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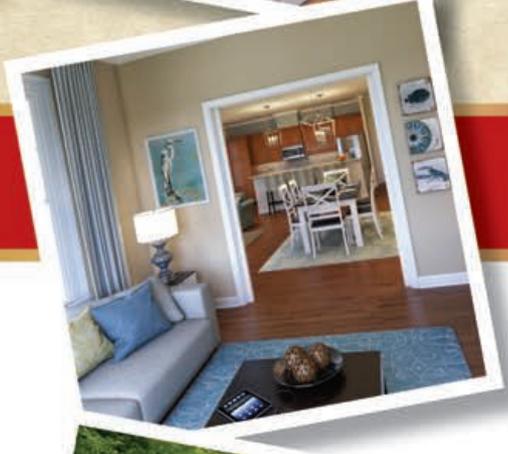
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On the Cover: Photo and design by Gemma Dvorak.

# Serving in Hardship Posts

BY BARBARA STEPHENSON

**A** FSA is not advocating for the withdrawal of all American diplomats from Havana, I found myself explaining to a journalist recently, so no, I would not be providing a quote to that effect. Does that mean I think the health risks are not real, the journalist asked. Of course not. We need to do our best to understand what is happening in Havana so we can do our best to protect our diplomats. But there was more to say.

I reminded him that members of the Foreign Service are deployed all over the world in environments that put our health and our lives at risk—from exposure to the Zika virus and dengue fever, to the severe air pollution that has caused adult-onset asthma in some of my friends, to the filthy water and general lack of sanitation that routinely rips up our guts. I recalled that Foreign Service colleagues worked right through the Ebola outbreak in West Africa and were instrumental in containing it.

I did not mention the memorial plaques AFSA maintains in the C Street lobby, bearing the names of 248 of our colleagues who have died overseas serving our country. But I thought about them, as I often do, and about the vital importance of keeping the American flag flying at our embassies and consulates around the world.



*Ambassador Barbara Stephenson is the president of the American Foreign Service Association.*

If I had forgotten about the vital importance of our presence, Representative Ed Royce (R-Calif.), chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, reminded me in his opening remarks at the Sept. 26 hearing on management of the State Department. He recalled that the American consulate in Kaduna in northern Nigeria had been closed in the mid-1990s, leaving no Foreign Service eyes and ears on the ground.

Then Boko Haram sprang up seemingly from nowhere as money poured in, madrassas opened and boys wearing bin Laden T-shirts walked out the doors. “We have to have that presence on the ground to see these kinds of things coming,” Chairman Royce concluded, “and it has to be our Foreign Service that’s engaged there.”

We have to be present to see these kinds of things coming—and to head them off, I would add. An ounce of prevention, as we who belong to the most cost-effective component of America’s national security team know, is worth at least a pound of cure.

To all the members who tell me that they are aware of the risks of their service, but even more aware of the importance of staying at their posts to achieve their mission, I take this opportunity to salute you.

I salute you by committing to make a concerted effort to kill, once and for all, the toxic and false narrative that members of the Foreign Service spend their careers trying to dodge hardship service.

That’s not the Foreign Service I know, and it’s not the picture of the Foreign Service that emerges from a cold, hard look at the data.

Did you know that vacancy rates at greater hardship posts are *lower* than at non-differential posts? Yes, that’s right. One beneficial result of months of discussions about HR’s proposal to fundamentally change eligibility for promotion into the Senior Foreign Service is that we now have detailed data on vacancy rates at all posts.

After management asserted that drastic changes—significantly shifting responsibility for selecting the Senior FS from independent promotion panels to HR—were needed to better address staffing needs at greater hardship posts, AFSA asked for data so we could clearly identify the problem, develop a solution and track progress.

The numbers surprised us, and I suspect they will surprise you. While non-differential posts have a vacancy rate of 8 percent, the vacancy rate at posts with a 20 percent differential is 6 percent, and at 30 percent posts it’s 7 percent. Write us at [policy@afsa.org](mailto:policy@afsa.org) for full details.

The next time someone alleges that members of the Foreign Service don’t step up for hardship service, shut that toxic, inaccurate, irresponsible narrative down. AFSA is here to help you become an effective advocate for a strong Foreign Service. ■

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# The Writing Life

BY SHAWN DORMAN

This month the *Journal* celebrates the achievements of our Foreign Service colleagues in the realm of writing and publishing, with our annual “In Their Own Write” edition featuring 53 recently published books by members of the Foreign Service community.

We are not simply celebrating Foreign Service authors, even though that would have been enough. We also aim to inspire more FS writing, for it is through that writing that the story of the Foreign Service can get out.

Many of the books featured in these pages take a direct look at Foreign Service work and life—nonfiction works like Harry Kopp and John Naland’s *Career Diplomacy*; Jim Dobbins’ *Five Decades on the Frontlines of American Diplomacy* or Harriet Lee Elam-Thomas’ *Diversifying Diplomacy*.

Others are indirect—Mark Wentling’s historical fiction *Dead Cow Road* and novels like Matthew Palmer’s *Enemy of the Good* and Ann Gaylia O’Barr’s *Night Watch*. Taken together, these books give the reading public an intimate view into the world of the Foreign Service.

Opening the focus, successful author and former FSO Peter Kujawinski shares his journey to becoming a writer, and offers suggestions for others looking to

do the same. Ambassador (ret.) Charles Ray spurs us on with the details of his disciplined daily writing life.



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

## Through FS writing, the story of the Foreign Service can get out.

To top off all that inspiration, we are hosting the AFSA Book Market Nov. 16 to bring together authors featured here with readers and future writers—you, perhaps? Please come by AFSA headquarters Nov. 16 between 11 a.m. and 2 p.m. to meet the authors, browse and network, and gain insight on writing from literary agent and editor Deborah Grosvenor.

In this month’s Speaking Out, FSO and Dean of the FSI School of Professional and Area Studies Michael Pelletier writes on “Owning Leadership,” suggesting that each member of the Foreign Service has opportunities to lead and to shape the Service in some way, large or small.

Much like AFSA President Barbara Stephenson’s call to lead from where you are, Pelletier says it is time for all career members of the Foreign Service to step up and lead the way.

Our feature this month raises the question of the relationship between foreign assistance and economic development. Thomas Dichter’s critique of the foreign aid “industry”—“When Criticism Falls on Deaf Ears: The Case of U.S. Foreign Aid”—is bound to ruffle a few feathers. We welcome your responses!

Next month, look for selections from our new Diplomacy Works collection. Help us keep telling your story. Send your contributions to [journal@afsa.org](mailto:journal@afsa.org). ■

Mark your calendars for Thursday, Nov. 16, 11 a.m. to 2 p.m.

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## CONNECT NETWORK BROWSE SHOP

## The Dissent Channel

Harry Kopp necessarily painted with broad strokes in his good survey of dissent in the September *Foreign Service Journal*.

I was one of the FSOs who signed the 1970 petition to the Secretary of State opposing the invasion of Cambodia. In those antediluvian times, social media and the internet were not even on the horizon. Paper copies of the petition passed from hand to hand for signature. I was naïve enough to believe that it would not be leaked to the press.

Several years later, I became the first full-time chairman of the Secretary's Open Forum Panel. My predecessor, Sandy Vogelgesang, had kept her day job while forming and running the panel in her spare time. She also worked with Winston Lord, director of the Policy Planning Staff, to establish a position within S/P so that someone could focus entirely on the panel's mission.

That mission, in brief, was to stimulate discussion within the State Department of alternative foreign policy ideas. We carried out that mission in three ways: a speakers' series, primarily drawn from outside critics of aspects of U.S. policy; a classified in-house journal of opinion; and oversight of the Dissent Channel, particularly with a view to ensuring that dissent messages were reviewed and given a considered response.

I considered myself to be on the right track when learning that Larry Eagleburger, then under secretary for management, was not happy that so many of our speakers opposed administration policy.

While it is true that few dissent messages have changed major policies, I think that is a misplaced criticism of the Dissent Channel. First, major policies are rarely changed by front-channel messages either.

Second, the existence of a dissent



channel does several things: (1) it helps to establish an environment of tolerance for dissent; (2) it is a bargaining tool that can be used to get alternative views into

front-channel messages; (3) it provides individuals an alternative other than resignation or leaking to attempt to change policy; and (4) it can point out what Thomas Kuhn, author of *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (University of Chicago Press, 1962), called “anomalies” in the ruling paradigm. It is the accumulation of such anomalies that produces a crisis in the ruling paradigm or policy.

Dissent by resignation is, as Kopp points out, rare. Dissent by leaking is probably more common but, except in extreme circumstances, less justifiable. I addressed the circumstances that might make it justifiable in a long-ago *FSJ* article (“Deep Throat or the Ethics of Discretion,” May 1975, see [fsa.org/fsj-archive](http://fsa.org/fsj-archive)).

Basically, in a democratic system, if you accept the process, then you should accept the outcome. For the Foreign Service, that means carrying out the policies of the elected leadership—except, as I said, in extreme circumstances. Deep Throat faced an extreme circumstance because Watergate was a subversion of fundamental elements of the democratic process.

Finally, I agree with Harry Kopp that it is a misuse of the Dissent Channel to turn it into a means of mass protest, protest that will inevitably become public. A thousand individual dissent messages on a policy would have a much

greater impact than a single message with a thousand signers.

Ray Smith

FSO, retired

Thornton, Pennsylvania

## A Hole in the Climate Article

I just sat down to read the July-August edition of *The Foreign Service Journal* and was excited to see climate change as the cover story for this edition. However, after reading the lead story, I was extremely disappointed to see a large gap in the article by Tim Lattimer, “An Existential Threat That Demands Greater FS Engagement.”

USAID has significant funding for climate change and other environmental issues (biodiversity conservation, wildlife trafficking, energy security, renewable energy deployment, policy reforms). Yet little was said in the article about USAID's abundant expertise, financial support and efforts on this issue.

Even the sidebar, “An ESTH Officer's Tricks of the Trade,” recommends calling on economic, Foreign Commercial Service and Foreign Agricultural Service colleagues. Great suggestions, but what about USAID?

And why is the message directed only to State ESTH [environment, science, technology and health] officers? As a USAID Foreign Service environment officer, I find these tips helpful, too, and would have appreciated being included.

Our country team in Lima works closely to align our various foreign policy priorities to advance the entire U.S. government portfolio. Concerning climate change and environment specifically, the U.S.



government coordinates on illegal mining, forestry and water security issues.

This creates a unified message when working with our Peruvian counterparts and has led to some major successes. Among them are a memorandum of understanding with the government of Peru on illegal mining, establishment of the first-ever electronic timber tracking system and development of a new forestry and wildlife law, among others.

Please don't forget about the great work USAID does to contribute to the U.S. government's foreign policy.

*Gina Cady*

*FSO*

*Deputy Director for Bilateral*

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## Setting the Record Straight

Recently, and for the first time, I read the letter about me by Harrison Sherwood that was published in the January-February 2016 *Journal*. In one paragraph, he describes an action by me that never took place.\*

This situation is not unusual for me: I have seen stories which said I was beaten with rifle butts, thrown down a flight of stairs by Congolese soldiers, saved the life of the U.S. ambassador and, of course, saved Frank Carlucci's life. I keep on correcting, but the legends go on.

I will now correct the record for *Journal* readers. As described in my autobiography, *Diplomat and Priest* (CreateSpace, 2015), the Carlucci event took place on a Sunday morning on a four-lane modern highway leading from Leopoldville to the airport.

There were no soldiers, no rebel camp, nobody but local villagers who lived near the highway. It was 1960, a time of political upheaval and conflict following Congo's independence.

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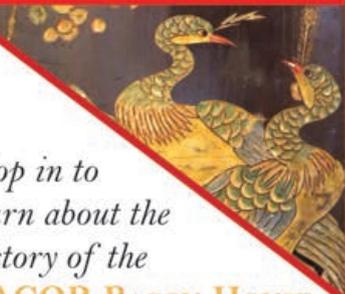
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I was driving to the airport when I encountered a crowd and saw Frank being attacked by two Congolese who were angry because an embassy car in which he was a passenger had hit and killed a cyclist.

I hit my brakes at once, but the momentum of my car carried me past Carlucci, and instead of rescuing him, I picked up the U.S. Army warrant officer who had been driving the car that hit the Congolese.

The officer had been stabbed in the chest. I drove him to the airport, where the U.S. military had set up their headquarters and where there was a medic on duty.

Frank Carlucci (who was a political officer at the time, not the deputy chief of mission) was able to get on a bus and escape the crowd. He had been stabbed in the neck and required stitches.

Ever since, I've often been credited with having rescued him. I wrote apologies to him each time, until he told me not to bother; the legend was too strong to be destroyed by the truth.

Regarding the kidnapping incident mentioned in Mr. Sherwood's letter, I would point out that it involved three American journalists—not Frank Carlucci—who were detained by the Congolese Army for having asked too many questions.

I did go to talk with the soldiers involved, who had taken up a position across the street from the Ghanaian ambassador's residence. The Ghanaian ambassador had refused to leave Congo after being declared *persona non grata*.

I was accompanied by Canadian Consul General Bill Woods, who lived near the Ghanaian ambassador. We asked the sol-



diers to release the journalists, but we did not get a favorable response from the Congolese Army colonel.

Bill Woods and I then went to the home of Deputy Chief of Mission Rob McIlvaine, who started making calls to get help for the journalists but could not reach anyone. Then we got a call from one of the journalists saying they had been released shortly after Bill and I had left.

We then went to Bill's house and soon after that heard shooting close by, which was between the Congolese soldiers and United Nations troops there to "protect" the Ghanaian residence.

We sheltered in place overnight until we could make a dash for safety the next morning.

