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PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

Professional Responsibility

BY JOHN K. NALAND

Last month, my column ended by posing a question: What are the professional responsibilities of senior career officials and what should happen to those who fail to fulfill those duties? As I explained, the context of that question is the widespread view that — due to timidity or careerism — some senior career diplomats in recent years have not fulfilled their professional responsibilities to provide their political superiors with frank, expert advice behind closed doors.

What are examples of such failures? Future historians may point to any number of foreign policy decisions in recent years. However, I will leave such judgments to history since any criticism by me of foreign policy decisions made by sitting officials might hamper those officials in their dealings with foreign governments during the remainder of their term of office. But I see no professional constraint on citing leadership failures by senior career officials that have weakened diplomatic readiness to the point that the next president will face serious logistical constraints in implementing his foreign policy. Examples include:

- Secretary Powell's hard-won gains in reversing the ill-advised 1990s downsizing of the Foreign Service evaporated in recent years as new mis-



John K. Naland is the president of the American Foreign Service Association.

sion requirements (notably in Iraq) far exceeded the available staffing. The resulting staffing gaps are so harmful to national security that concerned outsiders such as Secretary of Defense Robert Gates are calling for sharply expanded resources for diplomacy and development assistance. While the Bush administration's final budget requested significant new resources, they should have been sought years earlier. The fact that they were not was due in part to a failure by some senior career officials to insist — if necessary at the point of resignation — that more resources must be requested from Congress.

- To fulfill the desire of their political superiors that Embassy Baghdad be fully staffed regardless of other concerns, senior career officials unnecessarily raised the specter of ordered assignments in the fall of 2007 instead of allowing the normal assignment process to take its course. In so doing, they undermined congressional and public confidence in the Foreign Service by leaving the mistaken impression that employees were refusing to answer the call to duty, despite the fact that the Foreign Service has stepped up every year since 2003 to volunteer for Iraq. The fact that Foreign Service members, including myself, have now volunteered to fill all 2009 vacancies in Iraq proves how unnecessary the earlier ordered assignment threats were.

- Several senior career officers launched a public attack in January against an AFSA survey that showed deep dissatisfaction within the Foreign Service over inadequate resources. Nearly 40 percent of the State Department's active-duty FS personnel participated in the online survey. Despite that high response rate, the senior officers dismissed the survey findings as being non-representative and non-credible. They then lauded the job their political superiors had done in obtaining resources, without mentioning the serious budget and staffing gaps then facing the State Department. In response, one employee noted that great courage must be required for senior officials to "go on the record to say that they love their boss."

These examples show senior officers failing to stand up for the career Service. Instead of speaking up to their political superiors about likely negative consequences of the pending decisions, some officers became compliant yes-men and yes-women. Some crossed the divide between nonpartisan career officials and political appointees by allying themselves with a politically appointed patron. As a result, they reaped personal gains such as obtaining or retaining a plum assignment leading to a pay-grade promotion or performance-pay bonus.

These trends must be arrested. Were it to become accepted practice for career officials to ally themselves with political appointees, then every



change of presidential administration would be accompanied by the kind of wholesale turnover in diplomatic staffing that our nation wisely abandoned more than a century ago. If future political appointees cannot rely on career diplomats for frank advice, then the number of foreign policy failures could increase, due to decisions being made entirely by political appointees who lack the overseas and domestic experience to see potential pitfalls and unintended consequences in new policy initiatives.

Thus, the next president should seek out only those career officials who have the moral courage to provide their best professional advice without regard to prevailing political winds. The next Congress should use its oversight and confirmation powers

to insist on apolitical career officials who live up to their professional responsibilities.

I must stress that some senior career officers in recent years have understood that true loyalty sometimes requires telling bosses that they are wrong. Other senior officers recognized that errors were being made outside of their areas of responsibility, but lacked the standing to attempt to influence events. Others have even quietly taken the personally difficult step of retiring rather than continuing to serve in an environment where they could not effect positive change.

The Foreign Service needs senior career officers who understand their professional responsibility and are willing to act on it. Those who meekly tell their political superiors what

AGREE? DISAGREE?

Let us know if you have comments on this or other columns, articles or letters appearing in the *Journal*. Send us your comments by e-mail to journal@afsa.org or by mail to Editor, *Foreign Service Journal*, 2101 E Street N.W., Washington DC 20037-2990. Letters may be edited for length and style.

they think they want to hear, or mechanically implement directives without first speaking up about likely negative consequences, do a disservice to both their bosses and our nation. ■

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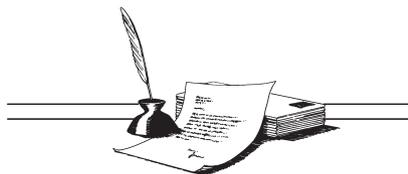
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LETTERS

Fortresses or Embassies?

During a recent visit to Armenia in support of the Future Leaders Exchange Program, I had the opportunity to drive by the new fortress-like facility that is now the American embassy in this historic country. A more intimidating and unwelcoming, yet high-profile, presence is hard to imagine. This surprisingly large facility sits alone on the outskirts of Yerevan surrounded by high walls. Its design warns all who might consider approaching to keep their distance.

Armenians I spoke with who have had the occasion to actually visit the embassy told me that the lengthy physical screening process for entry can be as intimidating as the building itself.

While the formula we have used in Armenia may be understandable from a pure security perspective, I could not help but be troubled by the image of America that this facility creates among the impressionable population of this developing democracy. It cannot be helping to win hearts or minds for us. I also noted that other major embassies in Yerevan, such as those of China and the U.K., have managed to retain accessible locations that do not scare away the locals.

As one who spent a good deal of my career serving behind the former "Iron Curtain" during some of the prime years of the Cold War, I can recall the time when our embassies were a beacon of hope to the peoples of those countries. When planning

our future embassies, we must do a better job finding a balance that will produce facilities that reflect our country's basic values while dealing with the inevitable security concerns. While I realize that Embassy Yerevan is unlikely to be abandoned, perhaps it can provide useful service as an example to be avoided.

Donald Kursch
FSO, retired
Washington, D.C.

Qualifying and the QEP

The June article, "Who Is the 'Total Candidate'?" FSO Hiring Today," discussed new elements of the Foreign Service generalist selection process. The article pleaded for the fairness of one new aspect — the Qualifications Evaluation Panel — that is a new step between the written exam and the oral assessment.

Based on personal experience, I have doubts that the QEP portion is as fair as it might be. I took and passed the written exam in March, but a few weeks later received a letter that said "a review of your file does not allow us to continue your candidacy." I wrote a short note to HR/REE asking if there had been a mistake.

You see, I've been a direct-hire Office Management Specialist for almost five years. I am serving at my third post, Toronto, after full tours in Kabul and Guangzhou. I have a 2/0 in Mandarin Chinese that I earned at FSI in June 2004. I also hold a mas-

ter's degree and served seven years as an active-duty officer in the U.S. Army. I mentioned all these facts in my e-mail to HR.

In return I got an e-mail that was unsatisfying. Parts of the message were addressed to me (it mentioned my already being in the Foreign Service), but the rest was obviously cut-and-pasted with advice on how to pass the QEP next time. Such advice included getting involved with the local immigrant community and eating at their restaurants, the importance of writing a stellar personal narrative, and (most perplexing) seeking out the advice of a Diplomat-in-Residence. Thanks!

I followed up my inquiry with an e-mail to DG-Direct, which elicited an even more unhelpful reply. The gist of it was, "We can't offer you an explanation about why you weren't chosen for the oral examination, but better luck next time."

If continuous overseas service since June 2004, a master's degree, prior service in the U.S. military and my personal narrative are not enough to get a person's foot in the door to the oral assessment, what is? On the other hand, if all of the applicants who passed the written exam are indeed more qualified than I, then the Foreign Service can look forward to a generation of diplomats who have spent several years overseas, have advanced degrees, speak one or more critical languages and can write an outstanding personal narrative when-

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LETTERS

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*Rick Polney
Office Management
Specialist
Consulate General Toronto*

Texas Tuition

I was shocked to find that after a career serving the federal government abroad with the State Department, my children would not be eligible for in-state tuition anywhere in the U.S. Although I'm domiciled in Texas, the Texas residency laws only extended to dependents of the Department of Defense and Public Health Service whose parents are serving outside the state. That didn't seem fair. With three children all scheduled to start college within a three-year period, having no in-state tuition could wipe out our savings.

So I decided to try and get the law changed. I used to run some programs at the Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board, so I lobbied my former colleagues to propose changing the law in the Texas legislature. After several years of waiting for the drawn-out legislative and rules-making process — voila! Here's how it now reads:

"The temporary absence of a person or a dependent's parent from the state for the purpose of service in the U.S. Armed Forces, Public Health Service, Department of Defense or U.S. Department of State, as a result of an employment assignment, or for educational purposes, shall not affect a person's ability to continue to claim that he or she is a domiciliary of this state. The person or the dependent's parent shall provide documentation of the reason for the temporary absence." (Find it at www.theccb.state.tx.us/Rules/tac3.cfm?Chapter_ID=21&Subchapter=X)

It is heartening to see lobbying and

the democratic process work for my benefit for once. I had originally requested the wording be changed to "federal employees" to cover all foreign affairs agencies, but the final wording only extended the benefit to State Department employees.

I suggest that AFSA publish a list of states that grant in-state tuition to dependents of serving foreign affairs employees so other states can be lobbied to grant the same benefit.

*Bob Kirk
Information Management
Specialist
Embassy Berlin*

A Last Request Granted

I was very moved by Lawrence Cohen's June article, "A Lagos Diary: Dying Request for a Kosher Burial." It brought back fond memories of Nina Mba, a dear friend and colleague whom I met during my tour as cultural affairs officer in Lagos from 1984 to 1988. Her voracious love of books often brought her to the USIS library on Broad Street, and I would also run into her on Saturday mornings at the small community library on the Shell Oil compound.

Nina was a distinguished professor of history at the University of Lagos and a pioneer in the field of women's studies in Nigeria. Her two books on Nigerian women will be her important and lasting legacy to a country and people she loved. I'm so pleased that a fellow officer reached out to her family and fulfilled her dying wish for a kosher burial. Such kindness makes me proud to be in the Foreign Service.

*Claudia E. Anyaso
FSO
Director for Public
Diplomacy and
Public Affairs,
Africa Bureau
Washington, D.C. ■*



CYBERNOTES

India-U.S. Nuclear Pact a Done Deal

On Oct. 3, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice was in New Delhi, where she and Indian External Affairs Minister Pranab Mukherjee celebrated completion of the U.S.-India Agreement for Cooperation Concerning Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Energy that was signed into law by President Bush after House and Senate approval.

The new agreement lifts the international sanctions on India, making the country eligible to access nuclear power technology and fuel from the international market for the first time in more than 35 years. New Delhi has never signed the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and maintains an independent nuclear weapons program. But unlike some signatories to the NPT, New Delhi's nonproliferation record is spotless.

Arguably one of the most significant accomplishments of the Bush administration, the pact in effect ends what former Indian External Affairs Minister Jaswant Singh called the "nuclear apartheid regime" and acknowledges India as the world's sixth nuclear power. However, opponents of the agreement, such as the Arms Control Association (www.armscontrol.org), argue that it will prove to be a setback, if not a body blow to nonproliferation efforts.

"I look forward to a new strategic partnership with India that will provide global leadership in the years ahead," Rice said in an Oct. 2 statement. The agreement "reflects a recognition of India's emergence on

We have before us a great [economic] opportunity. We have ample reason to be optimistic. Today's uncertainties will pass. The challenges before us are our creation. Therefore we can solve them, together. By acting wisely and responsibly, we will set the stage for a new era of global prosperity, more widely and equitably shared.

— United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, Speech to the U.N. General Assembly, Sept. 23, www.un.org/apps/news/infocus/speeches/statements_full.asp?statID=322

the global stage," she said, adding that it "will also enhance our global nonproliferation efforts."

"This is part of a transforming world order, which we want to shape to our advantage," Ashley Tellis, a senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, who has been closely involved with the nuclear deal since its inception, explained in a Sept. 28 interview with the *Wall Street Journal* (www.livemint.com/2008/09/28220522/De-facto-not-de-jure--India.html).

The deal was finally completed after years of delay and debate in both New Delhi and Washington — including the near-collapse of the Manmo-

han Singh government when opponents withdrew their support in July. In July, the International Atomic Energy Agency approved India's inspection plan for its civilian reactors. And in September, following intense lobbying and an attempt by China to derail it, the 45-nation Nuclear Suppliers Group waived the ban on India, paving the way for U.S. congressional approval of the deal and opening the way for major business opportunities.

For background, see the Web site of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (www.carnegieendowment.org/) and BBC News (http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/7647689.stm). For a chronology of the twists and turns the deal took, see Reuters (www.alertnet.org/the-news/newsdesk/SP308692.htm). The Arms Control Association has a collection of documents and reports at <http://legacy.armscontrol.org/projects/india/>.

Think-Tanks in the Middle East and North Africa

Of the 214 think-tanks in the 21-nation region of the Middle East and North Africa, nearly half are located in Israel, Egypt and Turkey. But while in Israel and Turkey security-related think-tanks make up 28-30 percent of all such organizations, in Egypt only one out of a total of 23 focuses on security. The most common areas of research for the region's think-tanks are domestic and international economics, trailed slightly by security studies. By contrast, health, education and women's studies do not appear to



be widely covered.

These are some of the findings in “Middle East and North Africa Think-Tanks,” the latest product of the Foreign Policy Research Institute’s Think-Tanks and Civil Societies Program (www.fpri.org/research/thinktanks). The groups were studied over a two-year period through surveys and Web-site analyses that sought to determine their structural orientation, areas of research, research priorities and methods of operation.

This FPRI program aims to harness the vast reservoir of knowledge, information and associational energy that exists in public policy research organizations so that it can support self-sustaining economic, social and political progress.

For the past six years, the program has worked to lay the basis for a collaborative effort to establish regional and international networks of policy institutes and communities that will improve policy-making and strengthen democratic institutions and civil societies around the world.

Look for the program’s “2008 Global Go-To Think-Tanks Report” in the January-February 2009 issue of *Foreign Policy* magazine (www.foreignpolicy.com).

A New Direction for U.S. Relations with the Muslim World

A new report, “Changing Course: A New Direction for U.S. Relations with the Muslim World,” that recommends an overhaul of American strategy toward the Muslim world to reverse the spread of terrorism and extremism is making its way through Congress and political circles in Washington (www.sfcg.org/Programmes/us/us_engagement.html).

Significantly, after 18 months of work, the diverse, nonpartisan group of American leaders who examined the deterioration of relations between

50 Years Ago...

Last year I made quite a lengthy report on the status of the proposed television series on the Foreign Service, which I indicated might actually be on the air in 1958. Unfortunately, there have been many delays. ... The pilot film is only now being produced, in Europe. Then negotiations will begin to sign up a commercial sponsor. In short, we still do not know for sure whether there is to be a series of this kind or not.

Aside from these practical difficulties, there is the continuing problem of reconciling the commercial TV standard of entertainment with a fair picture of what actually goes on in the Foreign Service.

—E. Allan Lightner Jr., Annual Report of AFSA, presented to the association’s general meeting on Oct. 2, 1958; November 1958 *FSJ*



Washington and the Muslim world during the Bush administration concluded that the negative perceptions were generated more by U.S. policies than by Muslim religious or cultural beliefs. If policies shift, perceptions are likely to change, too, the report says.

The U.S.-Muslim Engagement Project was supported by Search for Common Ground (www.sfcg.org) and the Consensus Building Institute (www.cbuilt.org), two organizations that specialize in building consensus on controversial public issues. It included Democrats like former Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright and two former Republican congressmen, Vin Weber and Steve Bartlett, as well as Thomas Dine, a former executive director of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, and Ingrid Mattson, president of the Islamic Society of North America.

The group made four basic recommendations: first, rely on diplomacy as the “primary tool”; second, promote better governance in authoritarian Muslim countries that are American allies, such as Saudi Arabia and Egypt; third, help create jobs and economic development in Muslim countries; and, fourth, foster exchange programs to educate people in the Muslim world about the United States, and vice versa.

The report also calls on the next president to use his inaugural address to signal a shift in approach, immediately renouncing the use of torture and appointing a special envoy within the first three months to jump-start negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians.

Members of Congress and the two presidential campaigns have been briefed on the report, and Senator Richard Lugar, R-Ind., has sent it to his colleagues on the Foreign Relations Committee with a letter saying it contains “constructive recommendations on how we can approach this pressing concern in a bipartisan framework.”

RAND/AAD: A Blueprint for Building U.S. Soft Power

In preparing for possible future military interventions, the U.S. needs to substantially increase resources for the Department of State and U.S. Agency for International Development, and military-civilian efforts must be integrated from top to bottom, according to a new report by a high-level panel of 67 veteran military, Foreign Service, Civil Service and private-sector leaders.

Sponsored by the RAND Corporation, a nonprofit research organization, and the American Academy of Diplomacy, “Integrating Instruments of



Power and Influence: Lessons Learned and Best Practices” was issued on Oct. 2 (www.rand.org/pubs/conf_proceedings/2008/RAND_CF251.pdf). The 79-page comprehensive report defines the problem and presents detailed proposals that — except for the call to increase funding for nonmilitary national security activities — can be implemented without either changing the National Security Act or enacting major legislation.

“These recommendations offer practical guidelines for the nation’s next administration to deal effectively with the kinds of U.S. military interventions — and their aftermath — that have become prevalent,” said Robert Hunter, former U.S. ambassador to NATO, the report’s lead author and a senior adviser at RAND. Hunter adds that the report also serves as a blueprint for implementing proposals made by U.S. Secretary of Defense Robert Gates to create civilian capabilities that are sufficiently robust to help offset the need for military force.

Co-chairing the study with Hunter

were Edward W. Gnehm Jr., a retired FSO and former ambassador who now teaches at the Elliott School of International Affairs at The George Washington University, and General George Joulwan, former commander, U.S. Europe Command and NATO’s 11th Supreme Allied Commander Europe.

Besides calling for Foreign Service positions at State and USAID to be increased well beyond the 1,100 called for in the Bush administration’s FY 09 budget request, the report recommends balancing the skewed 17:1 ratio of military spending to nonmilitary spending for national security. It also recommends delegating spending authority to the field level, requiring that civilians and military officers gain extensive cross-agency experience in one another’s disciplines and radically enhancing training for both military and civilian personnel in foreign cultures, history and languages. ■

This edition of Cybernotes was compiled by Senior Editor Susan Brady Maitra.

Site of the Month: www.whyfiles.org

With interactive fun for kids and resources for teachers (and parents), *The Why Files* explores the science, math and technology underlying the news of the day, and presents these topics in a clear, accessible and accurate manner. Recent posts addressed the facts behind the toxic baby-formula crisis in China, the role of testosterone in the stock market and research on lie detection (How can you tell if a politician is lying?).

Besides a new story each week, there is a biweekly column by science reporter Tom Siegfried, a series of interactive science animations, “Cool Science Images” and a series of Teacher Activity Pages linked to the national science standards. Kids with more questions are directed to the five Web sites that entertain individual questions. The site’s archive is a gold mine, as well.

Based at the University of Wisconsin in Madison, *The Why Files* was launched in 1996 as part of the National Institute for Science Education, with funding from the National Science Foundation. Since 1998, it has been supported through the university’s graduate school. The site has been used by researchers to study Web use and learning in science, and has won numerous awards for excellence in science journalism and achievement in online and broadband motion picture production.

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SPEAKING OUT

It's Time for State to Educate Senior Officers

BY ROBERT B. NEWLIN

Fifty years ago, in September 1958, 16 Foreign Service officers, three colonels from the Army, Air Force and Marine Corps, and a captain from the Navy assembled for the first course of what would become known as the Senior Seminar in Foreign Affairs. The Department of State had followed the example of the Department of Defense in creating the seminar, modeled on the National War College.

Such luminaries as John Foster Dulles and Loy Henderson participated in the decision to create the course for senior Foreign Service officers. Willard Barber was the first director of the program. In addition to senior FSOs and high-ranking armed forces officers, the course grew to include members of other departments and agencies with a direct stake in the formulation and implementation of foreign policy. This increased the average student presence to about 30, half of them from State. Each seminar was conducted for an academic year.

As implied by the name of the course, seminars were the primary academic technique. A stellar list of opinion and policy leaders from a wide range of institutions — universities, think-tanks, Congress, other executive branch departments and the judiciary — presented ideas to the class. Comments were typically not for attribution, in order to spark dialogue. Remarks were always followed by in-depth, often animated discussion.

One of the overarching characteristics of the program from the begin-

The Senior Seminar is unlikely to return, but a new program could revive the best aspects of the original approach.



ning was domestic travel. The purpose was to give participants firsthand experience with the full range of American issues before they went abroad to represent our country in senior positions. The classes met with teachers in classrooms, rode with police officers in inner cities, spent time and did chores with farm families, and talked with civic leaders and local-government officials across the nation. Such trips gave the members exposure to the ideas and experiences of those who would otherwise not be available to speak to the class in the Washington area.

A unique feature of the course was the direct role that the students played in organizing the program. Under the leadership and supervision of a more senior FSO, usually an officer who had served as an ambassador, the students chose the topics that they wanted to explore during the year. They then pursued speakers and arranged the academic schedule, both here in Washington and on the various trips.

Requiring the members to do much of the organizing work kept

staff overhead to a minimum and created opportunities to develop management proficiency. To build executive talents, the course included instruction and practical exercises in such time-proven abilities as negotiating, public speaking, press relations, health and fitness, and personal and embassy security.

Secretary of State George Shultz was a supporter of the Senior Seminar. He characterized it as an adult educational experience, not a training program. He said that education broadens one's horizon and changes attitudes or behaviors; training is the transfer of a skill from one to another. He went on to declare that the Senior Seminar was designed for education, not for training.

While the Senior Seminar was modeled on the National War College, offering travel, world-class speakers, thought-provoking discussions and study, it failed to evolve to meet changing times and needs. So in 2004, State turned its back on the seminar and walked away from long-term professional education for senior Foreign Service officers. In doing so, the department abandoned its role as "first among equals" when it came to educating its officers and others for their place in the development and execution of U.S. foreign policy.

In contrast, two professional military education programs — one American, one Canadian — faced similar challenges and took action to remain relevant in their respective defense establishments. Their examples are instructive.



The National War College

Through the 1950s, the National War College was regarded as offering the premier professional military education program for the United States Department of Defense. The students were carefully selected by their services for their demonstrated potential for continued service at higher grades and in positions of greater responsibility. They were colonels in the Army, Air Force and Marine Corps, and captains from the Navy. As such, they typically had more than 20 years of service, making them eligible to retire. The student body was augmented by members of other executive branch departments, including the Department of State.

The program consisted of exposure to leaders of the Defense Department, the foreign affairs establishment, think-tanks, and academics from respected universities. Additionally, with extra effort, the students received a master's degree in international affairs from The George Washington University. All participants traveled together all over the world, in military aircraft dedicated for their use, visiting allied and non-aligned countries.

In the 1960s, for a combination of reasons, graduates of the National War College began to retire shortly after completing the program. (Remember that most were retirement-eligible when they began the course.) They took their NWC diplomas and GWU master's degrees and parlayed them into second careers, creating a brain drain of these talented officers with no payback for their year of expensive professional education.

Defense officials took action to counter this exodus of gifted officers. First, they lowered the grade of the students to lieutenant colonel in the Army, Air Force and Marine Corps, and commander in the Navy. Second, they ceased the virtually automatic

The Senior Seminar was modeled on the National War College, but unlike that institution, failed to evolve to meet changing times and needs.

master's degree arrangement with GWU. Third, they established a two-year period of obligated service following graduation. And fourth, they reduced the extensive world travel of the course. Other reforms followed in the 1980s and 1990s to increase the academic rigor of the course and to bring it into line with the requirements of the Goldwater-Nichols Act.

Canada's National Defense College

Something similar happened north of the border some years later. In 1946 the Canadian Department of National Defense established a yearlong course similar to the National War College curriculum. Known as the National Defense College and based in Kingston, Ontario, it consisted of Army and Air Force colonels and Navy captains. Allied officers, including Americans, attended regularly. Civil servants and civilians from defense-related industries also took part.

Like the National War College, the NDC had an ambitious international travel program. But over time the program came to be regarded by some senior officials in the Canadian Defense Ministry as elitist, expensive and of poor educational value. In

1994, the course and college were terminated by ministerial fiat.

A few years passed with no professional military education available in Canada for officers above the grades of major and lieutenant commander. Fortunately, new leaders recognized the deficiency and established two new courses for the education of senior officers. The semester-long courses were self-contained but complementary; some officers attended both courses in one academic year.

One course, the Advanced Military Studies Program, prepared selected colonels and naval captains for operational-level command and senior staff assignments within operational-level joint and combined headquarters. The other course, the National Security Studies Program, prepared general and flag officers, selected colonels, naval captains and civilian equivalents for strategic leadership responsibilities in the development, direction and management of national security and defense policy.

As before, American officers and their counterparts from other countries participated in both programs. Both sets of students traveled, but not as much as the National Defense College did: the itinerary was limited to key centers, such as Ottawa, Washington, D.C., New York City (for the United Nations) and Brussels (for NATO).

This high-level program of courses continues to evolve. Originally, the students attended on a temporary-duty basis, leaving empty desks at their duty stations. Naturally, this made it difficult to get senior officers to release talented subordinates to be absent for one or two semesters of professional education. In September the two courses were combined, and students are now assigned on permanent-change-of-station basis. The new, yearlong course is called the National Security Program.

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SPEAKING OUT



What Happened at State?

The Senior Seminar must have met its goals, for it operated for 46 academic-year sessions. Many of the graduates went on to serve as ambassadors, general and flag officers, and members of the Senior Executive Service. The reasons for closing the Seminar were never made clear to those who closely watched it, such as the officers and board members of the Senior Seminar Alumni Association. Various officials gave different explanations. Some said that it was elitist because only about 15 State members attended the course annually. Others said that it was too expensive or that the course involved too much travel. Still others said that it lacked academic rigor or structure. And some said that State was not getting its money's worth out of it because some graduates were retiring shortly after completing the program.

In any case, in 2004 the last Senior Seminar concluded. In its place State conducts several shorter courses on a temporary-duty basis. While these courses may fill a niche, they have one serious shortcoming: the lack of the kind of long-term, relationship-building interaction that the Senior Seminar fostered among senior officers across the executive branch.

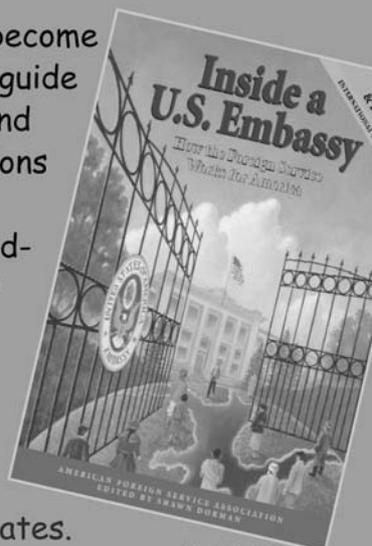
The Senior Seminar as it evolved over five decades is unlikely to return. But as the American and Canadian cases show, it is possible to adapt and reform to meet a need. The best of the original program can be revived and the undesirable can be discarded.

If the old course was elitist, expand the membership. If the old course had too many members who were simply "available for assignment for a year," then establish a thorough selection process to ensure that only officers who have demonstrated exceptional growth potential are sent to the course, thereby making it a desirable assignment. If participants

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SPEAKING OUT



In 2004, State abandoned its role in educating senior officers for their place in the development and execution of U.S. foreign policy.

traveled too much, scale back the trips to only those that directly support the mission of the course. If State graduates retire too soon after the course, impose a service extension requirement. And if the Foreign Service is stretched too thin, ask the armed services for some advice on how to manage the flow of officers for professional education in an era of intense operational commitment.

It is time for the Department of State to assert its responsibility as "first among equals" and establish a new long-term program that draws senior officers from USAID, the Foreign Agricultural and Commercial Services, the armed forces, CIA, Homeland Security and other departments. These are officers who need to learn to work together; to understand each others' cultures, and to appreciate the contribution each makes to the development and execution of foreign policy. ■

Robert B. Newlin, a retired Marine colonel, attended the 32nd Senior Seminar (1989-1990). Among other assignments, he served as the Marine Corps representative to the Canadian Forces College in Toronto (1987-1988) and as the assistant naval attaché in London (1991-1994).

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IN THEIR OWN WRITE



Caryn Suko Smith

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WE ARE PLEASED TO FEATURE OUR ANNUAL
COMPILATION OF RECENTLY PUBLISHED BOOKS
BY FOREIGN SERVICE-AFFILIATED AUTHORS.

The *Foreign Service Journal* is pleased to present our annual Foreign Service authors roundup in plenty of time for holiday orders. Here is an annotated list of some of the volumes written or edited by Foreign Service personnel and family members in 2007 and 2008. The roundup was assembled with the help of Editorial Intern Ariana Austin.

This year's selection contains a strong policy and issues section, a number of high-quality histories, a variety of engaging memoirs, eight works of fiction, four interesting books for children and young adults, an unusual travel book and

two guides on the Foreign Service as a career. As in the past several years, a significant portion of our titles are self-published.

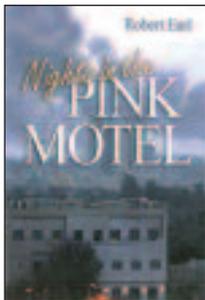
Our primary purpose in compiling this list is to celebrate the wealth of literary talent within the Foreign Service community, giving our readers the opportunity to support colleagues by sampling their wares. Each entry contains full publication data along with a short commentary.

As has become our custom, we also include a list of books "of related interest" that were not written by FS authors.

While many of the books listed here are available from bookstores and other sources, we encourage our readers to use the AFSA Web site's Marketplace to place your orders. We have created a bookstore there with links to the books at Amazon.com (see p. 36). For the few books that cannot be ordered through Amazon, we have provided alternative links and, when the book is not available online, the necessary contact information.

