of State for Management and Resources Heather Higginbottom, Assistant to the Administrator of USAID Alex Thier and Special Representative for the QDDR Tom Perriello, a former Virginia congressman appointed to spearhead the effort by Sec. Kerry in February.

Deputy Secretary Higginbottom underscored the team’s sincere desire to engage with Congress, nongovernmental organizations and thought-leaders on what she described as the key questions of the review: (1) How can State and USAID modernize to be more efficient? (2) What diplomatic and developmental successes can be built on? and (3) What are the global trends, and how can State and USAID best address them over the next two decades?

Thier, of USAID’s Policy, Planning and Learning Bureau, explained that the QDDR analyzes diplomacy and development together, as mandated in the presidential decision directive on development. He also argued that State and USAID need to forge stronger relationships with the private sector to carry out the main objectives of international development.

Perriello, who has met with more than 25 embassies and more than 100 stakeholder groups seeking input on the review, reiterated the deputy secretary’s emphasis on partnership between USAID and State. He added that the decision to proceed with a second QDDR despite a change in State leadership was important, signifying a longer-term commitment.

Perriello wants to ensure, he said, that the QDDR’s overall strategy does not simply reflect “the fact that we did things that way last year.” He looks forward to receiving recommendations at perriellot@state.gov or QDDRIdeas@state.gov.

Arguably, one of the central challenges for the QDDR is focus. “The QDDR cannot be everything to everyone, and it is not going to try to be,” Higginbottom told the gathering. It is largely about prioritizing “a few big issues and a few big challenges,” she added.

In a recent foreignpolicy.com post, Gordon Adams makes a compelling case for zeroing in on just three: governance, security assistance, and the integration of The QDDR is an opportunity to replace the current crisis-response approach with an actual strategy.
Adams also observes that the QDDR is an opportunity to replace the current crisis-response approach with an actual strategy. But that can’t happen, he insists, unless the peripatetic Sec. Kerry gets off the airplane and “fully backs” the exercise. Since Associated Press correspondent Matt Lee’s challenge to State Department spokesperson Jen Psaki—to name one thing that was actually accomplished as a result of the 2010 QDDR—went unanswered on April 22, the final product is likely to come under closer scrutiny.

Quis Custodiet Ipsos Custodes? (Who Will Guard the Guards?)

Writing in the June 13 Washington Post, Karen DeYoung summarizes a newly completed internal audit of security contracts at U.S. embassies. Alarmingly, a team from the State Department’s Office of the Inspector General found that none of the six posts it visited had fully complied with vetting and other requirements for contractors who provide the first line of defense against attack. In particular, regional security officers at five of the six posts were said to have performed “inadequate oversight” of local guard vetting.

The OIG audit, conducted in the wake of the September 2012 attacks on the U.S. mission in Benghazi that left four Americans dead, examined six embassies. Although the names of the posts were redacted from the 49-page audit and its annexes, State said they were located in Africa, Europe and Latin America, and chosen based on “the estimated number of local guards employed and the terrorist threat level as of March 20, 2013, among other factors.”

In redacted replies, security chiefs at each of the embassies agreed to recommended changes in their procedures. The audit notes that compliance had been completed in about half of the recommendations; the rest were in progress, but still undocumented by the embassies.

The State Department hires local guards to augment U.S. security “because of growing security threats at posts worldwide,” the audit notes. Most are employed to “secure access to posts and provide building and residential security.” As of the end of 2012, the total bill for such hires worldwide was about $556 million. In March 2013, the audit said, there were 100 active local hire security contracts worldwide.

The Senate should carve out State’s career nominees and expedite their confirmation just as it does for military promotions. Make no mistake: Vacancies in so many world capitals send a dangerous message to allies and adversaries alike about America’s engagement. This perception makes it much more difficult to do the nonpartisan work at the heart of U.S. foreign policy—defending the security of our nation, promoting our values and helping our businesses compete to create American jobs back home.

—Secretary of State John F. Kerry, from a July 7 op-ed in Politico.
Under a contract process centralized in Washington since 2008, vetting requirements for every prospective guard include “a police check covering criminal and/or subversive activities, a credit check, proof of successful previous employment with supervisor recommendations, and a personal residence check.”

Results must be individually approved by the RSO, the head of the embassy security office. The audit found that 173 local guards at one embassy and about 100 at another were placed on duty by contractors before meeting vetting requirements. At a third embassy, 18 guards were placed on duty before being cleared by the embassy’s security office. Many of the guard files were incomplete. At five of the six embassies, it said, RSOS “frequently could not demonstrate that they had reviewed or approved the local guards employed to protect their posts.” Also, the process for approving guards for duty varied among the embassies.

In one instance, it said, a local guard was assigned to an embassy “for months before his criminal history and use of multiple false identities was discovered.” At another embassy, the audit determined that a contractor had collected as much as $1.48 million over a three-year period in wages that were not being paid to the guards.

OIG visits to the embassies and relevant State Department offices were conducted between March and September 2013, although all files were reviewed for guards who had worked under contracts at the selected posts since October 2010.

In addition to redaction of references to specific embassies, six full pages of the document titled “Outline for Action,” though designated as “unclassified,” are blacked out in their entirety.

In its response to OIG recommendations, one of the posts said that checks of financial information about prospective hires were illegal under privacy laws of the country in question, and said that it had “no alternative means to conduct a credit check.”

—Steven Alan Honley, Contributing Editor

Yes, ICANN Change

Back in March, the U.S. National Telecommunications and Information Administration, part of the Commerce Department, announced that it would end its formal relationship with the Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers in September 2015. ICANN performs many administrative functions, but probably the best known of them is managing Internet domain names, which it does via the Internet Assigned Numbers Authority.

As Grant Gross reports for PC World, ICANN has faced mounting criticism about the influence of the U.S. government over its operations. However, NTIA maintains that the decision to cut ICANN loose simply reflects an understanding that the partnership, which dates back to 1999, was always intended to be temporary, as well as Washington’s confidence that ICANN is capable of taking over its responsibilities independently.

The announcement has set off a scramble to ensure that the transition is as smooth as possible and, above all, that the new governance model will safeguard the openness of the Internet.

NTIA’s administrator, Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Communications and Information Lawrence E. Strickling, has emphasized that the United States “will not accept a proposal that replaces the NTIA role with a government-led or intergovernmental solution.”

For his part, ICANN CEO and Presi-
dent Fadi Chehadé has actively involved civil society, Internet groups and other organizations, as well as governments, in the transition to the new governance model. Agenda items for the most recent of the organization’s quarterly conferences, ICANN 50, held in London in June, included Internet Governance, the IANA Transition and Stewardship, and ICANN Transparency and Accountability. (ICANN 51 will be held in Los Angeles from Oct. 12-16.)

Another venue for debate about these issues was the April NETmundial conference in São Paulo, which brought together more than 1,200 government officials, technical experts and representatives of nongovernmental organizations and businesses from 97 countries.

As The Economist noted in its detailed readout, for all the grandiose talk of “a new beginning” in Internet governance, most participants expressed the view that the Web works rather well as things stand. Rafał Trzaskowski, Poland’s minister in charge of information technology, warned his colleagues: “Any changes must preserve the principle of ‘do no harm.’” Milton Mueller, a noted Internet scholar at Syracuse University, quipped that replacing the Commerce Department with “a multistakeholder committee,” itself in need of supervision lest it be captured by vested interests, would be a step toward “an infinite regress.”

Vinton Cerf, one of the Internet’s founders and now the vice president of Google, was more blunt: “Don’t screw it up,” he implored the high-level committee that drafted the summit’s concluding document on the basis of hundreds of submissions received prior to and during the proceedings.

The final NETmundial declaration, a non-binding document, stipulates that human rights must be observed online as much as off, but that the properties which have let the Web blossom must be preserved. It gives a nod to some concrete ideas, such as separating ICANN’s policymaking role from the day-to-day administration.

SITE OF THE MONTH: Yearbook of the United Nations

Just in time for the United Nations General Assembly’s annual convocation later this month, the organization has launched the new website of the Yearbook of the United Nations (http://unyearbook.un.org), the main reference work on UN activities.

Since 1946, the Yearbook has served as the authoritative source of information on the United Nations system, offering comprehensive coverage of political and security matters, human rights issues, and economic and social questions, as well as assorted legal, institutional, administrative and budgetary matters. The website made its debut in 2008.

The new and improved version boasts a powerful search engine and enhanced readability across all platforms and mobile devices. A scrolling gallery of Yearbook cover art provides clickable access to each of the 63 published Yearbook volumes.

“Yearbook Pre-press,” a new feature, offers a look at Yearbooks currently in production, with draft Yearbook chapters and detailed chapter research outlines added regularly. Another feature is “Yearbook Express,” an online-only publication comprising all Yearbook chapter introductions as well as the annual secretary-general’s report on the work of the organization, in the six official United Nations languages.

You’ll also find an expanded “Yearbook News” section with background on Yearbook stories. This complements the live feed from the Yearbook Twitter account, with its historical perspective on current United Nations issues. Finally, an “About the Yearbook” section provides an overview of the latest published edition, as well as a look back at the past 68 cover designs.

The new website was developed jointly by the Knowledge Solutions and Design Section and the Yearbook Unit of the U.N.’s Department of Public Information. The web-development team built the site using open-source software, providing improved functionality at substantial savings to the organization.

Readers and researchers are encouraged to visit the new website and to use the “Contact” function to provide feedback about their experience.

—Steven Alan Honley, Contributing Editor
operation of the “root file” of the Internet’s domain-name system, which could be devolved to regional registries.

It also calls for the Internet Governance Forum, a “multistakeholder” talking shop the United Nations convened in 2006, to be shored up by extending its five-year mandate, which expires next year, and guaranteeing “stable and predictable funding.”

Meanwhile, another hot topic is ICANN’s ongoing initiative to expand the current Internet address system, which is based on 21 generic top-level domains. As the FSJ explained in an April 2011 Cybernotes item (“Stake Your Claim!”), the new gTLDs will eventually include a potentially infinite array of websites with subject-specific suffixes.

That process has been delayed by various technical and political issues, however. For instance, does the Internet domain name for a country belong to its government—or to anyone else?

Stephen Lawless reports for PC World that plaintiffs who successfully sued Iran, Syria and North Korea as sponsors of terrorism now want to seize the three countries’ country code top-level domains—the two-letter code at the end of a country-specific Internet address—as part of financial judgments against them.

(There are more than 280 ccTLDs, all of which need to have managers, administrative contacts and technical contacts who live in the countries they represent. The domains in this case are .ir for Iran and .sy for Syria, plus Arabic script equivalents for each, and .kp for North Korea.)

But domains aren’t property and don’t belong to the countries they point to, ICANN says in its motion to quash the court order. Instead, they’re more like postal codes: “simply the provision of routing and administrative services for the domain names registered within that ccTLD,” which are what let users go to websites and send email to addresses under those domains.

Reassigning them would disrupt everyone who uses a domain name that ends in those codes, including individuals, businesses and charitable organizations—and that, in turn, “could lead to fragmentation of the Internet.”

—Steven Alan Honley, Contributing Editor

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Advertising & Circulation Manager
Tel: (202) 944-5507
E-mail: miltenberger@afsa.org

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“Up or Out” Is Harming American Foreign Policy

BY GEORGE B. LAMBRAKIS

The “up or out” system for career advancement in the Foreign Service was introduced as an improvement in the Foreign Service Act of 1980, but it has instead damaged the Service. It should be repealed.

“Up or out” is borrowed from the military. The regulations for “up or out” set limits (usually short) on the time in class an officer can serve before being either promoted or selected out. The intention, of course, is to thin out senior ranks to provide “flow-through” space for more junior officers to move up the pyramid. This suits the military hierarchy.

Yet diplomacy requires larger portions of international sophistication, tact and specialized knowledge, while demanding less physical prowess in its execution. That is why every other developed country’s diplomats are generally allowed to remain in active service until reaching the age of 65.

At a symposium on creativity run by the Department of Defense back in the 1980s, a psychologist presented findings on the ages at which the heights of effectiveness are thought to be reached in various professions. It should surprise no one that advertising professionals were most effective in their late 20s and the military in older years. But the height of effectiveness in diplomacy was reached even later, by practitioners in their 60s. Clearly, the age of greatest effectiveness depends on the type of mission to be accomplished.

A Career or a Way Station?

“Up or out” is also based (often unconsciously) on the belief that the Foreign Service is not truly a profession. Proponents of this view claim its work involves so many characteristics and skills that are also partially present in members of many other professions, such as lawyers, politicians, academics, businessmen, journalists and others who often aspire to temporary diplomatic assignments—preferably starting at the top.

Yet this issue must be faced: Does the diplomacy of the United States deserve to be served mainly by a stable body of experienced people for their full professional lives? Or is the Foreign Service content to ultimately depend on providing training grounds and relatively short-term, in-and-out experiences for many other professionals who view their principal careers as being elsewhere?

Is the work of the Foreign Service so easily mastered without special training or apprenticeship, and can the Service afford to release many of its best people after providing a partial stage in their life experience?

For that is where the “up or out” provision of the 1980 Foreign Service act has led. The faster one is promoted, the sooner he or she faces competition for senior rank. And a few years later—often still in their 50s, and arguably near the height of their effectiveness—the vast majority of Foreign Service professionals are forced (or elect) to leave the Service.

The Foreign Service I propose is different, but not difficult to attain.

Elements of a Professional Service

In my view, a professional Foreign Service should be characterized by the following elements.

(1) A career that can last until the age of 65, following a trial period leading to tenure.
Is the work of the Foreign Service so easily mastered without special training or apprenticeship?

(2) Abolition of the “senior threshold,” which is largely meaningless in the Foreign Service assignment process. Many senior positions are filled by more junior officers on “stretch” assignments. These are usually officers who have been promoted quickly and are—ironically—most likely to be thinned out early because so few can make it to the top. Requiring such officers to compete for nominally senior status is demeaning and irrelevant; they will either be promoted into more senior rank or not.

(3) Continued selection-out, but only for serious breaches of discipline or provable errors.

(4) Substantial intake at the mid-level of capable specialists to meet new or unexpected shortages, as and if they arise.

(5) Continued tailoring of Foreign Service generalist promotions to the flow-through desired, but without presenting the criteria as foolproof or scientific. They can change as needs evolve. Law firms, universities, the media and other comparable professions also have hierarchies, but they do not struggle to maintain perfect pyramids in their organizations. They recognize that numerical bulges of experienced seniors below the top
often suit their organizational missions. 

(6) A recognition by the Service that personal rank and salary do not necessarily have to equate to management responsibilities at the top. While the Service needs good management, it especially needs good—even excellent—professional judgment and persuasive skills, which are normally developed by FSOs as they gain experience. 

Presidents are not elected primarily for their management skills, nor are Secretaries of State so chosen. So why do we think that senior diplomats, dealing with similar affairs of state, should be so judged—and be selected out if they cannot all squeeze into top management positions? 

As much or more rides on the ability of Foreign Service practitioners to analyze, report and persuade others, both at home and abroad, regarding a foreign situation or a U.S. foreign policy issue. 

Success in these skills is also the secret to leadership of other government agencies. We can only manage their foreign activities if they, too, respect our expertise, based on our successful performance, and not just at the top. 

(7) Recognition that the principal attraction of the Foreign Service is that of any other profession (e.g., teaching, economics, law, journalism, the military)—the nature of the life and work itself. Financial rewards in the FS are certainly limited and not primary motivators. Also limited are high rank, titles and promotions; they, too, should not be primary motivators. 

Foreign Service work consists of helping to formulate, and then carry out, U.S. foreign policy, and generally to conduct the business of the U.S. government abroad. This means understanding how foreign governments and their people think and operate. Dedication, experience, interest in foreign cultures and commitment to a life of service alongside others with similar ambitions—along with a willingness to accept physical dangers, health risks and psychological vicissitudes—should remain the primary motivators. 

The Service can afford to sacrifice some rapidity of promotion to avoid slotting officers into positions for which they are not ready (thus avoiding the "Peter Principle") and keep experienced people in the ranks, doing what they do best, even if they never reach the top. 

(8) As to arguments in favor of a "half-dozen good people" to control policymaking in Washington, and the concomitant desire for a special track to produce them, let the Service build one informally. But make this the exception, not the rule. 

Those who have a significant role in formulating Washington policy (as distinct from providing the factual basis and analysis on which such policy is based) will always be a small minority.
And many of them will necessarily be tied to the politics of the administration then in power, often recruited temporarily at the top.

Getting senior FSOs among such policymakers—valuable and necessary as that is—can never be the central aim of any system guiding as big a population as the entire Foreign Service, whose main function is to provide the seeds from which those foreign policies should grow.

**Modest Support**

Our innovative, impatient, ebullient country can well afford to continue the employment of senior career Foreign Service officials who have, through long experience, developed understanding of the views of other governments and their people, views that often differ from ours.

It is stupid to throw away such expertise in regular, predetermined numbers just as those officials are making their greatest contributions. American foreign policy lurches enough as it is. We must not deprive it of even this modest support.
A distinguished diplomat explores an evolving concept of diplomacy to meet the kaleidoscope of opportunities and challenges America faces.

BY MARC GROSSMAN

Since my retirement from the Foreign Service in 2005, I have had the chance, inspired by colleagues doing the same, to think about the future of the diplomatic profession. When I meet new Foreign Service officers, I tell them that I envy them for having a chance to reshape the job of diplomacy—not just because our world has changed, but because they are more educated, technologically savvy and diverse than my cohort.


The author wishes to thank Mildred Patterson, Jenny McFarland and Dylan Vorbach for their help in preparing this article. Some of the ideas on a diplomat’s philosophy were explored in Joint Forces Quarterly (No. 62, 2011). The story of the diplomatic campaign in Afghanistan and Pakistan was reported in the Yale Journal of International Affairs (Summer 2013). The ideas on Ukraine were discussed in the German Marshall Fund blog in March 2014.
But I confess that sometimes when I make a presentation about a vision for “21st-century” diplomacy, I wonder what is really new. Is this a “revolution in diplomacy” like the one in the mid-1400s described by Garrett Mattingly in his classic work, Renaissance Diplomacy? Is it similar to the changes identified by Harold Nicolson in his often politically incorrect, but still astute, Diplomacy, or those analyzed by Henry Kissinger in his monumental Diplomacy?

The world in which our diplomats work today is a kaleidoscope of opportunities and challenges, including violent non-state actors; global issues such as women’s empowerment, energy and climate change; negotiation of trade agreements and managing financial crises; America’s need to maintain alliances and create new coalitions; the requirement to manage and further promote globalization; the impact individuals and groups of citizens now have on foreign policy; and a recognition of the important link between pluralism and economic freedom. It is a world that is also defined by the need to recognize the overriding reality of simultaneity: the political, economic, military, cultural, humanitarian and media spheres have merged. Our policies must be as multi-faceted as the challenges we face.

The skeptic will say this is admirable, but will ask: What lessons are those who argue for a “new diplomacy” taking from Russian President Vladimir Putin’s annexation of Crimea and his continuing effort to destabilize eastern Ukraine? What relevance does a debate about what 21st-century diplomacy might be like have to the 150,000 thousand dead and nine million displaced in Syria’s civil war? What is 21st-century diplomacy’s answer to the “Islamic State”? And is Beijing’s political, psychological and military pressure on its neighbors in the South China Sea a reminder of the staying power of a more traditional, perhaps even timeless, diplomacy?

**Imagining a 21st-Century Diplomatic Philosophy**

Any vision for a 21st-century diplomacy that can meet new threats, grasp new opportunities and motivate new people is inherently optimistic. But it stands no chance of success unless it is grounded in a realistic assessment of the world as it is. To imagine a 21st-century diplomatic philosophy, we must start with an examination of first principles: What ideas and values do we bring to diplomacy?