*Alison Palmer*

*FSO, retired*

*Wellfleet, Massachusetts*

**\*Editor's Note: Mr. Sherwood tells the FSJ that he only innocently exaggerated Ms. Palmer's heroism in the Congo in 1960. ■**



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## Foreign Ambassadors Share Book Choices

There is no shortage of things travelers need to know before visiting a foreign country, from the best places to eat to whether it is safe to take a taxi. But along with all the practical considerations, there is a sense of cultural understanding that is hard to quantify.

With this in mind, *Condé Nast Traveler* asked 22 ambassadors to the United States to recommend one book that travelers should read before visiting their home country. The books are not travel guides, but rather offer insight into the country and its heritage.

For example, Kurban Said's *Ali and Nino* (Verlag E.P. Tal & Co., 1937), suggested by the Azerbaijani ambassador to the United States, is the love story of a young Muslim man and a Georgian

princess who has been brought up in the Christian tradition, as they navigate life in Baku at the time of the Bolshevik Revolution.

Navtej Sarna, the Indian ambassador to the United States, recommends *Freedom at Midnight* (Simon & Schuster, 1975), which describes events around Indian independence and partition in 1947-1948; while Tim Groser, from New Zealand, recommends *The Whale Rider* (Harcourt, 2003), a novel for young people featuring Maori history and legends woven into a modern-day narrative.

Ambassador Kirsti Kauppi suggests that visitors to Finland should familiarize themselves with a series of children's books by Tove Jansson about the Moomins, a family of Finnish trolls who have adventures in the snowy mountains; and Jamaican Ambassador

Audrey Marks recommends *Selected Poems* by Louise Bennett (Sangster's Book Stores Limited, 1982) as a way to understand Jamaican folklore, history and language.

The list also includes contributions from ambassadors to the United States from Ireland, Norway and Malta, among others.

## State Department Sounding Board Shuttered

On Aug. 17, Secretary of State Rex Tillerson's staff announced that the Sounding Board, an internal intranet State Department employee forum would be shut down on Aug. 31. The announcement also stated that the content of the forum would not be archived, with the result that more than

## PODCASTS OF THE MONTH: *The Daily* and *The Global Politico* [www.nytimes.com/podcasts/the-daily](http://www.nytimes.com/podcasts/the-daily) and [www.politico.com/global-politico](http://www.politico.com/global-politico)

With this edition of the *Journal*, we are expanding the Site of the Month to include podcasts of interest to Foreign Service readers. We're going to start with two relatively new podcasts—one for in-depth reporting on top stories and the other for in-depth interviews with key players in foreign affairs.

The daily podcast from *The New York Times*, aptly called *The Daily*, is a 20-minute deep dive into the stories of the day. Host Michael Barbaro interviews fellow *NYT* journalists, as well as some of the people who figure prominently in those stories, spending about 15 minutes on one segment, and the last few minutes on "what else you need to know today."

Recent topics include: Nicholas Kristof's visit to North Korea, the Las Vegas mass shooting, hurricane response, sexual harassment in Hollywood, the Clean Power Plan roll-back and the slaughter of Rohingya in Myanmar. This podcast is available for download every weekday morning between 5 and 6 a.m.

For a weekly dose of "candid, in-depth conversations about global politics with those who are helping shape it," veteran journalist Susan Glasser's *The Global Politico* is a must-listen. She interviews some of the most interesting and significant actors on the international stage.

Recent interviewees include former British Prime Minister Tony Blair, Lebanon's Prime Minister Saad Hariri, former Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, Brookings President (and former State Department Deputy Secretary) Strobe Talbott, Ambassador (ret.) Chris Hill and Iran's Foreign Minister Javad Zarif.

With an even-handed non-partisan approach, Glasser elicits informative and fascinating insights from her guests. This podcast is available for download every Monday morning.



As you guys are looking at diplomatic outposts to consolidate or shut down, I think it's important to remember we didn't have a diplomatic post in Afghanistan pre-9/11. So when we look around the world ... [we should look] not in terms of the conflict today, but in terms of what could be a conflict tomorrow and the benefit of having a presence there, again for conflict mitigation, which we can't quantify—how many conflicts we've stopped with State or USAID. But, again, I want to thank you and the people who work for you for your hard work for the American people.

—Adam Kinzinger (R-Ill.), at the House Foreign Affairs Committee hearing on State Department Redesign, Sept. 26.

I remain deeply concerned that the administration's approach to reorganization of the State Department is a solution in search of a problem. It has the appearance of a pre-cooked and ideologically driven exercise. Both this Committee and the Appropriations Committee have expressed our concerns, and made it clear that the road to reorganization runs through Congress.

I also want to flag a couple of issues where we have had concerns over the past few months, including the way the department has handled the Rangel and Pickering Fellows; the suggestion that Consular Affairs and the Population, Refugee, and Migration Bureau be moved wholesale from the State Department to the Department of Homeland Security; and the apparent lack of urgency in filling critical positions like the assistant secretary for Diplomatic Security.

I do this not to re-litigate concerns with you, but rather

## Heard on the Hill



to suggest the real pressing need for proper management guidance at the department.

When we see things like the department seeking to reduce its workforce through attrition—where critical functions and expertise are lost—it suggests an operation that either does not understand or does not care about using proper management tools to steer that process.

... My over-riding concern is that without proper management and leadership at the department, the United States is at risk of effectively leaving the stage as a global leader. The Department of State

plays a vital role at the heart of our nation's foreign policy by maintaining our global stature, ensuring the security of our citizens, enhancing our prosperity, and supporting our allies and partners around the globe who share the ideals and values that are at the heart of what makes America a unique and exceptional nation.

I trust that you would agree that if the department does not function properly the United States' role in the world, and our national security, is at risk.

—Senator Ben Cardin (D-Md.) at the House Foreign Affairs Committee hearing on State Department Redesign, Sept. 26.

We have a troubled world that we live in and at this time, we are the greatest superpower, the only superpower in the world. But superpower means more than having super military might, it means having super diplomatic might also.

—Senator Joe Manchin (D-W.Va.), at the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations nominations hearing for Hon. Jon Huntsman Jr. to be U.S. ambassador to Russia, Sept. 19.

seven years of collaborative posts have now been lost.

The forum was created in 2009 by the State Department's Office of eDiplomacy as a way for employees to exchange information and submit ideas directly to the Secretary of State.

A State Department official told *Government Executive* that “the Sound-ing Board is in need of a technology upgrade. As part of the redesign process a new portal will be built. In the meantime, the redesign portal and other existing engagement tools ... will serve

as platforms for employee engagement and idea generation.”

However, the anonymous blogger-commentator who goes by the pseudonym Domani Spero echoed the concerns of many State Department employees: “You cannot say that the

'Secretary values and wants employee feedback' and expect people to believe that if, at the same time, you're demolishing the system that affords employees the ability to provide feedback."

## Consular Officers Assist Hurricane Evacuations

**W**hen disaster strikes, the Bureau of Consular Affairs is often called on to provide assistance to American citizens in trouble abroad.

Following Hurricane Irma, which devastated many islands in the Caribbean, consular personnel traveled from Washington, as well as from U.S. embassies in Barbados, the Dominican Republic, Jamaica and Colombia to help with the evacuation. They assisted in evacuating more than 2,500 American citizens from areas hardest hit by the hurricane.

FSO Paul Mayer went to Puerto Rico to help organize the evacuation. His post on State's "Dipnote" blog and on Facebook, "Not All Heroes Wear Capes: Assisting American Citizens in Caribbean," has been shared hundreds of times.



Consular personnel at the airport in Puerto Rico.

## U.S. Ambassador to Russia Confirmed

The U.S. Senate unanimously confirmed Jon Huntsman as the U.S. ambassador to Russia on Sept. 29, and he presented his credentials to Russian President Vladimir Putin on Oct. 3.

Ambassador Huntsman takes up his post at a time when relations between the United States and Russia are strained, following a series of diplomatic "tit-for-tat" incidents stemming from allegations of Russian interference in the 2016 U.S. election.

Though Amb. Huntsman had previously stated that he had no doubt that Russia had interfered in the election, he struck a conciliatory note following the credentialing ceremony: "I look forward to working to rebuild trust between our two countries and to strengthening the bilateral relationship based on cooperation on common interests."

The confirmation of Amb. Huntsman is the latest high-profile appointment by the Trump administration. However, in Washington, D.C., and all around the world, key U.S. diplomatic posts remain unfilled.



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AFSA's ambassador tracker indicates that 43 out of 188 positions are currently vacant (excluding countries that do not have a diplomatic relationship with the United States).

Vacant, in this instance, means that no one has been nominated or confirmed for the position of ambassador

and the previous incumbent has left post.

Embassies and consulates without an ambassador are still being ably led by career diplomats acting as chief of mission or chargé d'affaires, but foreign governments take note when the ambassador post in their capitals

remains vacant. As of press time, President Trump has only put forward a total of 51 ambassador nominations.

Check AFSA's website ([www.afsa.org/ambassadorlist](http://www.afsa.org/ambassadorlist)) for up-to-date information about nominations and appointments of career and political ambassadors.

## 50 Years Ago

### Interim Report of the Committee on Career Principles *A Set of General Propositions and First Principles*

**1** Those who do not recall the past are condemned to repeat it. This was perhaps the basic conclusion which emerged from our review of reform movements in the U.S. foreign affairs community since the end of World War II. There were some in the Committee who drew a corollary: those who recoil from the future are likely to regress in the present.

**2** The Department of State has primary responsibility for direction and coordination of the overseas activities of the U.S. Government. The Committee found no persuasive arguments for a sweeping reorganization of the Executive Branch. It was not impressed by the case for an omnibus Department of Foreign Affairs. It believes that the Department of State will almost certainly share foreign affairs functions in the 1970s with a growing number of agencies, institutions, and individuals—if it continues to develop the role envisioned in NSAM 341.

**3** The authority of the Secretary of State and the Chief of Mission are the central elements in foreign affairs community architecture. Nothing in the Committee's view of the period ahead suggested that the role and function of either would or should substantially alter in the 1970s. The new vigor being given the SIG/IRG (senior/interdepartmental regional groups) concept in Washington and the continuing validity of the Country Team concept in the field seemed to us to mark the right forward movement.

But both the Secretary and the Chief of Mission will need to be supported by greater use of managerial tools, more subtle and pertinent planning mechanisms, more sophisticated techniques of coordination, greatly increased technical

skills among personnel, and qualitatively different ways of handling information. A few illustrations follow.

The planning function is now both too close to, and too removed from, operations; too close because so much of policy is made on an ad hoc basis in response to emergent and volatile situations and too removed, because planning institutions are not sufficiently related to operational concerns. As operations must increasingly be disciplined by well-defined and communicated objectives, so the policy-making mechanisms must be related more directly to the imperatives and deadlines of operational urgencies.

—William Leonhart, chairman of the Committee on Career Principles, excerpted from the supplement of the same name published in the November 1967 Foreign Service Journal.

The committee was established by AFSA in 1964 to examine "the relation of current policy and administration to the strengthening of the Foreign Service as an instrument of foreign policy." Its work continued through the next several years under the leadership of reform-minded FSOs who became known as the "Young Turks" and were elected to lead AFSA in 1967. The committee's work culminated in the 1968 publication of a manifesto, *Toward a Modern Diplomacy*.



## Visa Services Suspended in Turkey

At the beginning of October, the United States and Turkey suspended all non-immigrant visa services for travel between the two countries, effectively blocking U.S. citizens from traveling to Turkey, and vice versa. More than 37,000 U.S. nationals traveled to Turkey in 2016.

“Recent events have forced the United States government to reassess the commitment of the government of Turkey to the security of the U.S. mission and personnel,” said a statement released by U.S. Embassy Ankara.

The recent row appears to stem from the arrest in Istanbul of a locally employed (LE) staff member there who was alleged to have links to U.S.-based opposition cleric, Fethullah Gulen, who is facing extradition from the United States for alleged crimes related to the failed coup in Turkey in July 2016. The U.S. consulate in Istanbul said it was “deeply disturbed” by the employee’s arrest, the second U.S. government employee to be arrested in Turkey this year.

Diplomatic ties between the United States and Turkey were already fraught, hitting a low point in May with an incident involving Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan’s security detail assaulting protestors outside the Turkish ambassador’s residence in Washington, D.C., sending nine people to the hospital.

## Survey Finds Americans Disagree with President on Foreign Policy

On Oct. 5, the Chicago Council on Global Affairs released the results of a survey showing that the majority of Americans disagree with the direction

the president is taking on foreign policy.

The 2017 Chicago Council Survey, conducted roughly six months into the Trump administration, showed that the administration’s criticism of trade deals and calls to withhold U.S. security guarantees from allies unless they pay for our support only appeal to a small group of Trump supporters, defined by the survey as those Americans with a “very favorable view” of the president.

“Our survey finds most Americans favor an active U.S. role in the world, supporting trade, staying in international agreements and standing steadfastly behind U.S. alliance commitments,” said Ivo H. Daalder, president of the Chicago Council on Global Affairs and a former U.S. ambassador to NATO.

About 2,000 Americans were interviewed for the survey, which found that most people, with the exception of the president’s core supporters, prefer “the type of foreign policy that has been typical of U.S. administrations, be they Republican or Democrat, since World War II.”

Participants rated maintaining existing alliances as the most effective foreign policy tool, with 49 percent saying such alliances are “very effective.”

The survey also found that Americans overwhelmingly support international trade, with a record 78 percent saying that international trade is good for U.S. consumers, 72 percent agreeing that it is good for the U.S. economy and 57 percent saying trade is good “for job creation.”

Sixty-two percent of Americans continue to favor U.S. participation in the Paris Agreement on Climate Change, down from 71 percent in the 2016 survey.

The analysis in the report is based on data conducted by GfK Custom



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## Contemporary Quote



No, no, no, we won't pull out. We will wait for Congress to make its decision.