But enough crass commercialism. On to the books!
— Susan Maitra, Senior Editor

Policy and Issues



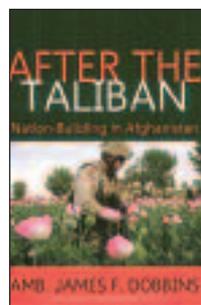
**Nights in the Pink Motel:
An American Strategist's
Pursuit of Peace in Iraq**

Robert Earle, *Naval Institute Press, 2008, \$34.95, hardcover, 288 pages.*

This firsthand account of the 2004-2005 effort to reverse the negative consequences of the U.S.-led occupation of Iraq offers readers a dramatic and comprehensive look at all of the conflicting factors that have made Iraq such an intractable crisis. The first historical account of the post-Coalition Provisional Authority era, *Nights in the Pink Motel* is full of unique details and insights that only an insider could provide.

Retired FSO Robert Earle was recruited as a strategist by John Negroponte, the first U.S. ambassador to Iraq, sent to take over from the CPA in 2004. Earle recounts his experience helping to formulate the comprehensive counterinsurgency strategy issued jointly by Amb. Negroponte and Multinational Force-Iraq Commanding General George Casey and analyzing the evolution of Iraqi politics.

As a Senior FSO with USIA, Robert Earle received AFSA's Christian A. Herter Award for Constructive Dissent in 1992 for outstanding leadership, initiative, creativity and energy in helping to advance U.S.-Mexican relations while minister counselor for public affairs in Mexico City. Following retirement from the Foreign Service, he served as a speechwriter for then-U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. Negroponte and completed his first novel, *The Way Home* (DayBue Publishing, 2003). He interrupted work on his second novel, set in the ancient Middle East, to take up the Iraq assignment.



**After the Taliban:
Nation-Building in Afghanistan**

James F. Dobbins, *Potomac Books, Inc., 2008, \$24.95, hardcover, 192 pages.*

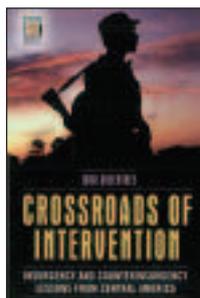
"Anyone who thinks diplomats are soft and diplomacy easy must read Jim Dobbins' account of nation-building in Afghanistan," states former Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage of *After the Taliban*. "Ambassador Dobbins gives a frank exposition of diplomatic achievement as well as lost opportunity. This read may not be pleasant for all, but it is a must."

In October 2001, the Bush administration sent Amb. Dobbins, who had overseen nation-building efforts in Somalia, Haiti, Bosnia and Kosovo to wartorn Afghanistan to help assemble a successor government to the Taliban. In this firsthand account, Dobbins chronicles how the administration reluctantly adjusted to its new role as nation-builder, refused to allow American soldiers to conduct peacekeeping operations, opposed dispatching international troops and short-changed Afghan reconstruction. He also probes the relationship between the Afghan and Iraqi ventures, demonstrating how each damaged the other.

Written by one of America's most experienced troubleshooters, this book reveals how government really works, how diplomacy is actually conducted and, most important, why the U.S. has failed to stabilize either Afghanistan or Iraq.

James F. Dobbins is a retired FSO and former assistant secretary of State for Europe, who also served as special assistant to the president for the Western Hemisphere, special adviser to the president and Secretary of State for the Balkans, and ambassador to the European Community. He was the Clinton admin-

istration's special envoy for Somalia, Haiti, Bosnia and Kosovo. He currently directs the International Security and Defense Policy Center at the RAND Corporation.



Crossroads of Intervention: Insurgency and Counterinsurgency Lessons from Central America

Todd Greentree, Praeger Security International, 2008, \$49.95, hardcover, 196 pages.

Central America was Todd Greentree's "first heart of darkness," when he was assigned to the region as a young Foreign Service officer in 1981. He was often uneasy in his role, he says, having discovered "what [T.E.] Lawrence meant when he wrote in *Seven Pillars of Wisdom* about hitching the horses of evil to the chariot of good." In this excellent study of the complex motives that drive irregular warfare, he provides a conceptual framework for understanding insurgency, counterinsurgency, revolution and intervention.

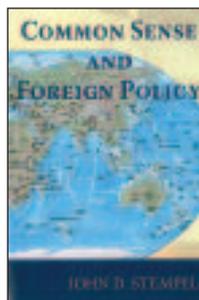
In the 1980s, Central American countries found themselves the sites of insurgency and superpower competition. Greentree examines the origins, strategic dynamics and termination of these conflicts from the points of view of the main players: the United States, the Soviet Union, Cuba, El Salvador and Nicaragua. Reflecting on the conflicts in Central America as a bridge between Vietnam and the current situation in Iraq, Greentree offers a fresh perspective on the historical lessons critical to America's future approach to irregular warfare.

During his 25-year career in the Foreign Service, Todd Greentree's personal experience with the political and military dimensions of irregular conflict extended from Central America to Angola. He is currently a visiting scholar at The Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies and teaches national security studies and international politics at the University of New Mexico. He is a former professor of strategy and policy at the U.S. Naval War College.

Common Sense and Foreign Policy

John D. Stempel, The Clark Group, 2008, paperback, 197 pages.

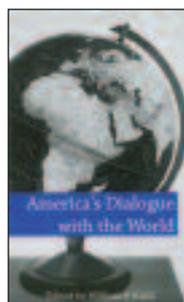
In *Common Sense and Foreign Policy*, the author brings his half-century of experience in the world of international politics and foreign relations — as a



diplomat, naval officer in Vietnam and a professor at the University of Kentucky — to bear on the question of "how to understand foreign policy and participate effectively to improve the public decisions that will determine how we shall live with the rest of the world."

Appearing on the cusp of a new administration in Washington, when the U.S. confronts a plethora of international crises and problems, this volume should find a wide audience. A kind of primer on foreign affairs, it is written in a straightforward manner that is highly readable. It addresses six foreign policy issues: the problem of American primacy, the problem of intelligence, the problem of religion and diplomacy, the problem of terrorism and insurgency, Iran, and the problem of the foreign affairs establishment's organization. The book has an extensive bibliography and helpful glossary.

A career FSO (1965-1988), John Stempel spent four tumultuous years as deputy chief of the political section of Embassy Tehran from 1975 to 1979. He is currently a senior professor of international relations and former director of the University of Kentucky's Patterson School of Diplomacy and International Commerce. To purchase the book, contact The Clark Group at 1 (800) 944-3995.



America's Dialogue with the World

Edited by William P. Kiehl, 2nd edition, Public Diplomacy Council, 2006, \$19.95, paperback, 211 pages.

This collection of 11 essays was born out of the Public Diplomacy Council's 2005 forum on ways America can engage and communicate with the world. William Kiehl has assembled some of America's top experts on public diplomacy to contribute to a discussion of the substance of communication between America and other nations and the ways in which that dialogue transpires.

In the first half of the book, addressing the "substance of the dialogue," John Hughes explores the message of liberty as the "underpinning" of our public diplomacy, while Amb. Anthony Quinton argues that we should refocus the ways we talk about the main tenet of American rhetoric, freedom. In the second

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half, the “nature of the dialogue,” Alice Stone Ilichman discusses the role of competitive fellowships such as Fulbright or Marshall, and Sherry Lee Mueller discusses professional exchanges and citizen diplomacy. Other chapters explore the role of the arts, the Peace Corps and new media, among many other dimensions of public diplomacy.

Kiehl has assembled a remarkable anthology with some of the most innovative ideas available on this urgent topic. What is America’s message to the world and how does it translate? These are important questions in critical times.

William Kiehl is president and CEO of PD Worldwide, consultants in global public affairs, public relations and cross-cultural communications. During a 33-year career in the Foreign Service he served as principal deputy assistant secretary in State’s Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, as acting deputy associate director of USIA and in numerous public diplomacy positions at home and overseas. He retired in 2003.



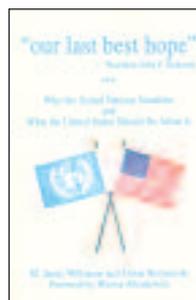
**Global Intentions Local Results:
How Colleges Can Create
International Communities**

*William P. Kiehl, CreateSpace,
2008, \$19.95, paperback,
272 pages.*

Internationalization is one of the most important issues in American higher education today. It is not exactly a new issue, as successive American presidents from Harry S Truman to George W. Bush have raised the banner of campus internationalization and the vital need for American society to better understand the world. Thanks to economic globalization, the electronic communications boom, the rise of international terrorism and the complexities of the post-Cold War world, however, the issue has taken on new urgency in recent years.

In this timely book, William Kiehl examines the internationalization efforts of three relatively small, nonurban, nonresearch institutions in Pennsylvania — Dickinson College in Carlisle, Elizabethtown College in Elizabethtown and Gettysburg College in Gettysburg — and the influence of these efforts on the communities in which they are located. Each case study is presented, along with analysis and conclusions; and, in the last chapter, recommendations for action are discussed that could be generalized to other institutions.

William Kiehl is a retired FSO (see listing above). This work is the fruit of a study the author conducted for his doctoral dissertation at the University of Pennsylvania’s Graduate School of Education.



**Our Last Best Hope:
Why the United Nations Stumbles
and What the United States
Should Do About It**

*M. James Wilkinson and
Alison Broinowski, iUniverse,
2007, \$16.95, paperback,
196 pages.*

Inspired by John F. Kennedy’s 1961 inaugural address, when he declared that the United Nations is “our last best hope in an age where the instruments of war have far outpaced the instruments of peace,” the authors maintain that the United Nations is still the “best international framework to deal with today’s global challenges,” despite its many significant faults. Further, they argue that Washington, recently distracted with war and elections, must be the cornerstone of an effort to make the U.N. once again a formidable presence.

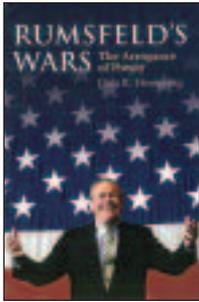
The book examines the organization’s faults and offers recommendations on how the U.S. should support its far-reaching goals. The authors outline the initial purpose of the U.N. and its role in war avoidance, reaffirming human rights and promoting social progress. “This book will sharpen our thoughts on the uses and misuses of the U.N. and where it fits into Washington’s policies,” Morton Abramowitz, senior fellow at The Century Foundation, promises in the foreword.

M. James Wilkinson served as deputy U.S. representative on the Security Council with the rank of ambassador. Since retiring from the Foreign Service, he has been active in civic organizations and writing on international affairs. Dr. Alison Broinowski, formerly an Australian diplomat at the United Nations, teaches graduate students at Macquarie University and heads a research project on Asian/Australian fiction at the University of Wollongong. Her latest book is *Allied and Addicted* (Scribe Publications Pty Ltd., 2009).

Rumsfeld’s Wars: The Arrogance of Power

*Dale R. Herspring, University Press of Kansas,
2008, \$34.95, hardcover, 288 pages.*

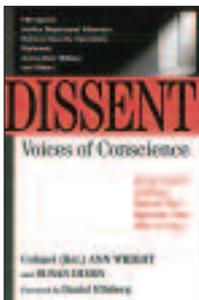
As a lifelong Republican and political conservative, Dale Herspring voted for the Bush administration in



2000 and 2004. But he grew increasingly skeptical of the mixed motives behind the invasion of Iraq — especially the supposed tie between Saddam Hussein and Osama bin Laden, which he found elusive at best and highly “manufactured” at worst. In this work, he provides a nonpartisan assessment of Donald Rumsfeld’s tenure as secretary of Defense from 2001 to 2006, his involvement in shaping the Iraq war and his impact on the U.S. military establishment.

Herspring highlights the relationship between Rumsfeld and the senior military leadership, and his relationship with other high-ranking officials, notably Paul Wolfowitz and Douglas Feith — who, he argues, manipulated intelligence in order to implement their own policies and often ignored military advice. His analysis of Rumsfeld’s actions, from abolishing the Iraqi army to refusing to see the value of a counterinsurgency plan, substantiate his thesis that the Defense Secretary’s “domineering leadership style and his trademark arrogance undermined his vision for both military transformation and Iraq.” The book is a significant addition to the growing literature on the complex failures of the invasion of Iraq.

Dale R. Herspring, a retired Foreign Service officer, 32-year veteran of the Navy and member of the Council on Foreign Relations, is University Distinguished Professor at Kansas State University and the author of *The Pentagon and the Presidency: Civil-Military Relations from FDR to George W. Bush* (University Press of Kansas, 2006), among many other books.



Dissent: Voices of Conscience

Colonel (Ret.) Ann Wright and Susan Dixon, Koa Books, 2008, \$17.95, paperback, 296 pages.

This book, with a foreword by Daniel Ellsberg, is a significant and timely reminder of the role dissent plays in a thriving democracy.

In December 2001, co-author Ann Wright volunteered to be part of the team that reopened the U.S. embassy in Afghanistan. Six months later she was deputy chief of mission in Mongolia, but continued to

follow the developments in Afghanistan closely. As the U.S. invasion of Iraq loomed closer, Wright became the third FSO to submit her resignation from the U.S. Foreign Service to Secretary of State Colin Powell.

Ann Wright and Susan Dixon, a scholar, tell the stories of the several dozen men and women who “risked careers, reputations and even freedom out of loyalty to the law and their fellow citizens.” These brave dissenters include Lieutenant General (Ret.) Brent Scowcroft, who early on cautioned against the war on Iraq and Katherine Gun, a 28-year-old translator for the British Government Communications Headquarters who leaked a secret e-mail revealing U.S. eavesdropping on U.N. Security Council members. Many more, from government insiders to active-duty military personnel spoke out, resigned, leaked documents or refused to deploy in defiance of a U.S. policy they deemed illegal.

Ann Wright was educated at the University of Arkansas and the U.S. Naval War College. She spent 13 years in the U.S. Army and another 16 years in the Army Reserves. She joined the Foreign Service in 1987 and served as DCM in Sierra Leone, Micronesia, Afghanistan and Mongolia. Susan Dixon was educated at Trinity College in Hartford and the University of Hawaii, where she is currently a doctoral candidate. She teaches the geography of peace and war as well as a course on political activism and nonviolence.



The Next Phase of Jihad: A War with Islamic Narco-Terrorists

Rafael Fermoselle, Trafford, 2007, \$21.95, paperback, 268 pages.

Following the historical pattern of other terrorist groups, members of the al-Qaida network stand a very good chance of undergoing a metamorphosis from Islamic insurgents to gangsters, writes Rafael Fermoselle in a book that probes the future of the organization responsible for the events of 9/11. Just about every insurgency since World War II, regardless of political views, has engaged in criminal activity as a means of fundraising, and, as is now well known, drug trafficking has been one of the most lucrative of these criminal enterprises.

There is no reason to believe that members of al-Qaida will not follow this pattern, the author argues.

He predicts that the next phase of the fundamentalist jihad could well be fought in the back alleys of Western Europe and North America, between gangsters and members and former members of al-Qaida over turf.

Retired FSO Rafael Fermoselle was born in Havana and paroled into the United States as a political refugee in 1962 at the age of 16. Until recently, he has worked as a contractor for the Department of Defense. He is the author of *It's a Jungle Out There! Memoir of a Spook* (Trafford Publishing, 2006).



Why American Foreign Policy Fails: Unsafe at Home and Despised Abroad

Dennis C. Jett, Palgrave Macmillan, 2008, \$79.95, hardcover, 197 pages.

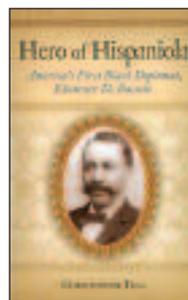
"Why American Foreign Policy Fails is a bracing read," says Anne-Marie Slaughter, dean of Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs.

"But the overall message is simple: American foreign policy has become completely captive to American domestic politics, without regard for either the national interest or majority public opinion. Although many readers will find things to disagree with in this book, it is hard to avoid the force of Ambassador Jett's argument or the imperative to do something about it."

The end of the Cold War, globalization and political partisanship have combined to create a dysfunctional policy process in Washington, Dennis Jett argues. This is a systemic problem, he adds, and, unless tackled, will persist no matter which political party wins the election. In this book, he explores the changes that have occurred and the way American foreign policy is actually made, examines the roles of the primary actors, and assesses the potential for improvement.

Retired FSO Dennis Jett served as ambassador to Peru and Mozambique. His 28-year diplomatic career included service on the National Security Council and assignments in Argentina, Israel, Malawi and Liberia. Ambassador Jett is currently a professor of international affairs at Pennsylvania State University in University Park, Pa. Prior to that, he was dean of the International Center at the University of Florida in Gainesville, Fla. Amb. Jett is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and the author of *Why Peacekeeping Fails* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2001).

History



Hero of Hispaniola: America's First Black Diplomat, Ebenezer D. Bassett

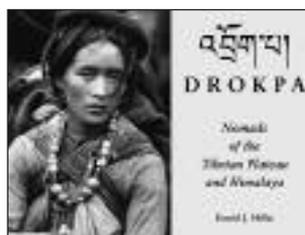
Christopher Teal, Praeger Publishers, 2008, \$39.95, hardcover, 206 pages.

America's first African-American diplomat, Ebenezer D. Bassett, was appointed ambassador to

"Hayti" in 1869 and served there with distinction during eight years of violent political turmoil. His work, writes author Christopher Teal in the first chapter of this book, forever altered U.S. foreign policy: "For the first time, a nation founded on the principle that 'all men are created equal' would have as the president's foreign representative someone who had previously been less than equal under the law. This movement toward equality and democratization of international affairs would be neither quick nor perfect. But it proved to be a force that was impossible to turn back."

Yet by the end of his life, Ebenezer Bassett had been all but forgotten by history. Teal rights this wrong, assembling the details of this pioneering individual's life and groundbreaking work in an engaging and insightful narrative. This first biography of Ebenezer Bassett not only celebrates his life but sheds light on an important chapter of American diplomatic history.

FSO Christopher Teal has served for a decade on assignments in Latin America and Washington, D.C. He is the co-author, with journalist Juan Williams, of the award-winning biography *Thurgood Marshall: American Revolutionary* (Three Rivers Press, 2000).



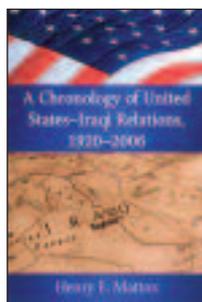
Drokpa: Nomads of the Tibetan Plateau and Himalaya

Daniel Miller, Vajra Publications, 2008, \$25.00, hardcover, 133 pages.

Drokpa: Nomads of the Tibetan Plateau and Himalaya, with 108 evocative black and white photographs and insightful text, is a stunning portrait of Tibetan nomads. Known in the Tibetan language as drokpa (high-pasture people), an estimated two million Tibetan-speaking nomads are spread over a vast area of the Tibetan Plateau and Himalayan region in Bhutan, China, India and Nepal. Yet we know very little about them.

The dropka evoke freedom. Their world cherishes mobility and the liberty to roam in search of grass and water. Constantly exposed to the elements of nature — rain, snowstorms and drought — they take these events for granted and face them with remarkable equanimity. The values of courage, integrity and generosity that we admire are principles instinctive to nomads. They also have an intimate knowledge of their environment and an amazing ability to handle animals, a skill rare among most people today.

For 30 years, Daniel Miller has worked with nomads in Bhutan, Nepal and the Tibetan areas of China, taking photographs to document his research, work and journeys. A rangeland ecologist and pastoral development specialist who first started working with Tibetan nomads in Nepal as a Peace Corps Volunteer in 1974, Miller joined USAID in 2003 as an agriculture officer. He was posted to Afghanistan from 2004 to 2006, and is now serving in New Delhi. Published in Nepal, the book is available online at www.vajra-books.com.np.



A Chronology of United States-Iraqi Relations, 1920-2006

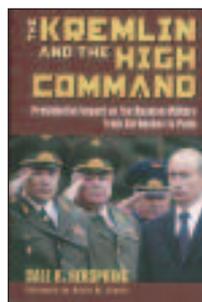
Henry E. Mattox, McFarland Publishing, 2008, \$39.95, paperback, 200 pages.

Today the fates of Iraq and the United States are dramatically intertwined, but this was not always the case. As Henry Mattox asserts in his well researched chronology, “with few other countries have U.S. relations been so completely transformed during the period under review ... from nearly non-existent interaction to a point where relations constitute a central concern of America officialdom.”

Mattox offers his readers an extensive chronological overview of the political, economic and diplomatic relations between the two countries from 1920 to 2006. Beginning with the United States’ recognition of the importance of Iraq’s oil supply in 1920, the volume goes on to explore significant events and interaction between the two countries in subsequent decades: Iraqi coups and counter coups, the U.S. response to the Iraqi invasions of Iran and Kuwait, Gulf War participation and the current war in Iraq, ending with the execution of Saddam Hussein in 2006. Of obvious interest to both historians and political scientists, it provides a basic understanding of the relationship between the two

countries over the course of the 20th century — timely information the American public would do well to know.

Henry E. Mattox, a retired Foreign Service officer, earned a Ph.D. in American history at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. He was a co-founder of the webzine *American Diplomacy* (<http://www.unc.edu/depts/diplomat/>), serving as editor from 1996 to 2007. He is also the author of *Chronology of World Terrorism, 1901-2001* (McFarland & Company, 2004), and lives in Chapel Hill.



The Kremlin and the High Command: Presidential Impact on the Russian Military from Gorbachev to Putin

Dale R. Herspring, University Press of Kansas, 2006, \$34.95, hardcover, 242 pages.

Dale Herspring has observed the Russian armed forces for many years, as a scholar penning articles, a diplomat interacting with various levels of government and as an officer in the U.S. Navy, where he saw the hardships Russian soldiers faced. He gained considerable respect for those who served in its ranks and continued to monitor their role as Russian presidential leadership shifted with the disintegration of the Soviet Union.

In this volume he examines the Russian military under the leadership of Presidents Mikhail Gorbachev, Boris Yeltsin and Vladimir Putin. He argues that the Soviet army became the weakest link in the Soviet power structure, a demoralized military force facing crisis in Afghanistan, struggling to escape the Cold War paradigm and plagued by increased corruption. This fresh and compelling look at Russian leadership is the most complete analysis available on the subject.

Dale R. Herspring is a retired Foreign Service officer. See p. 21 for his biographical sketch.



At the Elbows of My Elders: One Family's Journey Toward Civil Rights

Gail Milissa Grant, University of Missouri Press, 2008, \$24.95, hardcover, 272 pages.

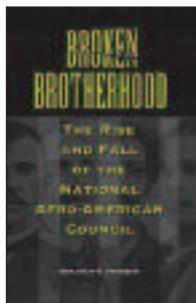
“Social history at its finest” is what David Levering Lewis, a New York University professor of history and two-time winner of the Pulitzer Prize for biography, calls this memoir by the daughter of a

Missouri lawyer and civil rights activist.

The Grant family is emblematic of the many black middle-class and blue-collar families throughout the country who, beginning at the turn of the 20th century, went to school, paid their dues and forced America to face its prejudices. Fighting segregation in their local communities for decades, through courageous acts in day-to-day life, they built the foundation for the more publicized civil rights crusade to follow.

St. Louis, where the author grew up, was still in the grip of Jim Crow laws that divided blacks from whites in virtually every sphere. She recounts the battles fought by her father, details how her family built a prosperous life and describes the challenges she herself faced in navigating her way through institutions marked by racial prejudice.

Gail Milissa Grant is a retired FSO with USIA. A former assistant professor of art and architectural history at Howard University, Ms. Grant managed international cultural and educational exchange programs during a more than 20-year career overseas. She is now a writer and public speaker based in Rome.



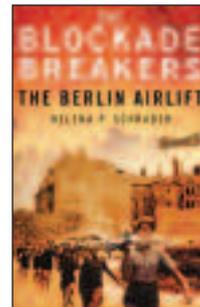
**Broken Brotherhood:
The Rise and Fall of the
National Afro-American Council**
*Benjamin R. Justesen, Southern
Illinois University Press, 2008,
\$35.00, paperback, 304 pages.*

The first nationwide civil rights organization, the National Afro-American Council, was established in 1898 by a small group of influential African-American leaders including journalist T. Thomas Fortune, African Methodist Episcopal Zion Bishop Alexander Walters, educator Booker T. Washington and Representative George H. White, R.-N.C. Its story, told in lively detail by Benjamin Justesen in *Broken Brotherhood*, is a vital part of post-Reconstruction political history.

The council brought national attention to such critical issues as lynching, disenfranchisement and racial discrimination. One of its major projects was a Louisiana lawsuit, one of the earliest court tests of the constitutionality of voter disenfranchisement laws across the southern United States. Though the organization was disbanded after only a decade, its members and associates constituted a "Who's Who" of African-American intellectuals, politicians, religious leaders and journalists, many of whom would go on to distinguished careers in the newly formed National Urban

League and National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

A former FSO, Justesen is also the author of *George Henry White: An Even Chance in the Race of Life* (Louisiana State University Press, 2001), the first biography of this African-American pioneer. He later compiled and edited a volume of White's speeches and writing, *In His Own Words: The Writings, Speeches and Letters of George Henry White*, (iUniverse, 2004).



**The Blockade Breakers:
The Berlin Airlift**

*Helena P. Schrader, The History
Press, 2008, \$34.95, hardcover,
320 pages.*

On June 24, 1948, the Soviet Union abruptly closed all access to the Western sectors of Berlin, cutting off more than two million civilians who were dependent on the surrounding territory and the West for food, fuel and other basics. The Allies had a choice: they could withdraw and hand over the entire city to the Soviet Union, or they could try to supply the city by air.

No airlift of this dimension had ever been attempted before, and there were serious technical, political and military obstacles to its implementation. The complicated relationship between the Berliners and the Western Allies added more uncertainty. Against the advice of senior military commanders, the political leadership in London and Washington insisted it be done.

In this book, the author, who lived in Berlin for 20 years, focuses on the terrific logistical challenges and the complexity of the relationship between the Allies and the Berliners. A wealth of firsthand accounts capture the excitement and tension of the undertaking.

A historian specializing in ancient Sparta, the medieval era and World War II, Helena P. Schrader joined the Foreign Service in 2005. After serving in Oslo, she is currently posted in Lagos. Her study of British and American female pilots in World War II, *Sisters in Arms* (Pen & Sword Books Ltd.), and a historical novel based on their experience, *The Lady in the Spitfire* (iUniverse), were published in 2006. Two more historical novels on World War II, *Chasing the Wind* (see p. 35) and *An Obsolete Honor: A Story of the German Resistance to Hitler* (see p. 36), were published in the past year. She is also the author of three historical novels set in ancient Sparta, *The Olympic Charioteer* (iUniverse, 2005), *Are They Singing in*

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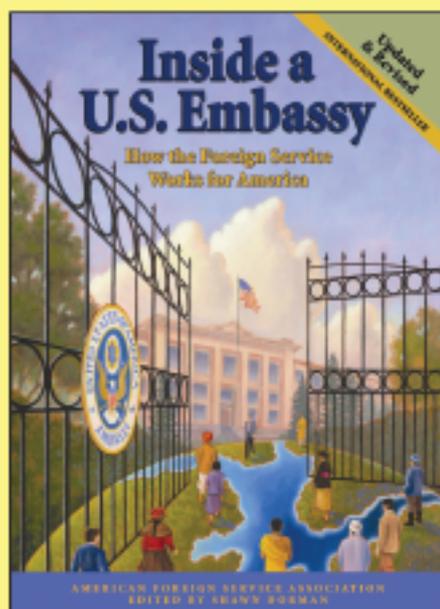
Published in 2003, and updated in 2005, the book has sold more than 66,000 copies. It is a must-read for anyone considering a Foreign Service career, and has been adopted for more than 35 university foreign affairs courses. Military institutions and embassies purchase hundreds of copies a year.

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Sparta? (iUniverse, 2006) and *Spartan Slave, Spartan Queen: A Tale of Four Women in Sparta*, published this year (see p. 35).



**Hell's Angels Newsletter:
The Final Six Years —
A World War II
Retrospective**

Eddie Deerfield, *Rose Printing Co*, 2007, \$50.00, hardcover, 560 pages.

With this volume, *Hell's Angels Newsletters: A World War II Retrospective*, Eddie Deerfield makes a new contribution to the annals of military history. It is a follow-up to *Hell's Angels Newsletter Silver Anniversary Collection — A World War II Retrospective*, published in 2002, and completes the collection.

This volume covers the 303rd Bomb Group's role in World War II from 1942 to 1945. From aerial combat missions, escapes and evasions to prisoners of war, the collection is a fascinating memorial to a significant moment in U.S. military history. Of the 900-copy print run, 750 were presented as gifts to 303rd Bomb Group veterans or purchased by family members. The remaining copies were donated to universities and colleges, U.S. Air Force bases and military museums, among other institutions.

Deerfield was awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross, the Air Medal with three Oak Leaf Clusters and the Purple Heart for his service in the U.S. Army Air Corps, where he flew 30 combat missions over Europe during World War II as a B17 radio operator/gunner in the 303rd Bomb Group.

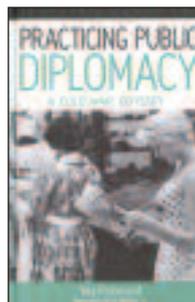
A retired FSO with USIA, Eddie Deerfield was president of the 303rd Bomb Group Association. During his more than 20-year diplomatic career, he served in India, Pakistan, Canada, Malawi, Uganda and Nigeria. He retired in 1988. He is a former chairman of the Florida Chapter of the Foreign Service Retirees Association.

Memoirs

Practicing Public Diplomacy: A Cold War Odyssey

Yale Richmond, *Berghahn Books*, 2008, \$29.95, hardcover, 190 pages.

As a young intern fresh out of Syracuse University, Yale Richmond arrived in Berlin in August 1947 and



began an international affairs career that would span three decades and take him into the trenches of the Cold War. This informative memoir is focused on public diplomacy strategy in several communist countries. The author outlines the work he was involved in and witnessed, from running exchange programs in Germany and producing a Lao-language edition of USIA's monthly photo magazine in Vientiane to opening an American library in Poland and assessing the effect of rock 'n' roll in Moscow.

Part history, part memoir, the book takes readers into the heart of key Cold War hot spots and demonstrates the power of public diplomacy. "The author was involved in this subject more directly and over a longer period of time than any other U.S. government official," says Wilson Dizard, who wrote *Inventing Public Diplomacy*. That is a fitting credential for this engaging "Cold War odyssey" whose message is still pertinent today as anti-American sentiment rises. (See the July-August *FSJ* for a full review.)

Yale Richmond is a retired FSO who practiced cultural diplomacy for 30 years, including postings abroad in Germany, Laos, Poland, Austria and the Soviet Union. A specialist in intercultural communication, his books have been translated and published in China and Korea. This book is part of the ADST-DACOR Diplomats and Diplomacy series.