Here, briefly stated, are four principles that describe my approach to diplomacy.

**Optimism.** Twenty-nine years in the U.S. Foreign Service and two more as a special representative for the State Department taught me that the best diplomats are optimists. They believe in the power of ideas. They believe that sustained effort can lead to progress. They believe that diplomacy, backed by the threat of force, can help nations and groups avoid bloodshed.

**A commitment to justice.** Henry Kissinger rightly maintains that international orders only last if they are just. He also emphasizes that this requirement for justice is connected to the domestic institutions of the nations that make up the international system. That is why, for U.S. diplomats, America’s commitment to political and economic justice at home, not just abroad, is crucial.

**Truth in dealing.** It is dismaying to witness the periodic resurrection of the statement by Sir Henry Wotton that “an ambassador is an honest man, sent to lie abroad for the good of his country.” Wotton is wrong. I agree with Nicolson, who wrote in 1939: “My own practical experience, and the years of study which I have devoted to this subject, have left me with the profound conviction that ‘moral’ diplomacy is ultimately the most effective, and that ‘immoral’ diplomacy defeats its own purposes.”

**Realism tempered by a commitment to pluralism.** It is not a coincidence that the search for foreign policy paradigms after the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq has led some observers back to the work of Reinhold Niebuhr. As Andrew Bacevich maintains in his introduction to a 2008 reissue of Niebuhr’s The Irony of American History, Niebuhr’s admonitions are hard for us to hear, especially warnings about “the persistent sin of American exceptionalism; the indecipherability of history; the false allure of simple solutions; and, finally, the imperative of appreciating the limits of power.”

Niebuhr is not the only one to call on for a stock-taking of contemporary diplomacy. In The Return of History and the End of Dreams, Robert Kagan reminds us that “in most places, the nation-state remains as strong as ever” and that national
ambitions, passions and competition still powerfully shape history. And Robert Kaplan argues in *The Revenge of Geography* that while they do not determine future events, “the legacies of geography, history and culture really do set limits on what can be accomplished in any given place.”

We have also been reminded by many astute observers not to get carried away with the power of social media to influence statecraft and diplomacy, despite all the transformative possibilities of this new form of global interaction. Although we now are in an immediate and direct dialogue with people around the world, and the power of social media to organize is there for all to see, there are limits to the long-term commitments to action or enduring institutional connections social media can make.

Finally, proponents of the “authoritarian capitalist” model have more talking points to use after the financial crisis of 2008–2009; they use them to try to call into question a new diplomacy’s belief in the inherent connection between private sector-fueled economic growth, globalization, and more tolerance and pluralism in society.

These are all powerful arguments and warnings. But the need for pluralism to be both a guiding philosophy and a practical goal of American foreign policy remains. That is why, just as some seeking a framework for U.S. foreign policy after Iraq and Afghanistan have returned to Niebuhr’s writings, others have also sought the wisdom of Isaiah Berlin. In his 2010 review of a new book of Berlin’s letters in the *New York Review of Books*, Nicholas Kristof highlights Berlin’s commitment to pluralism as a “pragmatic way of navigating an untidy world.”

But this is not pragmatism devoid of values. As Kristof writes: “Finding the boundary between what can be tolerated with gritted teeth and what is morally intolerable may not be easy, but it does not mean that such a boundary does not exist.” This well describes the profound challenge faced every day by America’s diplomats.

**An Evolving Concept of Diplomacy**

How does a proponent of “new diplomacy,” faced with Putin, Assad, a “caliphate” declared by the murderous Islamic State and a rising China proceed? Part of any future for diplomacy will, of course, be rooted in Niebuhr’s realism. But his views need to be combined with two other considerations: first, the commitment U.S. diplomats have to promote political and economic pluralism (to include practicing Track Two or “citizen’s diplomacy” where appropriate); and, second and related, the continuing need for policies based squarely on the belief that the United States has an important and often unique role to play in the modern world.

This is no easy task today. As Robert Kagan has recently written: “American foreign policy may be moving away from the sense of global responsibility that equated American interests with the interests of many others around the world and back to a defense of narrower, more parochial national interests. … Unless Americans can...see again how their fate is entangled with the rest of the world, then the prospects for a peaceful 21st century in which Americans and American principles can thrive will be bleak.”

I am not ready to give up the thought that an evolving concept of diplomacy can have a place in the future of our profession. Even in the apparently “traditional” actions of Moscow in Crimea or Beijing in the South China Sea, the power of simultaneity is recognizable (the recent Ukraine crisis was sparked by the desire of many Ukrainians to join the European Union—an economic entity profoundly connected to a transparent, rule-of-law-based, pluralistic way of life).

If that observation is correct, we will need to use and respond to simultaneity as a key component of every future diplomatic plan, bringing to bear all the elements of national power to respond to today’s challenges. It is through this recognition of the power and necessity of simultaneity, and a “whole-of-government” approach, that one could imagine a synthesis of traditional diplomacy and a diplomacy of the future.

There are important examples of this synthesis. Plan Colombia, conceived in the Clinton administration and pursued by subsequent presidents, was an early and explicit attempt to harness all of the levers of national power to support Colombians in their fight to preserve their democracy. Trade, counternarcotics, counterterrorism and support for
human rights were all fused into a common conception. It was an early example of the whole-of-government approach, which the 2010 Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review recommended for the entire State Department.

**Af-Pak: A “Diplomatic Campaign”**

My recall to the State Department gave me the chance to pursue another fusion of national goals and instruments: the 2011-2012 diplomatic campaign in Afghanistan and Pakistan. When President Barack Obama and Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton announced Richard Holbrooke’s appointment as the U.S. special representative for Afghanistan and Pakistan on Jan. 22, 2009, they sent a message beyond South Asia. Sec. Clinton wanted SRAP to show that the whole-of-government philosophy—employing expertise and resources from all relevant parts of government to address the nation’s most important challenges—was the right model for 21st-century diplomacy.

After Holbrooke’s sudden death in December 2010, some asked if that effort to make and execute policy at the State Department in a unique way would continue. Sec. Clinton promised that it would; and, starting in February 2011, when I was appointed to succeed Holbrooke, I pursued the whole-of-government approach, which I had advocated and practiced in earlier diplomatic assignments.

Pres. Obama laid the foundations for the 2011-2012 diplomatic effort in Afghanistan and Pakistan in the first two years of his administration. Sec. Clinton launched it in a speech at the Asia Society in New York on Feb. 18, 2011. In her remarks, she made clear that the military surge then underway in Afghanistan was a vital part of American strategy. Without the heroic effort of U.S. forces, joined by many allies, friends and partners, there was no chance of pursuing a diplomatic end to 30 years of conflict.

She also reminded her audience of the civilian surge underway in Afghanistan, which had brought thousands of courageous Americans from many U.S. government agencies, as well as international and Afghan civilians, to promote economic development, good governance, the power of civil society and the advancement of women within their society.

In her speech, Sec. Clinton called for a “diplomatic surge” to match the military and civilian efforts to try to catalyze and shape a political end to years of war. This meant drawing together all of our diplomatic resources to engage the countries in the region to support Afghanistan. It also meant, she said, trying to sustain a dialogue with the Taliban to see if they were ready to talk to the Afghan government about the future.

We decided to refer to our effort to create this surge as a “diplomatic campaign” to emphasize that this would not be a series of ad hoc engagements, but rather an effort that followed a comprehensive plan. The campaign would require simultaneous, coordinated action by the SRAP team to connect the military effort with the instruments of nonmilitary power in South and Central Asia, including official development assistance, involvement of the private sector, support for civil society, and the use of both bilateral and multilateral diplomacy.

As we reviewed the diplomatic calendar after Sec. Clinton’s speech, we devised, with our Afghan partners, a road map designed to shape, guide and leverage four international meetings already set for 2011-2012. The first was the November 2011 meeting of Afghanistan’s neighbors in Istanbul, designed to define the region’s stake in a secure, stable and prosperous Afghanistan and what they could do to make that happen. The second was the December 2011 international meeting in Bonn to mobilize post-2014 support for Afghanistan. Third was the May 2012 NATO summit in Chicago; and fourth was an international gathering to promote economic development in Afghanistan, set for Tokyo on July 8, 2012.

Beginning in March 2011, the SRAP team systematically imagined what could be achieved for the United States, the international community, Afghanistan and the region by the time the Tokyo meeting ended 17 months later. Our plan defined what needed to be accomplished at each meeting and the work that had to be done to produce that result. Every aspect of the diplomatic campaign was integrated to achieve
the most comprehensive outcome. Every trip and every conversation with foreign leaders and diplomats at every level was used to press a holistic vision. Each of the four conferences contributed to the larger campaign and explicitly built on the one that had taken place before it.

The other key component of the diplomatic campaign’s regional strategy was based on the recognition that no regional structure in support of Afghanistan would succeed without a strong economic component, including a key role for the private sector. Sec. Clinton announced the U.S. vision—a “New Silk Road”—at a speech in Chennai, India, on July 20, 2011. The American objective was to connect the vibrant economies in Central Asia with India’s economic success. With Afghanistan and Pakistan in the center, they could both benefit, first from transit trade and, ultimately, from direct investments.

The New Silk Road vision highlights a compelling aspect of 21st-century diplomacy: acting as a “whole of government” on opportunities and challenges simultaneously. For example, a successful New Silk Road could increase the incentives for the insurgents to give up their fight by offering, at least for some of their fighters, an alternative way of thinking about the future. It could also promote the crucial role of women in development. In his book *Monsoon*, Robert Kaplan provides a view of the larger connections: “Stabilizing Afghanistan is about more than just the anti-terror war against al-Qaeda and the Taliban; it is about securing the future prosperity of the whole of southern Eurasia.”

The 2011-2012 diplomatic campaign in Afghanistan and Pakistan was not just a vehicle of policy, but also a way to think about the interaction of diplomacy with the other aspects of national power. As former British General Rupert Smith wrote in *The Utility of Force*: “The general purpose of all interventions is clear: We seek to establish in the minds of the people and their leaders that the ever-present option of conflict is not the preferable course of action when in confrontation over some matter or another. To do this, military force is a valid option, a lever of intervention and influence, as much as economic, political and diplomatic levers; but to be effective, they must be applied as a part of a greater scheme focusing all measures on the one goal.”

**Global Challenges Today**

A survey of America’s global challenges points to the need for policies that press new ideas and simultaneously bring to bear all the elements of national power while remaining rooted in our values and philosophy. For example, the West’s answer to Mr. Putin in Ukraine is rightly focused on supporting the creation of a strong Ukrainian state connected to the West, not tainted by corruption, ready to fight for itself (which President Petro Poroshenko seems inclined to do, at least for eastern Ukraine) and the threat of ever more severe sanctions on Russia, especially in answer to crimes like the shooting down of Malaysia Airlines Flight 17.

A policy built on a long-term assessment of the West’s many simultaneous strengths in this battle would focus also on the need to create a relevant and robust vision for NATO’s future after Afghanistan. At the upcoming NATO summit in Wales, Pres. Obama has the chance to lay out new commitments to the alliance and reaffirm the enduring American role in Europe.

Responding to Russia’s actions in a meaningful, long-term way also calls for a trans-Atlantic energy strategy that reduces the possibility of energy blackmail. Diversity of supply was a motivating factor in U.S. support for the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan pipeline, which brings Central Asian oil to world markets. Europeans have reduced their dependence on Russian gas. But more can be done, such as resurrecting Western support for an East-West energy corridor connecting the Caucasus and Central Asia to world markets and renewing the American commitment to the North American Energy Initiative with Canada and Mexico. The U.S. is helping Ukraine and other European countries build up natural gas storage and find gas supplies in Africa. The United States can itself move to export U.S. natural gas to increase world supply and further reduce the chances of Gazprom blackmail. While these steps
will not by themselves solve today’s challenges, they send a strong signal about the changing global gas market.

We can also honor our values and the original Euromaidan protesters by recognizing the Trans-Atlantic Trade and Investment Partnership for what it is: a strategic investment in the economic and political future of the West. Europe and the United States should complete TTIP negotiations as soon as possible and not let tactical disagreements stop governments from launching what may be the most strategically profound response to Russia’s actions.

There are many other possibilities for a realistic diplomacy carried out by a professional and engaged Foreign Service, one that is committed to supporting a whole-of-government approach and founded on a recognition of the power of simultaneity, a robust commitment to pluralism and a belief in the enduring power of the United States to do good things in a troubled world.

Managing China’s rise in Asia is as much about bringing into force the trade and investment-focused Trans-Pacific Partnership as it is about stationing Marines in Australia. As Geoff Dyer observes in his analysis of U.S.-China relations: “Instead of American decline, the bigger question is whether Washington can sustain broad international support for the system of free trade, freedom of navigation and international rules it put into place after the Second World War.”

Getting energy policy right has implications beyond Ukraine, perhaps including making a contribution to a better future for Greeks, Cypriots, Turks and Israelis in the eastern Mediterranean. Energy strategy, economics, trade, military strategy, the environment and geography all come together in the Arctic. Promoting the rule of law is not just about human rights; it is also about sustaining economic development. Getting women involved in commerce, development, and peace and reconciliation processes leads to more successful societies.

Diplomacy—even a 21st-century version—is not the answer to every question. Geography, power, passion, ambition and competition still matter. Diplomacy must be backed by force and based on a strong domestic foundation. But there are some new things under the sun, and we need to consider, talk about and study the ways in which diplomacy will need to continue to evolve to meet the challenges of this new era.

We should focus especially hard on those places where we can use simultaneous, integrated tools of national security to face tomorrow’s challenges or the return of yesterday’s.
TURNING THE TABLES:
An Interview with Stu Kennedy

Charles Stuart Kennedy, 2014 winner of AFSA’s Lifetime Contributions to American Diplomacy Award, talks about his Foreign Service career and pioneering work creating American diplomacy’s oral history program.

BY SHAWN DORMAN

On June 18, at this year’s awards ceremony, AFSA conferred its Lifetime Contributions to American Diplomacy Award on Charles Stuart Kennedy, in recognition of his distinguished Foreign Service career and lifetime of public service.


A career officer in the U.S. Foreign Service from 1955 to 1985, Charles Stuart “Stu” Kennedy retired after a distinguished consular career with the rank of minister counselor. Mr. Kennedy was consul general in Naples, Seoul, Athens and Saigon, and also served in Frankfurt, Dhahran, Belgrade and Washington, D.C. Throughout his career, he set a high standard for creatively managing and responding to the growing need for protection of, and services for, American citizens, and for managing U.S. visa programs and processes.

In 1986, after retiring from the Foreign Service, Mr. Kennedy became managing director of The George Washington University’s Foreign Service History Center. There he created the Foreign Affairs Oral History Collection and began recording the insights and experiences of American diplomats. The program moved to Georgetown University and then, in 1988, to the Association of Diplomatic Studies and Training, where he serves as its director.

In that capacity, Mr. Kennedy has personally interviewed more than 1,000 retired American diplomats, some of whose careers date back to the 1920s. The ADST Oral History Collection now includes more than 2,000 entries, which are posted on the Library of Congress website, as well as at ADST’s website. The collection is a rich and essential resource for authors, scholars and journalists.

Service at Work (iUniverse, 2004); and, with Dayton Mak, of American Ambassadors in a Troubled World (Praeger, 1992). He has received the Foreign Service Cup, the Cyrus R. Vance Award for Advancing Knowledge of American Diplomacy, the Forrest C. Pogue Award from the Mid-Atlantic Region Oral History Association and a special citation from the American Academy of Diplomacy.

Early in his Foreign Service career, Stu Kennedy realized that there was no real record of the work of U.S. diplomats. As a result, their fellow Americans have no idea of these individuals’ many contributions and sacrifices, and suffer from serious misconceptions about what Foreign Service members do.

In creating the ADST Oral History Program, he has made an enormous contribution to public understanding of American diplomatic history and the crucial role the Foreign Service has played in advancing U.S. interests around the world.

On June 20, Foreign Service Journal Editor Shawn Dorman sat down with Stu Kennedy to talk about his life and career.

Shawn Dorman: Congratulations on winning AFSA’s 2014 Lifetime Contributions to American Diplomacy Award. Everyone was thrilled by the choice.

Stu Kennedy: Obviously, I’m delighted and honored, and a little bit overawed. I am very thankful to AFSA for doing this. By the way, since this is effectively an oral history, I should note that today is June 20, 2014.

SD: Right! When I went up to Toronto this past spring for the International Studies Association Convention to represent AFSA and the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training, seeing the reactions from academics to the oral history collection made me even more aware of just how valuable the oral histories are. They really are a treasure trove of primary-source material—firsthand accounts of diplomatic practice.

SK: Yes, it’s like fishing in a barrel. I mean, you take any person involved in foreign affairs and get them to talk about what they’ve done, and they’ve all had remarkable experiences.

SD: As you say to everyone you interview, let’s start at the beginning. Tell me where you were born and grew up.

SK: All right. I was born in Chicago in 1928, just before the Great Depression. That had a profound effect on my family, as it did on so many others. My mother and father separated...
when I was about 3. I moved to California and ended up in the Pasadena area until about 1939. Then we moved to Annapolis, Md., where my older brother was a midshipman who graduated in the class of 1940.

SD: Where did you get your undergraduate degree?
SK: Williams College. I graduated in 1950. A couple of years later, I joined the intelligence branch of the U.S. Air Force and studied Russian at the Defense Language Institute in Monterey, Calif. It was very good for me because I had gone to one of these nice New England prep schools, a nice New England college, and it was time to get out and meet some other people. Although I was in the intelligence branch of the Air Force, as an enlisted man, I developed an appreciation for non-commissioned officers of the Air Force and how good they are.

Then I was sent to Korea during the Korean War, and I had a very interesting assignment with the U.S. Air Force. One of the lesser known wars that we fought was the U.S. Air Force fighting the Soviet Air Force over North Korea. There were regular combat planes on both sides shooting at each other. Of course, I was one of those who sat on the ground and had a tape recorder listening to this. It was a rather nasty little war.

SD: You were listening to the Russians?
SK: I listened to the Russians directing their fighter pilots to our fighter pilots. And I would pass on to our fighter pilots what the Russians were planning to do. There were a number of us doing this. I’m sure the Soviets were doing the same thing. It’s quite a bit fancier now, but the same thing still goes on.

SD: Same concept, different technology. And what was next after the military?
SK: I served in Japan and Germany for a year each and left the Air Force in 1954 with the rank of airman first class. I used my GI Bill benefits to attend Boston University, where I got a master’s degree in history and a bride. While in the Air Force, stationed near Frankfurt, I had taken the Foreign Service written exam in 1953 and just barely passed.

SD: What was your first post?
SK: Frankfurt. I’m told that approximately a third of the Foreign Service was assigned to posts in Germany for their first tour at that time. We had lots of consulates. I went to Frankfurt and spent one year there, initially with the refugee relief program. We dealt with refugees who during World War II had headed west to escape the Soviets and settled in Germany. Most of them didn’t want to be there, so we arranged for thousands of them to come to the United States. The Canadians and Australians did the same thing.

SD: And when you entered the Foreign Service, did you come in as a consular officer?
SK: There were no cones then. After a while, your assign-
ments showed what you wanted to do, and I found that I really liked consular work. It seemed to me that my friends who were doing political reporting were writing papers for class again. Initially, when a friend would tell me, “My paper went all the way up to the deputy assistant secretary,” I thought, “Wow, ain’t that wonderful?” I preferred to deal more with people, which I enjoyed.

**SD:** Did you feel there was a hierarchy or any snobbism between political and consular officers? Did you see any of that?