My criteria are the criteria that have been spelled out in rather great detail in the deal. But then, it's up to Congress to adopt any decision, or not to adopt any decision, and I believe in the past a Republican Congress had this idea to let the nuclear agreement stay, as did our parliament. Neither one approved the deal; neither our parliament, nor the U.S. Congress. They didn't approve of the deal, but they allowed it to stay. Ours pursued its own procedure by requiring me to report to parliament every three months and by requiring the government to take certain actions if the appropriate domestic authority found the United States not to be in compliance. So did the U.S. Congress.

But, it would be important what Congress decides. It had decided in the past not to take action; it can [so] decide again. And then a lot would depend on how Europe responds to this ... a whole range of options are open—and based on the realities on the ground, Iran will exercise its option.



—Foreign Minister of Iran Mohammed Javad Zarif, responding to a question about whether Iran would pull out of the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (the Iran nuclear deal) if the United States pulls out. From a late-September interview with Susan Glasser for *The Global Politico* Oct. 2 podcast.

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Research using their large-scale, nationwide online research panel between June 27 and July 19. The margin of error is  $\pm 2.4$  percentage points.

The Chicago Council on Global Affairs is an independent, nonpartisan membership organization that provides insight and influences the public discourse on critical global issues.

### Cuba Case Points to Risks Diplomats Take

As this issue of *The Foreign Service Journal* goes to press, we are no closer to answers on what caused close to two dozen U.S. diplomats and family members to suffer health problems while posted in Havana during the past two years.

The issue has focused attention on the nature of diplomatic service and the risks members of the Foreign Service take when posted overseas.

While neither advocating nor opposing the withdrawal of American diplomats from Cuba, AFSA President Ambassador Barbara Stephenson responded to several media requests for

comment. In a conversation with NPR reporter Michele Kelemen for a Sept. 29 story on “All Things Considered,” Amb. Stephenson said that members of the Foreign Service are deployed all over the world in environments that put their health and lives at risk, but that their work is essential.

“AFSA’s view is that America’s diplomats need to remain on the field and in the game. We have a mission to do. It’s an important mission. And we’re used to operating with serious health risks in many environments around the world,” Amb. Stephenson said.

Having members of the U.S. Foreign Service engaged in the field at U.S. embassies and consulates around the world, she emphasized, is vital to the preservation of American interests.

More than 60 media outlets across the country picked up the AFSA president’s message.

Meanwhile, following a Sept. 26 meeting between Secretary of State Rex Tillerson and Cuban Foreign Secretary Bruno Eduardo Rodriguez Parrilla, State Department spokesperson Heather

Nauert reported: “The Secretary conveyed the gravity of the situation and underscored the Cuban authorities’ obligations to protect embassy staff and their families under the Vienna Convention.”

Cuba has stringently denied any wrongdoing and is conducting its own investigation, in addition to facilitating the U.S. investigation. So far, U.S. investigators have not found any devices linked to the attacks and the cause of the symptoms remains unknown.

On Sept. 29 the State Department ordered the departure of 15 non-emergency personnel and all family members from U.S. Embassy Havana pending resolution of the problem, and on Oct. 2 gave the same number of Cuban diplomats two weeks to depart from the United States. Visa services at the U.S. embassy in Havana have been suspended indefinitely. ■

*This edition of Talking Points was compiled by Gemma Dvorak, Donna Gorman, Dmitry Filipoff, Susan Maitra and Shawn Dorman.*

# Owning Leadership

BY MICHAEL PELLETIER

Over the last several months, we have bid farewell to many of our mentors and former leaders, officers and colleagues who taught us much of what we know of the practice of diplomacy and of being a part of the Department of State. This has led many to regret a perceived dearth of leaders in the department and the foreign affairs community.

While I certainly share the sense of missing so many of my former colleagues and friends in the hallways, I think we all must actively reject the idea that we lack leaders. Rather, I firmly believe this is a moment when we all have an opportunity—indeed, a responsibility—to step up and own our own leadership roles in the department. We must honor the legacy and the teachings of those who preceded us and take up the mantle of leadership ourselves.

We have a rare and perhaps unique chance to step up and help build and maintain a Department of State of which we can all be proud. That will take many individual acts of leadership across the department every day at all levels.

We all profess to support and encourage professional development and training opportunities for our

**We have a rare and perhaps unique chance to step up and help build and maintain a Department of State of which we can all be proud.**

teams. We now must make the tough decisions to make that support real. While it is inconvenient and difficult to handle a staffing gap due to a team member being out for training or to pursue a professionally enhancing opportunity outside the office, we must live up to our declarations of support and actually encourage and reward our team members for taking up such opportunities.

I was a deputy chief of mission at a very busy post, and I know how difficult it can be to make such decisions. They are in the best long-term interest of the department, but can make meeting immediate deadlines difficult. If we are to be the leaders we should be, and if we are to build the department we want to leave for the next generation, we must make those tough decisions.

We all profess to support and value diversity in the workplace, as it is so

vital to truly represent all of these great United States of America and to get the full benefit of all of the ideas, experiences and insights of our entire workforce. We now must show leadership and ensure that our decisions reflect the value we place on that diversity—in terms of professional development opportunities, in terms of hiring, in terms of seeking out and valuing input and debate. We are all busy and rushing to meet deadlines, but we must demonstrate the leadership skill to take an extra moment to ensure that all voices and opinions and thoughts are truly heard and considered.

Each of us, in his or her own role, has myriad opportunities to show leadership and to shape the department and the Service in some way, large or small. Our choices about how we engage in our offices, divisions and bureaus—the behavior we model daily—are oppor-



*Michael Pelletier, a member of the Senior Foreign Service, is dean of the School of Professional and Area Studies at the Foreign Service Institute. He was formerly the deputy chief of mission to India. Prior to this he served as the deputy assistant secretary of State for public diplomacy and public affairs in the Bureau of African Affairs, as minister-counselor for public affairs and public diplomacy at Embassy New Delhi (2009-2012), and as the U.S. government's Arabic-language spokesman and founding director of the Arabic Regional Public Diplomacy Hub in Dubai. He has also served in Amman, Dakar, Bamako, Kaduna, Cairo and Chennai. He is married to Sujatha Pelletier, and they have two sons.*

tunities for us to lead and to create a Department of State of which we can be proud. The department's leadership and management principles (see box) provide excellent guidance for demonstrating good leadership.

I remember a public affairs officers' conference years ago when a group of senior PAOs from the largest posts in that region went out to dinner together. We compared notes and engaged in the longstanding tradition of complaining about how Washington didn't understand our realities at post. We wondered amongst ourselves what had happened to the strong senior PAOs we remembered from our early days as entry-level officers, those individuals who could set all this straight.

Eventually, one of my colleagues, who was smarter and more aware than I, looked around the table, and noted that *we* were now that cohort. It was we ourselves who were not providing the leadership and mentorship we were looking for!

Moving up at every stage often catches us unaware that way, and we must make a conscious and intentional effort to understand and recognize the importance of continuing to step up and lead. As my colleague did at that dinner long ago, we must all remind each other explicitly that we have both the chance and the responsibility to lead at our own levels and in our own ways.

We must consciously combat narratives implying that we lack leaders. We are leaders, and we must assert that continuously. This type of growth is an ongoing process throughout our careers, from day one.

In India our outstanding entry-level teams across the mission taught me and all of us a great deal about leadership as they stepped up and put together superb professional development programs. They led by example—identifying areas they wanted to learn more about, putting together programs to fill gaps, and sharing their experiences and their knowledge with others.

At one consulate, realizing that the consular section faced nearly 100 percent turnover one summer, they took the initiative to put together one of the best and most effective onboarding programs ever. They didn't sit around and complain about needing more senior officers to set this straight; rather, they acknowledged their own abilities to address the challenge and moved to solve it, making themselves better officers and their consulate stronger in the process.

## 10 Leadership & Management Principles of the U.S. State Department

1. Model Integrity
2. Plan Strategically
3. Be Decisive and Take Responsibility
4. Communicate
5. Learn & Innovate Constantly
6. Be Self-Aware
7. Collaborate
8. Value & Develop People
9. Manage Conflict
10. Foster Resilience

Leadership is not reserved exclusively for the Secretary or under secretaries or assistant secretaries who set the hard foreign policy decisions at their levels. Leadership can and must also be part of all of our job descriptions. We each must exercise leadership in all of our decisions, large and small, at whatever rank and in whatever area we can. The department's 10 leadership and management principles point the way.

Every day presents us with opportunities; the question is whether we take them. The turnover in the senior levels of the department makes it more important than ever that we do so, and that we consciously and intentionally choose to make the department the best it can be. *We* must lead it into the years and decades to come. ■



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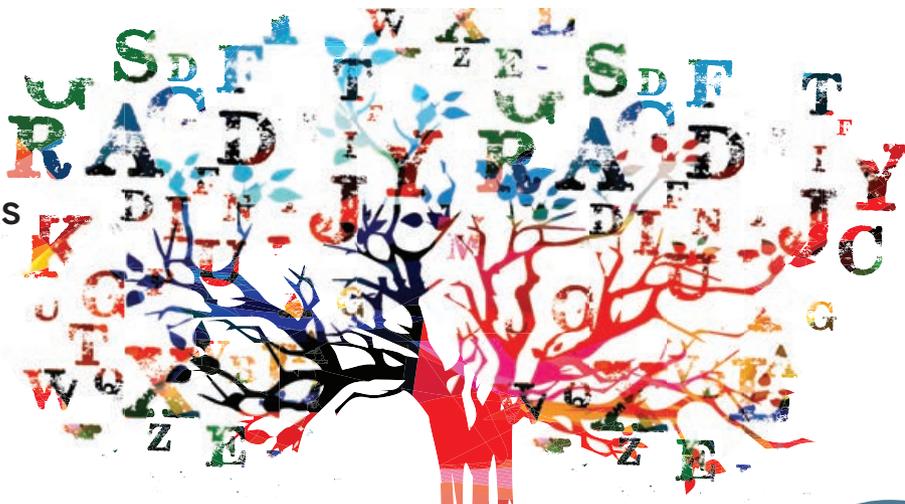
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# WRITING

## and the Foreign Service

**Unique experiences are the stuff of Foreign Service life—and compelling literature. One former FSO describes his journey to becoming a writer.**

BY PETER KUJAWINSKI

**T**he Foreign Service is filled with all kinds of stories. Some are recognizable to anyone working in a large organization with office politics and layers of management. Others are unique to the particular lifestyle of diplomats: the excitement and anxiety of bid lists, monastic periods of language training, arrival in a random country that will be home for two or three years, and the loneliness of being a stranger in a strange land coupled with the fishbowl atmosphere of an American embassy.

Even the act of moving—something Foreign Service employees



*Peter Kujawinski writes fiction and nonfiction for all ages. He contributes to The New York Times travel section and the New Yorker online. He is the author, with Jake Halpern, of *Nightfall*, a science-fiction novel for teens (G.P. Putnam's Sons, 2015). Their critically acclaimed follow-up novel, *Edgeland*, was released in May. They also co-wrote the middle-grade *Dormia* trilogy (*Dormia*, *World's End* and *Shadow Tree*). Before turning to writing full-time, he was an FSO for 18 years, serving in Israel, Haiti, France, the United Nations headquarters in New York and Canada. He now lives in Chicago with his family.*

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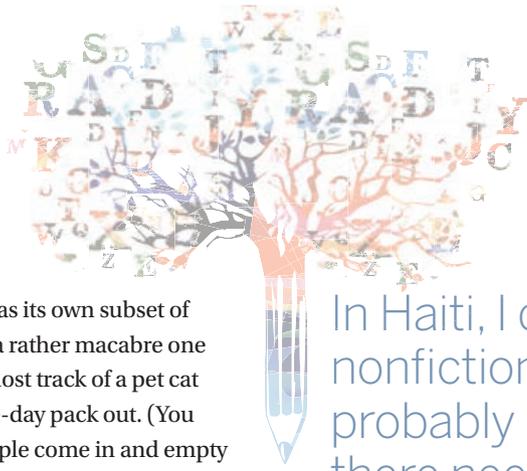
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know all too well—has its own subset of stories. I remember a rather macabre one about a person who lost track of a pet cat during a frenetic one-day pack out. (You know: a flurry of people come in and empty all your drawers in several hours, and suddenly your life is in boxes and the house smells like packing tape.) As the story goes, this person searched everywhere for their cat, ultimately concluding it had run away. The cat was found months later, very much deceased, in another country. It had curled up in a box to take a nap, and had been packed by mistake.

Then there are the myriad stories of living in a foreign country—be it Azerbaijan, Zambia or somewhere in between. The weird foods, the shopkeepers you absolutely *have* to visit, the adventures and banalities, the smells and sounds that become synonymous with that specific place.

I was interested in writing before I joined the Foreign Service, but it was my career as a diplomat that made me a writer. Surrounded by all these stories, I never felt stumped by the question, *What should I write about?* Great stories were everywhere—the hard part was choosing which one to write down.

### Appreciating Strangeness

My first assignment was Tel Aviv, from 1998 to 2000. It's probably not a coincidence that I began to write at that time. My first attempts were a few short stories now buried deep in the hard drive of an old computer. One of them was called "Loveseat." It featured a diplomat named Rick who transferred from one posting to another and, while doing so, lost his mind. The denouement occurred when he spilled tea on the embassy-provided loveseat in his new apartment, and the tea leaves started moving and embedding themselves in his skin. It's a weird story that just petered out because I had no idea how to end it.

Other stories were an obvious counterpoint to the strangeness of my new life. I wrote a lot about growing up in the Midwest, about camping, about old couples that spent their entire lives in the same house.