The Making of a Pacific Citizen

Hugh L. Burluson II, *AuthorHouse*, 2007, \$17.00, paperback, 421 pages.

By the time Hugh Burluson began working at USIA in 1960, he already spoke and read Japanese, had a Japanese wife and a Japanese car, and had lived in Japan for five years — prompting the personnel officer processing his application to ask, "Do you really know which country you represent?" In fact, Burluson spent his entire career representing the U.S., but always being oriented toward Asia. Here he takes readers along on his journey in cross-cultural living.

This lively memoir traces Burluson's life from a young, small-town California boyhood to a long career in U.S.-Asian relations that sent him to Japan, Vietnam,

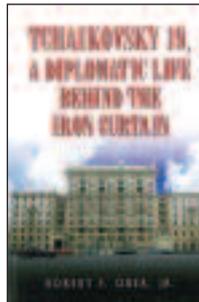
Korea and India. He was drafted and trained for the invasion of Japan, but with the war over he was assigned to the Japanese Occupation. He married a Japanese woman but found himself on the "wrong" side of the Oriental Exclusion laws. Through his work and experiences in Asia, the memoir offers valuable insight into cross-cultural exchanges, public diplomacy, the failures of U.S. immigration laws and interracial marriage. He also explains how to make use of Foreign Service skills during retirement.

Hugh L. Burleson II was educated at the University of California at Berkeley and had a 31-year Foreign Service career with the U.S. Information Agency. In retirement, he and his wife continue their journey by working in nonprofits with global interests, staying informed with frequent visits to Asia, and translating Japanese articles.

Tchaikovsky 19, A Diplomatic Life Behind the Iron Curtain

Robert F. Ober Jr, Xlibris, 2008, \$23.99, paperback, 480 pages.

Robert Ober's book succeeds on several levels: as a



memoir, Cold War history and meditation on the role of language in current Foreign Service policy.

As the book's title suggests, the author, who entered the Foreign Service in 1961, worked at the American embassy on Tchaikovsky Street in Moscow for seven years, on three different assignments, between 1972 and 1987. He shares experiences from his personal life and diplomatic career, giving an insider's view of Cold War policy and drawing attention to key issues currently affecting the Foreign Service.

Readers will discover the failures of Kissinger's policy of détente in the early 1970s, the mistaken departure from Carter's balanced policy toward China and the USSR, and the near-collapse of the embassy due to intelligence failures. The author also describes how he fared personally behind the Iron Curtain, cultivating friendships in the face of communist surveillance and dealing with politics as he and his family performed their everyday routines. Of particularly timely concern



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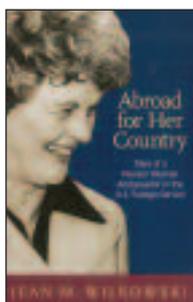
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is his discussion of the decline of U.S. governmental support for expertise in the language, culture and history of specific regions, a problem revealed by the shortage of Arabic-speaking diplomats today.

During his 26-year diplomatic career, Robert Ober specialized in communist affairs, and negotiated with the Russians in Kabul and Prague. He also served in Athens, Delhi, Hamburg, Warsaw and Washington, D.C., and was a senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations. Before retiring, he was president of the International College in Beirut.



**Abroad for Her Country:
Tales of a Pioneer Woman
Ambassador in the U.S.
Foreign Service**

Jean M. Wilkowski,
Notre Dame Press, 2008,
\$30.00, hardcover,
400 pages.

In 1972 Jean Wilkowski got a call from Washington asking if she'd like to go to Zambia — as ambassador. In this memoir, she takes readers through her pioneering, 35-year career in the Foreign Service and her exceptional rise from a young graduate of Saint Mary-of-the-Woods College (when few women were seeking professional careers) to vice consul, to the first female U.S. ambassador to Africa and the first female ambassador to Latin America.

At age 20 she was sent to Trinidad during World War II, when the State Department took even "4-Fs and women." For many years she specialized in U.S. trade and investment interests in Paris, Milan, Rome, Santiago and Geneva. Wilkowski served during a revolution in Bogota, attacks on the U.S. embassy in Tegucigalpa, and the war between El Salvador and Honduras. In 1977 she went to work for the United Nations and retired in 1980.

Wilkowski recalls memorable visits from Louis Armstrong and his band in Milan, where she never saw an audience "more gone mad," the local street riots during the revolution in Bogota, and her decision not to marry a dashing young Marine and leave the Foreign Service. Her professional insights into each post, combined with her frank personal reflections on being a female diplomat, make for an engaging and important read.

Jean M. Wilkowski entered the U.S. Foreign Service in 1944 and served in assignments to nine

countries on three continents before retiring in 1980. She has received six honorary degrees and is the only woman to receive the Foreign Service Cup from the Diplomatic and Consular Officers, Retired. Her book is part of the ADST-DACOR Diplomats and Diplomacy series.



**Nona: A Different
Kind of Motherhood**

Ellen Boneparth, iUniverse,
2007, \$14.95, paperback,
148 pages.

This little gem of a memoir, written by a former FSO and academic who made the decision not to have her own children, is an insightful tribute to motherhood in its many manifestations.

While in Greece as a young scholar, Ellen Boneparth befriended the wife of her landlord, and became the "Nona," or godparent, to her daughter Katerina. As the landlord's wife explained, she wanted her child to have an example of a strong, independent woman.

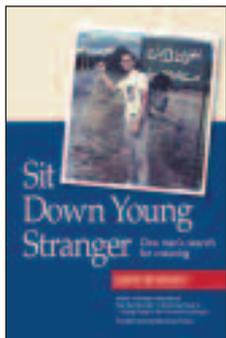
Boneparth describes her relationship with Katerina over the years as it intertwined with her own career trajectory, current events and her personal biography. After leaving Greece when Katerina was 5, the author — now in her 50s — reconnects with her goddaughter at age 15, and they form a loving relationship. Katerina visits and travels with the author and her husband; they guide her through university life in California and support her in graduate school. For Katerina, it meant first trips abroad, educational opportunities and parental advice; Boneparth worried about being too protective, hoped for the best for her surrogate daughter, and provided a loving home away from home.

Ellen Boneparth wrote *Nona* at home in California and in her adopted home of Lesbos, Greece. She is the author of two novels — *Tatiana* (AuthorHouse, 2008) and *Days of Atonement* (iUniverse, 2005) — that are also set in Greece, where she has lived and worked off and on for more than 25 years.

Sit Down Young Stranger

John Graham, Packard Books, 2008, \$26.00,
hardcover, 276 pages.

What is the path to a meaningful life? How does one find the courage and skill to walk it? This is the story of one life — and of the challenges facing every person.



John Graham shipped out on a freighter when he was 16 years old, took part in the first ascent of Mt. McKinley's North Face (Wickersham Wall) at 20, and hitchhiked around the world at age 22, covering every war he found along the way as a stringer for the *Boston Globe*. With the Foreign Service, he was in the midst of the revolution in Libya and the war in Vietnam. Adventure was everything, each brush with death whetting his appetite for more.

Then, as the author describes it, things changed, sometimes slowly, sometimes dramatically — such as during one tragic night at the height of a battle in Vietnam — and he began to question the road he was on. After leaving the Foreign Service in 1980, he has been involved in peacebuilding initiatives and, since 1983, has been a leader of the Giraffe Heroes Project (www.giraffe.org), an international nonprofit organization moving people to stick their necks out for the common good.

A Foreign Service officer from 1965 to 1980, John Graham served in Liberia, Libya, South Vietnam, Washington, D.C., and at the U.S. mission to the U.N. He is now president of the Giraffe Heroes Project and the author of *Stick Your Neck Out: A Street-Smart Guide to Making a Difference in Your Community and Beyond* (Berrett Koehler, 2006). His articles on current events appear in major publications and on the Internet. His memoir can be ordered online at <http://johngrahamspeaker.org/sit-down-young-stranger.html>.



A Great Adventure: Thirty Years in Diplomatic Service

Carroll Russell Sherer,
Stinehour Press, 2007, \$20.00,
paperback, 148 pages.

In this highly readable memoir, Carroll Sherer shares her experiences as the wife of a diplomat and ambassador over the course of 30 years. From their first post in Morocco, the newly married couple

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embarked on a notable career trajectory. Sherer's husband, Albert, eventually rose to the rank of ambassador and served in that capacity in Togo, Guinea and Czechoslovakia.

Sherer offers readers an insider's view from the consular courts of international Tangier to the ambassadorial mansions and secret police of Cold War Eastern Europe, and from the State Department to the United Nations. In sharing her global adventures, she has provided an enjoyable account of a life spent around the world.

Carroll Russell Sherer was born in Chicago and graduated from the University of Chicago. She joined the Cadet Nursing Corps in 1942 and worked as a nurse until October 1944, when she married FSO Albert W. Sherer Jr. She now resides in Greenwich, Conn., surrounded by three generations of descendants.



**Drinking from the Saucer:
A Memoir**

*Charline C. Duline,
AuthorHouse, 2008, \$15.49,
paperback, 316 pages.*

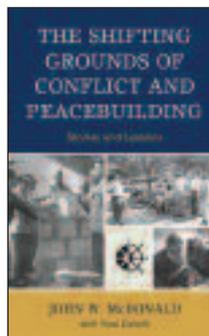
This book's title comes from a poem by John Paul Moore: "As I go along my journey I've reaped more than I've sowed. I'm drinking from the saucer 'cause my cup has overflowed."

From troubled beginnings in Indiana to traveling the world as a representative of the United States government, Duline has had rich experiences and shares them here with a warm, pithy and informed voice. Duline, an African-American woman, began as a Peace Corps Volunteer in Peru, became a United Nations secretary in New York and East Pakistan, and then joined the Foreign Service, serving in Haiti, Tanzania, Liberia, Swaziland, Panama and Washington, D.C.

She wrote speeches and toasts for ambassadors, met heads of state and hosted dignitaries including Ambassador Andrew Young and Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere. Her memoir includes her insights on the various countries, and her experiences in the Foreign Service as a black woman — including how, though sometimes deeply opposed to U.S. foreign policy (e.g., Reagan's "constructive engagement" in South Africa), she upheld it — and how she was treated by locals in African countries and her fellow Foreign Service officers.

Duline currently resides in Indianapolis. She is a graduate of Indiana University and the Johns Hopkins

University's School of International Studies. She was among the first Peace Corps Volunteers.



**The Shifting Grounds of
Conflict and Peacebuilding:
Stories and Lessons**

*John W. McDonald, with
Noa Zanolli, Lexington Books,
2008, \$80.00, hardcover,
362 pages.*

"Ambassador John W. McDonald is widely credited as a founding father of the emerging

field of multi-track diplomacy, which shared responsibility for a radical drop in the level of political violence globally over the last 20 years," says John Davies of the Center for International Development and Conflict Management at the University of Maryland. "This book reveals the extraordinary details of a 60-year career that serves as a shining example of what can be accomplished through multi-track diplomacy."

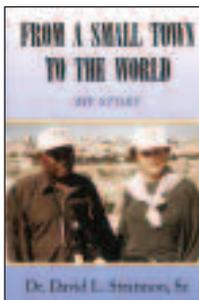
The Shifting Grounds of Conflict and Peacebuilding contains the professional life lessons of Amb. McDonald and offers his insight into international issues, providing frank and informed discussion on the environment, women's rights, the global water crisis, sustainable resources, international development and, above all, peace. Beginning his career in international diplomacy in post-World War II Berlin, Amb. McDonald worked with the U.S. government and the United Nations, as well as with various academic institutions and NGOs, for 40 years.

Amb. John W. McDonald is a lawyer, diplomat, former international civil servant, development expert, peacebuilder, and the co-founder and chairman of the Institute for Multi-Track Diplomacy in Washington, D.C., which focuses on national and international ethnic conflicts. Noa V. Zanolli is an educator, cultural anthropologist and mediator. She has held positions in the Swiss government, the Agency for Development and Cooperation, and was the director of education and research at the Iowa Peace Institute.

From A Small Town to the World: My Story

*David L. Stratmon Sr., Xlibris, 2008, \$19.99,
paperback, 196 pages.*

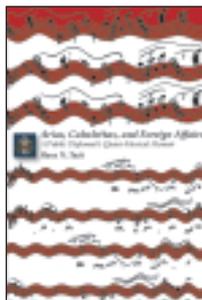
On April 15, 1970, several thousand demonstrators stormed Embassy Amman, then marched across the city to set a fire that severely damaged the library and offices of the U.S. Information Service. David L.



Stratmon, director of the American Cultural Center located within that building, had been at a meeting at the embassy. Returning to the cultural center, he negotiated entry with the al-Fatah leader and searched the building for American personnel, exiting in time to escape the bombing.

This incident is just one of many episodes in David Stratmon's journey from the poverty of a remote corner of North Carolina to a long and successful diplomatic career, building an international family along the way. It is a remarkable and thought-provoking story.

After a two-year assignment with the U.S. Public Health Service in Liberia, Dr. Stratmon joined the Foreign Service in 1956, accepting an offer from the U.S. Information Agency that allowed him to be in the Gold Coast, as Ghana was then known, when independence from Great Britain was celebrated in 1957. His assignments included Ghana, Lebanon, Morocco, Chad, Congo, Jordan, France, Tunisia and Washington, D.C. He retired in 1975.



Arias, Cabalettas, and Foreign Affairs: A Public Diplomat's Quasi-Musical Memoir

Hans N. Tuch, New Academia/Vellum Books, 2008, \$22.00, paperback, 225 pages.

A lifelong lover of opera and classical music, Hans N. "Tom" Tuch served for 35 years in the

Foreign Service, retiring in 1985 as a career minister. This unusual memoir recalls his devoted engagement with music, especially opera, in the context of that career.

Tuch's love of opera began in 1938 in Berlin, where he witnessed Herbert von Karajan's first appearance as conductor at the Berlin Staatsoper. In 1950s Europe, he enjoyed performances by eminent conductors such as Furtwangler, Walter, Bohm, Szell and Barbirolli, as well as outstanding vocal artists like Schwarzkopf, Callas, Flagstadt, Ferrier, Seefried and Fischer-Dieskau. He escorted the Boston Symphony on its 1952 European trip, and the New York Philharmonic in 1959 and the New York City Ballet

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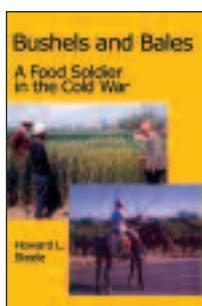
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in 1962 on their Soviet tours. Tuch writes about his friendship with Georg Solti in the 1950s, his attendance at great music festivals in Salzburg, Florence and Bayreuth, and many operatic productions and concert performances.

In the early 1960s, Hans Tuch served as an assistant to U.S. Information Agency Director Edward R. Murrow and, later, as deputy director of the Voice of America. In retirement, he has been an adjunct professor at Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service and at the University of Missouri at Kansas City. His book is part of the ADST Memoirs and Occasional Papers Series.



**Bushels and Bales:
A Food Soldier in the
Cold War**

*Howard L. Steele, Vellum,
2008, \$28.00, paperback,
416 pages.*

Take one Pennsylvania-born, university-trained development economist, mix with the people, problems and opportunities of 43 countries, stir in a variety of U.S. government programs, and you can learn a lot. Howard Steele certainly did, as he recounts in this lively memoir.

Readers will accompany Steele as he survives gun-toting Bolivian revolutionaries, Viet Cong mortar and rifle fire, deadly anarchy in Sri Lanka, a shakedown by Tanzanian police, Taiwanese cockroaches the size of kittens and sheep's-eye stew in Saudi Arabia. He tells it as it happened, with no partisan spin — just authentic, on-the-scene detail. Poverty and prosperity, fear and fun, mistakes, corruption, incompetence, language and cultural glitches and development successes — all are here.

The author provides insight and perspective for students of international development, travel buffs, and those seeking a firsthand account of the joys and disappointments of a life overseas. Present and former practitioners from USAID and the Department of Agriculture should also find this book of interest.

Howard L. Steele served from 1971 to 1997 as a development economist with the Foreign Agricultural Service and its predecessor agencies for 34 years. He has written widely on economics, agriculture and biography, and is fluent in Spanish and Portuguese. This book is part of the ADST Memoirs and Occasional Papers series.



Dreams and Other True Tales

*Anna Maria Malkoç,
Bookstand Publishing,
2008, \$15.95, paperback,
192 pages.*

Following her retirement from the Foreign Service in 1990, Anna Maria Malkoç joined a group of volunteer English teachers from Baltimore on a visit to their sister city in southern China, Xiamen. The story of this “hot, humid, highly educational and truly fabulous” experience is recounted in this memoir, along with a variety of tales from the author's past that focus on the mysterious and sometimes strange coincidences, epiphanies, dreams and twists of fate that life offers. There are stories from the U.S., Turkey, Poland, Germany and Japan that took place from the 1870s to 2007.

Many of these well-crafted stories are accompanied by commentaries that explain their context in the history of the author's life and family. Most of the stories are personal observations, episodes and vignettes from her own travels, but some are from other family members and friends. Her effort to retrace her ancestors' journey in “Dreams, Parts I-III,” is particularly interesting.

Anna Maria Malkoç was an English teaching officer with USIA from 1975 to 1990, serving in Washington, D.C., Ankara and Warsaw. Following her retirement from the Foreign Service, she taught American studies in a Japanese women's branch college in Spokane, Wash., wrote several English as a Second Language textbooks, and retired again in 2000. She is the author of *A Bed of Roses: An American Woman's Memoirs from Turkey* (Bookstandpublishing, 2005). Her books can be ordered online at www.ebookstand.com/category.php.



**Farewell, My Beijing: The Long
Journey from China to Tucson**

*Chi Newman, Wheatmark, 2008,
\$14.95, paperback, 160 pages.*

This unusual story, told with grace and candor, recounts Chi Newman's odyssey from Beijing to Tucson. The privileged daughter of a cosmopolitan Chinese government official in pre-revolutionary Beijing, at age 13 Chi and her twin sister were abruptly thrust out into the world on their own. To escape the communists, they were summarily dispatched to an aunt in

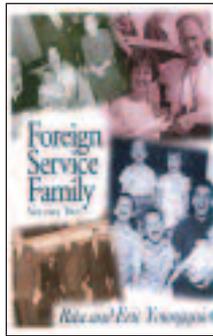
Nanjing who took them to Taipei. Living there with their older sister and her husband, they would finish their education and proceed to find work and build their lives.

Chi Newman recounts her early experiences in Taipei and Athens, when she and her sister "overcame our fears and managed to survive with our dignity intact," as she puts it. She describes her life around the world with her husband, FSO Richard Newman, and their family. After retiring from the Foreign Service in 1978, her husband spent an additional period working for the World Health Organization in Guatemala, Barbados and Washington, D.C., and the author also tells the harrowing experience of his kidnapping by Guatemalan terrorists during this time.

Chi Newman lives with her husband in Tucson, Ariz., where she pursues her passions for tennis, bridge, art and cooking.

Foreign Service Family, Vol. II: Finland 1958–1962

*Harriet Prince Parrish Youngquist and
Eric V. Youngquist, Voyageur Publishing Co.,
Inc., 2008, \$23.00, paperback, 486 pages.*



This is the second chapter in the government career of Rita and Eric Youngquist, which begins at the end of 1957 when FSO Youngquist arrived in Helsinki. As in the first volume, the story of their family's experience is told largely through excerpts from the late Rita Youngquist's many letters to her parents. As at their previous posting, she was active in entertaining and other representational activities, in addition to running a play-reading group, helping the children with their studies, and organizing family travels in Europe and Scandinavia. Her letters reflect her broad engagement and activity.

Eric Youngquist served in Bangkok from 1955 to 1957, first as vice consul, then as a commercial officer in the economic section, and later in the political section dealing with Southeast Asia Treaty Organization affairs. From 1958 to 1962, he was an economic officer in Helsinki.

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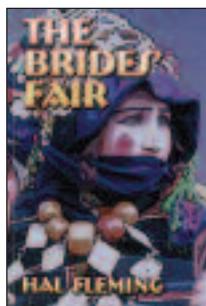
The Common Bond

Donigan Merritt,
Other Press, 2008, \$14.95,
paperback, 384 pages.

This latest novel by Donigan Merritt — “one of those too-little-known writers who deserve a wider audience,” according to *Booklist* — is a heart-wrenching plunge into the scattered remains of novelist-fisherman Morgan Carey's life after the sudden death of his wife. Returning to his beloved Hawaii to confront his grief and guilt and work through the haunting memories of the past, he must find a basis for moving on.

Says *Publishers Weekly*: “Merritt crafts a thorough emotional examination of a couple who spend their lives side by side while managing to remain unknown to one another.” *Kirkus Reviews* adds: “The shadow of Hemingway looms over the style, and even aspects of the plot and setting, of the narrative ... an engaging journey through passion and redemption.”

Donigan Merritt, the spouse of FSO and American Corners Coordinator Holly Murten, is a graduate of the Iowa Writer's Workshop. He is the author of six previous novels, among them *Possessed by Shadows* (Other Press, 2005), *My Sister's Keeper* (Coward, McCann & Geoghegan, 1983) and *One Easy Piece* (Coward, McCann & Geoghegan, 1981). Now resident in Washington, D.C., he has lived in Hawaii, Slovakia and Germany.



The Bride's Fair

Hal Fleming, PublishAmerica,
2008, \$19.95, paperback,
212 pages.

Among the Ait Hadidou Berbers, deep in the Mid Atlas Mountains of Morocco, there is a traditional three-day exchange or selling of sheep, tea, sugar, mules and men. It's called “The Bride's Fair,” because young virgin brides circle suitable mates and choose for themselves. Older, married women can also return to the fair to divorce and select a new husband.

In this novel of international intrigue, Americans, mountain Berbers, Moroccan Arabs and a rebel group all converge on the festival. The mystery cen-

ters on a possible act of terrorism and contains various subplots, including many efforts to halt the terrorist act, a young bride's struggle to escape an arranged marriage, American love interests, the efforts of local officials to contain the disaster, and the obstacles faced by the terrorist group bent on disrupting the fair. Disaster is averted at the last minute by a startling revelation. The story unfolds steadily, moved along by the author's authentic insights into both the diplomatic community and Islamic history.

A retired FSO, Hal Fleming has served as a senior official with the Peace Corps, in Morocco with USAID and at the U.S. Mission to the United Nations. From 1994 to 1997 he was a deputy assistant secretary of State for international organizations. Now a resident of Great Falls, Va., he previously lived for 10 years in Africa.



Margarita's Husband: A Fable of the Levant

Andriana Ierodiaconou,
Armida Publications, 2007,
\$13.50, paperback, 163 pages.

Set during the early 20th century in a small imaginary British colony “somewhere” in the Levant, this debut novel wrestles with Cypriot themes of revolt and political unrest between the Muslim and Christian populations.

Homer Kyroleon, a wealthy Christian landowner, womanizer and political figure, is married to the magical, docile Margarita, who has the ability to communicate with animals. When his only daughter dies, Kyroleon is forever changed. He becomes infatuated with a young refugee girl and declines an opportunity to disrupt a planned Muslim-Christian uprising against colonial rule that could undermine his own economic position. On the night of the uprising forbidden love, political revolution and physical injury all collide.

Andriana Ierodiaconou, the wife of retired Senior FSO Alan Berlind, was born in Cyprus and grew up bilingual in English and Greek. She is a graduate of St. Hugh's College, Oxford. A former freelance foreign correspondent in Athens for the *Financial Times of London* and other media, her work has appeared in literary magazines in Cyprus and internationally. She lives in France with her family and writes full-time. Her novel can be purchased by e-mail from bookshop@moufflon.com.cy.



Chasing the Wind
Helena P. Schrader,
iUniverse, 2007, \$30.95,
paperback, 634 pages.

This Battle of Britain novel weaves together the stories of an Auxiliary Air Force fighter squadron, a career RAF pilot from Training Command, a Luftwaffe fighter pilot and a member of the Luftwaffe's women's auxiliary. The stress of battle reveals the strengths and weakness of the participants as their fates become entwined.

The book is action-packed from beginning to end. Its gripping story is based on exhaustive research, making it possible to convey what World War II was like not only for the men and women serving in the military, but for the ordinary citizens on both sides who struggled to go on with their lives.

Chasing the Wind was awarded first prize in the global category of the 2007 Reader Views Literary Awards, established to honor writers who are self-published or have published their books with a university press, independent book publisher, or small press that

serves North American readers.

For Helena P. Schrader's biographical information, see p. 24.



Spartan Slave, Spartan Queen:
A Tale of Four Women in Sparta
Helena P. Schrader,
iUniverse, 2007, \$18.95,
paperback, 318 pages.

Set in ancient Sparta during the Second Messenian War, this is the story of two women, one beautiful and the other ugly, who are both captured and enslaved in the same raid. It is the story of how they react to their new situation and about the role of nature and beauty in human relations.

This work is part of the author's series of historical novels set in ancient Sparta, and it builds on characters introduced in its predecessor, *Are They Singing in Sparta?* Though each novel is distinct and complete in itself, they complement each other well. While one focuses more on war and politics and the other leans toward romance, they both immerse the reader in the

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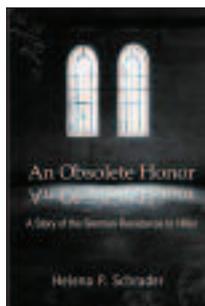
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historical details of the period. The book took second place in the category of historical fiction in the 2007 Reader Views Literary Awards.

For Helena P. Schrader's biographical information, see p. 24.



An Obsolete Honor: A Story of the German Resistance to Hitler

Helena P. Schrader, AuthorHouse, 2008, \$28.95, paperback, 567 pages.

Set in Germany during the Second World War, this novel traces the gradual transformation of a loyal — albeit critical — German General Staff officer into a traitor and potential assassin. Secondary characters in the novel reflect the great diversity of feelings toward National Socialism from idealistic enthusiasm and self-interested support to cautious approval and humanitarian opposition.

In unfolding her story, the author probes the central moral dilemma of the Resistance: that its members had

to be traitors to their country to do what their conscience demanded. Rejecting the typical stereotypes and the presumption that resistance was self-evident and easy, she reconstructs the Nazi period and depicts those who lived through it in a compelling way that forces readers to come to grips with its universal lessons. The work is grounded in extensive research, including interviews with German officers and others, carried out during the author's more than 20-year residence in Berlin.

For Helena P. Schrader's biographical data, see p. 24.



A Huge Happy Pageant

Francis Xavier Cunningham, Vantage Press, 2008, \$12.95, paperback, 176 pages.

Here is a collection of short stories and essays chronicling the daily lives of the Irish residents of Brooklyn and other parts of the world. The stories try to achieve an accurate portrayal of the Irish-Catholic family, supplanting the stereotype the author describes as “being

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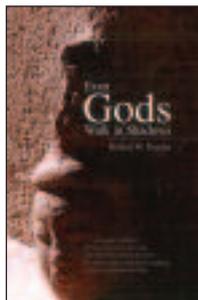
brainwashed by Catholicism and dominated by the clergy." Writing with insight and affection, Frances Xavier Cunningham highlights unique moments in the lives of these New Yorkers, members of an oppressed and religious group finding themselves an ocean away from their roots.

The author views this work as "a grandchild of James Joyce's *Dubliners*." Where Joyce found his inspiration in turn-of-the-century Dublin, Cunningham primarily explores the lives of American Irish in Brooklyn later in the 20th century. Written over the last 40 years, the stories are a mix of fact and fiction.

Francis Cunningham was born in Brooklyn, N.Y., and is a graduate of Brooklyn College. He is a chemist, rocket scientist and former FSO who had overseas assignments in Brussels, Manila and Cairo, and domestic assignments at the State Department in Washington and at NASA. He lives in Northern Virginia.

Even Gods Walk in Shadows

Robert W. Proctor, Xlibris, 2008, \$19.99, paperback, 126 pages.



This collection of 22 short stories by Robert Proctor includes six based in Laos and others based on the author's experiences in Nepal, Sri Lanka, Lebanon, Zaire, India and Santa Fe.

Although some of the stories are distinctly lighthearted, many are infused with issues of violence and the darker nature of mankind as the author experienced these things in war and civil strife in many parts of the world during his diplomatic career. In all of the writing — whether explicitly or as an underlying, basically unspoken message — the author conveys his conviction that one must examine every contour, every edge, every excrescence of the horrors of darkness and conflict to be able to truly appreciate enlightenment and compassion.

A retired USIA Foreign Service officer, Robert Proctor served in Nepal, Laos, Lebanon, Zaire, India and Sri Lanka. Before joining the Foreign Service, he

Continued on p. 41

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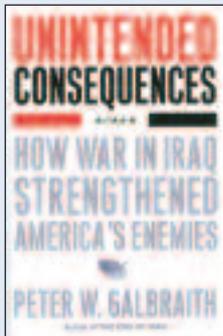
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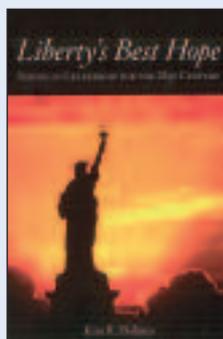


Unintended Consequences: How War in Iraq Strengthened America's Enemies

Peter W. Galbraith, Simon and Schuster, 2008, \$23.00, hardcover, 203 pages.

Peter Galbraith, the first U.S. ambassador to Croatia, has been described by *New York Times* columnist David Brooks as the “smartest and most devastating” critic of President George W. Bush’s Iraq policies. “In this angry and passionate book, Peter Galbraith lays out the disastrous consequences of the Bush years,” says Richard Holbrooke, former U.S. ambassador to the United Nations. “The next president will inherit the mess; let’s hope he absorbs the lessons of Galbraith’s work, and acts on them.”

Galbraith is also the author of the bestselling *The End of Iraq: How American Incompetence Created a War Without End* (Simon & Schuster, 2006). He is currently the senior diplomatic fellow at the Center for Arms Control and Non-Proliferation and a contributor to *The New York Review of Books*. He lives in Vermont.



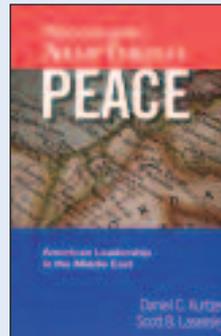
Liberty's Best Hope: American Leadership for the 21st Century

Kim Holmes, The Heritage Foundation, 2008, \$12.95, paperback, 192 pages.