**SK:** Yes. I accepted it at the time; but looking back on it now, I’m sort of horrified. There were two terms that were used: substantive work and non-substantive work. Work in both consular and administrative affairs was considered non-substantive. In today’s world, on the 90th anniversary of the Rogers Act, talk about being politically incorrect! According to that view, getting an American out of jail lacks substance. Incredible!

There are deep roots to this, of course. Years ago, I did quite a bit of research on the history of the consular service and later published a book about it, *The American Consul: A History of the United States Consular Service, 1776-1914*. For a long time, we had a diplomatic service and a consular service. The diplomatic service tended to be for those who were wealthy—you’d send your son to serve under a certain ambassador to give him a little polish and work on a language and come back. It wasn’t really professional.

The consular service was made up of people who had political clout, from all parts of society, and some of them stayed. It was much involved in trade matters and taking care of seamen. The world was different then, and there was a certain amount of snobbery.

Fortunately, I had gone to what were considered the “right” schools. I didn’t have money, but I had the education. Yet I still recall hearing colleagues say: “This is Stu Kennedy. He may be a consular officer, but he’s one of us.” Happily, I think that attitude is long gone.

As a matter of fact, I think consular work has become far more attractive; not that it’s changed that much, but the perception has. People now see it as getting involved in things and getting things done. I came in just at the beginning of the real involvement in postwar efforts in Europe. After the war, we really were the top dogs in everything concerning foreign affairs. The Foreign Service had not been really fully engaged in World War II. The military had taken over. And by the early 1950s, the military was letting go of its occupation of Germany and of Japan. And the Foreign Service was moving in to establish normal relations, and things were changing.

**SD:** I wonder if you see any parallels with what happened, say, with the Iraq War and the military having more prominence in foreign policy.

**SK:** In dealing with war, the military has to take over. But now, I think it’s much more built-in, with Foreign Service political advisers helping the military avoid some mistakes. The civilian side is involved but not in charge until the actual war is over, and then the military in effect says, “Now it’s your baby.” In my era, almost all of us in the Foreign Service were male and almost all of us had served in the military, albeit some of us, like myself, had a very lowly rank; but you had learned to appreciate and understand what the military could and couldn’t do. Back then the military was not necessarily “them;” the military was “us.” And it’s quite a difference from today, I think.

**SD:** Which of your postings stand out the most in your memory? What was your favorite posting?

**SK:** My favorite post was Belgrade. I extended there, and was chief of the consular section from 1962 to 1967. I took Serbian with Larry Eagleburger before we went out there. We loved to travel through all the different parts of Yugoslavia. Looking back on it, you could see that the Serbs and Croats didn’t get along, but it didn’t seem nasty. We certainly never imagined that the country would come apart.

Another assignment I wouldn’t say I enjoyed, but was memorable, was the 18 months I spent as consul general in Saigon (1967-1968). I traveled rather extensively. The war wasn’t going well, but those of us in Saigon didn’t feel under any particular threat. I lived out in the middle of Saigon. The Civil Operations and Revolutionary Development Support program was going

There were no cones then. After a while, your assignments showed what you wanted to do, and I found that I really liked consular work.
on then. There were some rockets and some fighting on the outskirts of Saigon. It was quite a different war.

**SD:** Were you married then?

**SK:** Yes, but my wife wasn’t with me in Vietnam. I’d met Ellen while studying at Boston University, and we got married before I joined the Foreign Service. We just celebrated our 59th anniversary, by the way.

**SD:** Congratulations, that is an accomplishment!

**SK:** Next, I served in Greece, an interesting place. I was there from 1970 to 1974, while the military junta was in charge. So, I got to see how inefficient a dictatorship was. That’s one of the nice things about the Foreign Service: you get to observe different types of government. I served in every geographic bureau except Africa and Latin America, and always did consular work while overseas. I served in Frankfurt, Dhahran, Belgrade, Saigon, Seoul, Naples and Washington.

**SD:** Did you spend much time back in Washington?

**SK:** Yes, usually in personnel. But many of us stayed overseas as much as possible, because we got better pay there. You didn’t get any particular credit for serving in Washington. I didn’t understand until I got to this oral history program that you could pick work that would be more likely to lead to becoming an ambassador and other plum assignments by working in desk or staff jobs in the State Department.

When I entered the Foreign Service, we were the first post-McCarthy class and got a certain amount of attention for that. I remember one time someone came to the department and asked us, “How many of you want to be ambassadors?” We all raised our hands, of course; but I only raised mine about halfway up because I thought, “Consul general in Bermuda sounds like a hell of a lot more fun!”

**SD:** It seems there are different types in the Foreign Service, including some who focus on networking and climbing to be ambassadors and others who are more focused on having the experience of a good career and doing what they’re interested in.

**SK:** Absolutely.

**SD:** You were consul general four times. What were the most satisfying and the most challenging things about being in that position?

**SK:** Consular work is one side of the operation of the embassy. When you’re running a consular section, you’re pretty much on your own. You don’t have to write long papers with explanations. You get involved with things dealing with relations with the host country and you’re on the country team, but the basic work was done without somebody on top of you.

The ambassador and deputy chief of mission didn’t give us any trouble. That’s the way it should be. I remember that if you had a difficult case, and you really didn’t want to do anything—figuring that if you hold off a while, something will happen to resolve it—you just sent it off to Washington, because you’d hardly ever get an answer.

**SD:** Was there a lot less bureaucracy back then?

**SK:** Yes. Things have not improved in that regard. I think communications are probably much better now, but there are many more restrictions.

**SD:** Naples was your last post. You retired in 1985, and then almost right away got to work on the oral history project?

**SK:** Yes. I had started thinking, “What am I going to do with my life after I leave the Foreign Service?” A lot of retired FSOs were going into declassification work, but that didn’t seem like much fun.

I had attended the funeral of Charles Burke Elbrick, who had been consul in Poland during World War II and was later kidnapped in Brazil. There were so many stories. And I remember at the funeral I saw Larry Eagleburger and many other friends, all of whom had stories of their own to tell. And then it came to me: Someone needs to collect those stories, because no one else knows them.

Back then, you could get a good portable tape recorder for about $35. At first, I had the rather naïve idea that I would just go around and invite people to “tell me about the good old
And I’d collect all these stories that would all be there for people to listen to. But when I eventually started the oral history program, I discovered very quickly that a lot more was involved.

First, you had to get everything transcribed. Nobody’s going to listen to people sit and talk. You’ve got to have a repository for them. Then you have to get it out and get it known. So I hustled and got somebody at The George Washington University interested. They took me in with another colleague, Victor Wolf, and that’s where we started the oral history collection.

Unfortunately, Victor was killed in a car accident shortly after we started. One problem was that George Washington University had just one diplomatic historian, and his period was the Napoleonic era, which didn’t dovetail too well with the 20th-century focus of American oral histories.

SD: Then you moved the collection to Georgetown University, right?

SK: Yes, and it stayed there until 1988. Now we’re part of the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training, at the Foreign Service Institute. They came up with the idea of a whole list of things to do to help the Foreign Service Institute at the time it was getting ready to move to a new campus.

When I started this thing, I had the idea that one of these days, there’s going to be a great library in the sky for material like this, where anyone could use it. I had no idea about the specifics, but the Internet was just starting to take off. In many ways, we’ve really been the beneficiaries of larger developments like that.

SD: Still, you had a lot of foresight before the technology was even there—a vision.

SK: Yes, there was a vision there. Early on, I had some concepts like offering country readers, which would extract from all the oral histories entries that deal with, say, Patagonia or whatever. And I put together about 20 of those. There was no money, so I typed the manuscripts myself and even bound them.

SD: Of course, now the transcripts are online, and searchable, taking it to a new level.

SK: Oh, yes. We’re now past the 2,000 mark. And since we started the intern program, we have been able to do more country readers and even subject readers.

SD: Did you conduct most of the interviews yourself? How long do they take?

SK: Many, but not most of them. Now though, I am doing most of them. In the early days, each oral history would last about an hour and a half. Now they are much longer. I started to put more emphasis on people’s early years. Not all of that information is being used now, but we have a significant body of information about, for example, growing up as an immigrant in the United States, about college protests during Vietnam, things like that.

I should also note that from the very beginning, I wanted each interview to cover social history and be as representative as possible of different demographics. We wanted to interview women, but they just weren’t there. Now they are.

SD: Were there any interviews that didn’t work?

SK: I remember one: the individual had had a very distinguished career, but when I got there, I realized the poor man had severe dementia. At a certain point, I just turned the tape recorder off and kept chatting.

We do have a problem, a serious one. This is when someone does an oral history interview with us and then does not edit the transcript and return it to us. We have two options. Option one is to turn it over to a volunteer Foreign Service person to clean it up. The other one is to wait until they die. That’s pretty much it. We’re not going to let go of it; it’s just a matter of timing. [Wry laughter, as Kennedy knows that Dorman is one of these slackers.] How is your health?

SD: I’m holding on! It’s fascinating to me, the process and what happens in the interview, the way that you elicit all that personal information. In my interview, it felt like my whole life was laid out...
before me. Do you feel that you bring out a lot from people that they may not have thought about or may not have considered whether they’re comfortable saying?

SK: This thing does surprise people. I try now to warn them, but this is my natural curiosity. I feel it fits right into this. When you’re looking at somebody who says, “OK, then I decided to declare war on Patagonia,” you want to know where they came from. But on all sorts of things, you really should know who the person is.

We also find out a lot of interesting things about what it’s like to operate in a bureaucracy like the State Department. How did FSOs get along with colleagues at Treasury, the White House or between the bureaus? I’m all for getting as much as we can. It can be rather personal.

Once I interviewed a woman who had immigrated to America from another country. I knew her socially, and she said to me at the end of her oral history: “I thought you were going to ask me about my affairs.” And sometimes people say, “You know, I hadn’t thought about that son of a bitch for 30 years.” You don’t get a lot of backstabbing, though. Maybe it’s the kind of people we’re interviewing. Some are still bitter about their relationship with somebody, often a supervisor. Fair enough, I’ve got no particular problem with that; but for the most part, people tend to be pretty objective.

It’s always a collaborative effort and depends on the type of relationship you set up. And I do quite a few of my oral histories these days over the telephone. I find it works much better than I thought it would.

SD: I know you interview political appointees, as well as career diplomats. Do you see differences between them?

SK: Not really. I try to get as much as I can out of anyone I’m interviewing. So if the person is a politician, I ask about that. For example, I interviewed Robert Strauss and got a lot about Texas Democratic politics from him. Why not? I’ve got these people here, and I’m the vacuum cleaner.

SD: Do you gain a sense, in terms of competency, of how people perform when they are in the top position? Can you tell from talking to them whether they were successful?

SK: Well, I’ve talked to, for example, Avis Bohlen, who was deputy chief of mission to Ambassador Pamela Harriman in France. She was glowing about the ability of Pamela Harriman, said she was a real pro. And there are other political appointees who did well.
I get both sides. You get some career FSOs who reach the ambassadorial level and really aren’t very good managers. I have a personal aversion to anyone who is nasty to their staff. A good political appointee coming out of the political side can often talk to the political figures in the country where they are. I mean, politics is politics. And they’re probably better at it, to some extent, than the Foreign Service officer. It depends on the personality.

I’m uncomfortable with the whole idea of making political contributions to get appointed, even though every administration does that. But to me, it’s bribery.

**SD:** Overall, do you think that most people coming out of the Foreign Service are pleased with the career they’ve had?

**SK:** Oh, sure. I’ve been interviewing people for more than 30 years. I have a fairly low threshold for boredom, and I’m not bored yet. I think it’s a marvelous career, and I can’t think of any one that could be more fun. For one thing, you keep changing jobs and posts instead of doing the same thing year after year, and the people change. And if you’re stuck with a lousy boss, or someone who’s incompetent, either you’ll move or they will.

**SD:** What would you tell students coming out of college or grad school about the Foreign Service as a career?

**SK:** You have to be a certain type. For example, it may sound silly, but I’m not that turned on by money. If money really interests you, and vacations down in the Bahamas or something like that, or if you’re not willing to take some rather lousy assignments, then the Foreign Service isn’t going to work out. But I found interesting things every place I went. I enjoyed walking the streets and seeing something different every day.

I had one person say at the end of the interview: “My God, they paid me to do this!” Some people have had bad experiences, but that’s part of our profession, too.

**SD:** Any final thoughts on the oral history program?

**SK:** I want to be careful not to make this sound like I’m the oral historian for the Foreign Service. There are others involved. When I started this, there was an oral history of Foreign Service spouses and one for USIA newly underway. They were being done by the wives of retired FSOs and retired USIA officers on their own.

After I got into this, I contacted a British diplomat, Malcolm McBain, who had been ambassador to Madagascar. I passed everything I’d learned on to him. But he did all the work and started the British Oral History Programme. We helped instigate
it and kept up a correspondence with them. It’s located at Cambridge University. You can find it through Cambridge online. They have about 150 oral histories now.

SD: The oral histories are one of the best possible outreach tools—educational, and not just for students.

SK: Exactly right. We really have three audiences. One is the professional Foreign Service officers, and they’re using these excerpts as discussion matters. Two, the general public. And the third audience is the pundits and others of the “chattering class” who teach and write about diplomacy.

SD: The oral history collection seems like a great bridge between the study and the practice of diplomacy. With such a bridge, do you think academics can learn from the practitioners, and also the other way around?

SK: My own prejudice is that if you’re practicing diplomacy, you’re doing something. If you’re teaching diplomacy and nobody’s reading about it, it’s just hot air. One of the things I really want to do is to develop a sense of history within the Foreign Service.

SD: Any final thoughts to share?

SK: I want to say a word about this little organization we have here, the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training. Really, it’s quite small. And even though we can only pay McDonald’s-level wages, it’s kept going and most of the staff have stayed on. We are only about five people, and we each have our own specialty.

Our interns have been a big help in so many ways. For one, they bring enthusiasm. And we give them “substantive” work. The goal for our first group of interns was to get things organized and put together our country readers. It took a long time, but now we’re pretty well caught up.

Now we’re asking them to go through the transcripts and pick out tidbits and stories that can tie to foreign affairs today. We’ve got these on our website, www.adst.org. Thanks to Executive Director Chris Sibilla, our newest staff member, this website gets something like 35,000 hits a month. That means a great number of people in the public are able to understand what diplomats do. It shows that we don’t just sit around in striped pants writing treaties.

SD: It’s been a pleasure talking with you, and I really appreciate your taking the time.

SK: No, thank you!
INTEGRITY AND OPENNESS: Requirements for an Effective Foreign Service

Honesty and candor have been the watchwords of this three-time AFSA dissent award winner’s diplomatic career.

BY KENNETH M. QUINN

From the very start of my 32-year Foreign Service career, through one of my final actions as chief of mission in Phnom Penh, constructive dissent has been integral to most positions I have held and decisions I had to make. While my willingness to challenge U.S. policy on issues ranging from genocide and terrorism to normalizing relations with Vietnam may have cost me a job or two along the way, the respect of my fellow officers and the three awards for constructive dissent AFSA has conferred on me motivated me to keep speaking up.

My first experience as a dissenter occurred in 1968. After completing the A-100 course, I had moved on to the Vietnam Training Center to prepare for my first assignment in that war-torn country. This was shortly after the Tet Offensive, which had claimed the lives of a number of Foreign Service officers, and amid growing doubt that our goals in Vietnam were “worth dying for.” In fact, several FSOs who had served there found the assignment so morally confounding that they either resigned or asked for reassignment just a few months after arriving “in country,” effectively ending their careers.

Kenneth M. Quinn, the only three-time winner of an AFSA dissent award, spent 32 years in the Foreign Service and served as ambassador to Cambodia from 1996 to 1999. He has been president of the World Food Prize Foundation since 2000.
This trend understandably caused considerable concern among senior State Department officials, including the new director of the Vietnam Training Center, Cliff Nelson, who himself had just returned from the war. He spoke to the assembled trainees and urged anyone who had any doubts about what we were doing in Vietnam to come see him right away. Based on the conversations I’d had with my colleagues, I assumed that there would be a long line at his door, but I was the only one there.

When Nelson arrived, he looked at me and asked, “Who are you and what do you want?” I replied, “You just said that anyone with doubts should come to see you, and I wanted to be honest and tell you about mine.” This enraged him, and he went into a tirade, yelling that he could not understand why a “red-blooded American boy could not risk his life for his country.” As I sputtered out a few words, trying to tell him I was fully prepared to do just that, he yelled that he was throwing me out of the program and, if he could, out of the Foreign Service.

Suddenly, my dream of a career in diplomacy was about to disappear before it had even begun. But the department was so desperate for employees to serve in Vietnam that it ordered the director to reinstate me. Soon thereafter, I left for Saigon and ended up staying in Vietnam for six years, an experience that shaped my Foreign Service career.

### Dinner with the Ambassador

I spent my first two years in Vietnam as a district senior adviser in Sa Đéc province, where I headed a 10-member U.S. Army advisory team and commanded combat helicopter missions. I was there at the same time as a young naval officer named John Kerry, who was assigned to a brown-water Navy patrol boat base.

At one point, a few officers from the field, including me, were asked to come to the embassy in Saigon to have dinner with Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker. It was a rare opportunity to interact with someone at such a high level. Over dinner, the ambassador asked us for assessments of how things were going in the countryside.

One by one, my colleagues gave relatively upbeat accounts. As the most junior person present, I was the last to speak, and I could feel the pressure to repeat their assurances of success. But instead, I described the significant corruption that pervaded the South Vietnamese government and military hierarchy, and explained how it was undercutting our efforts to defeat the insurgent Viet Cong.

Amb. Bunker’s face showed just how unhappy he was to hear what I had to say, but for good measure, he added: “That’s not what I hear from others.” Later in the evening, Deputy Chief of Mission Sam Berger pulled me aside and told me privately how glad he was that I said the things that I had, and

Throughout the Vietnam War, many FSOs had difficulty getting their reporting telegrams approved and sent if they dared to express any doubts about U.S. policy.
how important it was for the ambassador to hear them.

Throughout the Vietnam War, many FSOs had considerable difficulty getting their reporting telegrams approved and sent if they dared to express any doubts about U.S. policy. This added to a sense of frustration and deep disappointment. I still recall walking down an alley in Saigon with another junior officer who was literally in tears. His vision of an honest, open Foreign Service reporting system had proven an illusion, and he was considering resignation.

I felt similar pressure two years later, in 1972, when I was stationed along the Vietnamese-Cambodian border. There I observed the very first steps by the radical Khmer Rouge as they began taking over parts of Cambodia. By interviewing refugees who fled across the border and carefully reviewing other reports, I pulled together the first-ever detailed account of the group’s genocidal policies, which they would later inflict on seven million Cambodians. My analysis also documented that the Khmer Rouge were not controlled by Hanoi, which was an article of faith within the U.S. government and intelligence community.

To his credit, the U.S. consul general in Cân Thơ did not hesitate to send my well-documented report to Washington as an airgram, which received wide circulation. But the response from Embassy Phnom Penh was to tell me to desist from further reporting on Cambodia.

The Foggy Bottom 46

In April 1974, after six years in Vietnam, I was assigned to the staff of the National Security Council. This was just as Watergate was closing in on President Richard Nixon, and the “decent interval” before the collapse of South Vietnam was drawing to an end. Internal turmoil led to the creation of the Secretary’s Open Forum, of which I was one of the co-founders and vice chair. When we had our first meeting with Kissinger, now Secretary of State, you can imagine the startled look on his face when he realized that a member of the NSC staff was also leading this new organization.