My next assignment was Port-au-Prince. I kept writing short stories, some as weird as "Loveseat," others more conventional. Haiti profoundly affected me—the heat and wild colors, abject poverty co-existing with the smiles of daily life. I carpooled to the embassy through a warren of narrow alleys also used as open-air car repair shops. I bantered with office co-workers while Marines dressed in riot gear looked out from our windows onto demonstrations in the street below. On any given day, my life included

In Haiti, I did a lot more nonfiction writing, probably because life there needed no fictional embellishment.

scenes that could have been lifted out of both "The Office" and *The Bourne Identity*.

In Haiti, I did a lot more nonfiction writing, probably because life there needed no fictional embellishment. It took

the form of letters to friends and family, describing what I saw and how I reacted when I saw it. When there were only 10 days left in my tour, I wrote a long letter each evening. These letters became essays summarizing my life in Haiti. Looking back at them, I realize that they mark the beginning of my own nonfiction style. There's a straight line that can be drawn from them to my recent pieces in *The New York Times*.

### Beyond a Serious Hobby

While in Israel and Haiti, I wrote because it made me happy. By the end of these two tours, writing had become a serious hobby. It was my next posting, in Paris, that transformed this hobby into something else, mainly because I connected with other writers and editors. The friendships I developed lay the foundation for all the books and articles I've written since.

Midway through my tour in Paris, a friend I had met in Israel came to visit. It wasn't because we were close friends. As he readily admits, it's because I had an apartment in Paris and offered to put him up for a few days. (That apartment certainly caused my popularity to spike. People I hadn't heard from in years suddenly got back in touch.) When we met in Israel, he was on a yearlong teaching gig at the American high school near Tel Aviv. Since that time, he had become a nonfiction journalist and a radio producer.

During his visit in Paris, we talked about the writing we were both doing and, over the course of a long meal at a Lebanese taverna, we ruminated about writing a young adult book together. He had an idea about a boy who sleepwalks his way into a variety of crazy adventures. It was the start of a writing collaboration that continues to the present day, nearly 15 years later.

In Paris I also met two editors working at the *International Herald Tribune*, when it was still known by that name. (Now it's the *International New York Times*.) We had a lot of fun as young Americans in Paris together, and now we're parents with kids, back stateside. Through it all we've remained good friends. Both helped open the door to nonfiction writing, and gave me advice and opportunities.

During my next assignment, at the U.S. Mission to the United

# ON THE WRITING ROLLER COASTER

BY CHARLES RAY

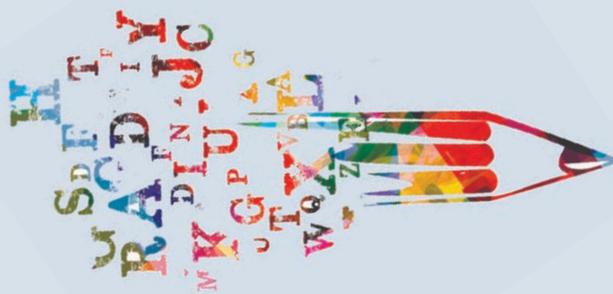
I've been writing and being published since I was 12 or 13, when I won first place in a national Sunday school magazine short story writing contest. I worked as a stringer for my local newspaper while in high school, and during my 20 years in the army, moonlighted as a photojournalist and artist for a number of newspapers and magazines.

My writing continued while I was in the Foreign Service. Always an early riser, I'd write for 30 minutes to an hour before going off to work. Then, in the evenings, I would write for another hour before going to bed—on evenings when there was a reception that could be quite late. Do that for 30 years, though, and it becomes a habit.

Fast forward to retirement. When I hung up my pinstripes in 2012 and decided to devote myself full-time to writing, I anticipated a more leisurely pace. Instead I found that having more time to write only encouraged me to write more—something about work filling the available time, I believe.



*After 20 years in the Army and 30 years in the Foreign Service, Ambassador Charles Ray retired in 2012 and now devotes himself full-time to freelance writing, photography and art. He also lectures, consults and does public speaking on a variety of subjects. Since 2008, when he published his first book, he's completed more than 60 fiction and nonfiction works. Six of the latest are featured in this edition of "In Their Own Write." In addition to his own publishing imprint, Uhuru Press, he writes a young-reader-oriented series of Westerns for Outlaws Publishing. You can find his books at [charlesray-author.com](http://charlesray-author.com).*



Establish a writing routine that you can live with, and follow it.

## The Writing Muscle

When I worked for newspapers in North Carolina in the 1970s, an old country editor once told me that to become a good writer, one had to exercise the writing muscle regularly. His suggestion was to produce 1,000 to 2,000 words per day, every day. I've been doing that ever since. (Given that I type approximately 60 words per minute, I can get my 2,000 words written in under 40 minutes. The average word count of my books is 45,000 to 60,000, so even with my old "write in my free time" schedule, I could complete the first draft of a book in a month.)

Here's what my typical day looks like (and by day, I mean Monday through Sunday). I'm up between 5 and 6:30 a.m. I exercise, shower, dress and prepare my breakfast. Then I'm off to work—in my home office. There I spend 30 to 45 minutes going through email, and then start the writing process.

I say process, because writing a book is about more than the act of writing itself. There's the research, even for fiction, and planning that has to take place before you begin the first page. Some call this planning "plotting," and I suppose that's kind of what I do—somewhere between plotting and writing by the seat of my pants. No matter how detailed I make my initial plan, it changes three or four times before I'm done with the book.

The writing itself takes place for about two hours in the morning, during which time I usually work on two or three different projects, aiming for a minimum of 2,000 words on each. I write flat-out for that two-to-three-hour period, and then break for lunch.

After lunch, I take a one-to-three-hour break from writing, retiring to my art studio in my garage to paint or draw, or grabbing my camera to go off and take pictures. By 5 p.m., I'm back at my computer keyboard, and back to work, with just a one-hour break at 6:30. After supper with my wife, I write for another three to four hours.

### Off the Treadmill of Everyday Boredom

Before retiring, I worked 12 to 14 hours, six days a week, on average. I loved my job, although it was a bit boring and routine at times, and I was often subject to the direction and control of someone else. Now I'm doing those 14-hour days seven days a week! I'm the boss, and I'm never—I actually mean never—bored.

I haven't been retired long enough to offer tips on that subject. But having written for publication for more than 50 years, I think I can offer a few words of advice to those of you who are about to exchange another day job for full-time writing:

- Don't expect writing to be easier than your old job. If anything, it'll be harder.
- Establish a writing routine that you can live with, and follow it.
- Don't let making money be your main motivation. Most writers actually make very little. Focus on writing things that give your life meaning.
- Include personal care and family time in your routine. A writer needs inspiration, and you won't get it by cutting yourself off from people or being too ill to keep writing.

Get off the treadmill of everyday boredom, and get on the roller coaster ride that is the life of a writer. It can sometimes be scary, but for me that's part of the excitement. If you're meant to be a writer, it can be the same for you. ■



Writing full-time is high-risk, and hopefully high-reward. It's radically more uncertain than working at the State Department. But it's my passion.

Nations in New York, the young adult book that my friend and I had hatched at the Lebanese taverna was completed. His agent submitted it to Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, the company that had published two of his adult nonfiction books. A few weeks later, they came back with an offer. The book, *Dormia*, was published in 2009. Over the next few years, two more books in the *Dormia* trilogy followed. They were not big sellers, but they opened the door to more opportunities.

Our next book was a fantasy suspense novel for young adults called *Nightfall*. While posted in Calgary, I learned that G.P. Putnam's Sons, an imprint of Penguin Random House, had made an offer to publish it. Putnam gave us a two-book deal, and at that point, I decided to try writing full-time.

### A Significant Leg Up

I left the State Department in August 2015 and plunged into writing—mainly young adult fiction, although I've also written nonfiction: travel pieces for *The New York Times* and a piece for *The New Yorker* online. Nearly two years in, I can't say I've been a runaway success, but I also haven't failed. Writing full-time is high-risk, and hopefully high-reward. It's radically more uncertain than working at the State Department. But it's my passion, and having a Foreign Service background gives me a significant leg up.

This is because I brought unique experiences that few writers could match. For example, when I was consul general in Calgary, I made several visits to the Northwest Territory, which was part of my area of responsibility. While up there, I befriended the speaker of the territory's legislature, who invited me to visit his small town on the shores of the Arctic Ocean. I took him up on the offer, and learned more about his pet project, an all-weather road that would link his town of Tuktoyaktuk to the Canadian road system.

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When I left the Foreign Service, I pitched *The New York Times* about returning to Tuktoyaktuk to write a travel piece about this road. I emphasized that when finished, it would be the only road in Canada to reach the Arctic Ocean. Happily, the newspaper agreed. The piece became my first real break into nonfiction writing, and it happened because of my State Department background.

Connections also help. Getting a coveted onward assignment in the Foreign Service often relies on them. Writing is no different. Whether it was fiction or nonfiction, using my network of writer and editor friends was crucial. Of course, the books or articles I wrote had to be interesting; but having landed on a reviewer's desk through a networked connection, they were considered seriously, which is a huge first step toward being published.

For those in the Foreign Service interested in getting published, does my own winding path yield any tips or lessons? I think so.

First, take advantage of the fact that your Foreign Service experience is filled with interesting stories and experiences. Whether your interest is fiction or nonfiction, you have raw material that few people have. It's a huge advantage. Keep a journal and take pictures to make sure you remember it all.

Second, focus on writing and editing—not publishing—while in the Foreign Service. Promotion and publicity, key components to being a published writer, are difficult to carry out within the strictures of a State Department career. After all, you're supposed to represent the United States, not yourself.

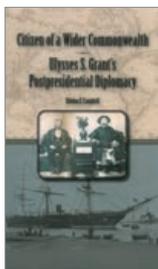
Third, tend to your connections and friendships. This maxim applies to your Foreign Service career, but it's vital outside diplomacy, as well. Expatriate communities around the world are filled with people interested in writing—not just journalists, but also Fulbright grantees, academics, businesspeople, international aid workers and Peace Corps Volunteers. Most of these people will return to the United States, and some may be able to help when you're ready to start getting published.

I have a final piece of advice that will feel especially relevant to those who took the Foreign Service exam many times before getting in. Push through rejection. Writing is filled with it. Pulitzer Prize-winning writers still get rejected. However, there's an upside to rejection. It helps develop a critical eye, which is the key to writing nonfiction or fiction that everyone wants to read.

People are entranced by diplomacy and the Foreign Service. The peripatetic, global life provides no shortage of material. For those with this background who are interested in writing, the opportunities are out there. Mine your experiences, write constantly and maintain connections. Your chances of being published are better than you might think. ■



## BIOGRAPHY AND HISTORY



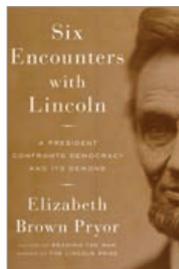
### **Citizen of a Wider Commonwealth: Ulysses S. Grant's Postpresidential Diplomacy**

Edwina S. Campbell, Southern Illinois University Press, 2016, \$34.48/hardcover, \$34.50/Kindle, 280 pages.

In 1877 former president Ulysses S. Grant embarked on a two-year world tour that took him from Liverpool to Yokohama, with numerous stops in Europe and Asia. By contrast with most Grant biographers, who treat the tour as a pleasure trip if they discuss it at all, author Edwina Campbell chronicles Grant's travels with the understanding that he was on a U.S. government-sanctioned diplomatic mission—in fact, the first diplomatic mission ever undertaken by a former U.S. president.

Campbell demonstrates that the tour marked a turning point in the U.S. role in global affairs. In meetings with monarchs, ministers and average citizens, Grant articulated concepts of self-determination, international organization and the peaceful settlement of disputes—decades before Elihu Root's advocacy for binding international arbitration and President Woodrow Wilson's League of Nations proposal. He confirmed the United States' commitment to Anglo-American partnership, demonstrated America's interest in the territorial integrity of China and asserted the importance of an international order based on equality and justice.

Edwina S. Campbell is a former U.S. Foreign Service officer. After leaving the State Department, she taught American foreign policy at the University of Virginia and grand strategy at National Defense University, retiring in 2014 as a professor of national security studies at Air University. Her numerous publications include *Germany's Past and Europe's Future: The Challenges of West German Foreign Policy* (Brassey's Inc., 1989) and *The Relevance of American Power: The Anglo-American Past and the Euro-Atlantic Future* (Centre for Defence Studies, 1999).

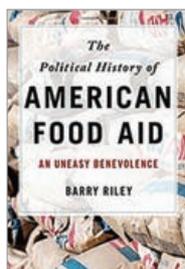


### **Six Encounters with Lincoln: A President Confronts Democracy and Its Demons**

Elizabeth Brown Pryor, Viking, 2017, \$35/hardcover, \$17.99/Kindle, 496 pages.

In this scrupulously researched work that was published posthumously, Elizabeth Brown Pryor homes in on six mostly unknown encounters between Abraham Lincoln and his constituents that reveal different, often surprising, aspects of the president's character. The encounters exemplified the trials Lincoln faced during his presidency: for example, a meeting with U.S. Army officers on the eve of the Civil War, a conversation on the White House portico with an abolitionist cavalry sergeant, and a difficult exchange with a Confederate businessman and editor. Pryor draws on hundreds of letters, diaries and other primary source material, as well as her own considerable storytelling expertise, in reconstructing the encounters. She immerses readers in the throes of the Civil War and shines a revealing light on how Lincoln bore his burden as a wartime commander-in-chief deliberating on emancipation, the exercise of emergency powers and leading a divided constituency.

Elizabeth Brown Pryor, who was tragically killed in an auto accident in 2015, was a Senior Foreign Service officer and an award-winning historian. She was the author of *Clara Barton: Professional Angel* (1988) and *Reading the Man: A Portrait of Robert E. Lee Through His Private Letters* (2007), which won the 2008 Lincoln Prize, the 2007 Jefferson Davis Award, the 2008 Richard B. Harwell Book Award and the 2007 Richard S. Slatten Award for Excellence in Virginia Biography.