“Dr. Holmes offers an insightful, and on some occasions an uncomfortable, analysis of American foreign policy, and he provides a sharp and informed blueprint to guide future decisionmakers,” is how former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher describes this book. Holmes argues for a return to principled, conservative American leadership, making the case that America still remains “liberty’s best hope” around the world.

Kim Holmes has been vice president of foreign and defense policy studies at The Heritage Foundation and director of its Kathryn and Shelby Cullom Davis Institute for International Studies since 1992, with the exception of a three-year break from 2005 to 2008 when

he served as assistant secretary of State for international organization affairs.

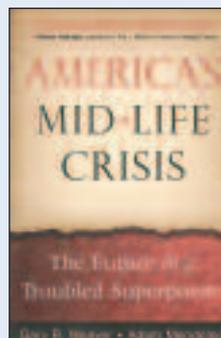


Negotiating Arab- Israeli Peace

Daniel C. Kurtzer and Scott B. Lasensky, 2008, \$16.50, paperback, 210 pages.

In the fall of 2006 the authors formed The United States Institute of Peace’s Study Group on Arab-Israeli Peacemaking, which they co-direct, bringing together some of America’s most experienced authorities in the field to explore how the U.S. can aid in the peace process. The group’s timely report offers an interest-based framework for America’s role in the peace process, provides an assessment of post-Cold War U.S. diplomacy, sets forth 10 lessons learned over the course of this process and, finally, presents a set of recommendations for future administrations.

Daniel C. Kurtzer is a retired FSO and former ambassador to Israel and Egypt, who currently holds the S. Daniel Abraham Chair at Princeton University’s Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs. Scott B. Lasensky is a senior research associate and Middle East expert at the United States Institute of Peace.

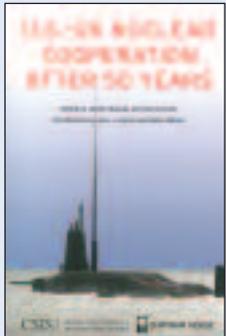


America's Midlife Crisis: The Future of a Troubled Superpower

Gary R. Weaver and Adam Mendelson, Intercultural Press, 2008, \$24.95, paperback, 262 pages.

“*America’s Midlife Crisis* is a provocative, thoughtful book offering a multifaceted and compelling understanding of America at the dawn of the new century,” says Wendy Chamberlin, former ambassador to Pakistan and Laos and currently president of the Middle East Institute. “This book is essential reading for anyone — within or beyond America’s borders — who is trying to understand the country’s foreign policy and the culture behind it.”

Gary Weaver is founder and executive director of the Intercultural Management Institute in Washington, D.C., and has been a member of the faculty of the School of International Service at American University for four decades. Adam Mendelson is managing editor of *The Middle East Journal* and served on the Editorial Review Board of *Intercultural Management Quarterly*.

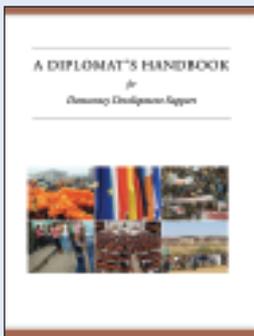


U.S.-UK Nuclear Cooperation after 50 Years

Jenifer Mackby and Paul Cornish, editors, The CSIS Press, 2008, \$29.95, paperback, 410 pages.

As Britain and the United States commemorate five decades of the special nuclear relationship embodied in the 1958 Mutual Defense Agreement, two leading research institutes — one on each side of the Atlantic — have collaborated to examine that history. The Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, D.C., and the Royal Institute of International Affairs, Chatham House, in London, drew on senior officials, scientists, academics and members of industry involved in the implementation of the MDA over the years. Contributors were asked how the relationship flourished despite serious obstacles and where it might be heading. The resulting collection of histories, analyses and anecdotes is a valuable resource.

Jenifer Mackby is a fellow in the International Security Program at CSIS in Washington, D.C. Paul Cornish is head of the International Security Programme at Chatham House in London.



A Diplomat's Handbook for Democracy Development Support

Jeremy Kinsman, Council for a Community of Democracies, 2008, \$15.00, paperback, 129 pages.

This "toolbox" for practicing diplomats, now being presented continent-by-continent through a series of conferences, is a project of the Council for a Community for Democracies. CCD is an

international organization launched in 2000 by the U.S., Poland and six other co-convening states, along with civil society groups, to promote international collaboration in advancing democracy.

A wide variety of case studies of specific country experiences is at the core of the handbook. The handbook is the focal point of a worldwide process of training and engaging diplomats in democracy-building, including seeking reactions and feedback from the field, all of which is documented at the book's Web site.

Led by former Canadian diplomat Jeremy Kinsman, the project is financed by the governments of Canada, the U.S., India and Lithuania, among others, as well as by nongovernmental organizations such as Freedom House and the International Center of Non-Violent Conflict. Available in full online at www.diplomats-handbook.org/, the book can also be purchased in print by e-mailing silva@ccd21.org.



Living with Stalin's Ghost: A Fulbright Memoir of Moscow and the New Russia

Bruce C. Daniels, Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 2008, \$19.95, paperback, 150 pages.

Part political commentary, part journalism and part comparative history, this memoir will entertain readers and give them a new understanding of post-Communist Russia.

As the Fulbright chair at Moscow State University, Bruce C. Daniels had a privileged position at Russia's most distinguished university, and he drew upon his training, experience and interest to capture the texture of daily life in Moscow a decade after one of the most remarkable transformations in history. For a full review, see the September *FSJ*.

Bruce C. Daniels is the Gilbert M. Denman Endowed Professor of American History at the University of Texas at San Antonio.

Thanks for Listening: High Adventures in Journalism and Diplomacy

Patricia Gates Lynch, with a foreword by Justice Sandra Day O'Connor, Countinghouse Press, Inc., 2008, \$29.95, hardcover, 390 pages.

"This is a story full of life, of people, of a woman who

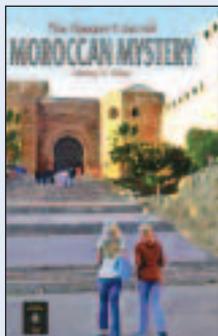
OF RELATED INTEREST



created a splendid career for herself at a time when women were seldom heard as broadcasters. This story is a reaffirmation of the progress of women in this country over the past 50 years," says Justice Sandra Day O'Connor in her foreword to *Thanks for Listening*.

Patricia Gates Lynch recounts her remarkable journey from Army bases in the U.S. and Europe as a military wife, to the postwar U.S. radio arena, to worldwide prominence as a host on the popular Voice of America "Breakfast Show," to an assignment with First Lady Patricia Nixon and, finally, as President Ronald Reagan's ambassador to Madagascar and the Comoros Islands.

Ms. Lynch lives in suburban Washington, D.C.



Moroccan Mystery

Nancy V. Riley, *iUniverse*, 2008, \$11.95, paperback, 130 pages.

Moroccan Mystery is the first book in Nancy Riley's "Passport Series," designed for young readers aged 8-12. The series focuses on learning about world religions and cultures through the exciting adventures of two

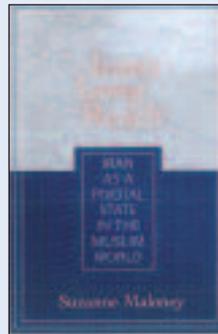
sisters, Aili and Julia Turner. In this book, young readers will learn about Islam, Moroccan culture and the trade in endangered animal products as they accompany the girls on their quest to solve a mystery in "the land of the setting sun." A Web site for readers offers an interactive bonus (www.thepassportseries.com/).

Nancy Riley, the wife of U.S. Ambassador to Morocco Tom Riley, is a former tax attorney and the mother of two girls who are the inspirations for the Passport Series.

Iran's Long Reach: Iran as a Pivotal State in the Muslim World

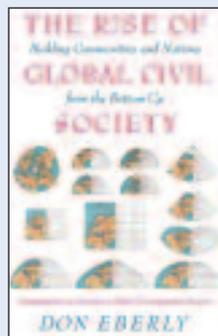
Suzanne Maloney, *U.S. Institute of Peace Press*, 2008, \$14.95, paperback, 145 pages.

Although its leadership and rhetoric often appear



stagnant, Iran is in reality one of the least static societies in the Muslim world, Suzanne Maloney argues in this lucid and timely volume. Maloney systematically outlines Iran's sources of influence in the Muslim world and the social, economic and regional forces that are driving it toward change. She concludes that despite constraints, the U.S. must ultimately engage Iran on a range of issues. Insightful and balanced, this volume presents a realistic, precise and objective assessment of Iran for policymakers and the interested public.

Suzanne Maloney is a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution's Saban Center for Middle East Policy. She is a former member of the State Department's Policy Planning Staff.



The Rise of Global Civil Society: Building Nations from the Ground Up

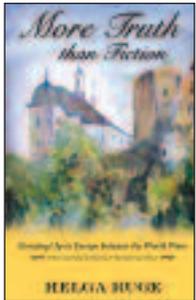
Don Eberly, *Encounter Books*, 2008, \$27.95, hardcover, 300 pages.

Compassion is America's most consequential export, argues Don Eberly in this new book surveying the rise of civil society around the world. Once the distinctive characteristic of American democracy, philanthropy, volunteerism, public-private partnerships and social entrepreneurship are spreading across the globe. This trend is the seedbed for long-term cultivation of democratic norms. According to Eberly, the key to meeting development challenges in the future will be to harness the best of both the public and the private sector to experiment with approaches that rely on markets and on civil society, and that engage the poor as partners.

Don Eberly is a former White House adviser with more than 25 years of combined experience in public policy and government service. He has served in senior positions at USAID and the State Department, including a term as a senior adviser in Baghdad.

Continued from p. 37

was a Peace Corps Volunteer botany professor in Nepal and a high school social sciences teacher in Laos in the 1960s. He lives with his India-born wife, Etrennes, in La Luz, N.M., and is also the author of a book of poetry, *Dark Thoughts* (Mesilla Valley Press, 2007).



**More Truth than Fiction:
Growing Up in Europe
Between the World Wars**

*Helga Ruge, Clay & Marshall
Publishing, 2008, \$11.95,
paperback, 262 pages.*

After Germany was roundly defeated in the bloody First World War, the immense loss of life and land, and the continuing hunger and demoralization of her people, bode ill for the country's future. Yet life goes on, one day at a time, and children are born and somehow thrive. Against this backdrop, the Heimbach family story unfolds. Peter and Lisa Heimbach struggle to make ends meet and, despite long job-related separations and relocations, they slowly succeed. Their two daughters grow up during the historical shift that marks the rise of the extremist movements that ultimately change the fate of Germany and the world.

Writing in novel form, Helga Ruge brings to life the tensions of the time by recreating remembered exchanges, experiences and emotions of her own family. Readers are not only afforded a glimpse into the author's childhood, but a view of the historical events and cultural milestones of early 20th-century Europe.

Helga Ruge was born in Wiesbaden, Germany, but spent temporary periods living in Soviet Russia, Berlin and Romania during her youth. In 1949, she married FSO Neil Ruge in Palermo, Sicily, and accompanied him to posts in Casablanca, London, Cardiff, Munich, Guatemala City and Washington, D.C. She lives in Chico, Calif., and is the author of a *Flashbacks of a Diplomat's Wife* (Clay & Marshall, 2002) and *Whither the Promised Land* (Clay & Marshall, 2005).

Books for Children and Young Adults

A Rumor of Dragons

*Michael Heald, M.D., Lulu Press, 2008, \$19.95,
paperback, 396 pages.*

Michael Heald, a former engineer and currently a



physician, combines his two professions in this debut novel for young adults. Always fascinated by the physical laws that govern our world and that create bits of wonder all around us, he intertwines the physical and the magical in this novel for the teenage reader.

Marc Courtenay, the protagonist, is a prince born without hands who is aided by a dwarf dragon who cannot fly. When his kingdom falls to a traitor, Courtenay must flee for his life and, in the process, is forced to choose between individual momentary pleasure or sacrifice for the good of others. Along the way he grows into manhood and discovers that even a handless prince can change the course of history.

"There is a gritty bleakness to this world; and the characters are not the glossy, superhuman heroes of traditional fantasy, but flawed and insecure souls, with all the issues and baggage we have and more. ... It brings a gripping and unique perspective to the fantasy genre," says Stephanie Johannesen in *Odyssey Reviews*.

Michael Heald currently serves as regional medical officer in Buenos Aires, where he lives with his wife and two teenage children.



Three Little Kids and the State Department

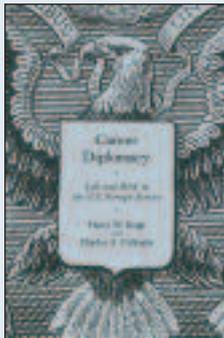
*Elaine Guihan,
Xlibris, 2008, \$21.99,
paperback, 26 pages.*

Here is a book for children about what it's like to travel the world, encounter other cultures and discover new things. Alex, Colin and Jim's dad is an FSO. At an early age, they leave home with their parents and live in Mauritania, France, Cote d' Ivoire and Turkey, with a surprising interlude in Washington, D.C.

Their life is not always easy, but it's never dull. Plunked down in the Sahara, the boys play in the desert, learn how to wear a head scarf and drink camel's milk. After two years, they pack their suitcases and move to France, an amazingly beautiful place. There they visit historic castles and roller-skate at the Place de la Concorde. And more adventures follow in Turkey and Cote d'Ivoire.

Written in a light, wry tone, the book is illustrated

Specialty: The FS Career



**Career Diplomacy:
Life and Work in the
U.S. Foreign Service**
*Harry W. Kopp and
Charles A. Gillespie,
Georgetown University
Press, 2008, \$26.95,
paperback, 250 pages.*

This informative guide offers an in-depth view of the Foreign Service career from two experienced officials, one a former ambassador and the other a high-ranking official in the State Department.

The book's scope is large. It encompasses broad topics such as the role of the ambassador and dissent in the Foreign Service as well as the details of pay rates and a glossary of State acronyms. The authors begin with the basics, explaining the institution of the U.S. Foreign Service and providing a brief history. A section titled "The Profession" takes on the form and content of a diplomatic career, including what diplomats do, the operations they are involved in, and who they represent. The logistics of the career are also discussed, including the entrance exam, the five tracks and possible career trajectories. Also covered are the activity of Foreign Service officers currently in Iraq and the strategic politics and professionalism practiced by diplomats.

Harry W. Kopp, a retired FSO, served as deputy assistant secretary of State for international trade policy in the Carter and Reagan administrations. His foreign assignments included Warsaw and Brasilia. He is now a consultant in international trade. Charles A. Gillespie, a retired FSO, served as deputy assistant secretary of State for inter-American affairs; as ambassador to Grenada, Columbia and Chile; and as special assistant to the president on the National Security Council staff. He passed away in March.



**First Line of Defense:
Ambassadors, Embassies
and American Interests
Abroad**
*Robert V. Keeley,
editor, American Academy
of Diplomacy, 2007,
\$15.87, paperback,
124 pages.*

In an election year, with many foreign policy challenges on the agenda, it is important that the public understand the critical role of diplomacy. With this in mind, the American Academy of Diplomacy reprinted its flagship publication, *First Line of Defense: Ambassadors, Embassies and American Interests Abroad*, in late 2007.

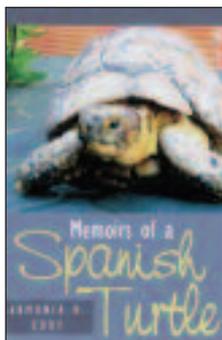
Compiled by retired FSO Robert Keeley, himself a three-time ambassador (Mauritius, Zimbabwe and Greece), the book relates dozens of instances where chiefs of mission have intervened successfully to further U.S. interests, sometimes even at the risk of their personal safety. It contains the experiences of Robert Strauss in the Soviet Union, Walter Mondale in Japan, Raymond Seitz in the U.K., Frank Carlucci in Portugal, Frank Wisner in India, Michael Armacost in the Philippines, Robert Oakley in Pakistan, Thomas Pickering at the United Nations, and more.

While remaining short and lively, the book offers multiple examples that convey what diplomacy is all about. The stories speak for themselves; collectively, they demonstrate how essential effective diplomacy is to a viable foreign policy and national security.

To purchase the book, send a check to: American Academy of Diplomacy, 1800 K St. NW, Suite 1014, Washington DC 20006. For more information, visit the Academy's Web site at www.academyofdiplomacy.org/publications/fld.html.

colorfully by hand. It will be enjoyed especially by young children of internationally mobile parents.

Elaine M. Guihan has lived overseas for many years, first as a Peace Corps Volunteer and then as the spouse of Andy Snow, a Foreign Service officer since 1991. Andy and Elaine have four grown children — Sam, Colin, Alex and Jim — and a well-traveled cat and dog. Ms. Guihan is currently a reading teacher in the Maryland public school system. This is her first book and can be purchased online at www2.xlibris.com/bookstore/bookdisplay.asp?bookid=51452.



Memoirs of a Spanish Turtle

Armonia B. Eddy, AuthorHouse, 2008, \$11.49, paperback, 67 pages.

This story of a family, told by a wise Spanish turtle, is an engaging introduction to life lessons for young children. The turtle, or “tortuga,” was found in the woods by the

author’s father when he was a child. The family’s pet for more than 100 years, it is still alive today. Its ability to understand humans is, of course, fictional, but the human characters and events it recounts are true.

Tortuga chronicles the lives of his family members as they live through the Spanish Civil War of 1936-1939 and a succession of hardships and sometimes funny events in Spain during the last century. He does so with a sense of humor and great compassion and loyalty.

Armonía Eddy was born in Spain in 1936. A former employee of the World Bank, she is the wife of retired FSO John Eddy, whom she accompanied on assignments to Venezuela, El Salvador, Colombia, Kenya, Barbados, Saudi Arabia and India. They now live in Rochester, Vt.

Tales of the Monkey King

Teresa Chin Jones, Pacific View Press, 2008, \$19.95 hardcover/\$14.95 paperback, 192 pages.

Monkey King is China’s most famous folk hero. The subject of movies, comic books and opera perfor-

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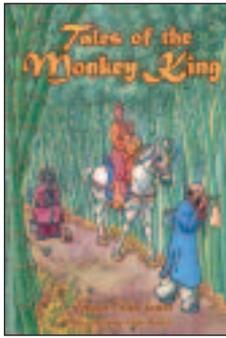
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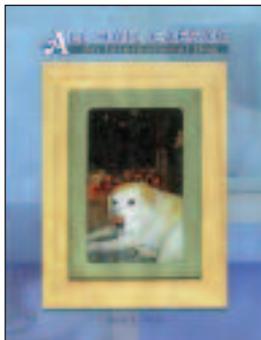
mances, he has delighted and charmed children for centuries. The tales are based on the story of a Chinese monk, Xuan Xang, who went to India in the 7th century to retrieve Buddhist scriptures.

Monkey King is born from a rock and proclaims himself king of all monkeys. The clever, impish king, however, troubles the gods and is punished until he promises to protect a Buddhist monk making a difficult journey to India. Along the way, Monkey King wields magical tricks and secret weapons. With his traveling companions Pigsy, Sandy and Horse, he encounters demons, monsters and challenging situations.

The stories take place in a world in which "Buddhas have achieved enlightenment, a celestial emperor manages the affairs of men, souls seek rebirth and magic permeates everything."

There are as many versions of these stories as there are storytellers. As a child, the author heard them from her mother, and this version is based on those tales.

Teresa Chin Jones, the wife of retired FSO David Jones, is an environmental, science and technology writer and analyst who lives in Virginia. She spent 24 years overseas in Canada and Belgium. To purchase the book, contact Nancy Ippolito at pvp2@mindspring.com.



**All Hail Caesar:
An International Dog**

Anne L. Terio, *Xlibris*,
2008, \$21.99, paperback,
40 pages.

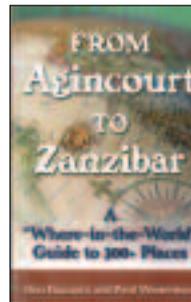
Here is the story of a dog with lots of frequent-flyer miles. Caesar is a golden Labrador, who joined Foreign Service officers Charles and Anne Terio in Egypt as a puppy, accompanied them from there to the U.S., then to Haiti, and back again to Washington, D.C., and is still going strong at age 13. Caesar has had many adventures around the world, told in this book with accompanying photographs, that animal lovers of all ages will appreciate.

Anne L. Terio, a retired FSO, has a passion for his-

tory and writing. She is a member of Daughters of the American Revolution and the Colonial Dames XVII Century. She has previously written two children's books, *The Adventures of Edward the Clown* and *When All the Planets Came Together!! Easter Came to the Polar Bears*.

This book can be ordered online at www2.xlibris.com/bookstore/bookdisplay.asp?bookid=49174.

Travel



**From Agincourt to Zanzibar:
A Where-in-the-World Guide
to 300+ Places**

Don Hausrath and
Paul Wasserman,
Capital Books, 2008, \$19.95,
paperback, 462 pages.

"Don't let the alphabetical order fool you," says Robert Eisner, professor emeritus of classics and humanities at San Diego State. "This book is an alternative history of the world, both eccentrically conceived and sensibly executed."

Both authors have globetrotted around the world and compiled this list of more than 300 intriguing places, providing readers with brief historical details, name backgrounds, and unusual information about each site. They also suggest books that further explore the spot.

The book takes readers on an extraordinary journey from the real Klondike region in Canada to the mythical Atlantis, from the Putrid Sea to Kokomo, from the Great Rift Valley to the manmade Hanging Gardens of Babylon. The sheer number of sites makes for an exciting read filled with fascinating information and unusual tidbits. The entries are organized alphabetically, but there is a useful index that reorganizes the places by theme: among them are biblical sites, defunct cities, locations celebrated in movies and songs, and mythical places.

Don Hausrath retired from the Senior Foreign Service in 1995 and lives in Tucson, Ariz. Paul Wasserman is a professor emeritus at the University of Maryland College of Information Studies and lives in Bethesda, Md. They are the authors of *Washington D.C. from A to Z* (Capital Books, 2003) and *Weasel Words: The Dictionary of American Doublepeak* (Capital Books, 2005). ■

AMERICA IN THE WORLD: MR. MAGOO AT THE HELM

FAR FROM PROVIDING DIPLOMATIC LEADERSHIP, THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION'S
MYOPIA HAS WREAKED HAVOC ON THE GLOBAL STAGE.

BY CHAS W. FREEMAN JR.

In the final days of the last century, then-Secretary of State Madeleine Albright described the United States as “the indispensable nation.” “We stand tall,” she claimed, “and we see further than other countries into the future.” She did not seek the views of any foreigners on either point. It is not recorded that many — if indeed any — agreed with her. What she said was, of course, music to American ears. But what we and non-Americans thought at the time of her smugly bumptious articulation of our self-regard is now moot.

The policies the United States adopted in the first decade of this century have thoroughly refuted her theses. A great many foreign governments now fear that Washington will behave like the ever-self-congratulatory cartoon character Mr. Magoo, who wanders destructively through a reality he

Chas W. Freeman Jr., a Foreign Service officer from 1965 to 1994, was ambassador to Saudi Arabia from 1989 to 1992, and deputy chief of mission and chargé d'affaires in Beijing (1981-1984) and Bangkok (1984-1986), among many other overseas postings. He also served as principal deputy assistant secretary for African affairs from 1986 to 1989 and as assistant secretary of Defense for international security from 1993 to 1994.

Ambassador Freeman has been, inter alia, chairman of Projects International, Inc., since 1995 and president of the Middle East Policy Council since 1997. He is the author of The Diplomat's Dictionary (revised edition) and Arts of Power, both published by the United States Institute of Peace in 1997, and of numerous articles on aspects of American statecraft and diplomacy.

misperceives wreaking havoc he determinedly misinterprets as success.

Take the Middle East, for example. This is the region that, in one way or another, has been the principal focus of American foreign policy in recent years. It is also the region in which the United States has most consistently shown a preference for bluster, boycotts and bombs, and a concomitant disdain for diplomacy. I am not speaking here simply of Iraq or Iran. We have refused dialogue and attempted to dissuade Israel from negotiating with Syria. We have done the same even more adamantly with Hezbollah (which, as a consequence of the U.S.-sponsored Israeli bombing campaign of 2006, became the leading force in Lebanese politics).

Meanwhile, in the name of bolstering Lebanese independence from political interference by Syrian and Iranian outsiders, we have vigorously interfered in Lebanon ourselves. We have repeatedly proclaimed that it would be a sin to talk with Hamas (which, thanks to elections we insisted take place, is now the democratically empowered governing authority in all areas of Palestine not directly occupied by Israel). We have tried hard to congeal Sunni Arab antagonism to Shiite Persians into an Arab bloc we hope will join us in ostracizing and punishing Iran, which the Israelis and we repeatedly threaten to assault from the air.

These U.S. policies have not gone over well. Recent developments strongly suggest that they have resulted in decisions by all concerned in the Middle East to work around the United States rather than with us or through us. Consider Israel's resort to Turkey (rather than U.S. “shuttle diplomacy”) to manage proximity talks with Syria. Or Lebanon's turn to Qatar to broker the peaceful realignment of its politics, notwithstanding our investment in them. Or

Israel's reliance on Egypt to mediate a cease-fire agreement with Hamas. Or the Palestinian president's decision to enlist Arab conciliators to work out Fatah's differences with Hamas, rather than concentrating on an American-proclaimed "peace process" that most in the region have come to view as a cruel fraud. Or Israel's recourse to Germany to reach understandings with Hezbollah. Or Saudi Arabia's effort to reach a modus vivendi with Iran, to align the Muslim mainstream against extremism, and to broker renewed peace between Sunnis and Shiites in preparation for interfaith dialogue with Jews and Christians.

All these political openings touch on interests that Washington sees as vital. All of them are taking place notwithstanding longstanding American objections, and all of them are unfolding in our diplomatic absence.

Leaving a Void

This is not just because Mr. Magoo has seemingly succeeded Uncle Sam at the helm. In some measure, it's because the United States has taken sides in disputes with respect to which we had traditionally maintained at least a pretense of evenhandedness. We are therefore seen as part of the problem rather than part of the solution. It is also because promiscuous efforts by the United States to impose military solutions on problems that force cannot resolve have left no room for American diplomacy. The resulting default on reality-based problem-solving by the U.S. has created a diplomatic void that others are now filling.

This trend toward going around the United States has been aggravated by the arrogant and insulting phrasing of some U.S. policy pronouncements. The undisguised disdain of some American envoys for the United Nations, the World Court and regional organizations, and their open con-

***The Bush
administration's allergy
to reality-based
problem-solving has
created a diplomatic
void that others
are now filling.***

tempt for the views of the international communities these represent, have also disinclined others to work with us if they can avoid it. Washington's political marginalization in the Middle East is a predictable result of such diplomacy-free foreign policies.

What could not have been predicted is the reputation for incompetence our country has acquired. This has touched even our armed forces, despite their well-deserved reputation as the most professional and lethal practitioners of the arts of war on the planet. Our interventions in Afghanistan and Iraq were meant to showcase this element of American power, underscore our omnipotence, and intimidate anyone tempted to resist our hegemony.

Instead, these military campaigns have had the paradoxical effect of demonstrating the strategic limitations of the use of force, eroding the deterrent value of our unmatched military prowess, and proving the efficacy of asymmetric warfare as a counter to our strength.

Scofflaw U.S. behavior, the ill-considered uses of military power in wars of unilateral choice, and the contraction of freedom in the American homeland have indeed transformed

our relationship with the world — but to our grave disadvantage. The abuses at Abu Ghraib, Bagram and Guantánamo, and the practice of "extraordinary rendition," have dishonored our traditions and defiled our international reputation. Militarism has debilitated our alliances, friendships and partnerships, and corroded our ability to lead.

Much of the world is now seriously disenchanted with the United States. Most (though not all) of these self-inflicted wounds derive from our response to the atrocities of 9/11 and our policies toward the Middle East. We have shown not only that we can shoot ourselves in the foot, but that we can reload with exceptional speed and do it again and again.

As Israel rained American-supplied bombs on Beirut in 2006, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice famously predicted that Lebanon's pain represented the "birth pangs of a new Middle East." She was right about that, but the Middle East now emerging seems to be one in which the United States no longer has convening power, political credibility or persuasiveness. It is a region in which all countries fear our military might but no country — not even Israel, despite its dependence on American subventions — defers to our leadership.

In our own hemisphere, too, without many noticing, a major ebb in U.S. influence has taken place. Latin America's governments may have little in common beyond a commitment to some form of democracy and social justice, but they share a determination to assert greater autonomy from the United States. To this end, they are courting investment from China, opening markets in Europe, stalling the Free Trade Agreement of the Americas, dissenting from the "Washington Consensus," and crafting regional institutions and forming partnerships that not only exclude the

United States but are sometimes openly antagonistic to it.

Political Washington's apparent disinterest in a region it long commanded and its ideologically induced inability to respond to opportunities there (like those in a changing Cuba) have facilitated these trends. The Council on Foreign Relations' recent declaration that "the era of the United States as the dominant influence in Latin America is over" may be overstated, but it is not easily rebutted. The regional agenda in Latin America is increasingly set there, without reference to the United States.

Going Their Own Way

This is true in Africa, as well. Even though the Bush administration has mounted a very significant continent-wide effort against HIV/AIDS, in most respects we are substantially less engaged on the continent than are

*As we prepare to enter
this century's second
decade, we have within
us the potential to rise
to the challenge of
global leadership.*

China, Europe and India. Africans have taken the lead — so far not very effectively, to be sure — in crisis management of issues on their continent like the mayhem in the Congo, the genocidal warfare in Sudan, and the collapse of democracy and decency in

Zimbabwe. In doing so, they have largely sidelined the United States and other outside powers.

In response, Washington unilaterally decided to create a U.S. military combatant commander for the African continent and sought to station him and his staff there. Logic and precedent supported this initiative: American flag officers now sit at the head of combatant commands in most other regions of the globe. The prominent role of such uniformed proconsuls abroad reflects the extent to which our foreign relations have become skewed toward reliance on military instruments of influence.

The forward presence of American generals and admirals with transnational responsibilities, unmatched fiscal resources and wide authority to draw on the immense capabilities of our armed forces makes them the most active and visible face of our



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country abroad. Because they are on the scene, moreover, they tend to be more in touch with regional trends and realities than officials in Washington. That's one reason so many American ambassadors are so fond of them.