Two years later, I became a special assistant to Richard Holbrooke, the new assistant secretary for East Asian and Pacific affairs. As much as I loved my job, many mid-level colleagues shared my dismay that seventh-floor political appointees were making policy and personnel decisions without any input from the career Foreign Service. A few of us began meeting in the EAP conference room to talk about the situation and how to rectify it.

In 1977, 46 of us (known as the “Foggy Bottom 46”) drafted and signed a statement of our concerns, which I hand-carried to Executive Secretary Peter Tarnoff along with a request to meet with Secretary of State Cyrus Vance. By the time the meeting was set up, more than 500 FSOs had signed the petition, including several sitting ambassadors and assistant secretaries.
On the day of the meeting, I served as spokesman, accompanied by George Moose, Barbara Bodine and Alan Romberg. After assuring Sec. Vance of our deep commitment to excellence in foreign affairs, we then conveyed our concern that this basic principle was being undermined and eroded. The Secretary was clearly taken aback by our candid outline of concerns, and immediately committed the department to a thorough review of every issue we identified.

Our initiative set off a chain reaction that helped pave the way for passage of the Foreign Service Act of 1980. It also led to my receiving the William R. Rivkin Award for constructive dissent by a mid-level FSO, in 1978, my first AFSA dissent award.

Formulating a Road Map

In 1990 I returned to Washington from the Philippines to serve as a deputy assistant secretary in the Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs. I also chaired the Interagency Committee on Vietnam POW/MIA Accounting. Opposition to moving forward on normalizing relations with Vietnam came from many directions. Many critics, including members of Congress, believed that the State Department and other federal agencies had suppressed information about U.S. military personnel left behind alive in Indochina.

At one point, I invited a group of about 30 of the most strident critics to the department. In fact, we gathered in the same EAP conference room where the Foggy Bottom 46 had met. I told them that I would stay as long as they wanted and would answer every question.

After more than two hours, when the group had no more questions to ask, one of them stood up and said, “This was the single best meeting we have had with a government official in the 18 years since the end of the war.” That remark brought home to me again how critical openness is to promoting trust in U.S. policy.

Despite that success, the leader of one POW/MIA family organization met privately with senior department officials to urge that I be removed as DAS. That campaign briefly succeeded, but as I was packing up my office, Under Secretary of State Frank Wisner reversed the decision.

The result was that over two administrations, from 1990 to 1994, I was able to help put in place the “Road Map Policy,” which provided for simultaneous steps by both Hanoi and Washington that led to significant progress in POW/MIA accounting, the establishment of liaison offices and, eventually, the normalization of relations. It was for my role in bringing about this transformation of U.S. policy, in the face of entrenched opposition and personal efforts to remove me, that I received AFSA’s Christian A. Herter Award for constructive dissent by a Senior FSO in 1993.

A Matter of Life and Death

My last dissent came right at the end of my career in 1999, while serving as ambassador to Cambodia. We had a completely defenseless facility with no Marines, no setback and no way to prevent a truck bombing like the ones that had hit our missions in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam the year before. In fact, the Diplomatic Security Bureau’s Mobile Assessment Team said that Embassy Phnom Penh was the most exposed mission
in the world; hit with an explosive like that used in Kenya, everyone inside would likely be killed or wounded.

Deputy Chief of Mission Carol Rodley and I began a desperate search for a new, safer location to which we could move our operations. However, Washington kept denying every application for funding or permission to relocate. The department finally ordered us to stop appealing the denials and to sign the waivers required for a security upgrade of our current location—the very one that DS itself had said could not be safeguarded.

In my judgment, agreeing to sign such waivers would leave all of my American and Cambodian employees exposed. I sent a message via the Dissent Channel informing Secretary of State Madeleine Albright that I refused to implement the department’s orders.

Since I was only a few months away from the end of my ambassadorial tour, I suspected Washington might try to wait me out. It was therefore critical that DCM Rodley sent her own, separate message, confirming that if I left post, she would also refuse to implement the directive. As a result of our united front, State ultimately came up with the funds to construct a new embassy with an appropriate setback and a detachment of Marine guards.

In 2000, Carol Rodley and I shared the Herter Award (my second) for our actions.

The Value of Dissent

I can attest to the fact that challenging U.S. policy from within is never popular, no matter how good one’s reasons are for doing so. In some cases, dissent can cost you a job—or even end a career. And even when there are no repercussions, speaking out may not succeed in changing policy.

Yet as I reflect on my 32 years in the Foreign Service, I am more convinced than ever how critically important honest reporting and unvarnished recommendations are. And that being the case, ambassadors and senior policy officials should treasure those who offer different views and ensure that their input receives thoughtful consideration, no matter how much they might disagree with it.

AFSA’s annual dissent awards are a powerful reminder of that responsibility. By recognizing and honoring Foreign Service personnel at all levels who demonstrate intellectual courage and integrity, this unique program reminds us that our foreign policy, more than ever, needs Foreign Service members to speak candidly, whether about personnel issues, war policy, terrorism or genocide.
When Washington quashed a local outreach effort in Kandahar, one FSO decided to throw a spotlight on a broader public affairs problem.

BY JONATHAN ADDLETON

A reflection
On Bravery

dissent is never easy. Respectful of the chain of command, I ordinarily accept decisions made by those above me and then move on. However, there are occasions when this approach is tested to the limit—and beyond. Once in my 30-year Foreign Service career, that resulted in a dissent cable.

A career Foreign Service officer, Ambassador Jonathan Addleton is the recipient of AFSA’s 2014 Herter Award for constructive dissent. He is currently regional USAID mission director for the Central Asian Republics, based in Almaty, Kazakhstan. He previously served as U.S. ambassador to Mongolia; senior civilian representative for southern Afghanistan in Kandahar; development counselor at the U.S. Mission to the European Union in Brussels, Belgium; acting USAID deputy assistant administrator for legislative and public affairs in Washington, D.C.; mission director in Pakistan and Cambodia; and a program officer in Jordan, South Africa and Yemen. Prior to joining the Foreign Service in March 1984, he worked briefly at the World Bank, the Macon Telegraph and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
It happened last year, following the attempt by the Pakistan Taliban on the life of Malala Yousafzai, the Pashtun adolescent from Pakistan’s Swat valley who championed female education.

Malala of Swat was named by her forward-looking father after Malala of Maiwand, a 19th-century Afghan heroine of whom folk songs are sung, stories are written and schools are named. At the height of battle against British forces in 1880, she had ripped off her veil, waved it like a flag and rallied the Afghan troops: the result was a famous victory during what the British refer to as the Second Afghan War. The heroine died shortly afterward, and the shrine constructed in her memory is visited to this day.

The courage of both Malalas resonates for obvious reasons, providing an important example of bravery and outspokenness across two countries that are often at odds, yet face similar challenges.

In Kandahar, where I was then undertaking the hardest assignment of my life, outreach was difficult. Yet this was a story that might help facilitate it. My reflection on the two Malalas’ bravery and continued relevance almost wrote itself, and would have provided an important point of conversation.

But the story never appeared in the local Pashto press, apparently because of concerns that such commentary might inadvertently undermine Malala’s credibility in the face of conspiracy theories already emerging in Pakistan, that the United States was somehow behind the attack.

Several months later, Secretary of State John F. Kerry addressed embassy staff in Afghanistan via video conference. In his remarks, Kerry emphasized candor and outreach as two essential aspects of our service.

Viewed from the distance of Kandahar, the “spiking” of the Malala story by decision-makers in Washington suggested that we were missing important opportunities in both of those areas. Or, as a Foreign Service colleague with strong ties to
THE OP-ED THAT WAS NEVER PUBLISHED
“MALALA OF MAIWAND AND MALALA OF MINGORA: TWO BRAVE WOMEN WhOSE COURAGE INSPIRES OTHERS”

A few days ago, a 14-year-old girl named Malala Yousafzai was shot and nearly killed while traveling on a school bus near her home in Mingora, Swat. Following surgery in Peshawar, she was moved to a hospital in Rawalpindi where she remains in critical condition.

“I am ready for any situation,” she had stated several months before the attack, defending her long-standing wish to attend school and receive an education. “Even if a terrorist comes to kill me, I will tell him that he is wrong. I won’t back down.”

Ehsanullah Ehsan, a Taliban spokesman in Pakistan, praised the attack that nearly killed Malala and wounded at least one of her classmates. “Let this be a lesson,” he commented, publicly affirming Taliban support for violence against young girls even as politicians, journalists and ordinary people across Pakistan condemned the attack.

Perhaps less well known is the fact that Malala herself was named after an Afghan national hero—Malala of Maiwand—who offered another example of courage at the famous battle that took place west of Kandahar more than 130 years ago.

“I named her Malala after being inspired by Malala of Maiwand,” her father, Ziauddin Yousafzai, is reported as having told journalists in Pakistan. “She has fulfilled my dream and played the role of Malala.”

Relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan are sometimes difficult. However, the fact that a Pashtun father living in the mountains of northern Pakistan would name his daughter after a hero of Afghanistan who was born and raised near Kandahar more than a century and a half ago is remarkable. More importantly, the lives of both young girls named Malala offer an important example of defiance as well as selfless service, one that people everywhere can admire and appreciate.

The story of Malala of Maiwand is, of course, already well-known across Afghanistan. Students read about her in their school books and hear about her from their parents.

Schools and health centers are sometimes named after her.

Born in 1861 in a village southwest of Maiwand, Malala was the daughter of a poor Afghan shepherd. Reportedly, she was engaged to a soldier in the army of Ayub Khan, son of the Afghan Emir Sher Ali Khan. In fact, the Battle of Maiwand took place in July 1880 on what was supposed to be her wedding day.

As the battle between the Afghans and the British raged, it seemed that the Afghan army was facing certain defeat. Seeing that the situation was desperate, Malala of Maiwand took hold of the Afghan flag and appealed to the soldiers around her to fight on.

When one of the Afghan flag-bearers standing beside her was killed, she took off her veil, waved and shouted the now-famous words:

With a drop of my young love’s blood,
Shed in defense of the motherland,
I will put a mark of beauty on my forehead
Such as would shame the roses in the garden.

Shortly afterward, Malala of Maiwand—not yet 20 years old—was herself killed in battle. Her grave in southern Afghanistan is visited to this day. During subsequent decades her story inspired countless others, providing an example of bravery among Afghan women that lives on, not just in Afghanistan but in neighboring Pakistan and beyond.

The fact that Malala Yousafzai from Mingora in Swat valley was named after Malala of Maiwand lends a special poignancy to the story. Certainly, the two Malalas together represent a high order of bravery, setting an example of female courage and heroism, not only for Pashtuns but for people everywhere.

Perhaps during the coming years, the Malala who is now recovering from her surgery at a hospital in Rawalpindi will offer similar inspiration to children and adults around the world, leaving an especially strong mark among those who value education—by being so committed to the education of girls that she was willing to give up her own life to achieve it.

—Jonathan Addleton, September 2012
The best public diplomacy often takes place at a purely local level—and it is precisely this point that needs to figure more prominently in both the clearance process and in our approach to outreach.

Pakistan later told me: “We are so afraid of saying the wrong thing that we end up not saying anything at all.”

**We Can Do Better**

Using the Malala example as a starting point, my dissent cable provided a platform for broader reflection on how we as a Foreign Service could do better. Like many officers, I have been frustrated over the years at the complicated and uncertain clearance process, which all too often stifles or discourages outreach. At times, the clearance process itself seems more like a capricious obstacle course than a catalyst for effective public diplomacy. Drawing on these frustrations, I used the dissent cable to highlight several areas of special concern.

First, our clearance processes are too cumbersome. While serving in Mongolia the previous year, it was disappointing to discover that it took no fewer than 32 signatures to clear an innocuous, book-length manuscript that was finally published by Hong Kong University Press. Something is seriously amiss when it takes longer to clear a document than it does to write or translate it.

Second, meaningful engagement is sometimes squashed before it even happens. A control-oriented approach based on decisions made thousands of miles away breeds a tendency to steer clear of any media exposure, even when permission is likely to be granted. All too often we “overthink” issues, avoiding potential “negatives” that may or may not exist. Decisions also sometimes seem to be made based on a fear about the “heavy scrutiny” that will follow, with careers damaged because of perceptions that someone has “misspoken” or is somehow “off message.”

Third, we are too reticent in taking on extreme narratives directly, including radical Islamist ones. The fact that we don’t publish meaningful articles in the local press because of misplaced concerns about conspiracy theories elsewhere suggests we have prematurely surrendered on the information front. Somehow we need to become more confident about the ideals and foundations on which our own society is built, to challenge more directly those who are committed to violently destroying them.

**A Policy for “Serious Times”**

My intent in writing the dissent cable on Malala in February 2013 was to help precipitate an internal discussion on important public affairs matters and to make the case for an approach that is more nimble, less bureaucratic and gives greater authority to the field.

The mandatory official response to the original dissent cable suggested that the timing had not been right for an article on Malala, given the sensitivities involved and the possibly counterproductive consequences of having a U.S. official publicly comment on a case that was already being widely discussed in Pakistan. At the same time, it acknowledged that the department could perhaps have been better attuned to the merits of publishing commentary like this in the more localized context of Kandahar.

From my perspective, the “missed opportunity” did, indeed, stem from a failure to recognize that the best public diplomacy often takes place at a purely local level—and it is precisely this point that needs to figure more prominently in both the clearance process and in our approach to outreach. Hopefully this year’s Christian A. Herter Award will give further impetus and visibility to this important discussion.

Finally, it is my sincere hope that this award will bring greater recognition to those who serve or have served in extraordinarily difficult and even dangerous circumstances, including most especially colleagues in Kandahar and across southern Afghanistan.

More than two centuries ago, two former political adversaries, both also former presidents, engaged in a long and historic correspondence. John Adams, in one of his letters to Thomas Jefferson, at one point noted that the two of them had lived in “serious times.”

We, too, live in serious, even momentous, times. Hopefully, our entire Foreign Service can directly confront the challenges that we face in ways that are truly serious and, ultimately, make a lasting difference.
Life on a secure compound in a war zone is somewhat surreal.

By Bill Bent

Trying to capture what it is like living and working as a diplomat in Afghanistan is a bit like the Indian parable of the blind men and the elephant. In the story, each blind man feeling different parts of the elephant has a different view on how to describe it. Their individual impressions, while true, are not entirely so, at least not in the sense of describing the elephant in its totality. Similarly, one’s impressions and experiences of Afghanistan depend on what one has touched or, more accurately, what has touched each unique individual. My thoughts may, therefore, be different than the impressions others have come away with; but there are certain experiences common to all.

The critical security threat colors everything here, governing how we live, work and play. The adage, that soldiering is 99 percent boredom and 1 percent sheer terror, applies equally well to diplomatic service here. The weekly Selectone security tests and the periodic “duck and cover” drills become routine background noise, and it is easy to become complacent. But

Bill Bent, an FSO serving in Afghanistan, is a former member of the FSJ Editorial Board and the AFSA Governing Board.
then something occurs—like an early Christmas morning indirect fire attack—to give us a taste of that 1 percent terror and jolt us back to the reality that there are people outside the wire who want to kill us.

Given this, it is remarkable that we are able to conduct the work of diplomacy as effectively as we do. But the fact is that, although movements outside the compound are limited to “mission-essential” trips, officers from the senior leadership down to entry level are able to travel to meetings in Kabul to meet with their counterparts. Many also travel to our field locations in Herat, Mazar-e-Sharif, Bagram and Kandahar; and our colleagues there regularly engage with Afghans. Some sections have developed creative ways to successfully conduct outreach and diplomacy via social media and hosting events and meetings on the embassy grounds.

There have been some interesting debates in these very pages about the nexus between security and the ability to conduct effective diplomacy, but we are able to get the basic work done to support U.S. foreign policy. As one colleague notes, however, “What is missing here is our ability to develop deep, ongoing relationships with our contacts.” The “mission-critical” standard for travel outside the compound does not allow for this, meaning that we are not able to call upon close relationships to subtly shape issues as our colleagues serving in other countries can.

**Minimalist Living**

Living on a secure compound in a country at war is somewhat surreal, with the barbed-wire walls, guard towers, ubiquitous (but overwhelmingly friendly) Nepalese guards armed to the teeth and frequent overflights from International Security Assistance Force helicopters. Although employees occupying senior positions and married couples are all assigned to apartments right off the bat, the majority of staff here—about 80 percent—live in 10-by-12 (or smaller) Container Housing Units, referred to as CHUs or hooches (also spelled hootch, the word usually refers to a thatched hut and is derived from the Japanese word uchi).

Most folks prop their twin beds up on foot-high leg extensions to allow for storage under the bed, a practical step. But if you are prone to tossing and turning, it is a precarious one. Some, however, are quite creative with their hooch décor, and the Community Liaison Office even sponsors a monthly “Better Hooch and Garden” contest that garners some interesting entries.

As cramped as our living conditions are, they can be oddly comforting for some. Minimalist living has its advantages. Henry David Thoreau captured the essence of this in *Walden*: “I used to see a large box by the railroad, six feet long by three wide, in which the laborers locked up their tools at night; and
it suggested to me that every man who was hard pushed might get such a one for a dollar and, having bored a few auger holes in it to admit the air at least, get into it when it rained and at night, and hook down the lid, and so have freedom in his love, and in his soul be free. For many, however, the charm of minimalist living wears off quickly.

There are actually two compounds that make up the embassy grounds, divided into east and west and connected by a 30-yard-long underground tunnel. Conditions on the eastside compound can be Spartan; that is where most of the “hooch” dwellers live (although the west side does have some), and where most of the recent power failures and water shut-offs have been occurring.

Most hooch dwellers place their names on the shared-apartment waitlist immediately on arrival, and closely scrutinize their movement upward weekly—some daily, to the woe of the poor general services officer assigned to manage the list. Some adherents of Thoreau’s philosophy elect to remain in their hooches. Or it could be because they dread the prospect of sharing a bathroom or living in an “Odd Couple” situation.

Currently, the entire compound is a construction zone, with a major billion-dollar project underway to build additional office space and living quarters. As you can imagine, this results in significant noise and dust, and not only in the Great Outdoors. There have been more than a few evenings here when we have had to close the front office due to the noise of hammering and drilling. Our “commutes” to work can change at a moment’s notice as walkways are blocked off and rerouted.

The gentleman in the construction hat in the post’s orientation video is likely correct when he states that this place will be “something to see” when the construction is finished. But he is equally correct in his warning of how difficult it is to live here while the work is going on.

Dealing with Stress

Afghanistan’s climate and topography present additional challenges. Kabul is located at 5,869 feet above sea level, and its thin, dry air poses dehydration dangers for those who are not careful. During the cold winters, Afghans burn anything and everything to stay warm, generating acrid smoke which, trapped by an inversion, results in a heavy, dense smog that permeates everything, including clothes, hair and, of course, lungs.

Many people here suffer not just from soiled suits, but also respiratory problems. I quickly learned to overcome feeling self-conscious about wearing a surgical mask on the smoggiest days. Summers bring warmer temperatures, but also more winds and dust.

Stress is a factor here, exacerbated by the long working hours, the ever-present security threat and separation from families. We work six days a week, and the days are long. Many of us are sleep-deprived at one point or another.

People deal with pressures and the monotony of compound life in different ways. The saying is that during your time here you either become a drunk, a monk, a hunk or a skunk. (The latter two refer to those who are promiscuous and those who let their hygiene go.) The smart people practice a healthy mixture of the first three and avoid the fourth. Post has a strict, zero-tolerance alcohol abuse policy, but the libations do flow freely here at many community events.

Everyone looks forward to rest and recuperation breaks, and these are often a topic of conversation among colleagues. The typical native greeting on the compound is not the Dari “Salaam alaikum,” but rather “When is your next trip?” or, for variety, “Did you just get back?” The trips out are crucial to morale. One of my colleagues compares service here with working on an oil rig: a couple of months on duty, followed by a blissful two-week rest to restore the soul.