### **The Political History of American Food Aid: An Uneasy Benevolence**

Barry Riley, Oxford University Press, 2017, \$49.95/hardcover, \$18.35/Kindle, 592 pages.

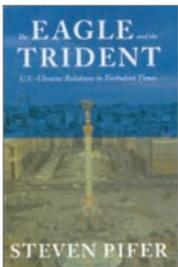
American food aid has long been the most visible and most popular means of assisting millions of hungry people confronted by war, terrorism and natural cataclysms, and the famine and death that all too often follow them.

In *The Political History of American Food Aid*, Barry Riley traces its use from the earliest days of the republic to the present: as a response to hunger, a weapon to confront the expansion of Bolshevism after World War I and communism after World War II, a method for balancing disputes between Israel and Egypt,

a channel for disposing of food surpluses and as a means for securing the votes of farming constituents or the political support of agriculture sector lobbyists, commodity traders, transporters and shippers.

Riley illuminates the interplay of the complex factors influencing American food aid policy, including economic development and food security, and also offers thoughts about its role in a world confronting the effects of global climate change.

Barry Riley was a Foreign Service officer with the U.S. Agency for International Development for more than 20 years, mostly in eastern and northeastern Africa. Since leaving the Service, he has been a private consultant; worked for the World Bank and other agencies; and is currently a visiting scholar at the Center on Food Security and the Environment, part of the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies at Stanford University. He is the author of *The Development Effectiveness of Food Aid: Does Tying Matter?* (OECD, 2006).



**The Eagle and the Trident: U.S.-Ukraine Relations in Turbulent Times**

Steven Pifer, Brookings Institution Press, 2017, \$29.99/hardcover, \$16.19/Kindle, 366 pages.

In this comprehensive account of post-Cold War U.S.-Ukraine relations, Steven Pifer, a former U.S. ambassador to Ukraine, details the major policy objectives of the bilateral relationship and the challenges facing Ukraine today.

From cementing a strategic partnership agreement to removing some 2,000 nuclear warheads from Ukraine, the bilateral relationship appeared to be on a positive trajectory after the fall of the Soviet Union. But, Pifer shows, Ukraine's reforms were ultimately not enough to prevent the nation from falling under the Russian sphere of influence. With the perspective and insight unique to a practitioner, Pifer offers recommendations for managing the U.S.-Ukraine relationship in a time of uncertainty and Russian resurgence.

A retired Foreign Service officer, Steven Pifer served as deputy assistant secretary of State in the Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs with responsibilities for Russia and Ukraine (2001-2004), as ambassador to Ukraine (1998-2000) and as special assistant to the president and senior director for Russia, Ukraine and Eurasia on the National Security Council (1996-1997). He is currently director of the Arms Control and Non-Proliferation Initiative and a senior fellow with the Center for 21st Century Security and Intelligence and the Center on the United States and Europe at the Brookings Institution.

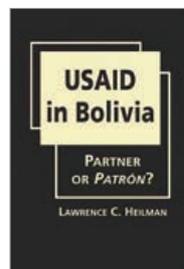


**FSI at 70: Future Forward—A History of the Foreign Service Institute**

Steven Alan Honley, Arlington Hall Press, 2017, \$4.99/paperback, \$2.99/Kindle, 110 pages.

Since its founding in 1947, the State Department's Foreign Service Institute has dedicated itself to teaching foreign languages, regional expertise and professional tradecraft to U.S. diplomats and other foreign affairs practitioners. This book, the first history of FSI ever written, traces FSI's evolution over the past seven decades from a small facility into a bustling campus serving tens of thousands of U.S. Foreign Service personnel every year. In 12 chapters that alternate between historical context and the specific schools that make up the National Foreign Affairs Training Center (e.g., the School of Language Studies and the School of Leadership and Management), the author tells the story of FSI—what it is and how it has evolved—in a fascinating and accessible way.

Steven Alan Honley was a Foreign Service officer from 1985 to 1997, and served as editor-in-chief of *The Foreign Service Journal* from 2001 to 2014. He is a frequent contributor to the *Journal*.



**USAID in Bolivia: Partner or Patron?**

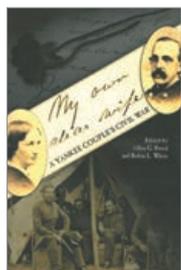
Lawrence C. Heilman, First Forum Press, 2017, \$85/hardcover, 346 pages.

Despite the fact that Bolivia had received more than \$4.7 billion over seven decades from the U.S. government to support development efforts, Bolivian President Evo Morales abruptly expelled the U.S. Agency for International Development from the country in May 2013. Why? The answer, argues Lawrence Heilman, is rooted in a complex slice of history beginning with U.S. assistance to Bolivia during World War II.

In this textbook Heilman explores that history from the perspectives of both the United States and Bolivia, presenting a tapestry of mutual benefits and conflicting interests. He appraises the ideas and personalities that determined U.S. foreign aid policies and programs across successive administrations, from Franklin D. Roosevelt to Barack Obama. He analyzes the political and economic context that shaped Bolivia's development aspirations, as well as the goals and strategies of the USAID mission in Bolivia that guided its decisions about specific projects. The result is a book that not only gives an in-depth picture of the

agency's operations in one country, but also offers important insights into overall U.S. aid policy.

Lawrence C. Heilman, a Senior Foreign Service officer who retired after a 20-year career with USAID, is a research associate in the Anthropology Department at the Smithsonian National Museum of Natural History.



### **My Own Dear Wife: A Yankee Couple's Civil War**

Allen G. Breed and Robin L. White,  
CreateSpace, 2016, \$25/paperback,  
\$2.99/Kindle, 732 pages.

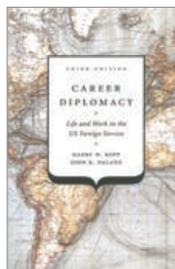
This volume is a touching tale told via the correspondence between a husband and wife who sought each other's comfort in the midst of the American Civil War. Dr. Bowman Breed, who served as a physician in the Union Army, marched off with the 8th Massachusetts Volunteer Militia four days after Confederate forces opened fire on Fort Sumter, leaving his wife, Hannah, with their 4-month-old son, Isaiah.

The couple vowed to write each other every day, even if "just a line." Bowman served throughout the war, moving from the hospitals of Washington, D.C., to North Carolina, Virginia, Missouri and Tennessee. Hannah, who joined her husband in the field for long stretches of the war, adds the perspective of a frontline correspondent to that of a worried wife at home.

This collection of more than 1,000 letters is a fascinating and unusual primary source for the Civil War. Among the highlights are a missive in which Bowman describes a visit with the president at the White House in April 1862 and one in which Hannah vividly describes the reaction to Lincoln's assassination.

Robin L. White and her cousin, Allen G. Breed, transcribed and edited their great-grandparents' Civil War correspondence. A retired Foreign Service officer, Robin White served in Morocco, Canada and Japan. She lives in Washington, D.C., with her husband, Nathaniel P. Breed Jr., great-grandson of Dr. Bowman and Hannah Breed. Allen Breed is an Associated Press national writer.

## POLICY AND ISSUES



### **Career Diplomacy: Life and Work in the U.S. Foreign Service**

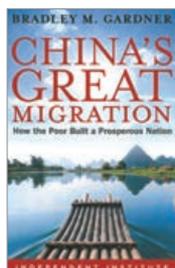
Harry W. Kopp and John K. Naland,  
Georgetown University Press, 2017,  
\$29.95/paperback, \$16.17/Kindle,  
296 pages.

Drawing on their own experience and interviews with more than 100 current and former members of the Foreign Service, Harry Kopp and John Naland provide a candid account of the life and work of U.S. diplomats. They explore all the career tracks and lay out what to expect in a Foreign Service career, from the entrance exam through mid-career and into the Senior Foreign Service.

This new edition includes a discussion of the relationship of the Department of State to other agencies and to the combatant commands; an analysis of hiring procedures; commentary on challenging management issues in the department, including the proliferation of political appointments in high-level positions and the difficulties of running an agency with employees in two personnel systems (Civil Service and Foreign Service); and an examination of changing demographics in the Foreign Service.

Harry Kopp joined the Foreign Service in 1967. He served as deputy assistant secretary of State for international trade policy in the Carter and Reagan administrations. His overseas posts included Warsaw and Brasília. He is the author of *Commercial Diplomacy and the National Interest* (American Academy of Diplomacy, 2004) and *The Voice of the Foreign Service: A History of the American Foreign Service Association* (Foreign Service Books, 2015).

John Naland joined the Foreign Service in 1986 and served overseas in Colombia, Costa Rica, Nicaragua and Iraq. A previous two-term president of the American Foreign Service Association, he is currently serving as Retiree VP.



### **China's Great Migration: How the Poor Built a Prosperous Nation**

Bradley M. Gardner, Independent Institute,  
2017, \$27.95/hardcover; \$16.99/Kindle,  
232 pages.

China's dramatic rise has lifted hundreds of millions of its citizens out of poverty and reshaped the global economy. Despite flouting fiscal and financial orthodoxy, China's economy continued to chalk up a growth

rate of 10 percent per year; between 1981 and 2011, the number of citizens living in absolute poverty dropped by a staggering 753 million. How Beijing accomplished this and what it means is a matter of lively debate in policy circles around the world.

In this book, Bradley Gardner zeroes in on one striking factor in China's transformation: the migration of more than 500 million people from their birthplaces to the country's rapidly growing cities. In analyzing the role of migration in China's economic development, the author draws on his own research and journalistic experience in China, including interviews with ordinary folk, to understand why people chose to migrate and the subsequent social and political effects of such massive population shifts. He examines the problems policymakers faced and how they addressed them.

Bradley M. Gardner joined the State Department Foreign Service in 2014. An economic officer, he has served in Nepal and is now posted in Slovakia. Prior to joining the Foreign Service, he worked at the Independent Institute, as a research analyst with the China office of *The Economist's* intelligence unit and as managing editor of *China International Business* and editor-in-chief for *China Offshore/Invest In* at Mx Media.



**Does Democracy Matter?  
The United States and  
Global Democracy Support**

Adrian A. Basora, Agnieszka Marczyk  
and Maia Otarashvili, editors;  
Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2017.  
\$34.77/paperback, 222 pages.

Confidence in the future of democracy has been shaken by the authoritarian resurgence of the past decade; some experts now argue that it is no longer realistic for America to continue to champion that cause overseas. Eleven scholars from a wide variety of backgrounds explore that pressing question in *Does Democracy Matter? The United States and Global Democracy Support*.

This book is the product of the Foreign Policy Research Institute's Project on Democratic Transitions, a yearlong process of study groups that culminated in a conference in October 2014. The contributors concur that in the long run, U.S. strategic interests are generally served by the spread of democracy abroad. But they caution that support of democratization may conflict with short-term U.S. national security goals. The concluding chapter assesses where and how such democracy support policies can be effective.

Adrian A. Basora and Kenneth Yalowitiz, who co-authored

the book's introduction and its concluding chapter, are retired Senior Foreign Service officers. Kenneth Yalowitiz served twice as U.S. ambassador, to Belarus (1994-1997) and to Georgia (1998-2001), during his 36-year diplomatic career. Adrian A. Basora, also one of the book's editors, served as chief of mission in Prague (1992-1995). Amb. Basora directed FPRI's Project on Democratic Transitions, and is currently co-director of its Eurasia Program. Basora's co-editors, Agnieszka Marczyk (who also contributed a chapter) and Mara Otarashvili, are both fellows at FPRI.



**The Iran Nuclear Deal:  
Bombs, Bureaucrats and Billionaires**

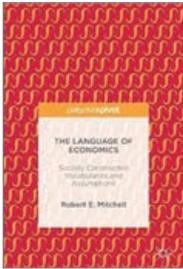
Dennis C. Jett, Palgrave Macmillan,  
2017, \$39.99/paperback, \$29.99/e-book,  
476 pages.

This timely book examines attempts by critics of President Barack Obama to influence the outcome of his administration's six years of negotiations with Tehran over Iran's nuclear capabilities. As the author documents, trying to prevent a successful outcome to the talks became a cottage industry in Washington.

Billionaire Sheldon Adelson has perhaps been the most prominent and deep-pocketed contributor to the effort, pouring millions of dollars of his own money into it. But he had plenty of company in that crusade. On the pro-diplomacy side, a wide range of religious, peace and arms control groups worked together, with some financial support coming from the Ploughshares Fund, to help create the space for a negotiated agreement.

The author presents and assesses the tactics used by both sides of the debate. In the process, he reveals how a contentious foreign policy issue can expand from a task for high-level decision-makers into a wide-ranging fight involving scores of nongovernmental organizations, the media and thousands of activists.

During 28 years as a State Department Foreign Service officer, Dennis Jett served as ambassador to Peru and Mozambique, among many other assignments. He is currently a professor of international relations and founding faculty member of the School of International Affairs at Penn State University, and has written three previous books: *Why Peacekeeping Fails* (2001), *Why American Foreign Policy Fails* (2008) and *American Ambassadors: The Past, Present and Future of America's Diplomats* (2014), all published by Palgrave Macmillan.



**The Language of Economics: Socially Constructed Vocabularies and Assumptions**

Robert E. Mitchell, Palgrave Macmillan, 2016, \$54.99/hardcover, \$54.99/Kindle, 131 pages.

Rather than a traditional book on economics and markets, this work is about the moral basis of economic thinking. As in other professions, the field of economics has its own vocabulary by which the elements of economic processes are described and evaluated. Robert Mitchell introduces a few vocabulary terms and associated assumptions found in the historical writings of economists and raises questions about them.