As the United States saw it, the establishment of an Africa Command would elevate Africa's symbolic importance in our foreign policy. But its supposed beneficiaries have reacted badly to the idea. They have seen it as an attempt to re-establish an outside military presence on their newly decolonized continent and as an indication that American military adventurism might soon extend there. So for the time being, at least, US-AFRICOM remains a fixture of life in Stuttgart rather than a presence to be reckoned with in its area of operational responsibility.

Europe, Too

Meanwhile, the Russian Federation is turning out to be more Russian — less democratic and more bullying — and a good deal more insubordinate than its would-be patrons in Washington had imagined. Even before Moscow's intervention in Georgia served to revive concerns about its aggressive assertion of a version of the Monroe Doctrine in its "near abroad," not a few Americans had taken a second look into Putin's eyes and seen him for what he is: a KGB guy playing a czar with post-Soviet characteristics.

There is, to be sure, no ideological challenge from Russia, which lacks both the will and the means to compete with the U.S. on a global scale as the Soviet Union did. So, all the predictable punditry to the contrary notwithstanding, there is no prospect of a "renewal of the Cold War." But there is every prospect that, far from emerging as some sort of diplomatic version of Tonto to the United States' Lone Ranger, as some had hoped,

Russia will continue to be a troublingly assertive and independent-minded force.

The United States' strongest international ties have, of course, been with Europe, where continentwide integration is in the final stages of erasing the divisions of the Cold War. The European Union is less than the sum of its parts, but it has emerged as the dominant factor in its region and adjacent areas. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization has meanwhile expanded to what most Europeans consider Europe's natural defense perimeter. Only a minority favors further enlargement, especially to bring in nations still deeply divided about membership in NATO or with active territorial disputes with neighbors.

The fact is that, as the Cold War recedes in memory, Europeans are charting their own course even on issues of great importance to the United States, like who should belong to NATO or how to deal with the return of Russia to assertive nationalism and China and India's rise to wealth and power. They value the United States, if at all, mainly as a participant in the Eurasian balance of power rather than as the protector of Europe against a credible external security threat. Having come to question our wisdom, most Europeans seem to doubt that there are still many compelling reasons to defer to us. For the first time in the five decades since they embraced American leadership of the Atlantic community, Europeans seem comfortable ignoring Washington's views or rejecting them outright. Russia's reassertion of its military power on its periphery does not seem to have fundamentally altered or reversed these trends.

This is in part because the extraordinary transatlantic solidarity of 9/11 has given way to sharp differences over international law and comity, privacy and due process of law, and the desirability of multilateral approaches

to transnational issues like climate change. Very few in Europe have any sympathy for claims by American politicians that 9/11 changed everything, justifying the suspension of individual rights and the separation of powers insisted upon by Enlightenment thinkers like America's founding fathers. To a distressing extent, therefore, the Atlantic community is no longer united by shared ideals but ominously divided by emerging differences over them.

Transatlantic disagreement on core values bodes ill for the prospect that these values will prevail in a world in which the center of gravity is migrating to the Asian ends of the Eurasian landmass.

A Paradoxical Presence in Asia

Curiously, given the much ballyhooed shift of global wealth and power to Asia, the trend toward regional assertiveness and the decline of American influence is in some ways least obvious in the Asia-Pacific region. This reflects the realities of Chinese and Indian power in relation to the nations on their periphery. With the notable exception of Pakistan, India's neighbors have reconciled themselves to its hegemony in South Asia. The United States has recognized India's primacy there and does not seek to undermine or thwart it. Indeed, Washington's continuing effort to overcome both international and domestic opposition to the controversial U.S.-India nuclear deal evidences a decision to give relations with New Delhi priority over both longstanding global nonproliferation policies and the interests of an increasingly overwrought but equally nuclear Pakistan.

In East and Central Asia, by contrast, Chinese hegemony remains an unwelcome conjecture, not a reality. Beijing has repeatedly assured its neighbors that it does not and will not

seek to dominate them, but most are nonetheless inclined to play it safe and pursue a carefully calibrated policy of continued association, including military cooperation, with the United States. Much of the Cold War pattern of East Asian alliances with the United States, with Japan as its linchpin, therefore persists. From the point of view of the Asian participants in these alliances, their purpose is not, as in the past, to contain China but to ensure that it will fit unthreateningly into a regional balance bolstered by American power.

Meanwhile, China itself is firmly focused on its own economic and social development. It very much wishes to avoid needless confrontations with the United States. As a result, in comparison with other regions, East Asia remains relatively disinclined to challenge American views and prone to accommodate them when possible.

***Washington has shown
a preference for bluster,
boycotts and bombs,
and a concomitant
disdain for diplomacy,
in the Middle East.***

This deferential stance has not, however, precluded disagreements with Washington over issues like how to deal with Burma (Myanmar) and North Korea, or the development of regional groupings or institutions that exclude Washington. Such groupings are a growing phenomenon, largely centered on the Association of South-

east Asian Nations. Some of them involve various Asian-only combinations; some involve Europe. Some include Australia and India while others exclude one or both.

Washington has inadvertently accelerated the trend toward exclusion of the United States from regional groupings in the Asia-Pacific region by erratic participation in key meetings, and by its insistence that they focus on terrorism or various Middle East-related issues, with respect to which Asians do not share American perspectives or obsessions. Meanwhile, China and India have taken out their own insurance policies against American hegemony, in the form of regular trilateral meetings with Russia devoted to promoting multipolarity, respect for the United Nations Charter, and other offsets to U.S. efforts to dictate and dominate the world order.

The fact that other countries are

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willing to take greater responsibility for managing the affairs of their own regions, even if they have been moved to do so mainly in reaction to perceived U.S. errors of commission and omission, should probably be seen as a positive development. But it is certainly not a good thing for our government to be excluded from conversations on major regional or global issues. The risk is that our interests will be misunderstood or ignored when actions are taken that affect us. U.S. policies since the end of the Cold War — particularly during the eight years of the George W. Bush administration — have tended to isolate the United States, take us out of the diplomatic game, and leave us at the mercy of decisions and arrangements that others increasingly craft in our absence.

Lessons Learned

One can learn more from catastrophe and failure than from victory or success. So, students of U.S. foreign policy since the catastrophe of 9/11, rejoice! There is a lot of material from which to extract lessons for future foreign policy.

A good place to start might be 9/11 itself. Among other things, the shocking attack on our homeland that day showed that, in the post-Cold War world, if the United States launches or sponsors military operations in other people's homelands, we should expect them to find a way to retaliate against ours. This caution remains relevant. Without intending to do so, we have installed a lot of incubators and created a lot of training opportunities for terrorists in Iraq, Gaza, the West Bank and Lebanon, as well as in the border regions of Afghanistan and Pakistan.

Meanwhile, we have repeatedly adjusted our military campaign plans in Iraq and Afghanistan. But we have yet to adjust our diplomacy. And we have not come up with a strategy to overcome the appeal of anti-Ameri-

can terrorism, turn its adherents against it, slash the numbers of its recruits, or even capture its most notorious spokesmen.

Those best qualified to accomplish these tasks are mainstream Muslims, acting out of their own self-interest and in concert with us. Cultivating support in the Islamic world should therefore be a principal focus of U.S. foreign policy. The struggle to outlaw and suppress terrorism cannot succeed without the full cooperation of allies and friends around the world.

Reinvigorating our alliances and partnerships is as essential to this task as it is to the renewal of foreign respect for American leadership in general. In this regard, a few of the lessons that might be drawn from the global and regional trends of recent years stand out. Three have to do with rediscovering diplomacy as an alternative to militarism. Two are more substantive.

- **Woody Allen was right: “Eighty percent of success is [indeed] showing up.”** At the moment, the U.S. military shows up a lot more than anyone else at the regional level. We need diplomatic counterparts to our regional combatant commanders. They should be forward-deployed and endowed with the resources and authority to address regional as well as bilateral interests. They should have a mandate to implement strategies that integrate the political, economic, cultural and informational, intelligence and military elements of our national influence.

- **Our leaders at all levels and in all branches of government need to rediscover the art of listening.** Listening is essential to successful relationship management. If we don't pay attention to the opinions of others, they will be — as we have seen — less likely to find our views persuasive. If we don't attend to their interests, they are unlikely to buy into ours. Diplomacy is not preaching to others

about what they must do, an approach that neither builds partnership nor elicits cooperation. Diplomacy is persuading others that they should serve our interests because their interests coincide with ours.

- **As that consummate realist, Otto von Bismarck, advised, “Be polite. Write diplomatically.** Even in a declaration of war one observes the rules of politeness.” Only small boys, hicks and clueless speechwriters think it clever to call foreign leaders or countries names. Statesmen understand that insults just deepen the commitment of those they target to the error of their ways. Sometimes negotiated solutions are the only solutions available at an affordable price. Discourtesy closes the door to negotiated solutions and locks it shut. Getting others to do things our way is difficult enough. Denigrating their character or putting derogatory labels on them can make it impossible.

- **We need to clear the foreign policy decks as rapidly as we can.** Our plunge into the quicksand of endless warfare abroad has already done great damage to our prestige and influence abroad and considerable injury at home. These wars are not sustainable.

We are ceding our civil liberties and mortgaging our posterity to foreign bankers. The money that might rebuild crumbling American infrastructure is being squandered on the destruction and botched reconstruction of vast areas of the Middle East. The wars there bring grief, pain and uncertainty to America, as well as to the places where they are fought. They confer no benefits and divide Americans from each other and from the world, diverting us from urgent tasks of vital importance to our future.

We have no plan for ending them, yet we cannot afford to let them continue if we wish to recover our domestic tranquility and international standing.

Charting a New Course

After taking a hard look at where the ship of state (and State) has ended up, we can develop strategies to deal with the many pressing issues we have left largely unattended in recent years, such as managing our relations with emerging regional orders and dealing with rising powers like Brazil, China, India and Russia, re-emerging countries like Germany and Japan, failing states like Pakistan, and angry, isolated nations like Iran, North Korea and Burma (Myanmar).

Functional issues that have been neglected include reform of the global trade, investment and monetary systems to protect our prosperity, and that of the many other countries that depend on the value of our currency; and the long-overdue formulation of effective multilateral responses to transnational issues like terrorism, pandemic disease, the environment,

*We have been long on
assertive patriotism but
short on realism, vision
and statesmanship —
qualities we have
historically exemplified.*

climate change and security of food, energy and natural resource supplies.

These are all formidable challenges, but there is no reason to doubt that we can meet them — if we marshal the world's peoples and their resources behind a common effort. For decades,

the world looked to the United States for solutions. We Americans were good at providing them. We have the capacity to do so again.

In the self-indulgent final decade of the last century, Americans saw little reason to focus on foreign affairs. In the first decade of this century we have been long on assertive patriotism but short on realism, vision and statesmanship — qualities we have historically exemplified. Those traits enabled us to create a new order of peace, progress and prosperity after World War II. And we have the talent and ability to define a world order for the 21st century, as well.

As we prepare to enter a new decade, we have within us the potential to rise again to the challenge of global leadership. And we have the duty to do so. If the United States leads, we can once again persuade the world to follow. ■

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FROM THE PEACE CORPS TO THE DIPLOMATIC CORPS, PART II

Dozens of Foreign Service employees who are also Returned Peace Corps Volunteers responded to the AFSAnet the Journal sent out soliciting insights as to how the Peace Corps and Foreign Service experiences compare and contrast. Part I ran in our October issue. Our thanks to all who responded, including those whose contributions we were unable to use.

— Steven Alan Honley, Editor

RECONCILING WITH MY UNCLE

The early 1970s were turbulent times on American campuses: protests and demonstrations, the killings at Kent State, and a nationwide strike in response to widening the war into Cambodia. As a graduate of Princeton in 1971, these developments left me with a dilemma: a low draft lottery number and severe alienation from my Uncle Sam.

Peace Corps Tunisia was my escape. Sure, technically I was working for my uncle, but in fact, the lunatics ran the asylum! Slightly older and way cooler volunteers ran the training alongside savvy, young Tunisians fluent in English, Arabic and French. The director was a foul-mouthed, non-conformist Lebanese-American whose rebellious attitude exceeded anything from our ranks.

Teaching English in Mahida's Lycee Mixte was largely an exercise in futility, but the Arabic I learned there was my non-refundable deposit for a lifetime of language study under the rubric of the Foreign Service. I would later use those language skills to gauge Palestinian reaction to Anwar Sadat's trip to Jerusalem and the Camp David Accords, U.S. military cooperation in Egypt, the U.S.-PLO dialogue in Tunis and counterterrorism cooperation in Yemen.

But all that Foreign Service stuff was far in the future. I was still having problems with my Uncle Sam; on one occasion I was dismissed from the embassy health unit for asking if they could supply condoms to Peace Corps Volunteers. "We don't do that here" was the indignant response.

Nevertheless, the embassy snack bar on Avenue de la Liberte did provide hamburgers and, over time, my anger about U.S. foreign policy in Southeast Asia cooled. So when the embassy announced that it would be administering the Foreign Service Exam during my second year, I signed up.

My uncle had put up with me. I could put up with him. I could also use my Arabic and my skills in crossing cultures to build a career.

Would I do it again? Yes, vicariously. My daughter Lena worked with her Uncle Sam as a Peace Corps Volunteer in Ouled Taima, Morocco, from 2005 to 2007. With Dad's blessing.

Edmund J. Hull

FSO, retired

Washington, D.C.



A PEACE CORPS VOLUNTEER IN FS CLOTHING

My job as a Peace Corps Volunteer was to teach English in the only secondary school for boys in Kamphaengphet, Thailand. A small town of 6,000 (and that may have included water buffalo) when I arrived in 1963, Kamphaengphet was one of the country's most backward provincial capitals. Water for most residents came from a nearby well and electricity (when the town generator was working) was available only after the sun went down. I was the first volunteer ever assigned there and the only foreigner in the province throughout my two-year tour. It was just what I had hoped for.

That experience led me to join the Foreign Service. Thanks to Jerry Kyle, a branch public affairs officer and one of the few foreigners to visit the area, I learned what a U.S. Information Service officer did. Jerry regularly bumped about the region showing movies, passing out Thai-language brochures and carrying out the USIS mission of building confidence in the government's plans to improve rural life and counter the threat of an incipient insurgency. He made a deep impression on me.

But it was not until after graduate school, in 1967, that I accepted an offer to join the Foreign Service. On my flight to Thailand for my first FS posting, I recalled many positive things about my time in Kamphaengphet. But I also remembered the occasional conferences in Bangkok when we were briefed by FSOs who spoke little Thai and adopted a patronizing and self-important manner with us. I was dead set against turning out like them.

So over the next 32 years, whether in Thailand, Japan, Ireland or Great Britain — the four countries I was posted to with USIA — I went out of my way to be a Peace Corps Volunteer in FSO clothing. I polished my language skills (even making a futile effort to learn Irish in Ireland), got out of the office to meet all levels of people, ate the local cuisine and demonstrated my interest in the local culture.

Throughout my Foreign Service career, I often asked myself: "How would a good Peace Corps Volunteer handle this?" or "What would have worked in Kamphaengphet?" More often than not, the answer was the right one.

Robin Berrington
FSO, retired
Washington, D.C.



FROM MUN-JU TO YU

About halfway through my "rest year" after college, I accepted the Peace Corps' invitation to teach English and math to middle school students in Boda, a remote village of 4,000 people in the Central African Republic. I went for public service, but came back two years later with personal and professional growth I could never have gained elsewhere.

I was the only Peace Corps Volunteer there and one of only a dozen "mun-ju" ("white person" — though I'm Asian-American) in our village. Each day, I walked 20 minutes from one end of town to the other on my way to and from school. In the beginning, children ran alongside me shouting, "mun-ju, mun-ju." Old women pointed and laughed. I later learned they were all bewildered because no mun-ju walked in Boda; they all drove through town in their Toyota trucks. The lack of respect bugged me at first, but it was a humbling experience. Over time I realized that I needed to

find my proper place in village society and become a respectful partner in this assistance/human relationship enterprise. After I did, the yells became "Yu, Yu, Yu," and the women stopped laughing.

It was easy to lose hope as a teacher in the CAR — too many children squeezed into too few school benches in grim classrooms, without books and often without chalk. Most of my students would not go on to high school; they were called back to their future as subsistence farmers. We all knew escape from the village was a long shot, yet in many of these kids' eyes there was an incredible hope and enthusiasm for learning. Now, when facing the direst of circumstances at work or home, I sometimes think back to those students and remind myself of how lucky we all are — and of our obligation to help others.

My first exposure to the Foreign Service there was almost my last. The ambassador's Office Management Specialist took pity on a grungy volunteer and invited me over for lunch whenever I made the 60-kilometer, six-hour journey to Bangui, the country's capital. On one visit, she invited me to dinner with two FS couples. I put on my cleanest jeans and was ready to regale the group with all the classic Outward Bound-like stories that volunteers love to trot out. But there was no interest. Instead, discussion centered around the hardships of FS life in Bangui — which sounded pretty good from where I was sitting! It was when all of them (except my friend) complained far too long about their frozen turkeys not arriving in time for Thanksgiving that I swore to myself I would never join an organization of such namby-pambys.

Obviously, I broke that pledge, but I have tried to maintain the other life lessons of gratitude, optimism and humility in my post-Peace Corps life.

Alan Yu
Political Counselor
Embassy Kabul



OPENNESS GETS RESULTS

I see the influence of my Peace Corps experience on my State career in two broad areas: cultural and cross-cultural approaches, and management practice.

My Peace Corps service in Gabon left me with a legacy of wanderlust and a sense of adventure. Learning in such detail about another culture only whetted my appetite. There is always more to be learned, and I find it exciting that, for all their diversity, humans have more in common than not. There is no place that I don't want to go, for the world is a busy, buzzing, phenomenally interesting place to be. There is almost something spiritual about it.

The roots of my management approach derive from my days as a volunteer leader, post administrative officer, and

Africa Region chief administrative officer for the Peace Corps. Volunteers are independent folk with strong views, so mandates do not work with them. To be effective, I used approaches that stressed consensus and collaboration. Results can take longer to achieve, but they are more applicable to the situation at hand.

I also learned to value open communication, for when feedback is stifled, the result is distorted and lacks value. Such an approach requires time for listening, mentoring, persuasion and patience. But as a team becomes well-oiled and uses its open channels to coordinate between its various parts, results come more quickly. When I transferred over to State, I found that this philosophy does not always mesh with its top-down structure. But I still try to practice that approach in my small world, and it has worked for me so far, despite resistance in some quarters.

Bob Riley
Management Counselor
Embassy Hanoi

~*~
**THE THREE KEYS
TO SUCCESS**

After serving as a Peace Corps Volunteer in Bangladesh from 2000 to 2004, working for the Foreign Service feels very natural. I have learned that success in both roles requires flexibility, teamwork and a commitment to public service.

Working under hardship conditions, you must adapt quickly. Going to the bank may take two hours because you have to drink two cups of tea with the manager and greet the entire staff. During monsoon season, you might have to take a boat to work instead of a car because the road has flooded so much that the only other option is to swim in murky waters. If you can't adapt, you can't survive.

Next comes teamwork. As a for-

eigner working abroad, you must rely on the locals. During my time in the Peace Corps, I quickly realized that as I trained my co-workers and students, I, too, was being trained.

Finally, we must embrace our public service role as the face of America abroad. We not only represent the U.S. and teach foreigners about our culture and values, but embody the broad perceptions that other nations have of Americans.

Both the Foreign Service and the Peace Corps are service organizations, facilitating cultural exchanges and showing the rest of the world what America is truly like.

Monica Isaza
Economic/Political Section
Consulate Guangzhou

~*~
**GETTING OFF THE
PLANE IN DAKAR**

I don't think I had even heard of Senegal before the Peace Corps recruiting office in San Francisco sent me my country assignment letter. I spent days in the map room at the Library of Congress trying to come up with an image of this exotic place. A few months later, I trembled with excitement getting off the plane in Dakar, my first time in Africa. At the bottom of the stairs from the airplane door, the tarmac was so hot I could feel my Birkenstocks melting into the asphalt.

The sights, the sounds and the tastes were all overwhelming at first, but I had dreamed of this moment for a long time. Ever since high school I had told my family and friends that I was going to be a Peace Corps Volunteer. And now I was there!

As an agro-forestry and environment volunteer, I was immediately immersed in debates about sound natural resource management practices. Living in a village of 100 families, I helped my hosts farm a hectare of mil-

let and about two hectares of ground nuts and watermelon once a year. I quickly learned what it was like to derive one's entire sustenance from the ground, using only the natural resources at hand.

My Peace Corps experience taught me a number of other important things, as well, almost all of which have enhanced my career as a USAID Foreign Service officer. I learned to assess a situation from the perspective of the host country, while resisting the urge to build monuments to myself. And I quickly realized that learning the local language, culture and traditions would endear me to the people I was there to work with, support and learn about.

My meetings with Senegalese officials gave me the confidence and experience to represent the United States as an FSO. And the Peace Corps not only gave me important training in the technical skills I use every day, but led me to understand that the U.S. is making a significant effort in many important areas.

Most importantly, I learned the truth of my father's observation: Our similarities are much more interesting than our differences.

Michael Satin
FSO
USAID/Afghanistan

~*~
**WHERE THERE'S
A WILL...**

After serving as a Peace Corps Volunteer with a USAID-funded public administration team working for the municipality of Guayaquil, and later as a community organizer in a USAID-funded self-help housing project in Quito, I was in the early group of Peace Corps Volunteers that joined USAID in 1966. In addition to my other tasks, I helped promote closer working relationships between volunteers and USAID.

While I was managing the mission's Community Action Division, some Peace Corps Volunteers sought funding for an indigenous leadership training program. When I told them there was no money for such a program, they suggested I speak with the acting USAID director — who happened to be the embassy economic officer. He supported the project and told me the program officer would find the necessary funds. The pilot program was extremely successful and became a part of USAID's response to Congress on how it was implementing the provisions of Title IX (popular participation) of the Foreign Assistance Act.

As a result of these and other similar encounters with the Peace Corps around the globe, USAID established the Special Development Activity Authority, informally known as the ambassador's "slush" fund. At last there was a mechanism for Peace

Corps Volunteers to petition the agency for small development grants that the volunteers would administer.

*Paul G. Vitale
FSO, retired
Vallejo, Calif.*

~*~

FROM THE OUTSIDE LOOKING IN

Once a year, we Peace Corps Volunteers in Bulgaria (where I served from 2001 to 2003) got to use the ambassador's pool. It was a chance to chug watered-down American beer and wolf down lots of hot dogs and chips, all free — allowing us to save our precious funds for the stronger national beer and canned pork-and-beans back in our villages. Despite our gratitude, we were youthful and raucous and really mucked up the place. So it took true

generosity for the ambassador to keep inviting us back.

We volunteers only rarely got a taste of life inside the protective bubble that the embassy staff enjoyed, but we told ourselves that we were the ones who *really* knew the country. Our encounters were with the majority of the population who lived outside Sofia, on less than a dollar a day. The 70-plus students in our classrooms squeezed three to a bench, eager to learn, even walking barefoot to school and putting their shoes on there, so they would last all year.

Fast forward a few years to when I joined the Foreign Service — the other side. Having Fulbrighters sleeping on the floor of my embassy townhouse was not quite the same as opening up my house to fellow Peace Corps Volunteers a few years earlier. Excursions to get out of the capital and rough it with two small children

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in tow meant allowing them to swim in the same parasite-infested waters, or stay in the same rooms with mice and rats, that hadn't bothered me so much a few years earlier. Dancing all night in bars in questionable neighborhoods lost its appeal. Trying to justify the U.S. interest in giving grants to help poor schoolchildren, instead of organizing U.S. speakers to explain constructive engagement, became increasingly hard.

How long did it take to stop pretending that I could remove myself, and now my family, from that protective bubble, from the mercenary work of baldly promoting U.S. interests? I don't know, but eventually I found myself more comfortable in that bubble than I had been outside of it.

There's still a vestige of that earlier attitude in each and every one of us who went through that transition, whether it is to try the palm wine or eat the street food or get a ride in the truck or the local bus — all the things that drive the security officers and the health units crazy. And that vestige is one of the many features of our Foreign Service that sets us apart from other diplomatic services. Nor is it the exclusive realm of former volunteers either, as the Foreign Service is full of colleagues who would otherwise qualify as "honorary volunteers."

One thing remains true. All the Peace Corps Volunteers I know would say they got more out of the experience than they gave. While I love being in the Foreign Service and feel indebted to it in so many ways, it just occurred to me that I've never said that about the Foreign Service. Nor have I heard anyone else say it out loud.

John Dickson
FSO
Director, Office of
Public Diplomacy
Bureau of Western
Hemisphere Affairs



AN EYE-OPENER

My stint as a Peace Corps Volunteer in Chad (1977-1979) helped prepare me for the Foreign Service in many ways. Living in a remote village without electricity or running water, I discovered how little I really needed. Using French, Arabic and tribal tongues in daily life facilitated the process of learning other languages. And the experience of evacuating from the country in an overland convoy to Cameroon when civil war broke out made me much more sensitive to dealing with the local American community as a Foreign Service officer.

But one lesson still stands out from my first day of handling a class of 90. When two students kept talking, I did what my teachers had done when I was in school: I ordered the pair to sit in differing areas of the open-air classroom. But they refused to budge. I considered making a bigger issue of it, but I really wanted things to go smoothly. Eventually, the two students stopped talking enough so that I could finish the lesson.

After class, the director approached me and explained why the two students had not moved. They were from the Mboum tribe and I was asking them to sit with the Lakka and the Moundang tribes. I'd had no clue that the classroom was organized that way.

That experience, and others like it, made me realize how much I needed fresh eyes to understand other cultures. When sitting across from diplomats from other nations, I came to see that we could look at the same facts yet see them very differently. And I had a better sense of why, in some negotiations, my counterparts could not budge.

Michael Varga
FSO, retired
Norcross, Ga.



FOND MEMORIES

I am a USAID Foreign Service officer because of what I experienced and learned in the Peace Corps. In 1986, after graduating from the University of California at Berkeley, my husband and I were posted to a remote village in southern Zaire, one of Africa's poorest regions. Living one day at a time took on a new meaning, as I quickly learned the realities of life without electricity, running water, grocery stores, and even doctors.

My two years there firmly cemented my view of the world and my career path. The Peace Corps taught me compassion, gave me the understanding and patience to work cross-culturally, and provided me with the coping mechanisms I use every day to navigate life in developing countries. It also gave me a deep appreciation for the United States and our unique focus on aiding others around the world based on need, not ideology.

My success managing USAID projects is directly tied to my Peace Corps experience. I now know first-hand how a water, health or education project can transform lives and put people on a path to a better life.

While life in the Foreign Service is far from the hardships of that village in Zaire, I do enjoy the occasional power cut and water shortage. Candles and bucket baths bring back fond memories.

Dana H. Rose
Regional Contracting
Officer
USAID/Egypt



THINK LOCAL

My involvement as a Peace Corps Volunteer in Morocco was in the "good" old days of the 1980s, before the 9/11 attacks heightened security concerns and before rising urban

crime in developing-world cities became endemic. In 2004, I was briefly a staff member in another Arab country and the Peace Corps seemed to have changed radically.

Today's volunteers are no longer "development tourists," as many of us were in the 1980s. They are also much more answerable to Peace Corps management and to local communities than ever before.

Like the State Department, the Peace Corps is being called on to do more with less and to justify its role in many areas. It helps that volunteers understand that the impressions we make on our contacts last long after we've departed, and our job effectiveness flows from the curiosity about our external environment that we bring to the table. In contrast, State's huge mandate and the rapid clip at which we gallop through portfolios and postings often don't allow time for in-depth relationship development.

I also worry that many of us confuse serving at a post with living in a country, particularly in today's security environment.

*Ellen Peterson
Vice Consul
Tijuana, Mexico*



A LITTLE HUMILITY

Probably the greatest lesson I've learned from my time as a Peace Corps Volunteer that has been relevant to my work as a USAID Foreign Service officer is the importance of humility.

I went to Nepal as a volunteer in 1974 and, after spending three months in Kathmandu learning to speak Nepali, was sent to a village reachable only by riding a bus for half a day and then walking five more days. When I got there, I discovered that everyone spoke Tibetan, not Nepali. Unable to converse at first, I quickly learned to be deferential, and

found I could learn a lot just by silently watching. For example, when offered yak-buttered tea or arak (the distilled spirits made from barley), it was not polite to just gulp the whole glass down. Instead, one took a small sip, allowing the host to refill the glass — a process that was repeated two more times before the host moved on to another guest.

Respectful and thoughtful behavior was just part of Tibetans' daily lives. And when I started using the same mannerisms, I noticed the matriarch of the family I was staying with nodding in approval of my behavior.

Too often, residents of other countries are exposed to the arrogance and haughtiness of diplomatic personnel — "Don't you know that I work for the U.S. embassy?" How many of us have not heard that refrain, or perhaps even uttered it ourselves at times when frustrated with Third World bureaucrats?

Whether it has been with nomads in Mongolia, farmers in Afghanistan, or government officials in India, I have observed that a little humility and respect go a long way in building relationships with people as a Foreign Service officer. And it is these relationships, established on the basis of mutual respect and understanding, that are at the heart of diplomacy and development.

*Daniel J. Miller
Project Development
Officer
USAID/New Delhi*



THE SECOND TIME AROUND

I was a Peace Corps Volunteer and trainer in Thailand from 1982 to 1985, and later served as a staffer with the agency back in the U.S. from 1988 to 1996. The next year, I joined the State Department and ended up

assigned to the same city where I'd been a volunteer 14 years earlier. But whereas before I mostly associated with younger and less well-off students and working-class people, as an FSO I befriended a wide circle of people, including some of the wealthiest and best-connected industrialists in the area.

The key insight from my Peace Corps time that I have applied to my Foreign Service work is the importance of understanding the local culture and showing an appreciation for it. Speaking the local language is, of course, a big part of that.

I have found a major difference, as well. While both jobs have the goal of making friends for America, as a consular officer I sometimes have to make decisions mandated by our laws and regulations that are not well received. Still, as a diplomat I look for ways to do my duty while interpreting U.S. laws and regulations in a way that helps the host country and improves bilateral relations.