Most of us are also keenly aware of our end-of-tour date. Some know how long they have been here to the day, hour, minute and second, assisted by a creative “Circle of Freedom” Excel sheet that counts down the time, calculates your “sentence served,” and helpfully displays a pie chart that, as the sentence served ticks away, gradually replaces a menacing Taliban fighter touting an RPG with a tropical beach scene.

Most of us are separated from our families, which of course creates its own stresses. Visits home or a rendezvous in Europe on R&R are precious gifts, but there is then the inevitable return to post. Twenty-first-century technology makes the separation somewhat bearable; in fact, to be honest, I have had some great in-depth one-on-one conversations with my wife this past year via FaceTime as the normal daily distractions of life—the TV, dinner preparation—are put aside. Absence truly
The heart grows fonder, and brings the importance of communication into sharp focus. It may not work for everyone and it doesn’t make a bad relationship better; but for already healthy, resilient relationships, the Year of Living Separately is doable. But it is still hard.

Of course, like most situations, it isn’t all bad. Although we work long hours under challenging circumstances, we have our light moments, too. Thanks to a very active CLO, there are many activities here to keep one busy, including the ever-popular Quiz Night, Movie Night, various dance and music events, dinner events, Karaoke Night and Friday vendor markets. There are also countless classes taught by volunteers, including yoga, swing dance, martial arts and running, as well as book clubs and bridge clubs, spinning and lectures. These activities are no substitute for home, but anyone claiming to be bored in Kabul probably needs to get out of his or her living quarters more (see “monk” reference above).

Currently, the entire compound is a construction zone, with a major billion-dollar project underway to build additional office space and living quarters.

Longer-Term Effects

The issue of U.S. diplomats serving in dangerous and difficult places is not a new one. The names engraved on the AFSA Memorial Plaques offer a stark reminder that, since the beginning of our nation’s history, diplomats have served under difficult and dangerous circumstances. And Kabul certainly doesn’t hold a monopoly on being a challenging assignment, as our colleagues serving in the field in Afghanistan or at other unaccompanied posts can certainly attest.

What concerns me, however, is the scope of the issue in the 21st century. The advent of “expeditionary diplomacy” has
One of my colleagues compares service here with working on an oil rig: a couple of months on duty followed by a blissful two-week rest to restore the soul.

transformed the Foreign Service, bringing thousands of officers to serve in places and conditions that were inconceivable in the previous decades. The sheer number of Foreign Service members experiencing this phenomenon points to a sea-change in our organization.

An individual is bound to be affected by living and working on an isolated compound in the middle of a war zone, no matter how psychologically unscathed he or she appears to emerge at the tail end of the assignment. I am also beginning to perceive a paradigm shift in the Foreign Service toward a more military culture. This is manifested in our vocabulary, in our Facebook profile photos (how many of your colleagues have posted pictures of themselves wearing their personal protective equipment?) and in our overall approach to our diplomatic presence in conflict zones.

Even if the State Department were to decide tomorrow to end our presence in these places, we still have an entire generation of Foreign Service officers who have served in an unaccompanied post in a war zone, some multiple times. I can’t help but be concerned about the overall impact of this phenomenon on the Foreign Service as a whole. I am sure that, in the wake of ending two wars, the U.S. military will take a long, hard look at its experiences and adjust accordingly. I trust that the Foreign Service will do the same.

Despite the challenges, I am walking away from my assignment to Afghanistan with an overall positive view, derived from a sense of pride in what my colleagues and I contributed to further U.S. foreign policy goals here. This has been a momentous year in U.S.-Afghan relations, with national elections and the first democratic transition of power in Afghanistan’s history, the negotiations over a Bilateral Security Agreement and the transition from a U.S. combat role to a more traditional diplomatic presence dominating our activities.

As President Barack Obama said in his May 27 announcement on our future troop presence: “We have now been in Afghanistan longer than many Americans expected. But make no mistake—thanks to the skill and sacrifice of our troops, diplomats and intelligence professionals, we have struck significant blows against al-Qaida’s leadership, we have eliminated Osama bin Laden and we have prevented Afghanistan from being used to launch attacks against our homeland. We have also supported the Afghan people as they continue the hard work of building a democracy. We’ve extended more opportunities to their people, including women and girls. And we’ve helped train and equip their own security forces.” Anyone who has served in Afghanistan should be proud of their service and contributions to these worthy goals.

The author at the Citadel in Herat. The citadel dates back to 330 B.C., when Alexander the Great and his army arrived in what is now Afghanistan. Many empires have used it as a headquarters over the past 2,000 years.
AFSA Presents 2014 Dissent, Exemplary Performance, Lifetime Achievement Awards

On June 18, AFSA honored members of the Foreign Service community for their courage, dedication and outstanding performance through the presentation of its 2014 awards.

Some 300 people gathered to recognize the award winners at a ceremony, opened by AFSA President Robert J. Silverman, in the Benjamin Franklin Diplomatic Reception Room of the State Department.

This year was the first since 2006 that AFSA has presented all four dissent awards (they are conferred only when a fitting recipient is identified). This year, too, the number of deserving nominations received for exemplary performance awards surpassed that of previous years.

Under Secretary of State for Management Patrick Kennedy presented the Award for Lifetime Contributions to American Diplomacy to Charles Stuart “Stu” Kennedy.

AFSA President Robert J. Silverman opened the 2014 AFSA Awards ceremony on June 18.

AFSA’s 2014 award winners. Front row, from left: Herter Award winner Jonathan Addleton, Lifetime Award winner Stu Kennedy; Guess Award winner Mary Kay Cunningham and Rivkin Award winner David Holmes. Back row: Claire Coleman, who accepted the Bohlen Award on behalf of winner Kari Osborne; AFSA staff attorney Raeka Safai, who accepted the Harris Award on behalf of winner Nick Pietrowicz; AFSA USAID VP Sharon Wayne; AFSA Executive Director Ian Houston; AFSA President Robert J. Silverman; Secretary of State John Kerry; AFSA State VP Matthew Asada; Harriman Award winner Ed O’Bryan and AFSA Awards and Outreach Coordinator Perri Green.
Diversity in the Foreign Service

Diversity does not happen on its own. Rather, it takes a conscientious effort to reach out and include people from different backgrounds with diverse perspectives. The nation’s public and private sector employers recognize that diversity is good policy and good business. They have expanded their efforts from strict affirmative action/equal employment opportunity compliance to more comprehensive support of diversity promotion and inclusion. Now let’s see how AFSA and State are doing.

**AFSA.** AFSA is embracing diversity in policy and personnel, both internally as an organization and externally in its advocacy. Last year, the AFSA Governing Board incorporated multiple diversity objectives in its 2013-2015 Strategic Plan (http://bit.ly/1nFz7tI).

At the same time the organization’s staff and elected leadership have grown significantly more diverse. One-quarter of recent AFSA hires are from diverse backgrounds, and a majority of the State representatives on the Governing Board are women or from non-majority backgrounds.

AFSA is also continuing its public outreach on diversity. On June 12, AFSA organized a panel discussion on diversity in the Foreign Service on Capitol Hill (see p. 71), and last August the association organized a showing of a 1964 USIA film commemorating the 50th anniversary of the March on Washington (see October 2013 FSJ).

**State.** The State Department has also made important strides on the diversity front in policy and personnel. The department published its first diversity and inclusion strategic plan in response to President Barack Obama’s Executive Order 13583 (http://1.usa.gov/1nl1Ptcl) and is currently drafting its 2015 follow-up.

The director general has included diversity promotion as one of the top three priorities for the Bureau of Human Resources. But, while officer and specialist classes are the most diverse ever, there continue to be underrepresented groups in the Foreign Service (see Part I of the State Department’s 2012 MD-715 submission to the EEOC at http://bit.ly/1lcMEZd).

To improve diversity, AFSA recommends that State improve the collection, analysis and publication of diversity demographic data; revise the diversity and inclusion reporting process; and reform policies and procedures that may have a disparate impact on certain groups of employees, in particular, assignment restrictions/preclusions and pass-through programs.

**Demographic Data.** State HR’s Office of Resource Management and Analysis compiles and publishes diversity data covering race/ethnicity/gender/skill code. In the past, *State Magazine* has also published a portion of that data with its diversity analysis of the results from the Summer Selection Boards; and AFSA encourages the department to resume such practice.

AFSA has encouraged State to improve the demographic data covering recruitment, hiring, promotion and training in the Foreign Service with greater data granularity by bureau, overseas/domestic location, skill code and length of service. AFSA is concerned that the statistics currently compiled at the bureau and service level may mask disparities at or in certain offices, posts, or skill codes and over- or under-represent women or certain ethnicities.

**Reports.** State currently has two primary reporting mechanisms for diversity: the annual MD-715 reports to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and the triennial diversity and inclusion strategic plan.

AFSA supports the department’s efforts to split the current MD-715 report into two separate components to better address the diversity challenges presented by its Foreign Service and Civil Service workforces. It recommends the department review the organizational structure and responsibility for these two separate reports to see how the overall reporting efforts may be improved.

Finally, AFSA would like to see more continuity between reports, so that follow-on reports address progress made on priorities previously identified.

**Program Reform.** The department has a responsibility to address programs or procedures that appear to be disparately impacting a certain group of employees. AFSA has heard from several employees and affinity groups regarding their concern with the department’s assignment restriction/preclusion and pass-through programs.

AFSA has written to the department outlining its concerns (see Feb. 27 letter at www.bit.ly/vp-letter), urging it to improve the communications, oversight and reporting on these programs and to introduce a robust appeals mechanism for employees. For more on this issue, see AFSA’s policy paper online at www.bit.ly/AR_PP.

America needs and deserves a diverse, professional and innovative Foreign Service capable of tackling the challenges of the 21st century. I welcome your diversity suggestions as we continue this conversation.

(For more on Diversity and Diplomacy, see the author’s contribution to the January 2012 FSJ at http://bit.ly/fsj0112p52.)
Many interesting things have been happening in FCS world in addition to the ongoing celebration of AFSA’s 90th birthday. Ten Commerce officials (including Deputy Under Secretary for International Trade Ken Hyatt and Deputy Director General of the U.S. and Foreign Commercial Service Judy Reinke), along with a number of FCS officers and their guests, attended the star-studded birthday bash.

We have also been meeting continuously with Foreign Commercial Service Director General Arun Kumar and management about a long list of concerns—International Trade Administration consolidation, Office of Foreign Service Human Capital staffing, language training programs, When Actually Employed assignments—but more on that in future columns.

What I want to talk about this month is our stellar new commercial officer class—our largest and the second consecutive group after a long drought. Our commercial officer corps had drifted down to a dangerous, unsustainable 228 officers during prior administrations.

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Expanding Our Ranks: FCS Welcomes New Officers

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On June 24 by Secretary of Commerce Penny Pritzker are a diverse group, but nearly all have international business backgrounds. In fact, a cursory review of their resumes shows they have spent on average more than 11 years in international business, demonstrating the success of our search for international trade professionals.

As to why the class of 10 women and 14 men joined the Commercial Service, several cited Sec. Pritzker’s all-hands meeting remarks summarizing the “three legs” of American foreign policy and prosperity: security, diplomacy and economic security. It is this third leg, and the role of FCS, that succeed as a Foreign Commercial officer,” says one. Another talked about how he is “passionate about working with companies wanting to expand overseas.”

When asked what they hope to get out of a Foreign Service career, these new officers most frequently cite developing their international business expertise.

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A Good Time to Examine Your Life Insurance Coverage

If on your birthday this year, your age ends in zero or five, congratulations! I will soon hit one of those milestones. However, if you have life insurance with the Federal Employees’ Group Life Insurance, this year could also bring a significant rise in your premium.

When you turn 60, the rate you pay for options A, B and C could more than double. So it is a good time to examine your life insurance needs, and consider whether or not to continue with FEGLI coverage.

The FEGLI program is a “group term” policy. Once enrolled and as long as you pay the premium, you are covered for the duration. There is no medical exam or other limitation on participation, which is why it is an especially attractive option for those who have medical issues or work dangerous jobs.

Moreover, the FEGLI retirement benefit is prefunded by premium costs so that some coverage can be continued after age 65 at no cost.

**FEGLI Basic and Options.**
FEGLI consists of “Basic” insurance and options A, B and C. FEGLI Basic is a level-rate program. An enrollee’s rate remains the same whether he or she is a new employee or retired. Unless waived, new employees are automatically enrolled in FEGLI Basic.

An enrollee who carries Basic into retirement can elect a 75-percent reduction, meaning that the Basic coverage reduces by 2 percent each month until it reaches 25 percent of its pre-reduction amount. But there is no premium once the reductions begin, and the policy remains free for the rest of the enrollee’s life.

Options A, B and C are optional enrollment programs with escalating premium rates that adjust every five years. Depending on the phase-out or post-retirement coverage option chosen, options A, B and C may be free after the enrollee reaches age 65, subject to a phase-out. If an enrollee prefers to retain a constant level of coverage, his or her premiums will increase every five years until age 80.

**What Do You Need?**
Do you still need life insurance in retirement? How much do you need? If the children are grown, the house is paid off, and you are healthy, it may be time to dial down.

What are your actual needs? Do you have a sufficient emergency fund? Is your spouse protected? For some, continuation in the FEGLI program is best, especially if there are health or lifestyle issues. For others, private insurance offers a less expensive alternative.

Consult a financial adviser. If you do reduce or discontinue life insurance, consider placing the money saved into retirement savings.

And, happy birthday!

You may cancel or change your FEGLI election by submitting the completed SF 2818 to OPM’s Retirement Office at:

U.S. Office of Personnel Management Retirement Operations Center
P.O. Box 45
Boyers, PA 16017-0045

For more information on FEGLI visit www.opm.gov/healthcare-insurance/life-insurance/

FEDERAL LONG-TERM CARE INSURANCE EVENT

On July 21, AFSA continued its popular series on federal benefits, this time focusing on federal long term care and survivor annuities. Jeannie Singleton, senior account manager at the Federal Long-Term Care Insurance Program, and Jacqueline Long, chief policy adviser for the Office of Retirement at the State Department, were the panelists.

Singleton and Long explained the topics in detail to a large number of AFSA members who came prepared with numerous questions. You can find a thorough write-up of the presentations and discussion in the August issue of the AFSA Newsletter and at afsa.org/retiree.
AFSA Hosts Business Roundtable to Expedite Confirmations

AFSA reached out to the business community recently as part of its continuing effort to expedite the U.S. Senate confirmation of ambassadorial appointees.

On June 24, AFSA’s advocacy department brought together entrepreneurs, business leaders and government affairs professionals to consider the impact of delays in the confirmation process on our country’s ability to effectively serve American interests.

The discussion focused on Africa, where nearly a quarter of our missions had no ambassador as of August 2014. The African countries awaiting American ambassadors are Botswana, Cabo Verde, Lesotho, Madagascar and Comoros, Malawi, Namibia, Rwanda, Sierra Leone and Zambia.

The career diplomats nominated to these countries have been waiting for an average of eight months.

The combined trade between the United States and these African countries was more than 1.8 billion in 2013, according to the U.S. Trade Representative.

The roundtable gave participants the opportunity to hear from area experts, share concerns and ask questions about the role and importance of chiefs of mission for U.S. national security and economic prosperity.

—Debra Blome, Associate Editor

Ambassadorial Logjam

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ambassadorial Nominations Still Waiting</th>
<th>Date Nominated</th>
<th>Days Since Nomination</th>
<th>Career or Political</th>
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<tr>
<td>Thomas Daughton</td>
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<td>John Hooper</td>
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<td>John Estrada</td>
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<td>Karen Stanton</td>
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<td>Amy Hyatt</td>
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<td>Mark Gilbert</td>
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<td>Colleen Bell</td>
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<td>Maureen Cramack</td>
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<td>Nina Hachigian</td>
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<td>John R. Bass</td>
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<td>Allan P. Mustard</td>
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<td>Jane Hartley</td>
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<td>Earl Robert Miller</td>
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<td>Donald Hefflin</td>
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<td>David Pressman</td>
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<td>S. Fitzgerald Harvey</td>
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<td>Judith Beth Celfin</td>
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<td>Jess L. Baily</td>
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<td>Margaret Uyehara</td>
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<td>Craig B. Allen</td>
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<td>Charles Adams, Jr</td>
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<td>Virginia E. Palmer</td>
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<td>Barbara A. Leaf</td>
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<td>William V. Roebuck</td>
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<td>Perry Holloway</td>
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<td>Pamela Spraders</td>
<td>07/28/14</td>
<td>42</td>
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* Data as of September 8, 2014

Ambassadors in Waiting. The data on the 48 ambassadorial nominations still awaiting Senate confirmation as of Sept. 8, 2014, shown here was compiled by AFSA. For more information on ambassadorial appointments, see AFSA’s Ambassadors Project at http://www.afsa.org/ambassadors.aspx.
Jr. in recognition of his distinguished career and decades of public service.

“We have to thank Stu for his creativity in the Foreign Service,” Under Secretary Kennedy said. “Whether serving in stable or unstable places, he was always a constant in tough situations.”

A Foreign Service officer from 1955 to 1985, he retired after a distinguished consular career with the rank of minister counselor.

In retirement, he pioneered the Oral History Collection at the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training. Kennedy has personally interviewed more than 1,000 retired American diplomats, some of whose careers date back to the 1920s.

In accepting the award, Stu Kennedy expressed gratitude to his staff at ADST, where he directs the ADST Oral History Collection (http://adst.org/oral-history), and spoke of the need for the Foreign Service to understand its own history a little better.

“The Foreign Service is not a silent service,” he said. “We need to show people what we do.” He emphasized the importance of sharing the experiences of Foreign Service members to secure their place in diplomatic history. Please see p. 28 for an interview with Stu Kennedy.

**Dissent Award Winners**

AFSA State Vice President Matthew Asada introduced the constructive dissent awards presentation. “Dissent is not always valued or appreciated, but that’s not the case at AFSA,” Asada stated.

AFSA has sponsored its awards program to recognize and encourage constructive dissent and risk-taking in the Foreign Service for more than 40 years, and the program is unique within the federal government.

Asada presented William “Ed” O’Bryan with the W. Averell Harriman Award. Made possible by the Una Chapman Cox Foundation, the Harriman award is given to an entry-level Foreign Service officer.

O’Bryan convinced the leadership of Mission Saudi Arabia that the embassy should start attending trials of human rights activists. As a result, for the first time in recent memory, the mission gained a window into the Saudi judicial system.

“I want to thank AFSA for supporting openness, justice and innovation in the Foreign Service,” said O’Bryan.

**Correction**

In the July-August 2014 print edition, we misidentified two people in photographs of AFSA’s 90th anniversary gala dinner on page 54: In photo 6, the woman in the middle is Peggy Ciffrino, principal assistant to former Secretary of State Colin Powell; in photo 7, the woman on the right is former Director General of the Foreign Service Ruth A. Davis. We regret the errors.
and dissent,” said O’Bryan as he accepted his award. A profile of Ed O’Bryan is on p. 62.

Next, David Holmes received the William R. Rivkin Award, presented in memory of the late ambassador to Luxembourg, Senegal and The Gambia and made possible by the Rivkin family. Assistant Secretary of State for Economic and Business Affairs Charles H. Rivkin, son of the late ambassador, presented the award, which acknowledges a mid-level Foreign Service officer.

In his remarks, Assistant Secretary Rivkin emphasized the value of dissent. “It has challenged us to think differently, to make smarter choices, to do better,” he said. “Dissent didn’t just give us the courage to form a nation; it helped us forge the democracy we live in today.”