“Wealth,” “gross domestic product,” “hierarchies” and “inequality,” for example, are all terms infused with moral overtones that academic philosophers and policy analysts have used to raise questions about fairness and justice. In eight thoughtful chapters, Robert Mitchell challenges readers to question the implicit assumptions underlying such concepts, which only appear to be neutral, and to reconsider the policy goals the United States and other nations can, and should, be pursuing.

Robert E. Mitchell is a retired Foreign Service officer who served as a behavioral science adviser for the Near East Bureau of the U.S. Agency for International Development. That assignment was followed by overseas postings in Egypt, Yemen and Guinea-Bissau. After leaving the Service, he was a professor of urban and regional studies at Columbia University, the University of California at Berkeley, the Chinese University of Hong Kong and Florida State University. He has also directed two survey research centers, served as executive director of two state-level task forces and headed a national task force on family policy.



**Ethical Dilemmas and the Practice of Diplomacy**

Charles Ray, Uhuru Press, 2017, \$8.50/paperback; \$3.50/Kindle, 92 pages.

Acting in an ethical manner doesn't always mean obeying the rules and not doing anything illegal. Ethical dilemmas occur when there is a conflict of values between two courses of action, both of which are legal. Though the State Department and other foreign affairs agencies have comprehensive compliance ethics programs, none of them address such ethical dilemmas.

In this slim volume, with a foreword by Ambassador (ret.)

Ruth Davis, a former Director General of the Foreign Service, Charles Ray addresses that gray area, discussing how to make decisions when the choice is between two courses of action that are “right”—an ability Ray believes critical to maintaining the competence and professionalism of the Foreign Service in today's atmosphere of uncertainty. The author presents numerous examples and poses questions for thought, marshaling his own considerable decision-making experience as an army officer and a diplomat.

Charles Ray retired from the Foreign Service in 2012 after a 30-year career that included service as U.S. ambassador to Cambodia (2002-2005) and Zimbabwe (2009-2012), deputy assistant secretary of defense for POW/missing personnel affairs (2006-2009) and the first American consul general in Ho Chi Minh City (1998-2001), in addition to postings in China, Thailand and Sierra Leone. He joined the Foreign Service in 1982 after completing a 20-year career in the U.S. Army.

Ambassador Ray now devotes himself full-time to writing. *Ethical Dilemmas* is the latest of more than 60 titles, both non-fiction and fiction, he has published over the years. (See pp. 41 and 47 for five novels he has published in 2016 and 2017.)



**Beyond Our Degrees of Separation: Washington Monsoons and Islamabad Blues**

Judith Ravin and Muhammad Hassan Miraj, Inkwater Press, 2017, \$13.95/paperback, \$3.99/Kindle, 192 pages.

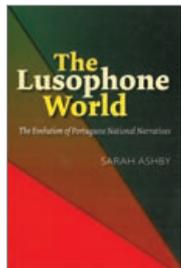
*Beyond Our Degrees of Separation* documents Judith Ravin's and Muhammad Hassan Miraj's efforts to understand not just each other, but their respective societies, better. A series of short essays and vignettes written alternately by the two, the book imaginatively documents the learning process undertaken by the “geographically disturbed”—individuals whose perpetual wanderlust motivates them to visit and live in distant lands with different cultures.

The co-authors evoke multiple points of intersection between the United States and Pakistan. They transcend their respective realms of U.S. diplomacy and the Pakistan military to uncover a surprising amount of common ground. Themes covered in this book include displacement, social justice, cross-border issues, terrorism, loss and interfaith harmony.

Judith Ravin joined the State Department Foreign Service in 2003, after living and working abroad as an editor, translator and journalist. Her first assignment was to Pakistan as deputy

cultural affairs officer. Since then, she has served in Argentina, Japan, Burkina Faso, Mexico, Cameroon, Sudan, the Dominican Republic and Washington, D.C.

Muhammad Hassan Miraj is a creative writing teacher, published author and communication practitioner, but above all a storyteller. His 15-year career in the Pakistan Army took him across the country, enabling him to connect with ethnic and linguistic subcultures, and included nearly a year in the United States.



**The Lusophone World:  
The Evolution of Portuguese  
National Narratives**

Sarah Ashby, Sussex Academic Press, 2017, \$69.95/hardcover, 168 pages.

To deepen and strengthen its ties with Lusophone countries across the globe, in 1996 the Portuguese government founded a supranational organization called the Community of Portu-

guese-Speaking Countries. In contrast to Portugal's perception of marginality in relation to Europe, in the realm of the CPLP the former world power could once again see itself as existing at the center—geographically, as well as from a historic-cultural perspective—of an extensive international milieu.

*The Lusophone World: The Evolution of Portuguese National Narratives*—the first volume in a series exploring “The Portuguese-Speaking World”—analyzes the dialectic between Portugal’s sense of identity and its membership in both the European Union and the CPLP. Author Sarah Ashby suggests that the fact that Lisbon is forging closer ties with its former colonies does not necessarily reflect estrangement from Brussels. More likely, it is simply seeking new tools to survive and prosper as a member of a rapidly changing European Union.

Sarah Ashby, a Foreign Service officer posted in São Paulo, notes in her preface that the inspiration for this book came from her 2013 internship in Embassy Lisbon. She received a Ph.D. from Brown University’s Department of Portuguese and Brazilian Studies in 2015.



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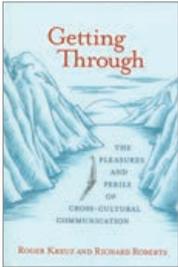
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**Getting Through:  
The Pleasures and Perils of  
Cross-Cultural Communication**

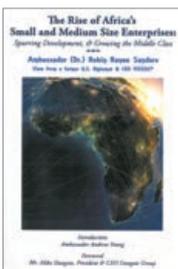
Roger Kreuz and Richard Roberts, MIT Press, 2017, \$27.95/hardcover, \$15.39/Kindle, 304 pages.

We can learn to speak other languages, but do we truly understand what we are saying?

How much detail should we offer when someone asks how we are? How close should we stand to our conversational partners? Being able to communicate depends on both culture and context. In *Getting Through*, Roger Kreuz and Richard Roberts draw on psychology, linguistics and sociology, as well as personal experience, to develop their guide to understanding and being understood in different cultures.

Kreuz and Roberts help us navigate such subtleties as how to apologize in a foreign country, or how to greet strangers. They argue that their study of cross-cultural communication isn't purely academic: The more we understand one another, the better we communicate, and the better we communicate, the more we can avoid conflict.

FSO Richard Roberts has served in Niger, Japan, South Korea and Mongolia, and is proficient in Japanese, German and Portuguese. Before joining the Foreign Service he taught psychology on the campuses of the University of Maryland University College in Europe and Asia. Roger Kreuz, who has taught for more than 25 years, is professor of psychology and associate dean in the College of Arts and Sciences at the University of Memphis. The two also co-authored *Becoming Fluent: How Cognitive Science Can Help Adults Learn a Foreign Language* (MIT Press, 2015).



**The Rise of Africa's Small  
& Medium-Size Enterprises:  
Spurring Development & Growing  
the Middle Class**

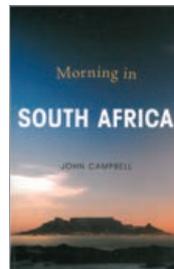
Robin Renee Sanders, XLibris, 2017, \$34.99/hardcover, \$23.99/paperback, \$3.99/Kindle, 546 pages.

Robin Renee Sanders' book, a volume in the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training's Memoirs and Occasional Papers series, is an insightful examination of a recent, dramatic shift in the development paradigm for sub-Saharan Africa, in which growth is being driven by the region's youth and small and medium-sized entrepreneurs.

Sanders introduces readers to some members of Africa's

Generation X and millennial cohort who are among the thousands of entrepreneurs inventing new apps and coming up with new approaches to the continent's age-old poverty issues. The author includes vignettes from her diplomatic career and subsequent work with the FEEEDS Advocacy Initiative; walks readers through what donors, foundations and African stock markets are doing today to help small and medium-sized enterprises; and concludes with recommendations for further steps to assist those at the "fragile" end of Africa's middle class.

Robin Renee Sanders, a retired Senior Foreign Service officer, held numerous postings throughout Africa during her career, which culminated with ambassadorships in the Republic of Congo (2002-2005) and Nigeria (2007-2009). Ambassador Sanders is the founder and CEO of the FEEEDS Advocacy Initiative. FEEEDS—food security, education, environment/energy, economics, democracy/development and self-help—works with underserved communities and groups to raise awareness of these challenges and advocate measures to address them.



**Morning in South Africa**

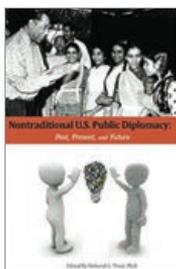
John Campbell, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2016, \$29.95/hardcover, \$15.37/Kindle, 244 pages.

John Campbell's newest book takes an in-depth look at post-apartheid South Africa, where a long history of racism and white supremacy continues to resonate today.

Under current President Jacob Zuma, South Africa is merely treading water, and some in South Africa have attempted to undermine the 1994 political settlement characterized by human rights guarantees and the rule of law. Nevertheless, Campbell argues, the country's future remains bright, and its democratic institutions will survive the current political situation.

Campbell examines the presidential inaugurations of Nelson Mandela and Jacob Zuma and Mandela's funeral, using these events to illustrate the ways South Africa has changed in the last two decades. He also writes of the continuing consequences of apartheid and explains education, health and current political developments, including land reform, with an eye on how South Africa's democracy is responding to associated challenges. The book ends with Campbell's assessment of why closer South African ties with the West are unlikely and his assertion that members of the black majority in South Africa are no longer strangers in their own country.

John Campbell joined the State Department in 1975, serving in Aubja, Lyon, Paris, Geneva and Pretoria. His second posting to Nigeria (2004-2007) was as U.S. ambassador. He is the Ralph Bunche Senior Fellow for Africa Policy Studies at the Council on Foreign Relations in New York, and the author of *Nigeria: Dancing on the Brink* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2013).



### Nontraditional U.S. Public Diplomacy: Past, Present and Future

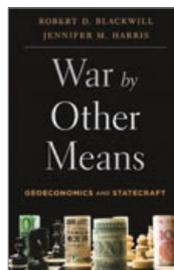
Deborah L. Trent, editor,  
The Public Diplomacy Council,  
2016, \$19.95/paperback, 310 pages.

“Most good public diplomacy is non-traditional, but also based on a sound understanding of other forms, functions and objectives of diplomacy. That is where the experience of contributors to this work is very valuable,” says Jan Melissen, founding co-editor of *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*, about this book.

*Nontraditional U.S. Public Diplomacy*, the fifth volume of the Public Diplomacy Council Series, showcases key innovations and lessons in U.S. diplomacy since World War I. A collection of essays by practitioners and researchers in the field, its inspiration came from a daylong conference on public diplomacy in late 2013.

The book offers compelling engagement strategies and primary research for shaping and communicating policy among increasingly diverse, collaborative and powerful publics. Chapter titles include: “The Uses and Abuses of Public Diplomacy: Winning and Losing Hearts and Minds,” “Nontraditional Diplomacy in the Iraq-Afghan Wars, or The Ups and Downs of Strategic Communicators” and “Public Diplomacy Engages Religious Communities, Actors and Organizations: A Belated and Transformative Marriage.”

The 11 contributors include several retired Senior Foreign Service officers: John Brown, Ambassador (ret.) Brian E. Carlson, Peter Kovach, Ambassador (ret.) Anthony C.E. Quainton and Richard A. Virden. Deborah L. Trent, the book’s editor, worked for the U.S. Information Agency for 13 years before moving into nonprofit management and research. She wrote the book’s introduction and also contributed a chapter. Other contributors include Carol Balassa, Robert Albro, Helle C. Dale, Jong-on Hahm and Craig Hayden.



### War by Other Means: Geoeconomics and Statecraft

Robert D. Blackwill and Jennifer M. Harris,  
Belknap Press, 2016, \$29.95/hardcover;  
\$19.95/paperback; \$16.17/Kindle,  
384 pages.

Today, nations increasingly carry out geopolitical combat through economic means.

Policies governing everything from trade and investment to energy and exchange rates are wielded as tools to win diplomatic allies, punish adversaries and coerce those who have not taken a side. In contrast, as Robert D. Blackwill and Jennifer M. Harris argue in *War by Other Means: Geoeconomics and Statecraft*, America still too often reaches for the gun rather than the purse to advance its interests abroad. The result is a playing field tilting ever more sharply against us.

In a cogent analysis of this trend, the authors explain that the rules-based system Washington established after World War II benefited Americans for decades. But now, as the system frays and global competitors such as China take advantage, America is uniquely self-constrained. If it does throw off its policy shackles, the price in blood and treasure will only grow.

Robert D. Blackwill was a Foreign Service officer from 1967 to 1987, and later served as U.S. ambassador to India from 2001 to 2003. He is currently the Henry A. Kissinger Senior Fellow for U.S. Foreign Policy at the Council on Foreign Relations. Jennifer M. Harris is a senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations.

## MEMOIRS



### Answer Coming Soon: More Blog Postings on Arts, Letters, Policy

Dan Whitman, New Academia Publishing,  
2017, \$26/paperback, 259 pages.

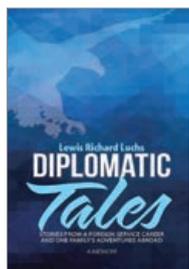
As its subtitle indicates, *Answer Coming Soon: More Blog Postings on Arts, Letters, Policy* is a sequel to Dan Whitman’s 2012

volume of his blog postings (*Blaming No One*). In its pages, he once again offers a practitioner’s view of foreign policy, while also tackling themes ranging from immigration and other governmental functions to human nature, music, literature and oral history.