*Miguel Ordonez
Consular Chief
Casablanca, Morocco*



COPING MECHANISMS

My experience as a Peace Corps Volunteer in San Jose from 1998 to 2000 with the Children, Youth and Families at Risk Program persuaded me to apply to the Foreign Service. I'd toyed with the idea since college, but it was my time in Costa Rica that made me realize what a good fit the career would be for me.

That experience taught me not only to accept cultural differences, but to embrace them. It also taught me to more fully appreciate the many good things my American heritage has offered me, as well as to recognize its baggage, from a foreign perspective. Both as a volunteer and FSO, I have sought to dispel the

stereotypes some foreign nationals have about Americans, both positive and negative, or at least to try to explain them.

Another benefit has been the incentive to develop coping mechanisms, such as staying in touch with family and friends back home. It was in the Peace Corps that I first started using e-mail on a regular basis. And it was during my first assignment in the Foreign Service that I started using instant messaging and webcams. Finding new and more effective ways to communicate across many miles and time zones has helped me to overcome bouts of loneliness and frustration.

On the other hand, forming new friendships was equally important, if not more so. I have found that the friendships I formed as a Peace Corps Volunteer have been some of the most significant in my life. This is proving to be equally true in the Foreign Service. I am continually amazed by all the bright and interesting people I have the opportunity to meet. Whether getting to know my FS colleagues, local staff, neighbors or expats at post, it is always an enriching experience. The diversity of people I had the privilege to meet and know in the Peace Corps was enriching and gave me a taste for what life in the Foreign Service would be like and, so far, has been.

Marcia S. Anglarill
Vice Consul
Consulate General
Monterrey

~*~
**THE VALUE OF
“GOING NATIVE”**

The single most important insight from my Peace Corps service in Senegal (1966-1968) that I’ve applied to my Foreign Service career is also the most obvious: Most of the world is not American.

In Senegal, I lived with two nationals. I spoke their language, met their families, befriended their friends, and learned about their (very different) values and religion. For two years, I rarely saw another American, or even another Westerner.

Before joining the Peace Corps just out of college, I had wanted to be a lawyer. Afterward, I knew I wanted an international career. The Foreign Service was always part of the plan (or the hope), but it took me a while to get there. I was sworn in as a junior FSO in 2001 at the age of 58.

Critics of the Foreign Service often complain that we “go native,” identifying more with the countries in which we serve than with the United States. Balderdash! The most effective Foreign Service employees are precisely those who appreciate the extent to which foreign nationals have a different perspective. FSOs do not have to agree with that mindset, but if they do not understand it, their attempts at diplomacy will fail.

Craig Olson
FSO, retired
Arlington, Va.

~*~
**THE “REVERSE
PEACE CORPS”**

Unlike so many others who went from the Peace Corps to the Foreign Service, you could say I did the reverse.

When I moved to New Delhi to accompany my wife on her first tour as a Foreign Service officer, I found a great job in the embassy helping coordinate efforts to fight human trafficking. The job was a nice fit with my experience, and India was a life-changing experience.

While there, I developed the idea of bringing nonprofit leaders from the developing world to the U.S. on a one-year fellowship — what some people have called a “reverse Peace

Corps.” For 47 years Americans have had the opportunity to volunteer abroad, but overseas leaders have not had access to the same experience. (Interestingly, the founders of the Peace Corps intended for overseas leaders to volunteer in the U.S., but after two years the funding for that was cut.) Due to the expense and visa restrictions, it is difficult for someone from the developing world to volunteer in the United States.

While many people I know took their knowledge from the Peace Corps to make them better employees of State, I took my experiences at State to launch a new kind of Peace Corps. I learned about J-1 visas from the consular section and picked up best practices from the public affairs section about the International Visitor Leadership Program. I also borrowed an idea from AmeriCorps, where host organizations (U.S. nonprofits where fellows are placed for one year) cover about 50 percent of the expenses.

After New Delhi, we moved to Bogota. There, after two years of working for State, I launched Atlas Corps (www.atlascorps.org), incorporated it as a nonprofit, and got the Department of Homeland Security to certify it under the Student and Exchange Visitor Program. I found funding from host organizations, foundations, corporations, individuals and even the Colombian government — all despite my mediocre Spanish-language skills.

Last year we launched the program with two fellows from India and four from Colombia, placing them at organizations like Ashoka and the Grameen Foundation. We have now doubled the size of the program, to 12 fellows.

Scott Beale
Founder & Executive
Director
Atlas Service Corps, Inc.
Washington, D.C. ■

FS HERITAGE

LLEWELLYN E. THOMPSON

AND THE TRIESTE NEGOTIATIONS

RESOLVING THE TRIESTE DISPUTE BEFORE IT BECAME A COLD WAR FLASH POINT
WAS A HIGHLIGHT OF AMBASSADOR LLEWELLYN THOMPSON'S CAREER.

By *Jenny and Sherry Thompson*

Llewellyn E. Thompson Jr. (1904-1972), our father, was a long, lean, graceful and absurdly quiet man. Brought up part-time in a small southern Colorado town on the Old Santa Fe Trail and part-time on a sheep and cattle ranch in the remote plains of central New Mexico, he learned to play cards with the Basque cowboys in the ranch bunkhouse. There he perfected the poker face that would serve him so well in his diplomatic career.

His background and his quiet demeanor added to his air of mystery. No one could boast of being very close to him, and people from opposite ends of the political spectrum claimed him as their own. In today's world of celebrity, his life is a reminder of how much can be accomplished through quiet service to one's country.

He is known to Foreign Service officers and Cold War scholars for his ambassadorship to the Soviet Union and his role in the Cuban Missile Crisis. However, his career placed him at other important events that are not commonly known. His unique relationship with Soviet Premier Nikita

Jenny and Sherry Thompson, daughters of Ambassador Llewellyn E. Thompson, are currently working on a book about their father and would greatly appreciate any information or anecdotes from Thompson's former colleagues. Please direct responses or queries to Sherry Thompson at LlewellynThompson@gmail.com.

Khrushchev (previously, U.S. diplomats had had almost no informal access to Soviet officials of any kind) was due in part to the fact that during World War II he had stayed at his post in Moscow even during the siege by the Germans, overseeing both U.S. and British interests when the rest of the diplomatic corps (and much of the Soviet government) had fled to Kuibyshev. When messages had to be relayed from the American ambassador to Premier Joseph Stalin, the young FSO personally delivered them to "Uncle Joe."

Thompson was a clerk, along with Charles "Chip" Bohlen, at the Potsdam Conference. A decade later, he conducted the secret negotiations that led to the settlement of Trieste. On behalf of the United States, he concluded the Austrian State Treaty that restored that nation's sovereignty, and was still in Vienna when the flood of refugees from the Hungarian uprising came streaming across that border. Later, he helped resolve the Berlin Airlift and was present when Nikita Khrushchev revealed the capture of U-2 pilot Gary Powers.

Thompson was the first American official to appear on Soviet television and pioneered the cultural exchanges that included the American Expo Fair in Moscow in 1958. And he was an early architect of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks process.

Sadly, he died at the relatively young age of 68, before he could witness the fall of the Berlin Wall and the end of the Soviet era — but he predicted them as inevitable.

The obscurity of Thompson's accomplishments is not

surprising, as he left a scant paper trail. When he retired in the 1960s, the expected book of memoirs was not forthcoming, even though such friends and colleagues as Chip Bohlen, Jacob Beam and George Kennan were writing or had written theirs. When asked why, Thompson said he felt it would compromise the work of future diplomats if it became practice to divulge behind-the-scene talks. He consistently maintained that it was the results of negotiations and diplomatic work, not the process or personalities, that counted.

“He didn’t give a damn about publicity,” his one-time assistant Leonard Unger recalls, but “he had a very special relationship with the newspaper people; he knew how to work with them” — a useful skill when secrecy was essential. When his wife once complained that credit for his work went to someone else, he said, “Jane, where it matters, they know.” He was right, of course, and after he success-

In a twist on Woodrow Wilson’s dictum, Thompson maintained that “Open covenants are all right, but arriving at them openly is a poor way to achieve them.”

fully concluded the Austrian State Treaty in 1955, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles offered him the ambassadorship to the Soviet Union.

In November 1971, already ill with cancer, he gave an uncharacteristically long interview to historian John

Campbell on the Trieste crisis. He said resolving that matter had given him the most satisfaction in his career, and he thought important lessons had been learned that could prove useful in the future. For that reason, we wish to highlight that episode here.

A Thorny Problem

At the end of World War II, the status of the city of Trieste and the surrounding “Free Territory” was a thorn in everyone’s side. Claimed by both the Yugoslavs and the Italians, it was given to neither. Instead the Americans and British occupied one part that included the city and port of Trieste (Zone A), and the Yugoslavs occupied the other (Zone B) until negotiations could assign the area to one or the other claimant — or both, as happened in the end.

For nearly a decade, the Italians used Trieste to wield political pressure on the U.S. because, as allies, they felt it should go to them. Yugoslav President Josip Tito argued that because Yugoslav partisans had liberated the area from the Germans, it should be theirs. Repeated attempts to bring the two contenders to the negotiating table proved fruitless, even though geopolitical interests made this a Gordian knot in the heart of Europe that everyone wanted untied as soon as possible.

So seemingly intractable was the situation that in October 1953 Clare Boothe Luce, U.S. ambassador to Italy (and wife of media magnate Henry Luce), convinced President Dwight Eisenhower and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill to pull out their troops and give their section to Italy. This became known as the October 8th Declaration. Luce argued that, otherwise, the communists would win the next Italian election, even implying it might jeopardize Eisenhower’s own re-election.

While the ambassador understood the Italians, she did not assess the



Ambassador Llewellyn Thompson, wife Jane, and daughters Jenny and Andy arriving in Vienna, 1952.

Balkan mentality correctly, for she assumed that the Yugoslavs would be satisfied with retaining Zone B. Instead, a serious crisis erupted, with troops on each side of the border ready to confront each other, both (ironically) supplied by the United States.

So State came up with a new strategy. Since the Italians and Yugoslavs refused to negotiate directly, the “occupying” forces — the U.S., Britain and Yugoslavia — would negotiate a solution on their behalf. The Italians, inferring an American and British predisposition to their side, did not object. Nor did the Yugoslavs, happy the Italians were not included.

The talks were to start in London in January 1954, but in secret, to avoid another public failure. The Yugoslavs appointed Vladimir Velebit, a Trieste, as their representative. Geoffrey W. Harrison, assistant under-secretary of state in the British Foreign Office, would negotiate for the British. Julius Holmes, who was on assignment at the European Desk at State and had been embroiled in the debates over Trieste for years, was the logical person to represent the United States. But his candidacy was rejected because he was being investigated by the Justice Department for alleged financial wrongdoing linked to surplus ship transactions. Holmes’ problems were known only to a few, so Thompson’s appointment to head the talks came as a surprise, given the fact that he was already fully occupied as chief of mission in Vienna.

Thompson went home to break the news to his wife, who was pregnant. He genuinely, but erroneously, believed he was a placeholder and that his assignment would last a few weeks or a month. Luckily, he had a strong staff in Vienna headed by a very able deputy chief of mission, Charles Yost, whom he trusted completely. The unusually close sense of teamwork that developed there has

***The secrecy, trust
and empathy Amb.
Thompson demonstrated
throughout the
negotiations were the
keys to cutting the
Gordian knot.***

been attested to by many.

Thompson left Vienna on Jan. 22, 1954, for Washington, just after his daughter Sherry was born — supposedly for briefings on Austria. Then it was on to London, ostensibly to buy

clothes. He went on “buying clothes” until the following October!

Thompson avidly followed news of the weight gain of his new daughter, along with the weight loss of her mother, by post. It was a difficult time to be apart, and they wrote constantly.

Thompson complained in his letters home that London was expensive and cold. He had a lot of background reading and “homework,” which he could only do under the bedcovers because it was so cold in his little room at the Connaught Hotel (not so posh as it is now). He could not contact anyone to keep his whereabouts secret, so he spent his free time wandering around the city window shopping, attending concerts, going to horse races and solving chess problems. He complained about the food, too; when the talks finally ended nine months later, this already lanky man had become almost skeletal.



Photo: Amb. Thompson leaving Austrian State Treaty meeting in Vienna, 1955. Inset: Thompson receiving the Medal of Freedom from President Kennedy.

The Talks Begin

Perhaps Thompson's most important achievement in the negotiations was convincing both sides that he was an honest broker — not easy, following the October 8th Declaration. His instructions from Washington were, in his own words, “hopelessly lopsided in favour of Italy.” Taking advantage of Secretary Dulles' presence in Paris, Thompson went to see him and was able to get his orders modified. Still, it took Thompson and Harrison more than two weeks to convince Velebit that “our interest was due to wider issues at stake and not just some maneuver in an Italian game.”

The Importance of Secrecy. What might have been an inconsequential dinner between Thompson and Velebit, colleagues from a previous posting in Rome, changed the whole configuration and character of the talks. During a February 1954 dinner, the two men confided in each

*Llewellyn Thompson's
life is a reminder of
how much can be
accomplished through
quiet service to
one's country.*

other enough for Thompson to tell Harrison that he had made more progress in those few hours than in all the previous days at the negotiating table. He realized that to get down to essentials, it was necessary to remove the audience. Thus, at his suggestion, all three principals dismissed their

entire delegations so they could engage in frank discussions. In a twist on Woodrow Wilson's dictum, Thompson maintained that “Open covenants are all right, but arriving at them openly is a poor way to achieve them.” And years later, he observed, “Our greatest weakness in diplomacy, in my opinion, is our inability to keep our mouths shut.”

In the Other Man's Shoes. Thompson knew that understanding the problems and tactics of the other side is essential to good negotiating, and he had already learned at Potsdam that one of the greatest requirements in dealing with the communists was patience. Because of the rigidity of their system, it was never wise to spring a new move on them or expect immediate answers.

For the communists, the most important factor was to save face, and not necessarily to seek a mutually advantageous compromise. In the case of Trieste, offering the Yugoslavs predominantly Slavic hinterland territory in exchange for predominantly Italian coastal towns seemed eminently reasonable, but it put Tito in an awkward position. Residents in the hinterland towns would move in order to stay in Italy and Yugoslav fishermen in the coastal towns would have to defect to Italy to access the sea in order to continue fishing.

Recognizing it would be embarrassing for the Yugoslavs to have an “exodus of people going into Italy,” Thompson offered a new deal to avoid this. He added solutions to port access, reparation payments and minority rights, intentionally creating an interdependence that ensured profitable, long-term cooperation.

Hole 9

Velebit did not want to reveal his government's maximum position because he anticipated the Italians would make a counterproposal to whatever was brought forward. So he



Thompson (center) with President Dwight D. Eisenhower (left) and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, 1958. Inset: Thompson (left) with Nikita Khrushchev and Moscow DCM Boris Klosson (right) at Spaso House.

suggested presenting something less grand to leave room for bargaining.

Although Thompson had also predicted the likelihood of a counterproposal, he argued against manipulating the Italians through deception. (In a talk Thompson would later give at the Foreign Service Institute to future diplomats on negotiating tactics, he said: "I would like to give one piece of advice which applies to all diplomacy as well as negotiation. . . . You will find it elaborated with great skill in Harold Nicholson's writings and it may be summed up by saying that no matter whom you are dealing with, honesty is the best policy.")

The Yugoslavs then pressed for a guarantee that Washington and London would impose their solution on Italy, but Thompson would not give in on that, either. It was clear to him that they would, in effect, be presenting the Italians with a *fait accompli* that the Italians would not accept any more than the Yugoslavs would have. So he made it clear to Velebit they would have to present these concessions only as proposals.

Having started out demanding the entire area of Trieste, including the city itself, the Yugoslavs had finally agreed to a division along the A/B Zone border, but with a slight adjustment on the northern side to encompass the town of Punta Sotille on the seashore, in favor of the Yugoslavs. In exchange, they would give Italy a comparable triangle of land in Zone B, which became known to the Western negotiators as the "rock pile" because it was an uninhabited rocky bit of land with no discernable redeeming value.

When this and other proposals were taken to the Italians for approval, they reacted heatedly. Letting the Yugoslavs have Punta Sotille, which overlooked the Trieste port, would jeopardize the very existence of the Italian government.

The talks thus stalemated over a

piece of land the Americans referred to as "Hole 9," because the territory was not much bigger than the ninth green at the Chevy Chase Golf Club. U.S. Acting Secretary of State Walter Bedell Smith commented that a minor concession on Trieste was in Yugoslavia's own interest because it would lead to reparation payments by Rome of up to \$30 million, "the most profitable real estate deal he had ever heard of." Yet the Yugoslavs would not budge. Nor would the Italians.

What finally removed the stumbling block was simple ego massaging. Thompson had written early in the negotiations that a final gap was inevitable and that a direct, high-level appeal would be needed to bridge it. He now suggested this be expressed in a personal letter from Pres. Eisenhower.

Robert Murphy, an important diplomat and personal friend of the president, made the pilgrimage to see Tito, travelling not just to Belgrade but all the way to Brioni, where the leader was playing "hard to get." The letter from Eisenhower made Tito feel that the president and great World War II general was talking to him as an equal, and in September 1954 Tito agreed to let the Italians have Punta Sotille in exchange for the "rock pile." To avoid amending the Italian Peace Treaty signed at the end of World War II, this agreement remained a memorandum of understanding until it was ratified in the Treaty of Osimo in 1975.

Cutting the Gordian Knot

The U.S. wanted regional stability, and the fact that the agreement lasted until 1975 attests to its success. But had all the months of quibbling really been necessary? Couldn't Washington and London simply have come up with a reasonable deal and made the two countries accept it?

Not likely. The prospect of being forced to accept a diktat by the two

Western powers was simply not feasible, politically or personally, for either Yugoslavia or Italy. National and personal egos would not have allowed it, and the region would have remained a potentially dangerous focus for conflict.

The negotiations' general secrecy allowed the two countries to accept the U.S. and U.K. as brokers without having to consider national pride on a world stage. The private talks among Velebit, Harrison and Thompson, without their entourages as audience, allowed them to build trust and be honest with each other. And the ability of each side to come to agreement without force and to claim victory saved face for everyone.

In the end, the secrecy, trust and empathy our father demonstrated throughout the negotiations were the keys to cutting the Gordian knot. ■

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ZAHRA'S CHRISTMAS

A LOCAL EMPLOYEE'S ENTHUSIASM AND HOPE THROW A STARK LIGHT ON THE UNCERTAINTY
AND TURMOIL OF THE AMERICAN INTERVENTION IN IRAQ.

BY RACHEL SCHNELLER

It was December in Iraq, but it didn't feel like the Middle East. It was Seattle-cold and drizzly, not like in the movies where the Arabian Peninsula is sand dunes and blistering sun. Mud, gravel and thick, dark dust caked my shoes, my hair and the floors of my office and the trailer where I slept. There was no Middle Eastern hummus or shawarma or strong, sugary tea. Our dining facility, staffed by a Texas contracting company, served Southern specialties like ham hocks and collard greens and fried potatoes, fried steaks, fried everything. The only other vegetable served seemed to be boiled broccoli. There wasn't an eggplant or a stuffed grape leaf in sight.

This was my third month in Iraq on a volunteer Foreign Service assignment in one of the southern provinces. Our small State Department office was situated in a military enclave and surrounded with security and logistics contrac-

tors. My duties included meeting with provincial government officials, community leaders and reconstruction experts. I listened to them and wrote reports. I tried to help make our efforts better coordinated and less confusing for everyone involved.

"Do you know where I could find red ribbons?" Zahra cut into my thoughts with her question. She was one of our Iraqi political assistants.

I knew she wanted ribbons because the contractors on the compound were holding a contest for Christmas door-decorating as a morale-boosting project. There were even prizes for the best ones. The contest had motivated Zahra to mind-boggling levels. She had crafted a life-size snowman out of cotton balls on her office door, even though she had never seen real snow. Its eyes were dates she had brought in from the city.

"Red ribbon? Zahra, your door is already the best one here. What else can you possibly put on it?"

"It's a surprise," she said. Her dark eyes gleamed. Zahra's headscarf and conservative clothing covered up her body, focusing the light on her expressive eyes.

As far as I could see, Zahra was enjoying the Christmas door contest more than anyone else on the compound. I realized that as a Shiite Muslim living most of her life under Saddam, she probably had not had much chance to have fun. Plus, she had not grown up in America, where Christmas had become a materialistic shopping marathon that started in November and ended in a debt-induced stupor in January.

I shared my office with two other reporting officers. We

Rachel Schneller joined the Foreign Service in 2001, serving in Skopje, USUN, Conakry, Basrah and the Office of Multilateral Trade Affairs in the Bureau of Economic Energy and Business Affairs. She received AFSA's William R. Rivkin Award for Constructive Dissent in 2008 for speaking out about the occurrence of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder in Foreign Service personnel returning from war zones.

This story won third place in the Journal's 2008 Foreign Service Fiction Contest.

had decorated our door half-heartedly with colored paper and red ribbon in a sort of abstract collage in Christmas colors. We still had some ribbon left and I gave it to Zahra.

Later that day I went to look at Zahra's door to see what she had done with the ribbon. She had cut out squares of green and white paper to create a pile of gifts on her door and used the ribbon to decorate them. The paper gifts lay underneath a Christmas tree crafted from plastic pine boughs — God knew where she had found them in Iraq, where pine trees didn't exist. Red balls — real Christmas decorations — hung from the tree's branches.

All of us were taking a bit of a breather from work. The election the previous week had gone well, with no major security issues and a high voter turnout. We had worked around the clock in the weeks leading up to the election, tracking the delivery of ballots to polling stations, following the training of monitors, and getting updates from the local police on security plans. Now that the election was over and we had sent our last report up to Baghdad, we were all relaxing a bit. A national government had been elected, and the situation in Iraq would improve.

Back at my office, my office mates Bill and Parker were looking skeptically at our door.

"This is pathetic. Where's our Christmas spirit?" Parker criticized. His eyes darted around the room, looking for anything that could spruce up our door.

"This door sucks. Zahra is putting us all to shame. And she's not even Christian," Bill said.

Parker grabbed a stack of white paper coffee filters from our cabinet coffee station and started ruffling them up. They fluffed out into a sort of corsage, and he tacked it to the middle of our door. It did look sort of festive, like a small pom-pom.

"We need something else," Bill said. "We need a Christmas tree or something."

"All we have is this potted palm," I said. There was a three-foot-high droopy palm tree in our office. I suspected the palm looked sick because people kept emptying their coffee cups into its soil.

"That'll work." Bill grabbed some paper stars and began taping them to the palm's leaves. Parker grabbed a hideous plastic flower arrangement from the office, pulled some plastic roses out of it, and began stabbing the stems into the palm's dirt like fertilizer sticks. The whole thing looked

awful, but at least we had made an effort.

The next day I went by Zahra's office to go over the day's scheduling. The door-judging would take place in three days, so everyone had pretty much finished with decorating. When I got to her door, I stopped to take in the scene. Zahra was carefully tacking up blinking colored lights to outline the Christmas tree on her door. Zahra had a degree in civil engineering, so I was not surprised to see that she had found a way to attach several extension cords to the lights and plug them in down the hallway.

"Zahra, you're going to win this contest anyway. You can take it easy now."

"Do you really think I could win?" Zahra asked. In her eyes, I saw her worry was genuine. I was taking it for granted that the best door would win. The way Zahra looked at it, the door judges were all American male contractors — and in her experience, winners of contests were the friends and relatives of the judges. No one ever won anything because they deserved to win. I could tell she wanted to believe the door-decorating contest would be a meritocracy. She just was not convinced.

Friday and Saturday were days off for the Iraqi employees. For us Americans, work continued. Days blended into each other so much that I had started keeping track of what day it was by what was served in the dining facility. Friday was steak night. As tasty as the grilled beef was, I couldn't help but think how good some baba ghanouj would be. After three months in Iraq, the only Middle Eastern food I had eaten were the dates and sweets Zahra brought in from the outside. She started feeding me bits of flaky, pistachio-filled baklava with pity in her eyes after our first lunch together in the dining facility. Sometime the food served in the dining hall, ham hocks that looked like leather dog toys, seemed more foreign to me than the rice pilaf and yogurt sauces I knew were being eaten by Iraqi families outside the compound walls. Some nights, I could swear I could smell roasted lamb wafting up over the walls.



The Saturday before Christmas, a chilly day, began as always with the call to prayer. It came from a mosque located immediately outside our compound walls, a mosque I never saw once during my whole year in Iraq. But today, inside the compound walls, it was Christmas. The contrac-

*After three months in
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Zahra brought in from
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tors were playing carols over the security loudspeakers.

I had volunteered for the assignment in Iraq out of curiosity more than anything else. In 2005, two years after the initial invasion, we were still there. I wanted to know why. I wanted to help push things along so life could go back to the way it was before.

So here I was, one of 13 women in a compound of 400 men. One of 10 State Department personnel in a sea of contractors for logistics and security. Vastly outnumbered, and surrounded by people who seemed friendly and hostile at the same time.

“What do you think this is?”

It was one of the judges for the door-decorating contest. He was talking to his buddy, another contractor. Two large men in cargo pants and long-sleeved jerseys with lots of facial hair. They were looking at our potted palm, which had acquired a fluffy paper boa, making the poor plant look like an old lady out on a shopping trip. I suspected Parker was behind this last-ditch effort.

“This is our Christmas tree,” I said, as if it were obvious.

“Hmm. Interesting.” The two judges marked something down on their clipboards. They turned to me, looked me up and down.

“Hey, missy, what do you do here?” one of them asked. I was used to this kind of flirtation by now. As one of the few women on the compound, I knew I was an item of interest.

“I work for the State Department. This is my office.” I pointed to the open door where I worked with Bill and Parker.

“Never been up here before,” the first guy said, peering into the office. “What do you guys do?”

“We work with the local government, try to get the reconstruction efforts coordinated. That sort of thing.”

“Really. I didn’t know we were doing that.”

***“Didn’t know we had
State Department folks
on this compound,”
the two contractors
said as they left.***

I was getting uncomfortable with the way they were staring at me, like they hadn’t seen a woman in months. Come to think of it, they probably hadn’t.

“What do you do?” I asked them, backing up against the wall. Suddenly, I wished I were wearing a headscarf.

“Forklift.”

“Dog handler.”

Every other week or so, our compound received shipments of food and water and mail that arrived on heavy pallets. The pallets could only be moved by forklift. We also had five or six dogs on compound that sniffed for explosives in cars and trucks coming into the compound.

“Didn’t know we had State Department folks on this compound,” they said as they left.

When I think of Zahra now I remember her in purple, as she was the day she won the door contest. Flowing lavender tunic over dark, loose trousers. A white head sock covering her hair, wrapped in a purple hijab. Gold jewelry at her neck and on her wrists. A tiny diamond sparkling in her nose.

In our minds, there was no way she could not have won. Even though it was Saturday and her day off, she

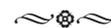
came to work that morning, earlier than usual. Parker had seen her putting finishing touches on her door and plugging in the blinking lights.

“She said she was worried someone else might ruin her door,” Bill said. “Sabotage.”

“Really?” I said. “For a Christmas door-decorating contest? What was the prize, anyway?”

“Zahra won a CD player. She seems really happy.”

It was true. When I saw Zahra later that day, she was glowing. Purple was a good color for her, and I noticed her jewelry. She had dressed up for the occasion.



It was a Sunday in June when I learned that assassins on motorbikes had followed Zahra and her husband home from the compound that day and shot them each in the head while they waited at a traffic signal.

This is how we learned of her death: at the morgue, the Iraqi morticians went through Zahra’s pockets. When they found the cell phone they were looking for, they looked through the last numbers dialed from Zahra’s phone. Assuming that she would have been in close contact with her family, the morticians called the last registered number, thinking they would get a family member who could come collect her body. What the morticians didn’t know was that Zahra never called her family on her work phone because she would never put her family at such risk of being identified in association with the Americans. So when the morticians called the last registered number on her work phone, they got me.

When I pieced together what they were telling me, between my tiny bits of Arabic and their broken English, the first entirely clear thought that came to me was how efficient their system for locating family members

was. My first entirely clear feeling was guilt, because I realized that after working with Zahra for the past nine months, I did not know how to contact her family, either. I had never asked.

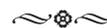
In the end, the task of contacting her family to collect her body from the morgue fell to another one of our employees. By this time in June, there were so many roadside bombs that we rarely left the compound and we were unable to travel about the city ourselves. The other Iraqi employee quit as soon as he had located the family and informed them of Zahra's death. He fled to Dubai the following week.

Without Zahra's help as political assistant, we were unable to set up meetings with local officials. When the security situation deteriorated further, as it did throughout the rest of the country, we were at an even

*When I recall Zahra
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greater loss to explain why. When I read through headlines on the Internet in my office, I could not blame the reporters for getting it wrong. Those of us on the receiving end of nightly mortar and rocket

attacks could not identify our attackers or explain their motivation, either.



When I recall Zahra now I think of her in purple, standing next to her Christmas door, as excited as a child opening presents, emanating hope. I think how much she wanted to believe it all was true, that peace and stability had returned to her country after decades of repression under Saddam Hussein. How much she wanted to believe that she now lived in a world where the best door would win the Christmas prize.

This is how I will remember Iraq. How it was cold, not hot. How I ate pork in a Muslim country. How I heard the call to prayer mingling with Christmas carols the day of the door-judging. How hard I wanted to believe I was working for peace. ■



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BY MARY GRACE MCGEEHAN

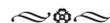
Whatever else anyone might say about me, it's a safe bet that no one ever learned more from their Foreign Service mentor than I did. I wrote down some of these lessons in my diary before my mentor told me never to keep a diary in Washington. That was one lesson. Here's another: To get to the top, you have to be kind of a jerk, but not too much of one. Another one: 95 percent of the seventh floor's attention is devoted to 5 percent of the world.

One unusual thing about these lessons is that they were delivered not over watery, overpriced turkey sandwiches in the State Department cafeteria but at my mentor's house near the National Cathedral. Another unusual thing: this

Mary Grace McGeehan joined the Foreign Service in 1986, and has served in Mexico, Cambodia, Haiti and, twice, in South Africa. In Washington, she has worked on the South Africa and Vietnam desks and in the Office of the Inspector General. Her most recent assignment was as deputy chief of mission in Vientiane. She is currently on a yearlong leave of absence in Cape Town, South Africa.