After serving in both Afghanistan and India, and then in the Office of the Special Representative for Afghanistan and Pakistan in Washington, Holmes was convinced that the division of authority between SRAP and the Bureau of Central and South Asian Affairs hindered U.S. diplomatic priorities and deprived policymakers of coordinated strategic advice. He submitted a formal Dissent Channel message in February 2013 on “organizing to succeed in South Asia.”

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David Holmes’ profile can be found on p. 60.

Accepting his award, Holmes thanked AFSA for valuing dissent and encouraging creative thinking, and thanked the people who have had an impact on his career. “My incredible mentors, such as Bill Burns, gave me opportunities and encouragement to make contributions,” he said, adding that none of the award winners would have accomplished such great things without a strong support system.

Nick Pietrowicz was awarded the F. Allen “Tex” Harris Award, presented by Ambassador William C. Harrop. This award for a Foreign Service specialist is made possible by the Nelson B. Delavan Foundation.

Pietrowicz was Embassy N’Djamena’s regional security officer when he warned that the Terrorist Interdiction Program, through which the U.S. government provides the Personal Identification Secure
Comparison and Evaluation System border security system as foreign assistance to Chad (and other countries vulnerable to terrorist activities), operates without sufficient end-use monitoring.

AFSA staff attorney Raeka Safai accepted the award on Pietrowicz’s behalf and read his words: “We are blessed to live in a country where complex ideas can be debated and celebrated”—a statement which seemed to resonate with each award winner at the ceremony. A profile of Nick Pietrowicz can be found on p. 61.

In the last of the dissent awards, Deputy Secretary of State William J. Burns presented Ambassador Jonathan Addleton with the Christian A. Herter Award for a senior Foreign Service officer. Calling Addleton’s dissent “inspirational,” Burns noted that he was not surprised by the ambassador’s nomination for the award due to his work around the world in the “hardest places to be.”

Addleton was the senior civilian representative for south Afghanistan, based in Kandahar. His belief that the State Department’s complex system for reviewing requests by Foreign Service personnel to speak and write is overly risk-averse and inhibits rapid responses led him to urge a systematic review of the department’s public affairs policy.

On accepting his award, Addleton said, “My hope is that we’ll live in a world free of oppression”—in a reference to the plight of those in southern Afghanistan and northern Pakistan living under the influence of the Taliban, an issue to which he hopes his award can draw more attention. A profile of Jonathan Addleton is on p. 59.

**Exemplary Performance Award Winners**

AFSA also presented awards for exemplary performance. The Avis Bohlen Award was established by Pamela Harriman in memory of the late Avis Bohlen, wife of the late Ambassador Charles E. Bohlen. Made possible by the Una Chapman Cox Foundation, it is given to an eligible family member of a Foreign Service employee whose relations with the American and foreign communities at post have done the most to advance U.S. interests.

Ambassador Avis T. Bohlen, daughter of Avis Bohlen, presented this award to Kari Osborne. Osborne’s dedication and leadership energized Embassy Mexico City’s Charity and Activities Committee. Kari Osborne’s profile is on p. 65.

Mary Kay Cunningham received the M. Juanita Guess Award from Jon Clements, CEO and chairman of Clements Worldwide. The award, made possible by and named for the former owner of Clements Worldwide, recognizes a Community Liaison Office coordinator who has demonstrated outstanding dedication, energy and imagination.

As CLO at Embassy Kabul, Cunningham was undaunted by the prospect of supporting some 5,000 mission members. She created a supportive and positive environment in a difficult region. Mary Kay Cunningham’s profile is on p. 64.

The Nelson B. Delavan Award for a Foreign Service office management specialist was given to Carol Backman. Backman used her outstanding computer skills at Embassy Ankara to improve the workplace’s overall effectiveness and boost morale. Carol Backman’s profile is on p. 63.

At the conclusion of the ceremony, old friends and colleagues reconnected and shared their experiences. As Stu Kennedy said, “We have to share history, and we have to think outside the box so as not to repeat history.”

—Aishwarya Raje, Editorial Intern
Ambassador Jonathan Addleton, a USAID officer, was the State Department’s senior civilian representative for southern Afghanistan, based in Kandahar, when he urged a systematic review of the department’s public affairs policy. He believed its complex system for reviewing requests by Foreign Service personnel to speak and write was cumbersome and overly risk-averse.

“I have always been strongly interested in communications, outreach and public diplomacy,” Addleton says. He notes that he had been disappointed by the many “missed opportunities” for communication over the years, he says. “At times it is tempting to simply ‘give up’ in the face of a complicated, exhausting and opaque process that typically takes much longer than it should.”

Two events occurred that spurred him to write the Dissent Channel message that earned him the AFSA award. The first was the length of time and number of steps it took to get a book-length manuscript on Mongolia cleared before it could move forward to publication (Mongolia and the United States: A Diplomatic History, 2013). “Something is seriously amiss when it takes longer to officially clear a book-length manuscript than it does to write or translate it,” he notes.

The second concerned an op-ed on the “two Malalas” he wrote for publication in the Pashto language press in Kandahar (see p. 44). State Department officials killed the piece on the grounds that publication would feed conspiracy theories then emerging in Pakistan that the U.S. was somehow behind the attack on the young Pakistani girl.

Addleton’s dissent message made the case for a more creative and rapid response on public affairs issues, concluding: “Whether driven by policy sensitivities that seek to avoid directness in countries where radical Islamist agendas drive our discourse, or because of institutional structures that deaden our creativity and flexibility, we are somehow unable to engage with confidence on the ideas we hold dear. For all our efforts to become more streamlined, our public affairs culture and overly complex review processes remain far too cautious and risk-averse. This needs to change.”

Jonathan Addleton joined the Foreign Service as a USAID officer in 1984 and is currently the Regional USAID Mission Director for Central Asia based in Almaty, Kazakhstan. He previously served as U.S. ambassador to Mongolia, and at posts in Afghanistan, Belgium, Pakistan, Cambodia, Jordan, South Africa and Yemen. Addleton and his wife, Fiona Mary Riach, have been married 29 years and have three children.

“My sincere hope is that this award will raise further awareness about this issue and expand efforts to somehow streamline the process,” Addleton says. “More local approaches are also needed, pushing approval authority much closer to the field.”
AFSA CONSTRUCTIVE DISSENT AWARDS: THE WILLIAM R. RIVKIN AWARD
FOR A MID-LEVEL FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICER

A Call for a More Strategic Approach to South Asia

The years David Holmes spent in Afghanistan (2007-2008) and India (2008-2010) convinced him of the need for “a more strategic approach to our policies in South Asia.”

On his return to Washington, Holmes served as special assistant for South and Central Asia to then-Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs Bill Burns (2010-2011), and was later detailed to the National Security Council staff at the White House as director for Afghanistan (2011-2012).

Through this experience Holmes came to believe that the division of authority between the Office of the Special Representative for Afghanistan and Pakistan and the Bureau of Central and South Asian Affairs “hindered our diplomatic effectiveness” and deprived policymakers of coordinated strategic advice. For speaking out on this issue, Holmes received the 2014 William R. Rivkin Award for constructive dissent by a mid-level FSO.

“In the non-business-as-usual approach of the office of the SRAP,” his award nomination states, “David Holmes was both a dedicated team player in shaping our policies, as well as a courageous advocate for doing so in a more coordinated and strategic way.”

He urged colleagues to reconcile differences rather than pursue conflicting priorities, and to take into account all the pieces of the South Asian puzzle. Ultimately, he submitted a formal Dissent Channel message in February 2013 on “organizing to succeed in South Asia.”

As Holmes notes: “My efforts over this period, and then my formal dissent, were intended to give a voice to an important perspective that I felt lacked an advocate.”

The Dissent Channel message was well received, and it provided State Department leadership an opportunity to reassess the department’s approach to this complex and critical region.

In acknowledging the award, Holmes saluted his mentors: “The award is not only a singular honor for me, but also a validation of the tremendous mentors with whom I have been fortunate to work. They not only gave me these opportunities in the first place, but also continually encouraged my efforts to make a constructive contribution to our policy in this critical region in spite of the obstacles.”

David Holmes joined the Foreign Service in 2002. He has served in Kosovo, Bogota, Kabul and New Delhi, and is currently the senior energy officer in Moscow. He is married to FSO Stephanie Holmes, and they have a son and a daughter.
Agent Warns Misuse of Border Security Program Might Violate Rights

For Diplomatic Security Special Agent Nick Pietrowicz, the protection of American citizens and their liberties “is our paramount duty as diplomats.” Pietrowicz is the winner of the F. Allen “Tex” Harris Award for a Foreign Service Specialist.

When he was the regional security officer at Embassy N’Djamena, Pietrowicz warned that the Terrorist Interdiction Program, through which the U.S. government provides the Personal Identification Secure Comparison and Evaluation System border security system as foreign assistance to Chad and other countries at risk of terrorist activities, operates without sufficient end-use monitoring, and that foreign governments might use their PISCES systems to violate the human rights of their citizens and foreign visitors, including Americans.

Like all members of the Foreign Service, Pietrowicz travels a lot. He says that as a federal agent he is very curious about security measures in different airports: “That includes how those measures are implemented and what procedures are in place to respect legal and constitutional standards, as well as the practical consequences of such programs.”

He notes that DS agents receive outstanding security training, as well as instruction on what they can and cannot do. “As RSOs overseas, we’re constantly in gray areas, and it takes a degree of self-scrutiny to make the right decisions,” he says. “I think that ethos is probably what made me take a look at this program.”

After exhausting all other channels in efforts to address his concerns about the PISCES program, he sent a Dissent Channel message outlining his objections to it. In the message he raised concerns about the need to balance human rights and respect for the rule of law in U.S. programs that provide counterterrorism assistance to other countries.

“Officers in the field will rarely need to worry about the legality of foreign assistance programs,” said Pietrowicz, who has a law degree. “But should an issue of concern be identified, there is a professional and civic duty to report that possible impropriety through the appropriate channels.”

On dissent, Pietrowicz says: “I am pleased that the department has a process so that constructive dissent can be shared openly and without fear of reprisal. I applaud AFSA’s support of this process, knowing that their interest in the Dissent Channel is essential to keeping this rarely needed but important option available.”

Nick Pietrowicz joined the State Department in 2002. He first served in the New York City field office, and has since been posted to Port-au-Prince, Kabul, Chisinau and N’Djamena. He is now the RSO at Embassy Luanda. He is married and has one son.
As a first-tour political/economic officer in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia, one of William “Ed” O’Bryan’s primary responsibilities was the human rights portfolio. Among his duties was monitoring the protests in the minority Shia communities of the Eastern Province that led to the arrest of hundreds of demonstrators and human rights activists.

O’Bryan felt it was important for the embassy to attend the protesters’ trials (something it hadn’t done in recent memory) for a number of reasons. “First, there was a significant number of peaceful activists on trial in early 2013, and when the verdicts started coming in, they were shockingly harsh,” O’Bryan says.

“At the same time, there were protests in very conservative areas by women with relatives who had been imprisoned, sometimes without charges, which highlighted how galvanizing issues related to the judicial system could be,” he adds.

In light of this, O’Bryan says he felt the mission needed as much insight into the judicial process as possible to better understand the events in the country.

O’Bryan’s initial request to attend the trials was rejected due to the long-standing belief that perceived U.S. support for activists would only make their situations worse. But he was not discouraged. “Actually, I was very encouraged, particularly by Consul General Joey Hood’s support,” he says. “He not only used my points in helping to advocate for attending the trials, but strongly built on them.”

He found the same kind of support from the Riyadh human rights officer, Daniel Boehmer, who had done “phenomenal work in opening channels to human rights activists and in managing the bureaucratic side of attending these trials,” O’Bryan notes.

After a few months of deliberation, the mission agreed and O’Bryan became the first officer to attend a human rights trial in Saudi Arabia’s Specialized Criminal Court, which had been established to try terrorism suspects.

“The mission now has a window into the Saudi judicial system,” O’Bryan says. “Having this insight improves our understanding of the Saudi Arabian government and its dynamic with various groups, and thus can greatly inform our bilateral dialogue.”

Observing trials has also strengthened connections to Saudi human rights activists. As O’Bryan notes, they “see the mission as taking their work more seriously and are thus more interested in working with us.”

“It was certainly a difficult decision for the embassy’s leadership, especially at a time of tense relations between the two countries,” O’Bryan acknowledges. “But they deserve a lot of credit for looking at all the arguments and making the tough call.”

On receiving the award, he says: “I consider what I did closer to advocacy than dissent, but I am humbled by the award and I am happy to bring attention to this issue. I also hope it encourages others to speak up for what they think is right.”

Prior to joining the State Department in 2011, William O’Bryan spent 12 years as part-owner of Andrews Monument Works in Nebraska City, Neb. He volunteered for a year with the United Nations Global Compact project in Minsk, Belarus. He is married and has two daughters.
When any of the more than 1,000 staff at Embassy Ankara had a dilemma—whether they were U.S. direct hires, family members or local staff members—they typically turned to Office Management Specialist Carol K. Backman for help. One colleague described her as “the most competent, hard-working and generous Foreign Service professional I have had the pleasure to work with in my career.”

As OMS at Embassy Ankara, Backman, winner of this year’s Delavan Award, used her exemplary computer skills and management skills, “combined with her unbounded spirit,” according to her nomination, to make an impact on the mission community.

She took ownership of the post’s contact management database, identified inconsistencies and overhauled it. She then trained others to manage the program and ran mission-wide troubleshooting sessions.

As a result, Embassy Ankara became one of the first 10 missions worldwide to implement a single contact database management platform for the entire mission. She also streamlined all management files and then shared her skills in SharePoint, Excel and Word with anyone who asked.

“I have always believed that my job was to do whatever made the lives of those around me easier. I might not know how to do something, but I certainly know how to find out,” Backman says.

“Backman’s willingness to solve problems, and serve the community in any way she can, is called upon daily,” her nomination states.

“Trouble figuring out the Turkish mail, banking regulations or bus routes...? Carol has the answers, or will get them for you.”

Her voluntary contributions to the broader community are also impressive. Under her leadership as chair, the Embassy Recreation Association was transformed. The ERA’s management now has a real understanding of the organization’s financial standing for the first time in nearly a decade, and was able to give the CLO a budget for morale-boosting events and provide support to locally employed staff affected by the furlough.

“I am particularly honored to be the recipient of this award because of the award’s focus on community,” says Backman. She joined the Foreign Service at the age of 22, immediately after graduating from college.

“The Foreign Service has been all I have ever known in my adult life, and the members of the Foreign Service are my family,” she says. My husband is in the Foreign Service...and my friends are all Foreign Service. It is truly my home.”

Carol Backman’s husband, Tom, is a career information management specialist, and they have a 4-year-old daughter. She has previously served in Kuala Lumpur, Minsk and Canberra.
AFSA EXEMPLARY PERFORMANCE AWARDS: THE M. JUANITA GUESS AWARD
FOR A COMMUNITY LIAISON OFFICE COORDINATOR

Offsetting the Impact of Kabul’s Wartime Environment

The M. Juanita Guess Award is given to a Community Liaison Office coordinator who has demonstrated outstanding dedication, energy and imagination in assisting employees and their families serving in missions overseas. The job of CLO in wartime Kabul, a mission community with more than 5,000 members, is a major challenge.

Mary Kay Cunningham faced that challenge. Her “flawless” performance as CLO in Kabul “directly benefited everyone assigned,” according to her award nomination. Her “inspiring programs and events” helped offset the impact of the wartime environment and the danger everyone faced on a daily basis.

Cunningham knew that providing constant activities and events was the key to success in “combating boredom and also providing a positive work-life balance.”

She not only established the tradition of an elaborate Fourth of July celebration, but orchestrated dancing sessions, special dinners, performances and lectures that were all well attended. She also collaborated with the Afghan business community to set up bazaars and events that helped stimulate the local economy.

In response to the deaths of mission members, Cunningham arranged opportunities for individuals to grieve by holding memorial services and made provisions for people to receive timely information, whether they were assigned to the embassy or in remote locations in Afghanistan. Cunningham also knew that, in the aftermath of tragedy, the CLO had to bring the community together; and she organized activities, such as the 2014 Kabul Water Bottle Boat Races, to do so.

Teams were given a month to construct boats, using only water bottles and duct tape, that could hold at least two people and complete a lap in the swimming pool without sinking. Almost the entire community came out to support the 15 teams that entered. As Cunningham recalls, “the teamwork, camaraderie and sheer fun of the event helped lift the spirits of the entire community.”

Also significant was her personal involvement in advocating for the hiring of eligible family members. She constantly sought opportunities to benefit EFMs as a way to keep families intact.

“This award has meant so much to me and the CLO office,” said Cunningham. “Despite the challenging environment, we always kept humor at the forefront, never limited ourselves in how creative we could be, and constantly inspired and encouraged each other to maintain the energy to make it all happen. It is very heartwarming to know that our efforts made a difference to so many.”

Cunningham and her husband began their “Foreign Service adventure,” as she calls it, 10 years ago. They have lived in Baku, Dar es Salaam and Kabul. She is currently in Texas while her husband serves in Islamabad.
AFSA EXEMPLARY PERFORMANCE AWARDS: THE AVIS BOHLEN AWARD
FOR A FOREIGN SERVICE FAMILY MEMBER

Making a Difference in Mexico City

When Kari Osborne arrived in Mexico City with her husband, a political officer, she was struck by the poverty she saw and the huge gap between the living conditions of the rich and the poor.

With two daughters of her own, she found the plight of poor children especially hard to accept. “It is the children of Mexico who captured my heart and pushed me to act on their behalf,” says Osborne, winner of this year’s Avis Bohlen Award.

Osborne’s dedication to volunteerism and leadership has made a real difference in the lives of many in Mexico City. Soon after arrival at post, she joined the embassy’s Charities and Activities Committee and later became vice president for activities and membership.

Her first task for the CAC was to assist with the Major League Soccer Ambassador’s Cup Tournament and Clinic in August 2012. This event gave children from five area orphanages a chance to be trained and coached by former U.S. national soccer team players over three days.

“It was amazing to see the camaraderie of the teams and spirit of competition through the shared love of soccer,” Osborne recalls.

Her application to the J. Kirby Simon Foreign Service Trust resulted in a $3,000 grant, which the Hogar Dulce Hogar (Home Sweet Home) orphanage used to replace an archaic electrical system. The orphanage supports approximately 70 displaced children who typically come from the streets or shelters.

Through CAC, Osborne worked with Fundación Dar y Amar, a home for at-risk girls, where she coordinated the creation of a vegetable and herb garden. She also aided the “Angel Trees” campaign to provide disadvantaged families with gifts for Christmas.

The annual Holiday Bazaar raised funds to bring orphans of Fundación Eugenia to the ambassador’s house for a holiday party, which brought the local community even closer to the embassy and those who work there.

“Over the years we have provided aid to many different orphanages, senior homes, shelters for victims of human trafficking and pet adoption agencies,” says Osborne.

“Each event we held helped make a positive impact in our local community. For me, the smiles of pure joy on the faces of the Mexican children have made the hard work all worth it.”

Kari Osborne and her husband, Matthew Osborne, have two daughters, ages 12 and 9. They have lived in Luxembourg, Switzerland and Spain. Osborne says she was always active in the volunteer community wherever she has lived.

On being recognized by AFSA, Osborne says: “I am honored and humbled to receive AFSA’s Avis Bohlen award. But I must share the credit with the many others who have volunteered to serve with me on the Charities and Activities Committee in Mexico City. The true winners are the adults, children and animals of Mexico City that we have helped through our fundraising and service efforts.”
Exemplary Performance Awards Runners-Up

THE NELSON B. DELAVAN AWARD RUNNERS-UP

CAROL R. JOHNSON, EMBASSY ACCRA
Carol R. Johnson organized a holiday dinner for the local embassy security force in Accra to let the 350 employees know how valuable they are to the mission. Johnson found a local caterer and helped devise a menu incorporating popular local dishes. The guards had never before received such a tribute from the embassy community and were truly grateful.