All of the book’s content originally appeared online at Punditwire, a public blog disseminated by American University’s

School of Communication. Its short chapters invite busy readers to take their time and reflect on Whitman's insights. Printed in chronological order of their publication dates, the segments constitute a cross-section of developments that got public attention between 2012 and 2016, as well as some that should have but didn't. *Answer Coming Soon* challenges facile suppositions and notes historic moments of interest for the general reader.

Dan Whitman was a Foreign Service officer with both the U.S. Information Agency and the Department of State from 1985 until he retired from the Service in 2009. His overseas postings included Denmark, Spain, South Africa, Haiti and Cameroon. He is the author of five other books, and has written for *The Foreign Service Journal*.



**Diplomatic Tales: Stories from a Foreign Service Career and One Family's Adventures Abroad**

Lewis Richard Luchs, Lulu Publishing Services, 2016, \$18/paperback; \$7.55/Kindle, 366 pages.

What is it like to be a diplomat in six far-flung nations? Lewis Richard Luchs gives you a behind-the-scenes look in *Diplomatic Tales*, a memoir about his Foreign Service career from 1967 to 1992. As he recounts, Luchs wore three hats at once in Madagascar, witnessed a military coup d'état in Mali, saw the creation of modern Singapore, felt the excitement of working in a France emerging from the self-isolation of the Gaullist era and observed Australia's efforts to redefine itself in a new Asia. He portrays the official diplomatic life, but also the personal life of diplomats and their families, in these extraordinary environments.

In sharing his challenges, sorrows and joys, he tackles such questions as: What do embassies do? What do diplomats do? What stresses are put on their families? And what is it like to face terrorist threats? You'll find insights, as well as thoughtful, practical answers to those and many other inquiries, in this book.

Lewis Richard Luchs, a retired Senior Foreign Service officer, served in Madagascar, Mali, Singapore, France, Malaysia and Australia. He brought a background in sociocultural anthropology and a lifelong interest in human cultures to U.S. diplomacy. Luchs has four sons and eight grandchildren and lives in Oregon with his wife, Sharon. He is also the author of *Children of the Manse* (2009).



**Dirty Wars and Polished Silver: The Life and Times of a War Correspondent Turned Ambassatrix**

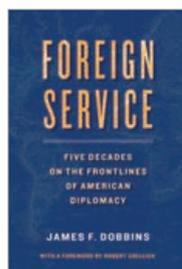
Lynda Schuster, Melville House, 2017, \$26.99/hardcover, 352 pages.

Sixteen-year-old Lynda Schuster is bored at home in the Midwest, angry about her parents' divorce and embarrassed by her mother, a dull suburban housewife. In search of adventure, Schuster secretly buys a ticket to Israel, where she intends to volunteer on a kibbutz but finds herself in the middle of the 1973 Arab-Israeli War. Hooked on the fear and adrenaline rush of war, she decides to become a foreign correspondent, working in war-torn and otherwise dangerous locales.

The early part of this memoir chronicles Schuster's almost accidental entry into the world of journalism and her subsequent adventures as a foreign correspondent in Central and South America, the Middle East and Mexico. She meets, marries and loses her first husband, a much older war correspondent for a competing newspaper, within the span of a year.

She later meets and marries a U.S. diplomat. Realizing she isn't going to be able to hold on to both husband and career, she quits her job to become a full-time diplomat's spouse. She chronicles her daily life as an FS spouse, describing everything from formal dinners to post evacuations. See the September *FSJ* for a full review.

Lynda Schuster is a former foreign correspondent for *The Wall Street Journal* and *The Christian Science Monitor*. She is married to Ambassador (ret.) Dennis Jett and lives in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, with her husband and daughter.



**Foreign Service: Five Decades on the Frontlines of American Diplomacy**

James F. Dobbins, Brookings Institution Press, 2017, \$29.99/hardcover, \$16.19/Kindle, 336 pages.

During a distinguished 35-year Foreign Service career, James Dobbins worked on the frontlines of American diplomacy, from 1960s Vietnam to Afghanistan at the start of the 21st century. His memoir, notes former FSO Harry Kopp in his review of this book in the July-August *FSJ*, "spans a period of ebbing, or squandering, of what had seemed in his phrase an 'inexhaustible abundance of American power.' It is the story of a career marked by diplomatic successes and darkened in its latter years by frustration."

As Dobbins states in the preface, his intent is “to show American diplomacy as it was and as it has become.” He takes readers behind the scenes at the Vietnam peace talks, the reunification of Germany, the collapse of the Soviet Union and the U.S. military interventions in Bosnia, Haiti, Kosovo, Somalia and Afghanistan. He examines the successes and failures, and provides incisive portraits of many of the chief actors, from General Vernon Walters to President Bill Clinton.

James Dobbins, who retired in 2002, served as assistant secretary of State for Europe, special assistant to the president for the Western Hemisphere, special adviser to the president and Secretary of State for the Balkans, U.S. ambassador to the European Community and as special envoy for Somalia, Haiti, Bosnia, Kosovo and Afghanistan. He holds the Distinguished Chair for Diplomacy and Security at the RAND Corporation.



### **Global Adventures on Less-Traveled Roads: A Foreign Service Memoir**

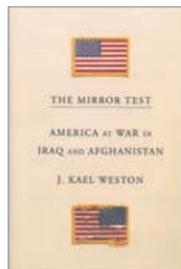
James R. Bullington, CreateSpace, 2017, \$19.95/paperback, 334 pages.

This autobiography traces Foreign Service Officer Jim Bullington’s personal and professional story from his birth in Chattanooga, Tennessee, and early life in rural Alabama to a career in diplomacy and appointment as U.S. ambassador to Burundi (1983-1986). Within that impressive arc, as Bullington tells it, he’s always taken the less-traveled roads, and they have led to the great adventures recounted in this personal and professional memoir.

The first in his family to go to college, he publicly advocated desegregation in 1961 Alabama. He joined the Foreign Service, choosing assignments at remote posts in Southeast Asia and sub-Saharan Africa, including three tours as a “warrior diplomat” in Vietnam. He married an Asian woman, Tuy-Cam, following their narrow escape from behind North Vietnamese lines during the 1968 Tet Offensive.

He became a U.S. ambassador, and then retired from the Foreign Service at age 48, continuing an international career as foreign minister for the city of Dallas, Texas. He returned to Africa as Peace Corps director in Niger. And he was recalled to active duty in the Foreign Service at age 72, assigned to help end a 30-year insurgency in Senegal.

James R. Bullington also served in Thailand, Burma, Chad and Benin, and as dean of the Senior Seminar. In retirement, he is a writer, speaker and senior fellow at the Joint Forces Staff College. He and his wife live in Williamsburg, Virginia.



### **The Mirror Test: America at War in Iraq and Afghanistan**

J. Kael Weston, Alfred A. Knopf, 2016, \$28.95/hardcover; \$17/paperback; \$12.99/Kindle, 585 pages.

J. Kael Weston’s Foreign Service career was unlike any other. *The Mirror Test* chronicles his experience working for the State Department in Iraq and Afghanistan from 2003 to 2010. It is “a granular yet gripping ground-level account of the political and human costs of war: its small successes, as well as its tragedies, absurdities and ironies,” as Ambassador (ret.) Gordon Brown writes in his review in the October *FSJ*.

Weston offers not simply an account, but also a reflection on his experience. The book’s title refers to the challenge faced by seriously wounded and disfigured soldiers: When they look in the mirror for the first time during their recovery, can they foresee a life of pride and honor? In offering this unflinching look at our interventions in Iraq and Afghanistan, the author asks us to evaluate honestly what we see.

As Weston told his twin brother while writing the book, *The Mirror Test* will be about “the lives of the little people and their experiences in our wars that happen far from Washington, D.C.” He highlights the interplay between diplomacy and war, weaving together the voices of a range of Iraqis, Afghans and Americans. We meet generals, corporals, family members, district chiefs, former insurgent fighters, schoolteachers and imams.

J. Kael Weston joined the Foreign Service in 2001 and served until 2012. He received the Secretary of State’s Medal for Heroism for his work in Fallujah.



### **Diversifying Diplomacy: My Journey from Roxbury to Dakar**

Harriet Lee Elam-Thomas, with Jim Robison, Potomac Books, 2017, \$29.95/paperback, 240 pages.

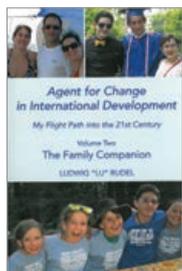
*Diversifying Diplomacy* tells the story of Harriet Elam-Thomas, a black woman from Boston’s Roxbury neighborhood who became a successful diplomat. Inspired by the strong women in her life, she helped make the Foreign Service reflect the diverse faces of the United States. The youngest child of parents who left the segregated Old South to raise their family in Massachusetts, Elam-Thomas distinguished herself with a diplomatic career at a time when few colleagues looked like her.

Elam-Thomas learned French, Greek and Turkish for overseas

tours in Europe, the Middle East and West Africa, and served at the White House and the United Nations. Her unique life story and vision guided her career as a diplomat and earned her the Director General's Cup and recognition from world leaders.

After serving as the U.S. ambassador to Senegal from 2000 to 2002, Ambassador Elam-Thomas retired with the rank of Career Minister after 42 years in the Foreign Service. She then became director of the Diplomacy Program at the University of Central Florida in Orlando. She holds a B.S. degree in international business from Simmons College in Boston, Mass., an M.S. in public diplomacy from Tufts University's Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, and four honorary doctorates.

Her memoir, the 62nd volume in the ADST-DACOR Diplomats and Diplomacy Series, relates the untold story of the "little Elam girl" from Roxbury who helped bring much-needed diversity to the Foreign Service. The Kirkus review called her book "an informative, behind-the-scenes look at one black woman's rise through the ranks of the Foreign Service when few others like her were serving as diplomats."



**Agent for Change in International Development: My Flight Path into the 21st Century (Volume 2)**

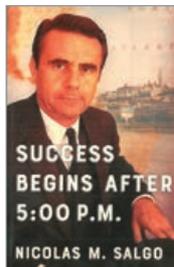
Lu Rudel, CreateSpace, 2016, \$16.95/paperback, 390 pages.

In this second volume of his memoir, Lu Rudel focuses on his family—his wife of 53 years, Joan, and their three children—

and their life in the Foreign Service, as well as their extensive travels over the years—both in search of roots and for, as he puts it, "sheer pleasure." There is a section with several chapters describing the family's evolution, and there is a section chronicling seven short-term, post-retirement assignments in China, Mozambique, Latvia, Thailand, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh.

By contrast, the first volume of Mr. Rudel's memoir, published in 2014, focuses on the author's professional life working with U.S. foreign economic aid programs after World War II. There he describes serving in Iran after the fall of Mossadegh, in Turkey after the military coup of 1960, in India after the death of Nehru and in Pakistan following the withdrawal of the Soviet military from Afghanistan in 1988.

Lu Rudel joined the USAID Foreign Service after completing his service in the U.S. Army. He retired in 1980. A Holocaust refugee, he came to the United States in 1938. He is also the author of *Foreign Aid: Will It Ever Reach Its Sunset?* (Foreign Policy Association of New York, 2005).



**Success Begins after 5:00 P.M.**

Nicolas M. Salgo, as told to Matthew J. Burns III; CreateSpace, 2017, \$14.95/paperback, \$9.95/Kindle, 310 pages.

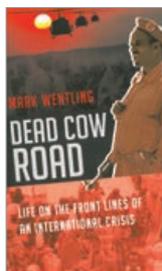
When Nicolas M. Salgo was appointed the U.S. ambassador to Hungary in 1983, it was a strange homecoming. More than half a century earlier, he had been a boy in Budapest

dreaming of a better life. The decades between his childhood and his return were full of romance, adventure, business and politics.

In this posthumous memoir, published after the author's death in March, Salgo chronicles his journey through the 20th century and the lessons he learned about the nature of success along the way. (The title refers to a motto he coined during a seminar at Harvard Business School.) Salgo created one of the first conglomerates, the Bangor Punta Corporation, helped build the Watergate Hotel and was appointed ambassador to the country he once called home. After spending three years in that position, he went on to conduct a number of economic and administrative negotiations on behalf of the Ronald Reagan and George H.W. Bush administrations.

Matthew J. Burns III, whose path crossed Salgo's during a trip to Beijing in 1991, later joined the Foreign Service. He served in Rome, Tel Aviv and Washington, D.C., before leaving in 2005 to become director of international human resources for the Lockheed Martin Corporation.

FICTION AND POETRY



**Dead Cow Road: Life on the Front Lines of an International Crisis**

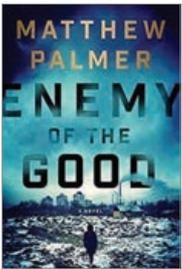
Mark Wentling, Page Publishing, Inc., 2017, \$24.95/paperback, 510 pages.

In this work of historical fiction, author Mark Wentling combines exhaustive research with firsthand experience throughout Africa to produce a remarkable book on the U.S. response to Somalia's 1992 famine that both educates and entertains.

The story revolves around Ray Read, a Foreign Service officer who reluctantly accepts a difficult assignment, laying his life on the line in wartorn Somalia. Read persists in doing his duty despite difficult personal problems and his own growing doubts about U.S. policy in the complex emergency. Along the way readers will consume facts about the history, people and places of this troubled region of Africa. In the end, Ray recognizes that

he is just one actor in a larger and quickly unfolding scene with unpredictable international implications.

Mark Wentling joined the USAID Foreign Service in 1977 and served in Niger, Guinea, Togo, Benin, Angola, Somalia and Tanzania. After retiring in 1996, he worked under contract as USAID's senior adviser for the Great Lakes Region of Central Africa and as a consultant in Malawi, Senegal, South Africa and Zambia. Prior to joining USAID, he served as a Peace Corps Volunteer for five years, beginning in 1967, in Honduras and Togo, and then served as Peace Corps director in Gabon and Niger. His work and travels over the past 46 years have taken him to all 54 African countries.