This story won fourth place in the Journal's 2008 FS Fiction Contest.

take on the department leadership came not from, say, a burned-out consular officer but from the under secretary of State for political affairs. Or, as everyone in the Foreign Service knew him, P.



We were assigned our mentors a few weeks into A-100. Like boys brought in for a dance at a girls' school, they filed in and stood along the sides of our classroom. Halfway into this, Gray, my only A-100 friend, leaned over and muttered, "Seventh-floor sighting at eight o'clock." I looked over my left shoulder and there was P, who had addressed our class the week before. He was in his early 40s, with brown hair, and was wearing a blue pinstriped suit. In other words, he looked like any other FSO. Except, of course, he wasn't. In the State Department, he was the Alpha Male.

As the woman from Human Resources ran through the match-ups, my classmates pretended to be pleased as they were paired with aviation specialists, post management officers and deputy office directors. Everyone was waiting to see who got the prize. The tension rose as the field of potential P mentees got smaller, like at the Miss America contest when they list the runners-up and the remaining contestants are thinking, "Am I going home wearing that tiara, or will I not even be third runner-up?" Except for me. After only a few weeks in the Foreign Service, I had

developed just one goal: to be ignored. It figured, then, that with five or six people remaining, they called my name along with P's. As a buzz arose in the room, the only voice I heard distinctly was that of Amanda, my arch-enemy, saying, "Oh, wouldn't you know."

P and I chitchatted awkwardly as we headed to the FSI cafeteria. Where was I from? Westchester. Cone? Political. College? Georgetown. I didn't have anything to ask him, since Amanda, who had finagled the responsibility of introducing him to the class, had done so at considerable length. I knew that he had joined the Foreign Service right out of college, that his overseas postings included Bonn, Cairo and Jerusalem, and that he was the youngest under secretary ever. Amanda hadn't mentioned a wife and children.

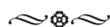
In the cafeteria, he took in the long line of people waiting to get trays and silverware and looked at his watch. "How about if we go over to the department?" he asked. Fifteen minutes in a Lincoln Town Car later, we were in the eighth-floor dining room. An hour after that, when my classmates had long since finished what in many cases turned out to be not just their first but also their last encounter with their mentors, we were still talking. The meal was not much better than the usual department cafeteria fare, but neither of us paid much attention to the food.

Over the next two weeks, we met for after-work drinks at Kinkead's, dinner at the Old Ebbitt Grill and a ballet at the Kennedy Center. All through the ballet, we kept looking at each other and smiling. As he was dropping me off at home, he looked into my eyes and said, "Would it be all right if I ..."

"Yes?" I asked.

"... If I asked the ethics office if mentor and mentee fall into the category of prohibited romantic relationships?" he asked.

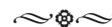
It wasn't the most romantic overture I'd ever received, but at least I knew where I stood. I said yes, the lawyers gave us their blessing, P resigned officially as my mentor, and we were off and running. Or, more precisely, off and walking.



It would have taken a much more grounded person than I not to be swept away. I mean, think about it. I was 24, in A-100, living in a group house, and he was ... well,

he was P. Somehow, though, I got the idea that the way to hold onto him was to be unavailable. Or, rather, to act unavailable. In truth, I was as available as sand on the beach. But I acted like Doris Day, occasionally turning down dates because of made-up schedule conflicts and claiming every single night that I had to get up early the next morning. It was all an act, of course — I was a normal 21st-century girl, not Tess of the d'Urbervilles.

What did we talk about? Pretty much the same things I'd talked about with guys at Georgetown. The Middle East. Whether sanctions work. The idiotic editorial in that morning's *Post*. The difference was that these conversations took place not at G.U. student hangouts like the Tombs, but at Washington power-broker hangouts like Café Milano. And instead of hanging out with his fraternity brothers, we ran into people from his crowd: the *New York Times* globalization guy, the deputy national security adviser, and the head of the Senate's Asia subcommittee.



Meanwhile, back in A-100, the knives were out. They had been from day one, when I stood up along with everyone else and did my two-minute, all-about-me presentation. I'd emphasized my international relations major and my interest in Third World conflicts and glossed over my previous employment, muttering something about having done a little acting. After we all finished, Gray asked me what I'd acted in, and I told him the name of the hospital soap opera I'd had a small part on for the past year. "Oh, my God!" he yelled. "I knew you looked familiar! You're Nurse Melanie!" By the time the break was over, everyone knew.

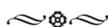
I hate telling people I used to be on television. There are only two possible reactions. The first one is, "How could you leave?" A surprising number of my classmates took this line. It made no difference that Gray was the only one who had ever actually seen the show. No one bought my explanation about how long and exhausting the hours were, how the pay wasn't all that great, and how the work was basically meaningless. "But you were on television," they protested.

I could understand this if I'd left the soap for a job at, say, a bowling alley, but here I was working for one of the most prestigious institutions in the country, more or less

guaranteed a long, stable career doing things that, at least in theory, could make the world a better place. I was a little disturbed about what this said about our culture. In any case, Nurse Melanie had probably been just months away from getting a fatal disease or dying in a car accident. They go through nurses like Sani-Wipes at that hospital. A few people end up with permanent roles, but I was no great shakes as an actress and not pretty enough for that to be disregarded.

The other reaction I get is, “Oh, really? I’m not familiar with that show. I don’t watch much television.” This line, delivered in a fake-apologetic tone, is common in Washington. Amanda and a few of her acolytes — she was already consolidating her power base as de facto class leader — fell into this camp. So did our A-100 coordinator, Pamela Groebler, whose goal in life was to make us into serious, mature FSO types who would not embarrass her by singing the “Gilligan’s Island” theme song on the shuttle bus or wearing leopard-print miniskirts and flip-flops to the Operations Center, to name (as she often did) two of the sins of the class before us.

Luckily, I had Gray. He was our class expert on the Foreign Service, having spent two years in Vienna when his boyfriend, David, was a cultural officer there. Gray had taken the high school choir he directed to Austria over spring break, met David at an embassy reception, and never gone back to Kansas City.



A few weeks into the P thing, which in an uncharacteristic fit of discretion I hadn’t told Gray about, he and I were sitting in the FSI cafeteria a few tables away from Amanda and her coterie. I was whining, as usual, about how everyone just

***I could understand this if
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at, say, a bowling alley,
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prestigious institutions
in the country.***

thought of me as Nurse Melanie. Gray looked around to make sure no one was listening, leaned toward me, and whispered, “If you don’t watch yourself, you’re going to *wish* everyone thought of you as Nurse Melanie.”

“What do you mean?” I asked.

“As opposed to, say, P’s new entry-level cookie.”

“How did you know?”

“Come on, how dumb do you think I am? I mean, the ballet. The guy works 16 hours a day. His executive assistant, who’s a friend of David’s, hasn’t seen his kids in two months. What else would he be doing at ‘The Rite of Spring?’”

“I’m sorry, I was going to tell you,” I said. “It’s just that I still can’t really believe it. I mean, why me? He could go out with anyone.”

“Yet, unfathomably, he passes up hundreds of women who think that a buttoned-up Oxford shirt with a long string of pearls is an acceptable fashion choice, in favor of a blond former actress. It does boggle the mind.”

“Oh, come on,” I said. “It’s not like the men in the State Department are any better dressed. Someone needs to tell them that ‘washable’ is not the most desirable quali-

ty in a suit.”

“Too true, but irrelevant to this discussion.”

“We’ve been discreet,” I said.

“Well, it’s out there. David heard some mid-level CDOs talking about it on the shuttle bus yesterday. If you don’t think Amanda and her evil minions are 10 seconds away from catching on, you’re nuts. You don’t understand how small the State Department is. It’s like a high school.”

“So, what, I shouldn’t see him anymore?”

“No. Do whatever you want. Just don’t complain when no one takes you seriously.”

“Why? I don’t see what my social life has to do with my career. And I’m as qualified to be an FSO as anyone else. I won an award for my thesis about ...”

“That’s another thing. Blathering on about the balance of power in the Caucasus isn’t going to win friends and influence people. Haven’t you noticed that no one else around here ever actually talks about foreign policy?”

Some classmates joined us and we hastily changed the subject to the bid list, a topic of obsessive interest to everyone. I didn’t have a chance to talk to Gray for the rest of the day and I went home feeling like I didn’t have a friend in the Foreign Service, besides P, of course, and look where that had gotten me. In any case, things seemed to have cooled down lately on that front. Between two cancellations from him because of foreign policy emergencies and one fake schedule conflict from me, we hadn’t seen each other in more than a week.

Maybe I should just give it all up and go back to the soap opera, I thought. They hadn’t killed off Nurse Melanie when I left, just sent her off to Canada to look for her birth mother. I’d heard that my successor,

Nurse Tracy, was having trouble memorizing her lines. I was about to pick up the phone to call Clayton, my best friend on the show, who had managed to hold down the small part of Orderly Tyrone for over 10 years, when the SMS signal on my cell phone beeped. The message from Gray read: "Come over and share the secrets of your girlish heart." Half an hour later, I arrived at the fancy Penn Quarter condo building where he and David lived.

Gray was sitting on the sofa with a steaming towel around his neck, drinking hot lemon tea. He waved but didn't say anything. "The Washington Chorus is doing Beethoven's 'Ninth' with the National Symphony tonight, so he's saving his voice," David said, rolling his eyes. David didn't share Gray's musical tastes. He and some Foreign Service friends had a not-very-good punk

band called the Bilateral Irritants. The voice-saving did seem like overkill, since the chorus had 200 members and Gray didn't have a solo.

Gray pointed at me, made a sign-language P, and gave a thumbs-up. "He says he thinks it's great about you two," David said. I could have figured that out. Then Gray made a pained face. "He's sorry if he acted like a jerk. It's just that he's worried that you're going to get hurt. Not by P, but by all of the people in the Foreign Service who have nothing better to do than trash people they're jealous of." That seemed like a lot to read into one grimace. Presumably, he and David had discussed this earlier.

"So, what am I supposed to do?" I asked.

"Don't worry, we have a plan," David said.

"To get people to take me seriously?" I asked.

"No. The trick is *not* to take yourself seriously. You have to embrace your inner Nurse Melanie. You have public speaking training coming up, right?"

"That's right. We're supposed to explain how to do something. My speech is on 'How to Mediate an International Conflict.'"

"Not anymore it isn't," David said. "Here's what you're going to do."



A week later, I was standing in front of 20 classmates in my soap opera costume. Unlike real-life nurses these days, who look like they're wearing children's pajamas, Nurse Melanie wore a proper uniform with a white dress and a little starched cap. I, of all people, shouldn't have been nervous in front of a camera, but I felt an unfamiliar fluttering in my

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stomach as Bill, our instructor, said, "Action!" and the red light went on.

"I'm not a nurse, but I played one on TV," I said. "And I'm here to share some lessons we learned at Suburban General about how not to run a hospital." Suddenly I was Nurse Melanie again, saying my lines, and I was fine.

"Rule No. 1," I said. "Don't attempt to administer anesthesia when you're drunk." Gray hit the PowerPoint remote and a still came up showing Dr. Robert Giles with his head in his hands as he stood in front of a lifeless patient. I continued with my advice. Don't hire people who claim to be doctors without checking their medical credentials. Don't take on your husband's secret love child as a psychiatric patient.

It worked. There was applause and laughter as I finished the last rule, "Don't get into fistfights during surgery." This was accompanied by a

After the class quieted down, Bill said, "Well, I clearly have nothing to teach Nurse Melanie about public speaking."

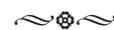
video of Nurse Melanie lying on the floor being pummeled by Nurse Julie, who erroneously suspected Melanie of having an affair with her fiancé, rich bad-boy Rory Hathaway.

After the class quieted down, Bill said, "Well, I clearly have nothing to

teach Nurse Melanie about public speaking."

Then Pamela Groebler, who must have walked in during my presentation, stood up in front of the class. "That is not what I had in mind for a class on public speaking in the Foreign Service," she said.

The room fell into a glum silence as Marnie Watkins, who had grown up on an organic farm in Iowa, took the floor to tell us about chemical-free ways to get rid of aphids. In the back row, Amanda was smirking.



As we lined up for the shuttle after class, I said to Gray, "Thanks for nothing. That was excruciating. I'm going back to New York."

"Are you crazy?" he answered. "You killed! You succeeded beyond my wildest dreams."

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I said, "Pamela Groebler hates me. What's so triumphant about that?"

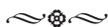
Marnie came up to us and said, "Don't listen to what that witch says. No one can stand her." She really said "witch." I guess that's how people talk in Iowa.

Sophie Thurston, who used to work at the U.S. Trade Representative's office, got in line behind us. "I heard that they parked her over here in orientation because the Secretary didn't want to see her face after she screwed up those Latin American trade negotiations," she said.

As the bus pulled out of the parking lot, Gray started humming atonally.

"What are you doing?" I asked.

"Shh, I'm finding the key." A few notes later, he started singing, "Just sit right back and hear a tale, a tale of a fateful trip..." By the time we pulled out onto Arlington Boulevard, the bus rang with the sound of 50 voices singing, "If not for the courage of the fearless crew, the *Minnnow* would be lost." Even Amanda joined in. For someone who supposedly never watched TV, she had an excellent grasp of the lyrics.

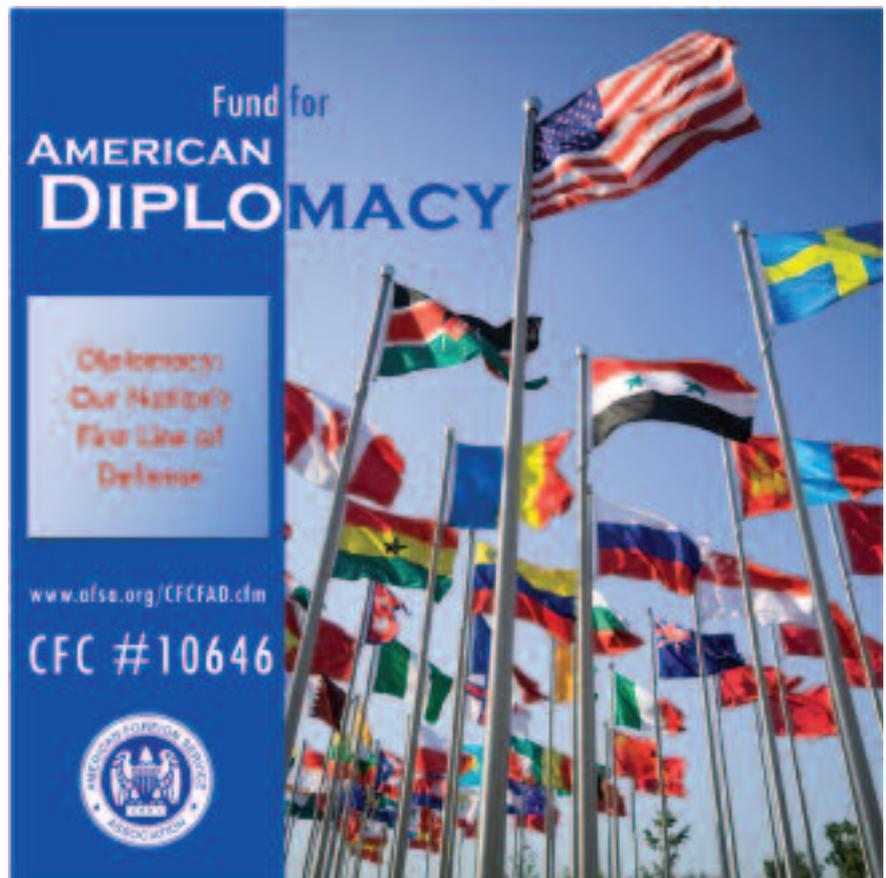


As we got off at C Street, I asked Gray if he wanted to go out and celebrate.

"No," he said. "There's one more thing you need to do." P had just returned from a weeklong trip to the Middle East. I hadn't heard from him the whole time. I'd confessed to Gray how much I missed him — P the person, not just the excitement of being swept up in his world. I was tired of playing games.

"You're right," I said. Still wearing my nurse's uniform, I went into the department, got into the elevator, and pushed seven.

That day, for the first time anyone could remember, P left work on time. ■



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Foreign Service personnel and civil service employees of Department of State, AID, DOD, FAS and FCS are eligible to enroll in the FOREIGN SERVICE BENEFIT PLAN.

SAME GREAT SERVICE FOR 2009

- Foreign claims rarely subject to Plan allowance
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FOREIGN SERVICE BENEFIT PLAN

1716 N Street, NW • Washington, DC 20036-2902

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FAX: (202) 833-4918

E-MAIL: health@afspa.org

WEBSITE: www.afspa.org/fsbp

The FOREIGN SERVICE BENEFIT PLAN is sponsored by the
AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION

Underwritten by Coventry Health Care

This is a brief description of the features of the Foreign Service Benefit Plan. Before making a final decision, please read the Plan's Federal brochure (RI 72-001). All benefits are subject to the definitions, limitations, and exclusions set forth in the Federal brochure.

AFSA NEWS

American Foreign Service Association • November 2008

AAD'S LANDMARK STUDY

Blueprint for Strengthening Diplomacy

BY JOHN NALAND, AFSA PRESIDENT

The next U.S. president needs to hire nearly 50 percent more diplomats and development professionals, according to a landmark study issued last month by the American Academy of Diplomacy and the Stimson Center. The report, *A Foreign Affairs Budget for the Future: Fixing the Crisis in Diplomatic Readiness*, finds that the State Department, USAID and related organizations lack the tools to execute the president's foreign policies. It calls for urgent investments to rebuild America's foreign affairs capability.

In releasing the study, project chairman

Ambassador Thomas Boyatt stated: "This report will provide Congress and the next president with a blueprint for fixing the human capital crisis that has hobbled United States diplomacy worldwide, crippled its response to crises, and inappropriately thrown additional foreign policy burdens on the military in recent years."

The report's recommendations in the four major categories of foreign affairs activity — core diplomacy, public diplomacy, economic assistance and reconstruction/stabilization — include:

- Increase State Department direct-hire

Continued on page 79

DISSENT AWARDS:

UNIQUE TO THE FOREIGN SERVICE

First Call for AFSA Award Nominations 2009

BY BARBARA BERGER, PROFESSIONAL ISSUES COORDINATOR

Who among your colleagues has had the courage to challenge the system — on any subject?

In 2008, AFSA celebrated the 40th anniversary of the Constructive Dissent Awards program, which recognizes and encourages constructive dissent and risk-taking in the Foreign Service. A Foreign Service dedicated to individual excel-

"What country can preserve its liberties if its rulers are not warned from time to time that their people preserve the spirit of resistance?"

— Thomas Jefferson

lence, independent thinking and the intellectual courage to challenge conventional wisdom is especially needed now, as the nation faces new and complicated issues both abroad and at home. FS employees at all grades and in all agencies put their lives and the lives of their families at risk to advance America's interests. AFSA's dissent awards offer an opportunity to recognize the critical contributions made by our colleagues over and above their

Continued on page 79

YOUR CHANCE TO EFFECT CHANGE FOR THE FOREIGN SERVICE

2009 AFSA GOVERNING BOARD: CALL FOR NOMINATIONS

Do you want to represent your colleagues and make sure the voice of the Foreign Service is heard on the Hill and around the country? If so, consider joining the next AFSA leadership team by running for a position on the 2009-2011 AFSA Governing Board.

Please look at the positions available and consider putting your name forward or nominating a colleague. This election is for a board that will take office July 15, 2009, and serve for two years. Below are instructions on how to be nominated and run for the 2009-2011 AFSA Governing Board.

Important Dates:

Feb. 2, 2009 — Deadline for Nominations

March 25, 2009 — Ballots and Candidate Statements Mailed

June 1, 2009 — Ballots Counted

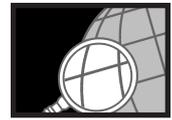
July 15, 2009 — New Board Takes Office

2009 Election of AFSA Officers and Constituency Representatives Call for Nominations:

This election call, issued in accordance with Article VII (2)(a) of the AFSA

Continued on page 80

AFSA NEWS BRIEFS



Life in the Foreign Service

■ BY BRIAN AGGELER



Free Online Classified Ads

Not only is the *Journal* online, but here's some good news for AFSA members looking to sell, rent, buy, trade or otherwise advertise: Classified ads are now online as well, and what's more, they're free for AFSA members. Point your browser to www.afsa.org/classifieds/ and you will find a log-in for members so that you may post your ad and read others' ads. (Note: Classified ads in the print version of the *Foreign Service Journal* still require payment of a fee.) If you have questions, contact Ed Miltenberger at (202) 944-5507 or at classifieds@afsa.org.

New State Rep Joins Governing Board

Christopher Tremann joined the AFSA Governing Board as a State rep in October. He is a lifetime AFSA member who has just returned from serving as Regional Security Officer in Dhahran, an unaccompanied, danger-pay post. He brings considerable security experience to the board, having dealt firsthand, he reports, "with a number of issues of importance to both DS employees and other members of the Foreign and Civil Service, from background investi-

gations to working in high-threat posts to overseas pay disparity issues." Tremann adds that "the State Department has a number of significant challenges ahead, and AFSA should play a crucial role in addressing those challenges." Previously posted to Puerto Rico, Kazakhstan and California in addition to Saudi Arabia, Special Agent Tremann is currently assigned as a liaison officer to the Bureau of Consular Affairs.

How to Contact Us:

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

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

FCS AFSA OFFICE:

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

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USAID VP: fzamora@usaid.gov

FCS VP: donald.businger@mail.doc.gov

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Director of Communications Thomas Switzer: switzer@afsa.org

Congressional Affairs Director Ian Houston: houston@afsa.org

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Scholarship Director Lori Dec: dec@afsa.org

Professional Issues Coordinator Barbara Berger: berger@afsa.org

Elderhostel Coordinator Janice Bay: bay@afsa.org

Governing Board:

PRESIDENT: John Naland

STATE VP: Steve Kashkett

USAID VP: Francisco Zamora

FAS VP: Henry Schmitt

FCS VP: Vacant

RETIREE VP: Robert W. Farrand

SECRETARY: F.A. "Tex" Harris

TREASURER: Andrew Winter

STATE REPS: Anne Aguilera, David Firestein,

Sandy Robinson, Shayna Steinger,

Elaine Tiang-Chu, Daphne Titus, Andrea

Tomaszewicz, Christopher Tremann

USAID REP: Michael Henning

FCS REP: Rebecca Balogh

FAS REP: Vacant

IBB REP: Al Pessin

RETIREE REPS: Janice Bay, Herman Cohen,

David Passage, Jonathan Sperling



War-Zone Assignments: Lessons Learned

We at AFSA — and most of our colleagues throughout the world — were gratified and relieved to see the stark contrast between this year’s assignment cycle for positions in Iraq and Afghanistan and that of previous years.

Last fall, certain media outlets subjected the Foreign Service to an unwarranted public excoriation after it became known that senior department officials had decided prematurely (and, as we now know, unnecessarily) to identify “prime candidates” for possible directed assignment to Iraq. The Foreign Service was divided internally and attacked externally over the completely unjustified perception that our people were unwilling to serve there.

In order to prevent a repeat of that fiasco this year, the AFSA Governing Board made a series of recommendations to State management for what we believed would be a more effective, less confrontational way to attract bidders to combat-zone assignments. Our conviction was that a positive approach would work better than a coercive one and would be less likely to be misinterpreted by sloppy, unscrupulous journalists.

AFSA urged that the Secretary and the director general simply put out a call for volunteers at an early stage in the process, appealing to our members’ sense of duty and patriotism and reaffirming all the advantages of doing a year in one of the two war zones. We advised the department to publish much more detailed, more forthright descriptions of the real conditions and risks at Embassy Baghdad, Embassy Kabul and the Provincial Reconstruction Teams in both countries.

We predicted that the multiple incentives built into the Iraq and Afghanistan Service Recognition Packages, which AFSA has enthusiastically supported, would motivate plenty of loyal State employees, both from the Foreign Service and the Civil Service, to seek out the challenging postings in those two countries. We strongly recommended that the DG allow the normal dynamic of our voluntary bidding system to work its magic and expressed confidence that, in the end, there would be no need for any talk of directed assignments.

In an encouraging display of collaboration, senior department officials listened to AFSA’s advice and implemented our

recommendations. The result was a successful “early season” in which capable and qualified volunteers came forward to fill every single position in Iraq and Afghanistan for summer 2009, one full year ahead of time. No one had to be threatened, no one had to be warned of being identified as a “prime candidate,” and no one had to be subjected to ill-informed allegations from State-bashing ideologues in the press and on Capitol Hill. Our people stepped up to the plate of their own accord.

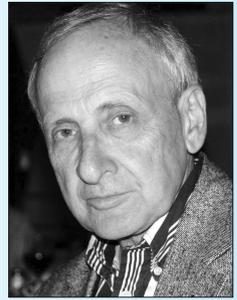
What lessons have we learned from this experience that can guide future directors general in filling combat-zone assignments?

First, the Foreign Service is composed of proud professionals who have a highly developed sense of duty and do not respond well to threats. Second, our members are quite capable of understanding the needs of the service and want management to level with them. Third, our voluntary open assignments system — which is designed to produce willing bidders for our most difficult danger-pay posts, our most appealing non-hardship posts, and everything in between — works perfectly well.

AFSA has frequently heard one very revealing bit of feedback from members worldwide over the past three years. They say that, more than anything else, the constant drumbeat from senior department officials that service in Iraq and Afghanistan is a sacred duty would carry considerably more credibility if many of those same senior officials had actually volunteered for an unaccompanied war-zone tour themselves. And if there were not so many high-profile senior officials — and some not so senior — who have been rewarded for 7th floor loyalty by being appointed to comfortable ambassadorships without having checked the Iraq/Afghanistan box themselves.

The future of our huge and unprecedented diplomatic missions in those two wartorn countries will now depend on the next president and the next Secretary of State. They will determine whether the Foreign Service will have to continue finding hundreds of volunteers every summer to serve unarmed in combat zones. If they decide that we do, let us hope they will get us the new positions we need to staff those missions without stripping bare the rest of our 265 embassies and consulates around the world. □

Capable and qualified
volunteers came forward to
fill every single position in Iraq
and Afghanistan for summer
2009, one full year ahead
of time.



Making the Transition to Retirement: Insurance Needs

When planning and preparing for your transition to retirement, especially in the current climate of economic uncertainty, don't forget to include updating your insurance needs on your long checklist of things to do. The two most important items will be reviewing your life insurance and considering long-term care insurance.

Life Insurance

First and foremost, take a look at your life insurance portfolio. If you are a family person and have adult children who are no longer dependents, you may be carrying too much simple term-life insurance at a growing cost. Your term-life premiums might better be used for other purposes, such as paying off the mortgage or other types of insurance that are more relevant to retirement living. Term-life insurance makes sense when the kids are still with you at home, because you get the maximum amount of life insurance at the lowest possible cost.

A high level of term-life insurance could be reduced significantly by taking into account income from a surviving spouse's future annuity and Social Security. With respect to term-life insurance, you will be asked to choose an option for your government term-life insurance, known as Federal Employees' Group Life Insurance. When I retired, I opted for continued coverage at a reduced level of \$70,000, with no premium payable.

One life insurance option to look at is cash-value insurance. In many cases, basic term-life policies have the option of conversion to cash-value life with no additional underwriting for health. The advantage of cash-value life insurance is the accumulation of savings that earn interest tax-deferred. With some policies, the interest paid on your cash savings is greater than prevailing rates in bank savings accounts. Deferred taxes are payable on the earned interest only if you withdraw cash from the policy during your lifetime. If the policy pays off, your heirs will not have to pay taxes on either the accumulated interest or the saved principal. In my current cash-value life insurance policy with the United States Automobile Association, the monthly interest on my savings is sufficient to pay the premium on my life insurance, with funds left over to increase my cash accumulation. Unfortunately, USAA insurance is available to Foreign Service personnel only at the commissioned officer level. But there are many other insurance firms out there that offer similar policies.

If you expect to continue having to support dependent chil-

dren after your retirement, you may wish to continue to have low-cost term-life insurance. By far the best and cheapest place to buy such insurance is Worldwide Assurance for Employees of Public Agencies, a nonprofit association in Washington that provides term-life insurance to federal civilian employees and their families. You can't beat the price and the service, because everything is run by federal employees themselves. Term-life insurance is all they do. (For more information, go to www.waepa.org.)

Long-Term Care Insurance

As you approach age 55, it is important to consider long-term care insurance. This insurance covers extended stays in a nursing home or other recuperative facility resulting from severe illness, injury or mental incapacity. The cost of such facilities, depending on geographic location, can run between \$400 and \$600 per day. Regular health care policies do not cover such post-hospital care. The younger your age when you purchase such long-term care insurance, the cheaper it is. A good place to learn about options for long-term care insurance that best meets your needs is the AFSA Insurance Desk at the Hirshorn Company in Philadelphia, reachable by phone at 1 (800) 242-8221, or online at www.hirshorn.com.

If you are a family person and have adult children who are no longer dependents, you may be carrying too much simple term-life insurance at a growing cost.

Personal Effects Coverage

Insuring your personal household effects is not something that begins with retirement planning. It begins with your first day in the Foreign Service and continues through your entire career. Nevertheless, when retirement appears on the horizon, you may very well be facing the prospect of personal effects shipments arriving at your retirement destination from a number of different storage locations, including overseas. Keep in mind that you can change your official retirement destination at the last minute. At this point, it is important to make sure you are fully covered against loss and breakage while your effects are in transit. This is the time in your life when accumulation is at a maximum. Here again, the best place to check on the adequacy and quality of your coverage is at the AFSA Desk of the Hirshorn Company. The AFSA personal plan has given excellent service to Foreign Service personnel since 1970. □

AAF Study • Continued from page 75

American staffing (mostly Foreign Service) by 3,441 over the next five years — a growth of 43 percent.

- Increase USAID direct-hire American staffing (mostly Foreign Service) by 1,250 over the next five years — a growth of 62 percent. Also increase USAID local-employee staffing, while eliminating 700 short-term American positions.

- Create a Foreign Service training complement equivalent to 15 percent of regular operational staffing in order to permit a significant increase in training.

- Greatly expand public diplomacy activities, especially educational and cultural exchanges, to achieve a more positive global attitude toward the United States.

- Significantly increase funding to permit ambassadors to respond effectively to humanitarian and political emergencies.

- Transfer authority over selected se-

The report finds that a failure to act on these urgent needs would leave America ill-equipped to carry out the leadership role required by our global interests.

curity assistance programs — totaling \$785 million annually — to the Department of State from the Department of Defense.