MARIAM H. ABDULLE, EMBASSY BAGHDAD
Mariam H. Abdulle sustained morale at Embassy Baghdad during the termination of the Police Development Program, part of a general drawdown of the embassy’s security staff. Abdulle personally managed the acting chief of mission’s program recognizing more than 150 individuals departing Iraq in the wake of these changes, preparing letters and certificates of appreciation for presentation at farewells.

M. JUANITA GUESS AWARD RUNNER-UP

TRICIA J. CANTON, EMBASSY CAIRO
Following the ordered departure from Mission Egypt in July 2013, more than 600 people were scattered across the United States and Europe. CLO Tricia J. Canton created comprehensive contact lists and built a sense of community with scattered mission members through weekly newsletters, activities and personal emails. When personnel were allowed to return to post in November, Canton helped with visa applications and organized orientation sessions and social events to put the mission back on normal footing.

AVIS BOHLEN AWARD RUNNER-UP

JAVIER DARIO ARAQUE, CON GEN TIJUANA
Javier Araque’s volunteer work for several organizations aided disadvantaged children. At Ciudad de los Niños, a refuge for abandoned children, he established trust among children who had had little experience with caring adults. He volunteered at Eunime por Tijuana, an orphanage dedicated to children with HIV and AIDS. And he assisted in educational workshops at AFABI, A.C., a nonprofit binational organization that provides support and information for victims of HIV/AIDS in Tijuana and San Diego.

AFSA Welcomes New Staff Member

AFSA is pleased to welcome Brittany DeLong to the staff. Brittany is the Editorial/Publications Specialist with The Foreign Service Journal. She recently earned her master’s degree in publishing from The George Washington University, with a track in technology and electronic publishing. She has contributed to various publications in the D.C. area and has worked as an editor for an online university press in West Virginia. A native of northern Virginia, Brittany became interested in writing at a young age and was first published in a local sports magazine in high school. She went on to graduate from George Mason University with a bachelor’s degree in journalism, and she continues to write on topics of health and wellness in her spare time. She completes the newly-reorganized publications division at AFSA, and we are thrilled to have her on board.

AFSA CATCHES FIFA FEVER

Reveling in World Cup fever, AFSA opened its doors to members for two exciting matches this summer. Food and drinks were provided to a large crowd of AFSA members and staff who came out to support the U.S. in its vital match against Germany on June 26, and again on July 1 as the team battled Belgium. Both events were well attended, and everyone was in high spirits. They cheered the U.S. to advancement into the Round of 16 and celebrated a remarkable World Cup run by the U.S. Men’s National Team.
New Members Join AFSA's Governing Board

Over the summer, new members joined the AFSA Governing Board as other members rotated off to new assignments. AFSA is very pleased to welcome Ronnie Catipon, Homeyra Mokhtarzada and Neeru Lal.

Ronnie Catipon joined the Foreign Service in July 1997 as a Diplomatic Security Special Agent. He is currently the regional director for Afghanistan and Iraq in the DS Directorate of High Threat Posts.

Previous assignments with DS include The Hague, Kabul (two tours), Kyiv, Tbilisi, Manila and the Secretary’s Protective Detail; his first assignment with the Foreign Service was to Almaty as an eligible family member.

Catipon is a recipient of State’s Heroism Award and a number of Superior and Meritorious Honor Awards, and he holds degrees from The Ohio State University, The George Washington University and the U.S. Army War College. He is married to a former FSO, and they are the proud parents of four children.

Homeyra Mokhtarzada joined the Department of State in August 2010. Her first assignment was on the Turkey Desk, where she earned a Superior Honor Award. Following a two-year consular tour in Bogota, she returned to Washington to join the Bureau of Population, Refugees and Migration’s Office of Multilateral Coordination.

Prior to joining the Foreign Service, Mokhtarzada worked for CNN for six years and, from 2002, for the International Foundation for Electoral Systems. There she managed programming for Afghanistan, Iran, Egypt and Yemen.

She received her bachelor’s and master’s degrees the University of Maryland, College Park, and also completed a fellowship at Georgetown University.

Neeru Lal is a career Foreign Service Information Technology Officer, who has served in Ouagadougou, New Delhi, Tri-Mission Brussels and Tri-Mission Rome. She is currently serving in the Bureau of Information Resources, Public Affairs and Communications Office.

Lal recently graduated from IRM’s Executive Development Program, a year of dedicated executive preparation at FSI and National Defense University, where she earned the chief information officer certificate for completion of the Advanced Management Program and is currently working on her master’s degree in government information leadership.

She holds a bachelor’s degree in business administration information sciences from the University of Maryland and speaks French, Italian and Hindi.

AFSA sincerely thanks outgoing State Representatives Michael D. Thomas, E. Alex Copher, Lillian Wahl-Tuco and David Zwach for their stalwart service on the Governing Board.

Call for 2015 AFSA Award Nominees

Do you know someone who has worked constructively within the system to change policy? Has someone in your community made an extra effort in service or volunteerism or shown exemplary performance? Have you? Recognize these achievements with a nomination for an AFSA award!

Nominations for the 2015 AFSA awards will be accepted at any time through Feb. 28, 2015. Anyone may submit a nomination for a colleague or even for oneself.

Please visit the AFSA website to read more about the award categories (http://www.afsa.org/awards). Details on how to submit nominations differ for each award and are listed within each category.

The awards are administered by Perri Green, the coordinator for special awards and outreach. She can be reached at green@afsa.org and (202) 719-9700.
AFSA’s Sharon Papp Wins Equality Award

AFSA’s General Counsel Sharon Papp received the 2014 Equality Award at the Pride event held by Gays and Lesbians in Foreign Affairs Agencies on June 19. GLIFAA’s annual celebration of LGBT Pride month took place in the State Department’s Benjamin Franklin Diplomatic Reception Room. It featured a keynote address by Secretary of State John Kerry as well as remarks by noted LGBT activist, Russian-American journalist Masha Gessen.

GLIFAA President Robyn McCutcheon opened the program by highlighting GLIFAA’s priority issues. As the first transgender Foreign Service officer to transition on the job overseas, McCutcheon noted that she has witnessed the growing shift in acceptance of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender issues in the Foreign Service.

Sec. Kerry detailed the State Department’s commitment to LGBT inclusiveness, both at home and abroad. “The State Department has always been at the forefront of equality in the federal government,” he said. He commended McCutcheon for not only getting through a difficult period during her transition but for “turning it into a precedent-setting event, and as a result she put up a fight,” he said.

He hailed the courageous work performed during times of discrimination by GLIFAA and other organizations and individuals—acknowledging AFSA and spotlighting Sharon Papp.

Following Kerry’s address, McCutcheon returned to the podium to present the 2014 Equality Award to Sharon Papp for her work to protect the rights of LGBT Foreign Service employees dating back to the early 1990s. The Equality Award has been given in past years—notably to Hillary Clinton in 2011—but only when an outstanding candidate is identified. Papp, who is AFSA’s general counsel, did not know she was getting the honor. “Receiving the award was a complete shock to me,” she said. “I am surprised and extremely honored to be presented with the Equality award.”

Papp began working with GLIFAA in 1992 and was instrumental in ensuring that written confirmation of the prohibition against discrimination based on sexual orientation, issued in 1994 by then Secretary of State Warren Christopher, was included in each chapter of the Foreign Affairs Manual that banned discrimination based on other protected classes (e.g., sex, race and religion). Papp also worked with State’s Office of Civil Rights to draft the Foreign Affairs Handbook provisions that permit LGBT employees to file informal complaints of discrimination (3 FAH-1 H-1520) and with the Bureau of Diplomatic Security’s Office of Personnel, Security, and Suitability on the written Personal Investigation Procedures that govern interviews with employees and sources about an employee’s sexual behavior.

More recently, AFSA staff has been engaged on issues relating to the FAM provisions for Members of Household and Same Sex Domestic Partners. AFSA was also proud to lend its strong support to GLIFAA, which sought, successfully, to persuade the American Foreign Service Protective Association to seek OPM approval for inclusion of transgender coverage in the Foreign Service Benefit Plan.

During her 22 years at AFSA, Papp has worked on many cases dealing with LGBT issues but noted that she is not alone at AFSA in working on these issues. “I would like to recognize the others on the labor management staff who have worked on more recent GLIFAA issues,” she said.

“Before coming to AFSA, I was a civil rights lawyer, so I don’t necessarily see this as courageous or brave,” Papp said. “When I see something wrong, it’s just in my nature to do whatever I can to fix it.”

—Adrian Rios, Labor Management Intern
AFSA AND FSI INAUGURATE NEW CAPITAL BIKESHARE STATION

On July 24, AFSA, in collaboration with the Foreign Service Institute and Capital Bikeshare, inaugurated the new Capital Bikeshare station located outside the FSI campus in Arlington, Va. Director of FSI Transition Center Ray Leki (above left) and AFSA State VP Matthew Asada (above right) officially cut the ribbon on the new station. AFSA, FSI and Capital Bikeshare collaborated for more than two years on getting the new station installed at the Arlington Boulevard entrance to the FSI campus. The expansion of Capital Bikeshare to FSI is in accordance with the department’s wellness program and AFSA’s Strategic Plan to improve the quality of work/life across the Foreign Service (AFSA has also been working to have showers installed in all department facilities, which would especially benefit employees after their bike rides to work).

The new station services more than 3,500 students, faculty and staff at FSI, in addition to the general public. It is the 322nd station in the program and the 71st in Arlington. The Bikeshare station at FSI is ready for public use. Bike on!

Adrian Rios, Labor Management Intern

LUNCHTIME SERENADE

On June 11 and 23, AFSA hosted the State Department’s choral ensemble, the T-Tones (including the Journal’s own Steve Honley), as they performed concerts of English music from the Elizabethan era. The half-hour lunchtime concerts featured madrigals and sacred music, all a cappella except for the finale: a movement from William Croft’s “Ode for the Peace of Utrecht,” written in 1713.
AFSA Associate Members Add Value to Diplomacy

One of the American Foreign Service Association’s critical missions is to raise public awareness of the importance of diplomacy for national security and prosperity.

AFSA’s associate membership program plays an important role in this regard. Associate members add voices to the more than 16,000 AFSA members who actively participate in U.S. foreign affairs and diplomacy.

“Our associate members play a great role in increasing interest in the U.S. Foreign Service, and we appreciate all they do to support AFSA and the Foreign Service,” says Janet Hedrick, director of member services at AFSA.

Associate members provide a pool of talented speakers and panel experts for AFSA events. They contribute to The Foreign Service Journal as writers and often as regular advertisers. During the past year, AFSA associate members have coordinated and hosted special events paying tribute to the 90th anniversary of the U.S. Foreign Service.

On May 22, in conjunction with AFSA associate member Maria St. Catherine McConnell, the Massachusetts State House Historical Society hosted “A Massachusetts State House Tribute to Commonwealth Statesmen, Stateswomen and Diplomats on the Occasion of the 90th Anniversary of the U.S. Foreign Service.”

Copies of the May 2014 90th-anniversary edition of The Foreign Service Journal were distributed and U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry sent a recorded video greeting to the event. You can see Kerry’s recorded message at www.state.gov.

--Cecilia M. Daizovi, Communications Intern

New York City High School Students Visit AFSA

In early July, a group of New York City high school students from the International Youth Leadership Institute visited AFSA to learn more about the State Department and the Foreign Service.

AFSA State VP Matthew Asada and Aroosha Rana, a State Department public diplomacy officer, discussed a wide range of topics with the students, including the importance of learning new languages in a multilingual world, the role of U.S. missions overseas and educational pathways that could lead to a future in diplomacy. Asada and Rana also related personal and professional experiences, noting that as immigrants, like many of the visiting students, their own families’ first interaction with the State Department was through an embassy’s visa section.

The students later said their visit to AFSA was one of the highlights of their trip to Washington, D.C. (Learn more about the International Youth Leadership Institute at http://www.iyli.org/ and on Twitter @iyli2010.)

—Lindsey Botts, Labor Management Executive Assistant
AFSA ON THE HILL
Panel Discusses Diversity in the Foreign Service

AFSA joined with the Congressional Black Associates to host a panel discussion, “Diversity in the Foreign Service,” at the U.S. Capitol Building on June 12.

Designed to increase the participation of minority groups in the U.S. Foreign Service, five Foreign Service members from State and USAID spoke about their own experiences and then took questions.

AFSA State Vice President Matthew Asada, who is a fourth-generation Japanese-American, keynoted the event. “The diversity conversation is not happening in isolation,” he said. “The Foreign Service is more diverse than ever.”

Former Ambassador to Argentina Lino Gutierrez drew on his Cuban-American heritage to discuss the Foreign Service’s need for more diversity.

“Racial, ethnic, geographic. It needs people from off the beaten path [because] the Foreign Service represents the U.S., and the U.S. is all of those things,” he told an audience of mostly young people from diverse backgrounds.

Each panelist pointed out the importance of remembering that the term “diversity” does not solely apply to racial classifications, but includes geographic and religious diversity, gender equality, and age and linguistic diversity.

“Foreign policy has to represent all of us,” said State Department FS member Robert Bacon, citing the diversity of the United States that should be present in the Foreign Service. Susan Reichle, USAID agency counselor, discussed the growing number of women in the Foreign Service. “Women have come a long way, but we’ve got a long way to go,” she stated.

Asada declared that diversity would allow the Foreign Service to be taken seriously; a group of individuals with varying perspectives and experiences will be more effective in implementing foreign policy.

“We have to tell people who we are as Americans,” said Croshelle Harris-Hussein, a division chief in USAID’s Office of Strategic Planning and Operations. “And a diverse set of Foreign Service officers is the way to do that.”

—Aishwarya Raje, Editorial Intern

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Donald Y. Gilmore, 90, a retired Foreign Service officer with the U.S. Information Agency, died on June 17 at Havenwood-Heritage Heights Nursing Facility in Concord, N.H.

Born on Sept. 14, 1923, in Charlotteville, Va., Mr. Gilmore grew up in Providence, R.I., where he graduated from Providence Country Day School in 1941. He attended Middlebury College in Vermont, and received an M.A. in international affairs from The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University.

During World War II, Mr. Gilmore was a naval aviator and flight instructor in Pensacola, Fla. He joined the Foreign Service in 1951.

Mr. Gilmore’s overseas assignments included Senegal, Morocco, Tunisia, Belgium, India and Colombia. He served for several years as director of French language broadcasting at the Voice of America and, later, as a deputy assistant director of USIA in Washington, D.C.

He was accompanied on his Foreign Service postings by his wife, Norma (Nicki) Kerr Gilmore, a former State Department employee. Three of their four children were born in North Africa during assignments there.

From retirement in Meredith, N.H., and later in Concord, N.H., Mr. Gilmore served as a contract escort-interpreter for State Department cultural exchanges, and arranged conference programs for the Fletcher School and the Television Conference Association.

He also became interested in archaeology and attended summer field schools. He was elected president of the New England Antiquities Research Association, serving for six years.

In 1998, Mr. Gilmore co-edited a book for NEARA, Across before Columbus?, which explored evidence for transoceanic contacts with the Americas before 1492. After undertaking several trips to North Africa, he lectured on the rock art of the Sahara Desert.

Mr. and Mrs. Gilmore loved the mountains and climbed most of the “Four-Thousand Footers,” a group of 48 mountains in New Hampshire. They also hiked in Switzerland and the Grand Canyon.


Donations in Mr. Gilmore’s name may be made to the Union of Concerned Scientists (www.ucsusa.org/memorial), Two Brattle Square, Cambridge MA 02138.

Wayne D. Hoshal, 86, a retired Foreign Service diplomatic courier, died on Jan. 16 at Grand Itasca Hospital in Grand Rapids, Minn.

Born on April 8, 1927, in Sioux Falls, S.D., Mr. Hoshal grew up in Calumet, Minn., where he graduated from Greenway High School in 1945. He immediately enlisted in the U.S. Navy, and was stationed on Kwajalein Island in the Pacific during World War II. After the war, he returned home, completed his studies at Itasca Junior College and graduated from the University of Minnesota.

While on a study break in the library, Mr. Hoshal read an article about a diplomatic courier. It was then that he decided what he wanted to do with his life, but he had to wait for two years to meet the age requirement for the job. In the interim, he worked as a bellhop and doorman at luxury hotels in Florida, Maine and New York.

In 1953, Mr. Hoshal began work as a diplomatic courier in what would become a 32-year Foreign Service career. His wife, Jean, whom he married in 1970, says he lived the life he had dreamed of.

Mr. Hoshal’s overseas postings included Panama City, Frankfurt (where both of his children were born) and Manila.

In carrying messages too sensitive to be transmitted by cable, Mr. Hoshal encountered many dangerous situations, including traveling by rail behind the Iron Curtain and being stranded for six weeks in India when war broke out.

According to a Duluth News Tribune article, Mr. Hoshal’s daughter, Ann, recalls a story of her father drinking tea on the fourth floor of a hotel in Saigon while the city was being shelled during the Vietnam War.

There were also less hazardous missions, like the time he was assigned to deliver moon rocks to the National Air and Space Museum. A friend of the curator, Mr. Hoshal decided to instead deliver a slab of blue cheese as a joke.

Mr. Hoshal retired from the Foreign Service in 1985 as chief of the Diplomatic Courier Service. He and his family moved to Minnesota, the state he so loved for its impressive forests and natural beauty. He spent time in outdoor activities, such as counting loons for the Department of Natural Resources, and continued such sports as downhill skiing until his health declined last spring.

Mr. Hoshal was predeceased by his parents; two brothers, Julian and Earl Hoshal; and a sister, Colleen Peters.

He is survived by his wife of 43 years, Jean; a daughter, Ann Hoshal of Brainerd, Minn.; a son, Neil Hoshal; grandchildren, Alex and Alyssa Chinn; two brothers, Dale (and his wife, Carla) and Gary (and his wife, Robin); two sisters, Allene (and her husband, Patrick) Quinn and Donna...
Mae (and her husband, Frank) Weis; and numerous nieces and nephews.

Robert H. Kranich, 100, a retired Foreign Service officer and Army colonel, died on May 14 at Winchester Medical Center in Winchester, Va.

Born in Bucyrus, Ohio, Mr. Kranich received a B.A. from Heidelberg College in 1934, and went on to attend the University of Chicago from 1935 to 1937. He married Chloris Coates in Chicago, Ill., in 1941.

Mr. Kranich was a teacher with the Chicago Board of Education and held various other positions until joining the U.S. Army in 1943, serving until 1946.

From 1946 to 1948, he served as a captain and international aid officer for the Department of the Army. In the private sector from 1950 to 1958, he was president of an export-import firm and a consultant to the Department of Agriculture.

On July 12, 1950, Mr. Kranich joined the State Department, where he served as a foreign affairs officer in the Office of European Regional Affairs. In 1954, he was appointed head of the North Atlantic Treaty Economic and Military Assistance Affairs Office.

In 1955, he served as an aide to Secretary of State John Foster Dulles and was commissioned as an FSO. He was detailed to the National War College for the 1955-1956 academic year.

His first overseas posting was to Bonn, where he served as first secretary, then international relations officer (1957-1961).

In 1963, Mr. Kranich was seconded to the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency at the State Department, where he served until 1969, having become chief of the Political Affairs Division. During this period, he helped to negotiate the Strategic Arms Limitation and Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaties.