- Establish a robust surge capacity for reconstruction and stabilization efforts under the authority of the Secretary of State.

The report finds that a failure to act on these urgent needs would leave America ill-equipped to carry out the leadership role required by our global interests or respond to problems including terrorism, nuclear proliferation, failed states, environmental

degradation, pandemics and many other issues that demand U.S. involvement and presence around the world.

The report's release was accompanied by briefings to influential lawmakers and major media by senior members of the American Academy of Diplomacy, including Ambassadors Thomas Boyatt, Thomas Pickering, Edward Rowell and Ronald Neumann, along with Stimson Center federal budget experts Richard Nygard and Gordon Adams. The Academy is currently conducting a nationwide public education program to explain the realities of the State Department and Foreign Service today, and how those institutions can be strengthened to make our diplomacy more effective.

AFSA President John Naland served on the advisory group that guided the preparation of the report.

The report is available online at: www.academyofdiplomacy.org. □

AFSA Awards • Continued from page 75

assigned responsibilities. Winners receive a monetary reward of \$2,500 and a framed certificate.

The first Constructive Dissent Award was established by the family of Ambassador William R. Rivkin in 1968 to honor his memory. The two sons of William Rivkin wrote in the July-August *AFSA News* that their father “relished open, respectful debate as the best path to sound decision-making.” After his appointment by President Kennedy as ambassador to Luxembourg and later to Senegal, Mr. Rivkin was delighted to find many professional Foreign Service employees who were willing to speak up and express their opinions. He encouraged their independent judgment and willingness to offer alternatives to the status quo. *The AFSA dissent awards are unique, because they are not based on performance. No other organization or agency in the U.S. government has a similar program.*

Think about the Foreign Service officers and specialists you know. Who has demonstrated strength of character under fire? Who has stood up for what is right? Success

is not a requirement. The willingness to ask the tough questions and pursue the answers is what counts.

The official call for dissent award nominations will be in the December *AFSA News*. The four awards are: the Christian A. Herter Award for a Senior Foreign Service officer, the William R. Rivkin Award for a mid-level Foreign Service officer, the W. Averell Harriman Award for an entry-level Foreign Service officer, and the Tex Harris Award for a Foreign Service specialist.

In addition to the four dissent awards, AFSA also offers three awards for exemplary performance and extraordinary contributions to professionalism, morale and effectiveness. These are: the Avis Bohlen Award, for a Foreign Service family member whose relations with the American and foreign communities at post have done the most to advance American interests; the Delavan Award, which recognizes extraordinary contributions to effectiveness, professionalism and morale by an FS Office Management Specialist; and the M. Juanita Guess Award, for outstanding service as a Community Liaison Officer. □

AFSA NEWS BRIEFS**Congress Expands R&R Options**

AFSA has been involved in efforts to expand Foreign Service rest and recuperation travel to U.S. territories and possessions. H.R. 3568, a bill authored by Representative Luis Fortuno, R-Puerto Rico, amends the Foreign Service Act of 1980 to permit R&R travel for Foreign Service members and family members to U.S. territories that include American Samoa, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, Guam, the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands and the U.S. Virgin Islands.

AFSA is pleased to report that the measure has passed the House and Senate as part of H.R. 6456 and has been signed into law by the president (Public Law 110-321). Special thanks go to AFSA member Ramon Negron, who worked closely with AFSA's Legislative Affairs Director Ian Houston on this issue. We are grateful to Rep. Fortuno and the many members of Congress who came out in support of the initiative.

Governing Board • Continued from page 75

bylaws, constitutes a formal notice to all AFSA members of the opportunity to participate in nomination and election of a new Governing Board. All of the officer and representative positions listed below are for two-year terms beginning July 15, 2009.

Positions to be Filled

AFSA bylaws require that all Governing Board members shall be resident in the Washington area within 60 days of taking office on July 15 and shall remain resident in the Washington area throughout their term in office.

The **officer positions** to be filled in this election are:

- President**
- Vice President for State**
- Vice President for USAID**
- Vice President for FCS**
- Vice President for FAS**
- Vice President for Retirees**
- Secretary**
- Treasurer**

The president and State, USAID and FAS vice presidents are full-time positions detailed to AFSA. The FCS vice president is detailed 50 percent of his or her time to AFSA. These employees are assigned over complement and are eligible for time-in-class extensions.

Article V (4)(b) of the AFSA bylaws authorizes a constituency vice president for each constituency with a minimum of 100 members and one constituency representative position for every 1,000 members or fraction thereof. Representatives are required to attend monthly lunchtime board meetings and may volunteer to serve on additional committees.

The constituency representative positions to be filled in this election are:

- State Department Representatives (nine positions)**
- USAID Representative (one position)**
- FCS Representative (one position)**
- FAS Representative (one position)**
- IBB Representative (one position)**
- Retired Member Representatives (four positions)**

Nomination Procedures

1. Any AFSA member in good standing (i.e., a member whose dues are automatically deducted or who has paid dues as of Feb. 2, 2009) may submit names (including his or her own name) in nomination for any of the above-mentioned positions for which the nominee is eligible. No member may nominate more than one person for each officer position or more than the number of representatives established for each constituency. No member's

name may appear on the ballot for more than one position.

2. In order to be nominated, a person must be a member in good standing and remain in good standing through the election process and, if elected, for his or her term of office.

3. The Foreign Service Act restricts employees occupying certain positions in the foreign affairs agencies from serving on the Governing Board. Only employees in AFSA's bargaining unit may serve on the Governing Board or nominate others to serve on the board. Therefore, individuals who will be serving as management officials and confidential employees (as defined below) when the new board takes office on July 15, 2009, are ineligible to occupy a position on the Governing Board. In addition, management officials and confidential employees may not make nominations for Governing Board positions.

For the purpose of the above discussion, *management official* means an individual who: is a chief of mission or principal officer; occupies a position of comparable importance to chief of mission or principal officer; is serving as a deputy to the foregoing positions; is assigned to the Office of the Inspector General; or is engaged in labor management relations or the formulation of personnel policies and programs of a foreign affairs agency. *Confidential employees* are employees who act in a confidential capacity with respect to an individual who formulates or carries out management policies in labor-management relations.

The Foreign Service Act also places a two-year restriction on the movement of Foreign Service personnel between certain positions in AFSA and certain Washington-based jobs in the foreign affairs agencies. The pre-AFSA restrictions: Any individual who has served: 1) in a management position in Washington in which he or she has engaged in labor-management relations or the formulation of personnel policies and programs; or 2) as a confidential employee (as defined above) within two years prior to taking office in AFSA, is ineligible to hold the position of AFSA president or constituency vice president. Post-AFSA restric-

ELECTIONS COMMITTEE MEMBERS

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Janet Hedrick, Director, Member Services	hedrick@afsa.org	(703) 203-9002
Barbara Berger, Professional Issues Coordinator	berger@afsa.org	(202) 338-4045, ext. 521

tions: In addition, any individual who has held one of the foregoing positions in AFSA may not serve: 1) in a management position in Washington that involves labor-management relations or the formulation of personnel policies and programs; or 2) as a confidential employee, for two years after leaving AFSA.

Members should consider these restrictions before deciding whether to run for AFSA Governing Board positions covered by these restrictions. Please direct questions regarding this issue to Sharon Papp, General Counsel, by phone: (202) 647-8160; fax: (202) 647-0265; or e-mail: papps@state.gov.

4. Nominations may be submitted individually or in slates. To qualify as a slate, a proposed slate must have a minimum of four candidates from at least two constituencies. Slate designations will be noted on the ballot.

5. All nominations must be submitted in writing by letter, cable, fax or e-mail. All written nominations must be addressed to the AFSA Elections Committee, 2101 E Street NW, Washington DC 20037. To be valid, they must, without exception, be received at this address no later than 5 p.m. on Feb. 2, 2009. Members overseas can send "AFSA channel" cables marked for delivery to the AFSA Elections Committee. They must be received in the State Department's Communications Center within the same time limit. Faxes can be sent to (202) 338-6820 and e-mail to election@afsa.org.

Alternatively, nominations can be hand-delivered to a committee member who will be in the AFSA office, Room 1251, Department of State, from 11 a.m. to 12 noon on Feb. 2, or to an Elections Committee representative at AFSA headquarters, at 2101 E Street NW, during that same time period.

6. A nominee can indicate his or her acceptance of a nomination by appending a letter to the letter of nomination or by appropriate notation on that letter, or by communicating with the AFSA Elections Committee at the addresses, fax and e-mail noted above. Otherwise, an authorized representative of the Elections

Committee will communicate with each nominee (excluding members who nominate themselves) as quickly as possible after the receipt of each nomination to determine whether the nominee wishes to be a candidate. Any member who so accepts the nomination must confirm his or her acceptance in writing through one of the channels described above, addressed to the AFSA Elections Committee, to be received no later than 12 noon on Feb. 6, 2009. Any nominee whose written acceptance of nomination has not been received by the Elections Committee by the above time limit will be considered to have declined candidacy.

Election Campaign

1. All candidates nominated under the procedure outlined above will be given the opportunity to submit campaign statements for dissemination to the AFSA membership with the election ballots. Further information regarding such statements and editorial deadlines will be contained in the "Instructions to Candidates," which will be issued by the Elections Committee on or before Feb. 2, 2009.

2. The AFSA bylaws provide that, should candidates wish to mail supplementary statements to the membership, the association will make available to them on request, and at their expense, the membership mailing list or address labels. Further information on this and other campaign procedures will be included in the "Instructions to Candidates" mentioned above.

Voting

Ballots will be distributed on or about March 25, 2009, to each person who is a regular AFSA member as of March 2, 2009. Candidates or their representatives may observe the ballot distribution process if they so desire. Each member may cast one vote for President, Secretary, Treasurer and, in addition, one vote for a constituency Vice President and each Representative position in the member's constituency. Votes may be cast by voting for candidates listed on the official ballot, or by writing in the name(s) of mem-

ber(s) eligible as of Feb. 2, 2009, or by doing both. To be valid, a ballot must be received at AFSA by May 29, 2009, at the address indicated on the envelope accompanying the ballot. More detailed balloting instructions will accompany the ballots.

Vote Counting and Announcement of Results

On or about June 1, 2009, the Elections Committee will count the ballots and declare elected the candidate receiving the greatest number of votes for each position. Candidates or their representatives may be present during the tally and may challenge the validity of any vote or the eligibility of any voter. The committee will inform candidates individually of the election results by the swiftest possible means and will publish the names of all elected candidates in the next issue of the *Foreign Service Journal*. The elected candidates will take office on July 15, 2009, as provided in the bylaws.

Questions, Suggestions, Complaints or Challenges

Any member may file a written question, suggestion or complaint concerning the conduct of the 2009 election. These should be addressed to "Chair, AFSA Elections Committee" and mailed or delivered to AFSA, Room 1251, Department of State, Washington DC 20520, or AFSA, 2101 E Street NW, Washington DC 20037, by July 2, 2009.

Members may also file a written challenge to the outcome of the election. Such challenge must be filed by July 15, 2009, and should be addressed to "Chair, AFSA Elections Committee," and mailed or delivered to either address stated above. The AFSA Elections Committee will respond in writing to the challenge within three months of receipt of the challenge. If the member is not satisfied with the AFSA Elections Committee's response, the member may file a written complaint with the U.S. Department of Labor, Office of Labor-Management Standards. Such complaint must be filed within one month of receipt of the Elections Committee's response. □

AFSA NEWS BRIEFS



Consider a CFC Pledge to AFSA

Do you want people outside the Foreign Service to understand the critical importance



of U.S. diplomacy? The Fund for American Diplomacy (Combined Federal Campaign #10646) is the arm of AFSA that reaches out to the general public through programs that demonstrate how the U.S. Foreign Service works for America. Whether it's through Foreign Service retirees speaking to business leaders around the country, AFSA staff writing letters to newspaper editors dispelling inaccurate stories, or college students reading our best-selling book, *Inside a U.S. Embassy*, we continually strive to show that diplomacy is our nation's first line of defense.

In addition, if you have an interest in making Foreign Service children's college costs more affordable, then consider making a pledge to the AFSA Scholarship Fund via CFC #11759, which provides FS children with need-based scholarships, academic awards and art merit awards. The AFSA Scholarship Fund helped 95 students in the 2008-2009 school year with aid totaling more than \$180,000. AFSA scholarship applications are available for the 2009-2010 school year at www.afsa.org/scholar starting Nov. 15, with a submission deadline of Feb. 6, 2009.

The State Department will gladly send CFC pledge packets to retirees who request them by phone: (202) 261-8166, or e-mail: cfc@state.gov. Retirees can donate to the CFC via a one-time contribution by check or money order, but not through an annuity deduction. This information will also be posted on RNet. In addition, individuals can log on to www.cfcna.org to make a CFC gift. If you have questions, contact Shelly Komegay in the Office of Employee Relations through the phone and e-mail listed above.

Fallen Diplomats Scholarship Campaign

AFSA's June donation to the Fallen Diplomats Campaign, a scholarship fund administered by the Federal Employee Education and Assistance Fund to assist children who have lost a diplomatic parent to terrorism, resulted in close to a \$100,000 boost to the campaign.

Publicity about AFSA's \$37,500 kickoff donation (see September *AFSA News*) prompted private individuals to contribute almost \$11,000 more. Since all donations are matched dollar-for-dollar by FEEA, the impact of each contribution was doubled.

The scholarship program is administered by FEEA through their Diplomatic Fund, which provides college scholarships to the seven young children who lost a diplomatic parent to terrorism between 1998 and 2003. FEEA is a nonprofit organization founded in 1986 that supports federal employees and their families through scholarships, emergency assistance and childcare subsidies.

Although the Fallen Diplomats Scholarship Campaign is off to a very promising start, it is still far short of its goal of \$750,000 — a goal

that would ensure scholarship eligibility for the children of future victims of terrorist attacks.

AFSA encourages active-duty and retired Foreign Service members to donate to this worthy cause. Donations are also welcomed from Foreign Service retiree associations, A-100 and specialist orientation classes, Senior Seminar alumni groups, ad hoc groups at post, private foundations and other foreign affairs-related organizations.

Donations are tax-deductible and may be made by sending a check payable to "FEEA-Fallen Diplomats" to: FEEA-Fallen Diplomats Campaign, 3333 S. Wadsworth Blvd., Suite 300, Lakewood CO 80227; by making a credit-card donation by phone to FEEA at (800) 338-0755 or (303) 933-7580; or by making an online credit-card donation on FEEA's Web site at: <https://app.etapestry.com/hosted/FederalEmployeeEducationand/OnlineDonation.html>.

To read more about the Fallen Diplomats Campaign, visit FEEA's Web site at www.feea.org and click on "Fundraising Initiatives."

Students: Apply Now for AFSA Scholarships

Beginning Nov. 15, tax-dependent children of Foreign Service employees can apply for one-time-only AFSA Academic and Art Merit Awards and renewable, AFSA Financial Aid Scholarships for the 2009-2010 school year. Merit Awards are \$1,800



each and are only open to high school seniors. Financial Aid Scholarships range from \$1,000 to \$4,000, depending on the level of need, and can be used for stateside or overseas undergraduate college study. In addition, applicants must attend school as full-time students and maintain at least a 2.0 cumulative grade point average to qualify. The applications submission deadline is Feb. 6, 2009, for the 2009-2010 year. Visit

AFSA's scholarship Web page at www.afsa.org/scholar for complete details or contact Lori Dec at dec@afsa.org or 1 (800) 704-2372, ext. 504. (Grandchildren of Foreign Service employees are not eligible to apply.)

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BOOKS

How We Got Here

America Between the Wars — From 11/9 to 9/11 — The Misunderstood Years Between the Fall of the Berlin Wall and the Start of the War on Terror
Derek Chollet and James Goldgeier, Public Affairs, 2008, \$27.95, hardcover, 432 pages.

REVIEWED BY JAMES DEHART

The next president of the United States will inherit a number of specific foreign policy challenges, ranging from Afghanistan and Iraq to North Korea. If history is any guide, he'll feel compelled to deal with them not in isolation, but in the context of a reinvented foreign policy doctrine. Perhaps by this time next year, we'll have a new theme that consigns "freedom agenda" and "war on terror" to the bumper-sticker dustbin, alongside "new world order" and "assertive multilateralism."

In their excellent *America Between the Wars — From 11/9 to 9/11 — The Misunderstood Years Between the Fall of the Berlin Wall and the Start of the War on Terror*, authors Derek Chollet and James Goldgeier recount the efforts of three U.S. administrations to articulate (and simplify) a vision for America's role in the post-Cold War world. The period of history they examine is one that defies easy labels. Consider the term "post-

Chollet and Goldgeier persuasively argue that the 1990s were hardly a "holiday from history."



Cold War world," which merely explained what the era wasn't, rather than what it was.

The authors argue that the 1990s were hardly what President George W. Bush called "years of repose, years of sabbatical." On the contrary, it was a decade of crucial debate between — and especially within — the Democratic and Republican foreign policy establishments that shaped their respective responses to 9/11 and continue unabated today. What looked to columnist George Will like a "holiday from history," the authors see as an era of continuity and consequences.

Central to the foreign policy debates of the 1990s was the issue of military force: When should it be used, and how important is it to work through the United Nations? After assembling a "coalition of the willing" to evict Iraqi forces from Kuwait, President George H.W. Bush believed he had found a template for the future, with principles of international conduct enforced by a reinvigorat-

ed Security Council. Yet within a few years, the United States and its NATO allies would bypass the U.N. to evict Serb forces from Kosovo — a precursor, perhaps, to how the current administration would handle the world.

Chollet and Goldgeier, both veterans of the Clinton administration, bring balance and objectivity to their analysis. (Chollet is an adjunct professor at Georgetown University, while Goldgeier teaches at The George Washington University.) They pull no punches in recounting Clinton's early missteps on gays in the military, Somalia and Haiti, which led to the perception that there was a "weak hand on the wheel." And they are more than fair to Newt Gingrich, complimenting his "global and strategic vision" even as he led a band of congressional freshmen whose proudest boast was that they had never before owned a passport.

According to the authors, it was the Republican majority's drift toward isolation, coupled with the early ineptitude of the Clinton administration, which led to the rise of the neoconservatives. While they shared with the "liberal hawks" a concept of America as the "indispensable nation," the neocons saw globalization as "globaloney" and persisted in seeing future threats in terms of one nation invading another, ignoring the significance of non-state actors, like al-Qaida.



The events recounted in this book will be all too familiar to Foreign Service readers. Those looking for fresh details on U.S. diplomacy in, say, the Middle East or the Balkans, won't find them here. But they will find a lucid overview of the forces that have shaped our foreign policy since the end of the Cold War.

As consummate Washington insiders, Chollet and Goldgeier bring particular insight to the confluence of U.S. government decisionmaking and the ideas generated by heavyweights in the think-tanks and policy institutes lying just offshore.

In the end, the authors conclude that it's "folly to try to describe how the United States should approach the world's complexities with one single idea." Maybe so, but one suspects that this won't deter the next administration from trying — yet again.

James DeHart, a member of the Journal's Editorial Board, is currently studying Dari at FSI in preparation for his assignment to Afghanistan. A Foreign Service officer since 1993, he has served in Istanbul, Melbourne, Brussels and Washington, D.C. He is the author of a novel, Savarona (PublishAmerica, 2004).

Prudence or Promiscuity?

Smart Power: Toward a Prudent Foreign Policy for America

Ted Galen Carpenter, *The Cato Institute*, 2008, \$24.95, hardcover, 258 pages.

REVIEWED BY CHARLES SCHMITZ

Ted Galen Carpenter, vice president for defense and foreign policy studies at the Cato Institute, views

Carpenter takes the reader on a brisk and refreshing excursion through our neuralgic policies around the world.

U.S. foreign policy as massively imprudent. In his view, our willingness to be the world's policeman and social worker has promoted the assertion of imperial powers abroad and at home by the U.S. executive (including all recent incumbents, not just George W. Bush), to the endangerment of our constitutional civil liberties and the federal system.

If our "10 episodes of significant military force in less than two decades [in] places as diverse as Panama, Somalia, Haiti, the Balkans, Southwest Asia and the Persian Gulf" do not suggest to you that the U.S. is lacking in "a well-defined (much less sufficiently discriminating) security strategy," consider Carpenter's assertion that the obligations the U.S. shouldered during the Cold War "reek of obsolescence." Yet we are unwilling even to consider withdrawing our troops from Europe, 17 years after the disintegration of the Soviet Union, or from South Korea, which has "twice the population and an economy 40 times that of its communist North Korean rival."

We make a huge mistake, says Carpenter, in our "casual extension of security commitments" to states not

relevant to our own security needs. We seek to invite into the North Atlantic Treaty Organization the Baltic states, Slovenia and possibly even Ukraine and Georgia, despite recent events there. Having invaded both Afghanistan and Iraq (though Carpenter concedes that the initial operation in the first of those two countries made good sense), we now find ourselves in "an increasingly ill-defined, open-ended nationbuilding mission" that may require new security undertakings to protect our investments.

Smart Power: Toward a Prudent Foreign Policy for America takes the reader on a brisk and refreshing excursion through our neuralgic policies around the world: the Iraq debacle, the so-called "war on terror," Iran, the Middle East, the Korean Peninsula, Taiwan and China, Russia and its neighbors, and the disastrous war on drugs.

Carpenter wants to rock some boats. Of his many points, consider these three: 1) The Islamic terrorist threat is not the functional equivalent of World War III, and we do not need to fund the military as though it is. 2) The supply-side war on drugs in Latin America and Central Asia has cost us billions, made enemies, spawned wide-scale corruption, and still has not reduced our domestic drug problem. 3) The U.S. Constitution was not designed for an imperial nation perpetually at war or preparing for war. Our domestic liberties are in danger from our hyperactivist security policy.

Having argued that the U.S. has not followed a disciplined and thoughtful foreign security policy, Carpenter places the blame directly on "a foreign policy elite" that has not set priorities or established "an analytical framework for assessing strategic choices." His basic prescription for such a framework is to characterize emergent foreign issues as "vital, sec-



ondary, peripheral or irrelevant” to U.S. security. For example, the emergence of obnoxious, left-wing, populist regimes in Latin America is peripheral in Carpenter’s book; and which faction rules Burma (Myanmar), Liberia or Georgia is irrelevant to him.

Even so, he makes the case for thoughtful, experienced and informed engagement in international affairs, with force as only a last, infrequent resort. Yet we know that no analytical framework such as the one he suggests can stand up to the free-for-all fighting among politicians, ethnic groups, business interests, egos, think-tanks and ideologues — the process that produces American foreign policy. One is led to wonder what U.S. diplomacy would be like if a “foreign-policy elite” actually did run things.

If you think that U.S. diplomacy is in good shape, this book should be an eye-opener. And if you think that it can stand improvement, this book ought to be in your toolbox.

Charles Schmitz, a Foreign Service officer from 1964 to 1989, is a former AFSA vice president for State and for retirees. He is the author of Changing the Ways We Do Business in International Relations (United States Institute of Peace, 1997).

Walking the Beat

Ghost: Confessions of a Counterterrorism Agent

Fred Burton, Random House, 2008, \$26, hardcover, 288 pages.

REVIEWED BY DAVID CASAVIS

“The world needs more cops,” Fred Burton observes in *Ghost*:

Burton spares no details about what he terms the “dark world” of terrorism.

Confessions of a Counterterrorism Agent. He sticks with that theme throughout this book about life in the counterterrorism branch of the State Department’s Bureau of Diplomatic Security, covering the period from 1985, when the Montgomery County police officer joined DS, through 1998.

Ghost — a reference to the familiar term for a spy, ‘spook’ — reminds us of the humble origins of the State Department’s efforts to thwart terrorism. Burton, along with another recruit, joined a single outgoing officer as the office’s entire initial staff. They operated out of a tiny office with stacks of paperwork and file folders atop paint-flecked industrial filing cabinets. It was as though “a high school football team set up shop in the basement of the National Archives,” he recalls.

Burton spares no details about what he terms the “dark world” of terrorism, describing the carefully preserved ear of a suicide bomber and taking us through the 1984 kidnapping, torture and murder of William Buckley in Beirut, the 1985 hijacking of the *Achille Lauro*, the 1986 Berlin nightclub bombing, and the 1988 bombing of PanAm 103 over Lockerbie.

Burton explains clearly the bureaucratic interplay within DS, between

that bureau and the rest of the department, and between his office and his counterparts in other agencies. At the same time, the book’s action is cinematic, full of vignettes like one of the DS agent who palmed a detonator in Togo, secreting it out of Africa. That quick action made it possible for Washington to finger the culprits of the Lockerbie bombing.

Pakistan is the scene for two of the book’s most memorable chapters: Burton’s investigation of the 1988 assassination of Pakistan’s President Muhammad Zia ul-Haq and U.S. Ambassador Arnold Raphel; and the pursuit and 1995 arrest of Ramsi Yousef, the mastermind behind the 1993 World Trade Center bombing. After years of dead ends and missed chances, credit for the capture of a truly dangerous terrorist should go to many Department of State personnel (on all levels). Instead, it will come as no surprise to many in the Foreign Service that the FBI took credit for Yousef’s capture, while others who put everything on the line to make that possible didn’t get so much as a letter of commendation.

As he ponders today’s threat matrix, Burton sees too many bureaucratic restrictions, too many manuals to follow and too many bosses to keep happy. He is also concerned over the lack of coordination between agencies. Most disturbing of all is his Cassandra-like warning that events like Pearl Harbor and 9/11 will happen again. But that flows full circle into the book’s theme: The world needs more cops. ■

David Casavis works for the Department of Homeland Security and teaches at the John Jay College of Criminal Justice. He is writing a book about the 1971 murder of Foreign Service staff officer Donald Leahy in Equatorial Guinea.

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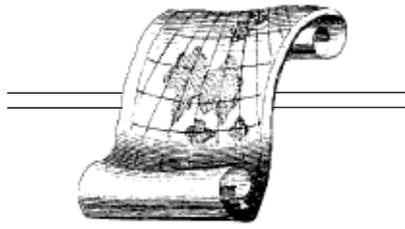
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REFLECTIONS

Kabul – Bottled Water Sanitation Assessment #08-018

BY MATTHEW ASADA

Beyond these grey walls lives a city different from mine.
It grows and thrives.
Others tell me of the changes, but I have yet to see them for myself.
I can only remember how it once was, when I could freely leave my home.

The walls keep me safe from those elements deemed threatening.
Threatening, in whose estimation?
What about those longing for my contact?
What about those for whose contact I long?
Every day that I spend inside is another kiss or conversation forgone.

A grease-spattered newspaper floats over the wall.
I smell and feel that it had recently held a piece of flat bread.
I imagine the bread's warmth and taste its buttery flakes with my parched lips.

My lips are parched, not for lack of liquid,
For I have a bountiful supply of bottled water imported from abroad.
Rather, they long for water from the fountain,
Even though I've been warned not to drink from the local well.

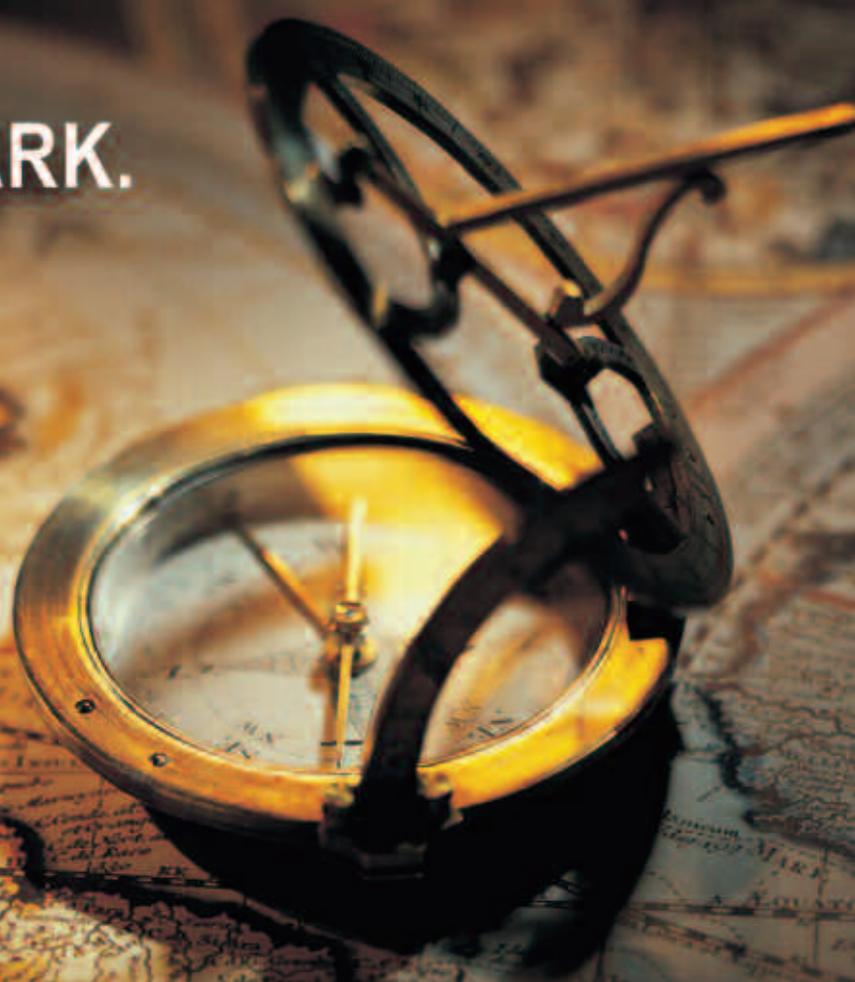
I drink from the plastic bottle to keep my body going,
But my mind yearns to sip from the spigot's irregular sputtering.

The empty bottles accumulate in my closet, as the splashes of the fountain grow faint.
The bottled water is clean and pure, but when has life ever been the same?
I trust myself not to break free and leave the compound,
And spend the days and nights drinking from a different bottle,
One smuggled in from the outside.

Bottles surround me and I am close to surrender.
Can I continue living behind these walls, licking my lips to remember the taste of life?
I envision life outside and look forward to one day discarding the bottle
And drinking, once again, from the tap,
Whatever color and texture the water may be.

Matthew Asada joined the Foreign Service in 2003. He recently completed an assignment as a Provincial Reconstruction Team officer in Kunduz and is now serving in Kolkata.

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