In his last overseas posting, Mr. Kranich served as political adviser to General David C. Jones, commander of the U.S. Air Force, Europe, in Wiesbaden. His earlier experience in NATO was instrumental in this assignment, and he became part of Gen. Jones’ international planning team.

Col. Kranich retired from the Army Reserve in 1966 and from the Foreign Service in 1974. After retirement, he and his wife, Chloris, settled in Strasburg, Va., on a large farm.

There, Mr. Kranich designed and constructed one of the first solar-powered homes in Northern Virginia and became involved in volunteer activity on behalf of environmental and other causes.

In 1988, he co-founded The Friends of the North Fork of the Shenandoah River, a nonprofit organization that advocates for improved water quality and protection of the North Fork and its tributaries.

In 1990, he founded Job Opportunities Boost Shenandoah, a local volunteer agency that attempted to link job seekers with employers. He was also a founder of the Cedar Creek Fish & Chowder Society and a contributor to the Free Press, writing environmental and political columns under the pen name “B. Cyrus Kidd.”

For the last several years of his life, Mr. Kranich was a resident of Westminster Canterbury in Winchester, Va.

Mr. Kranich was predeceased by his first wife, Chloris; a daughter, Chloris; and a son, William. He is survived by his daughter, Robin; his wife of 10 years, Roberta Hinkins Kranich, and her son, George Hinkins III. He is also survived by a step-daughter, Nicki Furlan de Medici, the daughter of his wife of two years, Mary Furlan Kranich, and her two daughters, Laura Bentley and Marina de Medici; his sister-in-law, Gloria Kranich; a nephew, James Kranich Jr.; and nieces, Christy Kane and Frances Ellen Kranich and their families.

Joseph E. (Jay) Lake Jr., 49, the son of retired FSO Ambassador Joseph E. Lake, died on June 1 at his home in Milwaukie, Ore., five days before his 50th birthday, following a six-year, hard-fought battle with colon cancer.

Mr. Lake was born on June 6, 1964, in Taipei, during his father’s first Foreign Service tour. He accompanied his father and stepmother, Jo Ann Kessler Lake, on tours in Dahomey (now part of Benin), Taiwan, Nigeria and Bulgaria.

He graduated from the Plan II Honors Program at the University of Texas at Austin in 1986 and pursued work in advertising and marketing in the IT industry. He holds a patent for a system to manage multimedia communication and had another pending for a system for managing leases of property.

In 1993, Mr. Lake married Susan Mendes. The couple added daughter Bronwyn Ariadne Qiu Ju Lake to the family in 1998, when they adopted her from China.

A prolific writer, Mr. Lake made his publishing debut in the science fiction and fantasy genre in 2001. He published more than 300 short stories and 10 novels, with more underway at the time of his death. His writing has been translated into many languages and garnered acclaim reviews in Publishers Weekly and Booklist.

Mr. Lake was a first-place quarterfinalist in the Writers of the Future Contest in 2003, and he received the John W. Campbell Award for Best New Writer in 2004. He documented his experiences with disease and wrote about topics ranging from photography to politics on his popular website and top-25 science fiction blog.

Diagnosed with colon cancer in 2008, Mr. Lake utilized his writing ability to blog about the emotional and psychological toll of a terminal diagnosis, and his journey through traditional chemotherapy and experimental immunotherapy treatments.
at the National Cancer Institute. He also raised money to have his entire genome sequenced for study of potential future cancer treatments to help others.

Mr. Lake’s battle with cancer is recorded in a Waterloo Productions documentary, “Lakeside,” which was released in early 2014. The film follows a year in the life of Mr. Lake from his initial remission to his subsequent re-diagnosis.

Mr. Lake is survived by his wife, Susan; daughter, Bronwyn; partner and caregiver, Lisa Costello; mother, Sarah Bryant; father, Joseph Lake; stepmother, Jo Ann Kessler; a brother, Michael Allen (and his wife, Ksenia) Lake; a sister, Mary Elizabeth Lake; niece, Delaney Otteman; and a legion of family and friends.

In lieu of flowers, memorial donations may be made to the Clayton Memorial Medical Fund, P.O. Box 5703, Portland OR 97228.

Patricia B. Norland, 94, wife of the late retired FSO and ambassador, Donald R. Norland, died peacefully on May 20 at the home of her son, Ambassador Richard Norland, in Tbilisi, Georgia.

Born in Miami, Ariz., Patricia Bamman graduated with a degree in English from Wellesley College in 1942. She began her career in Norfolk, Va., working as a clerk typist at the Naval Air Station and Norfolk Army Base and as secretary of publicity for the Office of Civilian Defense from 1943 to 1946.

After World War II, she moved to Washington, D.C. to work on the legislative staff of Senator Sheridan Downey, a Democrat from California, from 1939 to 1951 and, briefly, for his successor, Senator Richard Milhous Nixon. She also worked with the State Department’s Educational Exchange Service, where her duties included arranging visits of foreign dignitaries to Blair House.

In 1952, she married a newly minted Foreign Service officer from Iowa, Donald Norland, and the couple headed by ocean liner to Europe and their first assignment in Rabat, Morocco. They would go on to posts in the Ivory Coast, France, Netherlands, Guinea, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and Chad until 1981, when Ambassador Norland retired.

The mother of three children who graduated from Georgetown University’s School of Foreign Service and themselves became diplomats, Mrs. Norland found representing the United States abroad a joyful and rewarding privilege.

In keeping with the prevailing practice of the era, Amb. Norland’s performance in the field was evaluated in part on Mrs. Norland’s ability to represent the United States as a hostess and philanthropist. She excelled in these endeavors.

She embraced chances to reflect the American spirit in different ways across distant nations. In 1960, she entertained hundreds of guests in the heat at a Fourth of July party in the Ivory Coast with the aid of only one small refrigerator. While the spouses of diplomats today fly to major cities to have a baby, she delivered her youngest in a fan-cooled room in a French clinic in Abidjan in 1959.

Friends remember her as a gentle and graceful practitioner of the art of person-to-person diplomacy. She enjoyed meeting people from around the world and finding cultural affinities that created mutually enriching personal bonds.

She volunteered with the Red Cross in Botswana alongside Lady Ruth Khama, wife of the country’s late president, Sir Seretse Khama, in the late 1970s. In that capacity, she quietly reinforced U.S. ties with a non-racial government bordering the apartheid regime of South Africa.

Adventure was a regular theme in Mrs. Norland’s life. While she was living in Conakry, Guinea, in November 1970, Portugal launched an invasion of that country. Mrs. Norland provided shelter and food in her home for embassy personnel and to help calm families.

In their few months before evacuating N’Djamena by French military transport in March 1980, Pat Norland taught English at the University of Chad. She recalled a student whose essay lamented his country’s civil war, in which “brothers fight brothers, cousins fight cousins.” Her account of the ordeal, “Evacuation from N’Djamena,” was featured in the July-August 1980 FSO.

After her husband’s death in 2006, Mrs. Norland kept up her travels as an envoy of America. She lived with her daughter on diplomatic assignment in Vietnam and Laos, countries where seeing an elder parent share an American’s home surprised and delighted friends and colleagues.

In 2012, she moved to Tbilisi, to live with her son, Richard, the U.S. ambassador to Georgia. She died under hospice care at his residence. A breast cancer survivor, Mrs. Norland had been diagnosed with Alzheimer’s disease.

On her death, the prime minister of Georgia wrote to Richard Norland personally about her inspirational life: “I would like to pay tribute to Mrs. Norland’s remarkable life and accomplishments. She contributed greatly through her work and her parenting to the promotion of international understanding in the many lands where she accompanied your father and your family.”

Mrs. Norland’s passion for public service and her 62-year diplomatic career is captured on the tombstone she shares with her husband, which reads: “Together, a life devoted to the Foreign Service.”

Mrs. Norland was predeceased by her husband, Donald. She is survived by her children: Richard, a career FSO and U.S. ambassador to Georgia; David, a former
Walter R. Roberts, 97, a retired Foreign Service officer with the United States Information Agency, died on June 29 at his residence in Washington, D.C.

Born in Austria on Aug. 26, 1916, Mr. Roberts was a graduate of the University of Vienna and earned a Ph.D. at Cambridge University. A research assistant at Harvard Law School from 1940 to 1942, he joined the Office of War Information in 1943, serving as a researcher, analyst and writer until 1945.

After eight years of service with the nascent Voice of America, he was assigned to the State Department’s Austrian desk and then, in 1953, as deputy area director for Europe in the newly created U.S. Information Agency. In 1955, as a member of the American delegation to the Austrian Treaty Talks, he contributed to the treaty that ended the occupation status of Austria and restored its independence.

In 1960, Mr. Roberts was named counselor for public affairs at Embassy Belgrade. During this time he interacted with President Josip Broz Tito, the Yugoslav revolutionary and communist leader. His experiences in Yugoslavia led him to publish a highly regarded book, Tito, Mihailovic and the Allies, 1941-1945 (Duke University Press Books, 1987).

In 1966, he was assigned as diplomat-in-residence at Brown University in Providence, R.I., and in 1967 he was transferred to Geneva to serve as counselor for public affairs at the U.S. Mission to the United Nations. In 1969, he was appointed deputy associate director of USIA and in 1971 was elevated to the associate director position, then the senior career post in USIA. He retired from the Foreign Service in 1974.

After retirement, Mr. Roberts was appointed director of diplomatic studies at Georgetown University’s Center for Strategic and International Studies. There he was to serve as executive director of a panel on international information, educational and cultural affairs (also known as the Stanton Panel, after its chairman).

However, in 1975, he was called back into government to serve as executive director of the Board for International Broadcasting, which oversaw Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty.

Following his second retirement from the U.S. government in 1985, Mr. Roberts was appointed diplomat-in-residence at The George Washington University and taught a course on “Diplomacy in the Information Age” for the next 10 years.


In 2001, Mr. Roberts co-founded The Institute for Public Diplomacy and Global Communication and the Public Diplomacy Council at The George Washington University. In 2005, Mr. Roberts created an endowment in his name for the Institute.

Mr. Roberts received the Distinguished Honor Award from USIA in 1974 and the Voice of America “Director’s Special Recognition Award” in 2009. He was a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, the Washington Institute of Foreign Affairs and the American Foreign Service Association.

Mr. Roberts was predeceased by his wife, Gisela Katherine. He is survived by three sons, William, Charles and Lawrence; daughters-in-law, Patricia, Valerie and Shavaun; seven grandchildren and two great-grandchildren.
Documenting a Vanishing Art

Silver Treasures from the Land of Sheba: Regional Styles of Yemeni Jewelry
Reviewed by Andrea Rugh

Silver Treasures from the Land of Sheba is the first book ever written about the silver jewelry of Yemen, showing the rare diversity and exceptional skills of craftsmen in this small country nestled at the tip of the Arabian Peninsula. Not only does the book document a disappearing art; it gives us a sense of the craftspeople who produced the jewelry and the Yemeni women who wore it.

Venturing out with a trusted driver, she also traveled to different parts of the country, from the mountainous regions of the north to the remote oases of the southeast, to seek out the elderly Yemeni artisans who alone could tell the story of this dying art form.

Along the way, she was passed almost literally from silversmith to silversmith and from woman to woman, each showing her their personal pieces of jewelry and contributing to the recorded history of this unique craft.

The difficult and diverse terrain gives an idea of the difficulties silversmiths faced in marketing their wares and acquiring the resources they needed to pursue their art. Robert Liu’s exquisite photographs illustrate in beautiful detail the signature aspects of each silversmith’s work.

In its layout, content and comprehensiveness, the book is worthy of the craft it explores. Most of the pieces have never appeared before in print. Adding depth and poignancy are the stories of the Yemenis and the generosity they showed the author. Typically, museum cataloging of lost art does not involve such close attention to context and the human beings that produced it.

It is hard to overemphasize the arduousness of this kind of research—the physical difficulty of traveling where roads are often no more than tracks; where public sleeping accommodations are usually not available; where foreigners may be kidnapped by local tribes to make a point with the government; and, perhaps most important of all, where distrust of outsiders has to be overcome.

To undertake it, one must, like Ransom, have trust in the natural hospitality and generosity of the local people, as well as the ability to disarm their suspicions with appropriate documents and explanations. One part of this is, of course, to conduct oneself through dress, etiquette and mannerisms in ways local people understand.

The author joined the Foreign Service in 1962, but had to resign when she married David Ransom, another FSO. Their first post was Yemen (1966-1967), when that country was relatively untouched and it was possible to become deeply involved with the local people. She returned to the Foreign Service in 1974; and they again served in Yemen (1975-1978), as the first State Department tandem couple in the Arab world.

In 1999 Mrs. Ransom was nominated to become ambassador to Yemen, but was one of 26 FSOS denied a confirmation hearing by Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Jesse Helms (R-NC). Her retirement in 2000 and the unexpected death of her husband prompted her to apply for a grant from the American Institute of Yemeni Studies to research Yemeni jewelry.

It was the beginning of an extraordinary journey, where her incomparable knowledge of the language and country, and her persistence in the face of so many obstacles, led to this striking...
documented a world treasure that would otherwise have been lost. Anyone who reads this book will come away with a greater appreciation for this fascinating country and its people.

Andrea Rugh is a scholar at the Middle East Institute in Washington, D.C. She has been a technical adviser for USAID projects in the Middle East, South Asia and Africa. During the course of 40 years of residence and work in the Middle East, she has written several books on local culture and society in the region.

An FS Tall Tale in the Congo

The American Mission

For sheer scale and duration of man-made misery, it is difficult to match the Democratic Republic of the Congo. At the turn of the 19th century, the “Congo Free State” owned and operated by King Leopold II of Belgium was a place of mind-boggling cruelty, a rubber-fueled orgy of slavery and murder that lopped 10 million off the population.

“The horror! The horror!” wrote Joseph Conrad in 1899. Since 1996, back-to-back wars have claimed the lives of five million more, a Heart of Darkness that seems as relevant today as in Conrad’s time.


His protagonist, Alex Baines, is a Foreign Service officer with a topical problem in today’s era of forever wars: Diplomatic Security has stripped him of his security clearance due to his Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder and failure to seek treatment through authorized channels. For this ambitious young political officer, it is “a professional death sentence” that renders his career prospects a “flat, featureless plain.”

When Alex gets a call from Howard “Spence” Spencer, a former mentor and now U.S. ambassador to the DRC, his career is swiftly resuscitated. Offered the plum job of political counselor, Alex is off to Kinshasa. There he meets Marie Tsiolo, the beautiful daughter of a tribal chief, who is defending her village from a rapacious mining company.

Soon Alex is caught up in Marie’s crusade, pitting him against a villainous mining executive—a Belgian, naturally—and eventually his own embassy leadership.

Palmer sprinkles the novel with bits of Foreign Service experience, but in fact there’s not much here that resembles real diplomatic work. Instead, Palmer has penned a classic adventure yarn, with Alex conducting espionage, leaping from airplanes and ducking bullets in the dark.

As the story unfolds in dubious directions, Palmer nevertheless keeps it moving at a brisk pace, balancing multiple threads and tying them neatly at the end, with a twist that makes for a satisfying finish.

Palmer has done his research. While not heavy on setting, Palmer’s Congo feels like the real place. His descriptions of industrial versus artisanal mining are convincing and weaved gently into the narrative.

In Alex, he has created a likable character much handier than the average political officer; his hobby is building satellite receivers from old car parts, a skill he puts to use as the novel approaches its climax. The author’s explanation of how it’s done suggests that both he and Alex would have made pretty decent GSOs.

Palmer’s characters are interesting and clearly drawn, from spirited Marie to the enigmatic militia leader, Manamakimba. All are fictional, right up to the DRC’s president, who is something of an African archetype.

He is less successful, however, with the dialogue between them. Marie’s unlikely use of American idioms (“Think you’ll get lucky tonight?”) makes her predictable romance with Alex all the more cheap and cloying. Throughout, Palmer relies heavily on dialogue to propel the plot forward, an approach that keeps him on top of his craft but drains the story of ambiguity and nuance.

That brings me to my main beef: Palmer rarely misses an opportunity to inform the reader exactly what is going on. No chance here of getting lost!

But while many readers will wish for a greater challenge, one suspects the spoon-fed approach is the surest route to a movie deal. With its bold themes and set-piece scenes, The American Mission seems tailor-made for the big screen.

If so, let’s hope the screenwriters don’t share Alex’s view of the Foreign Service as a place of unprincipled conspiracy and compromise.

Jim DeHart, a Foreign Service officer since 1993, is chair of The Foreign Service Journal Editorial Board. He has served as director of a Provincial Reconstruction Team in Panjshir and in Istanbul, Melbourne, Brussels and Washington, D.C. He currently directs the Office of Afghanistan-Pakistan Programs in the Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs.
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Sage Counsel, Fondly Remembered

BY FLETCHER M. BURTON

David Newsom, who died in 2008, was a colossus of his generation in American diplomacy. Such was my view of him, in any event, when he invited me to his Georgetown home on April 8, 1988, to share his thoughts on the Foreign Service.

A mutual friend had brought us together. The contrast was stark: Newsom was the veteran diplomat, an accomplished professional who had risen several times to Secretary of State ad interim. And I was the novice, a grad student who had just accepted an A-100 slot for June of that year.

Newsom was generous with his time, almost a full hour on that cool evening, and gracious in his hospitality to a stranger. He spoke in a measured way to allow me to scribble a record as he went along.

He did not recollect his postings so much as reflect on his experiences. He distilled decades into minutes.

Later that evening, I went back over my notes and summarized his main points as follows:

Conversation with David Newsom
April 8, 1988—Georgetown home

- Select small posts with big problems for assumption of responsibility early on.
- Distinguish between power and titles—the latter often mislead.
- Know U.S. interests and how they pertain to one’s post in a given country.
- Remember the Foreign Service’s main task: representation of U.S.
- Develop (through reflection, study and interaction) a “sense of the society” in one’s posted country.
- Acquire foreign languages for “nuances”—if need be, by waking an hour earlier—but . . .
- Don’t fall into trap of British diplomat, “who knew six languages perfectly—and was a fool in all six.”
- Try to explore a new society to find organizations, groupings, etc. (e.g., a youth organization), which could be cultivated to promote better ties with the U.S.
- Avoid trap of associating exclusively with educated, Western, English-speaking groups—a narrow perspective.

The real challenge was not to keep them, but to keep faith with them.

The handwritten original of these notes has accompanied me on all my postings over the years. The real challenge was not to keep them, but to keep faith with them.

They certainly made marvelous material for some of my talks—for example, with entry-level officers in the Foreign Service or with a fresh batch of Kosovor ambassadors headed to postings in 2010.

The points are really quite good, even better than I realized starting out 26 years ago. Although my encounter with Newsom was limited to that one session, I can sense a personality behind these thoughts, presumably the authentic Newsom who served so ably in the Foreign Service.

That evening Newsom taught me another lesson, though not set down in the nine points. He concluded our talk and politely excused himself, saying he was keen to catch “The MacNeil–Lehrer Report.”

That was the other lesson: Set priorities and do not let anything—or anyone—stand in your way.
The highways surrounding Cairo teem with cars and cargo at all hours of the day and night. The camels in the back of this pick-up truck seem unfazed by the roar of the surrounding traffic. I took this photograph in 2009 on Cairo’s Ring Road, while driving back to the city after a trip to Giza Plateau to see the pyramids.

Debra Blome is an eligible family member who is currently in Washington, D.C., where she is the AFSA News editor. She and her FSO husband and family lived in Cairo from 2008 to 2012 and, before that, were posted to Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Tunisia and Kuwait. She took this photo with a Nikon Coolpix P80 27-486mm 18x optical zoom-Nikkor lens.
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