### Enemy of the Good

Matthew Palmer, G.P. Putnam's Sons, 2017, \$28/hardcover; \$13.99/Kindle, 400 pages.

Kate Hollister is a second-generation Foreign Service officer, recently assigned to Kyrgyzstan. Her uncle is the U.S. ambassador to the country, and he pulled a few strings to get his niece, who attended high

school in the region, assigned to his mission.

U.S.–Kyrgyz relations are at a critical juncture. U.S. authorities have been negotiating with the country's president on the lease of an airbase that would expand the American footprint in Central Asia and could tip the scale in “the Great Game,” the competition among Russia, China and the United States for influence in the region. Negotiations are controversial because of the Kyrgyz regime's abysmal human-rights record, and the fate of the airbase hangs in the balance.

Kate's uncle assigns her to infiltrate an underground democracy movement that has been sabotaging Kyrgyz security services and regime supporters. Though she has an in—many followers of the movement were high school classmates—it soon becomes clear that nothing about Kate's mission is as it seems.

Matthew Palmer is a 25-year veteran of the Foreign Service who is currently serving as the director for South Central Europe in the Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs. He is the author of three other diplomatic thrillers, *The Wolf of Sarajevo* (2016), *Secrets of State* (2015) and *The American Mission* (2014), all published by G.P. Putnam's Sons.

# THE AFSA BOOK MARKET IS BACK!

Mark your calendars for Thursday, November 16, from 11 a.m. to 2 p.m.

Two dozen Foreign Service authors featured in *The Foreign Service Journal* November 2016 & 2017 issues in one place with their books.

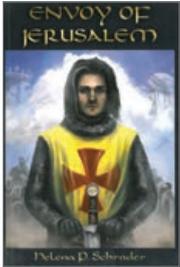
Plus—a distinguished literary agent and editor speaking on writing and publishing and answering your questions.

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## CONNECT—NETWORK—BROWSE—SHOP



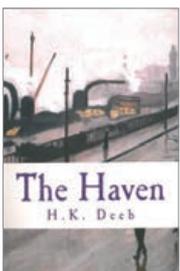
**Envoy of Jerusalem:  
Balian d'Ibelin and the Third Crusade**

Helena P. Schrader, Wheatmark,  
2016, \$22.95/paperback; \$6.99/Kindle,  
512 pages.

This award-winning work of historical fiction is Part III of a biographical series about Balian d'Ibelin, who served as an envoy for Christian crusaders. Balian survived the devastating defeat of the Christian army in the Battle of Hattin, and walked away a free man after surrendering the city of Jerusalem to the sultan, Saladin. But he is left as the baron of nothing in a kingdom that no longer exists.

Haunted by the tens of thousands of Christians now enslaved by the Saracens, he is determined to regain what has been lost. The arrival of a vast crusading army under the soon-to-be-legendary Richard the Lionheart offers hope—but also conflict, as natives and crusaders clash and the French and English quarrel. See the November 2015 *FSJ* for write-ups on the first two volumes of this story.

Helena P. Schrader is a career Foreign Service officer currently serving in Africa. Her previous assignments include Oslo, Lagos and Leipzig. Though determined never to earn a living through writing, Ms. Schrader has been writing all of her life. She published her first book in 1993, when her doctoral dissertation on the resistance to Hitler was released by a leading academic publisher in Germany; a second edition followed after excellent reviews in major newspapers. Since then she has published numerous historical novels set in World War II, ancient Sparta and the Crusades. Visit her website: [www.helenapschrader.com](http://www.helenapschrader.com) for a complete description and reviews of her work.



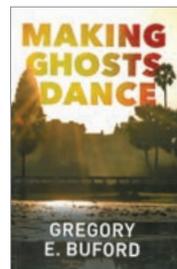
**The Haven**

H.K. Deeb, CreateSpace, 2017,  
\$12.99/paperback; \$2.99/Kindle,  
308 pages.

Early one September, a young man known only as F. arrives by train in Hamburg, Germany. Impeccable in manners and appearance, he soon secures a job, an apartment, a girlfriend and an environment in which his soul feels at peace. At night, however, he is plagued by visions of violence and cruelty. In time it becomes clear that F. has a past he would gladly leave behind. A cast of characters—most of them women—cannot help but wonder about this handsome foreigner, whose charisma and fluent German are more than a little suspicious.

Incorporating elements of Franz Kafka and the films of Rainer Werner Fassbinder, *The Haven* is both a literary mystery and a modern fable about immigration and nostalgia.

Hadi K. Deeb, a Foreign Service officer, is currently posted in Tashkent, and previously served in Mexico City, Moscow, Baku and Manila. Prior to joining the State Department, he lived in Germany for four years, including one year in Hamburg.



**Making Ghosts Dance**

Gregory E. Buford, Moontower Press,  
2017, \$10.99/paperback, \$7.99/Kindle,  
350 pages.

Chris Kelly, a first-tour Foreign Service officer, spends his days behind blast-proof glass interviewing visa applicants at the U.S. embassy in Cambodia—not exactly the glamorous lifestyle he'd had in mind when he joined the State Department.

Chea Phymom is the nephew of Cambodia's prime minister. He's what people at the embassy call an "MRE"—morally repugnant elite—and he is the king of Cambodia's sex industry. Protected by his uncle, he makes a fortune fulfilling the needs of the sex tourists who swarm into Cambodia every year.

Chea's nemesis is Sochua Nika, the only female general ever in Cambodia's armed forces. The prime minister made her the head of his anti-human trafficking unit with the tacit understanding that she would look the other way, but Sochua has other ideas.

Kelly secretly volunteers for IRM, an organization that rescues children from sexual slavery. When Sochua's elite anti-trafficking unit, acting on a tip from IRM, raids Chea's flagship brothel, Kelly finds himself at the nexus of a deadly political power game he didn't bargain for. Chea vows to make an example of everyone involved—and he doesn't give a damn about diplomatic immunity.

Gregory E. Buford has lived in Japan, India, France, Cambodia and Switzerland. He and his wife, Dana, a former FSO, currently live in Austin, Texas, with their children. *Making Ghosts Dance* is his first novel.



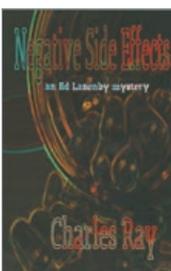
### Night Watch

Ann Gaylia O’Barr, Scribblings from Exile, 2017, \$7.99/paperback, \$2.99/Kindle, 270 pages.

It is 1983, and Mark Pacer is a young U.S. diplomat assigned to the State Department’s Operations Center in Washington, D.C., as a watch officer. Late one evening, as Mark’s shift is about to begin, a senior FSO is attacked by an unknown assailant in an elevator at the Ops Center. Mark discovers the injured man, saves his life and then gets involved in the search for the attacker, who also stole classified documents.

The victim is the father of one of Mark’s friends, a former classmate who entered the Foreign Service with Mark but later resigned and disappeared from sight. Mark is drawn into the mystery, trying to determine what he is hiding and what may have happened to his son. Mark also faces trouble at home with his wife, herself a Foreign Service officer who has taken a leave of absence to care for their children. All of this takes place against the backdrop of a newly discovered disease, AIDS, which has already affected two of Mark’s friends.

Ann Gaylia O’Barr was a Foreign Service officer from 1990 to 2004, serving in Saudi Arabia, Tunisia, Algeria, Canada and Washington, D.C. She is the author of eight other novels, including the first two books of the Mark Pacer series.

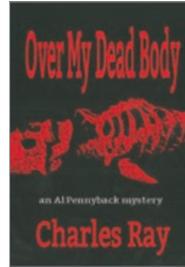


### Negative Side Effects

Charles Ray, CreateSpace, 2017, \$3.99/Kindle, 280 pages.

When you get old, your memory starts to fade. What would you be willing to do to avoid that? When a pharmaceutical company offers a new “wonder drug” that it claims reverses memory loss, Ed Lazenby and his friend Ernesto Cardoza investigate. The two are concerned about the possible side effects of this new drug, but when people start dying after taking it the situation takes a dangerous and urgent turn. Can Ed and Ernesto figure out what is going on before more people die?

*Negative Side Effects*, the fourth volume in the Ed Lazenby mystery series, is one of more than 60 books, both fiction and non-fiction, written by Ambassador Charles Ray, who retired in 2012 after a distinguished 30-year diplomatic career. See p. 31 for a write-up on his most recent nonfiction book, *Ethical Dilemmas and the Practice of Diplomacy*, and more detailed biographical information.

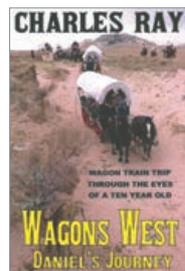


### Over My Dead Body

Charles Ray, Uhuru Press, 2017, \$5.99/Kindle, 295 pages.

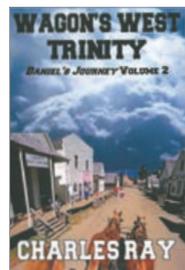
Al Pennyback will do anything for his friends and relatives. So when an outsider offers to buy his cousin Winston’s land, an offer that seems too good to be true, Al’s relatives ask him to come home and look into the deal. Al returns to East Texas, a place he left as a teen and swore never to return to, and finds that nothing is what it seems. Things smell bad, both literally and figuratively. When Al starts digging, he unearths secrets that someone will kill to keep buried.

*Over My Dead Body* is the latest in the 27-volume Al Pennyback mystery series written by Ambassador Charles Ray. He started the Al Pennyback mystery series because he was interested in seeing more stories set in Washington, D.C., that focused on the ordinary people rather than spies, lobbyists or politicians.



### Wagons West: Daniel’s Journey

Charles Ray, CreateSpace, 2017, \$5.40/paperback; \$0.99/Kindle, 104 pages.



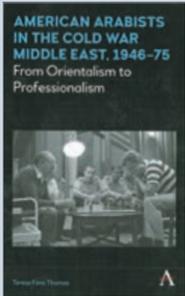
### Wagons West: Trinity

Charles Ray, CreateSpace, 2017, \$6.29/paperback; \$0.99/Kindle, 146 pages.

These first two books in Ambassador Charles Ray’s *Wagons West* series are aimed at younger readers but will appeal to Western fans of all ages. Set in the 1800s, the story follows Daniel Waterford, a 10-year-old boy travelling by wagon with his pioneer parents. In the first volume, *Daniel’s Journey*, the family endures a treacherous journey from Iowa to their new home in the Oregon Territory’s Trinity Valley. The second volume, *Trinity*, picks up Daniel and his family two years later in the town of Trinity as they cope with the changes that face frontier towns as they grow.

Amb. Ray launched the *Wagons West* series, centered on the experience of families, to correct the focus on lonesome cowboys, outlaws and cavalry rescuing beleaguered settlers that is more commonly associated with Westerns.

## OF RELATED INTEREST



### **American Arabists in the Cold War Middle East, 1946-1975: From Orientalism to Professionalism**

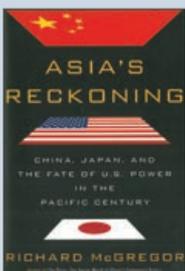
Teresa Fava Thomas, Anthem Press, 2016, \$115/hardcover, 300 pages.

This book examines the careers of 53 area experts who worked for the U.S. State Department's Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs during the Cold War. Popularly known as

"Arabists" or Middle East hands, they were very different in background, education and policy outlook from their predecessors, the "Orientalists." A highly competitive selection process and rigorous training shaped them into a small corps of diplomatic professionals with top-notch linguistic and political reporting skills.

Case studies shed light on Washington's perceptions of Israel and the Arab world, as well as how American leaders came to regard (and often disregard) the advice of their own expert advisers. This study focuses on their transformative role in Middle East diplomacy from the Eisenhower through the Ford administrations.

Teresa Fava Thomas is a professor of history at Fitchburg State University in Massachusetts.



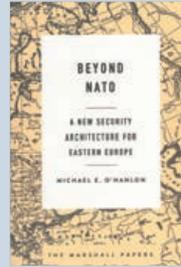
### **Asia's Reckoning: China, Japan and the Fate of U.S. Power in the Pacific Century**

Richard McGregor, Viking, 2017, \$28/hardcover, \$14.99/Kindle, 416 pages.

In *Asia's Reckoning*, Richard McGregor sounds the alarm about the dangerous geopolitical cracks that are forming in the U.S.

security umbrella that has enabled Asia to flourish for more than half a century. In particular, the growing rivalry between China and Japan, fueled by Beijing's regional ambitions and exacerbated by the Trump administration's disdain for America's traditional alliance structures, now threatens to upend the global economy.

Journalist Richard McGregor has reported extensively from East Asia and Washington, D.C., and was a 2015 Woodrow Wilson International Center fellow. His work has appeared in the *Financial Times*, *International Herald Tribune* and *Foreign Policy*. His 2010 book, *The Party*, was named the Asia Society's book of the year and the Asian book of the year by Japan's *Mainichi Shimbun* newspaper.



### **Beyond NATO: A New Security Architecture for Eastern Europe**

Michael E. O'Hanlon, Brookings Institution Press, 2017, \$14.99/paperback, \$9.59/Kindle, 160 pages.

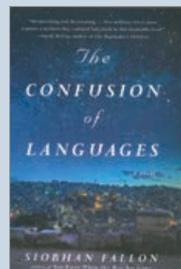
In this new book, part of the Brookings Institution's Marshall Papers Series, Michael O'Hanlon argues that now is the time for

Western nations to negotiate a new security architecture for neutral countries in Eastern Europe, both to stabilize the region and reduce the risks of war with Russia. He believes NATO expansion has gone far enough.

The core concept of this new security architecture would be one of permanent neutrality. The countries in question arc from the continent's far north to its south: Finland and Sweden; Ukraine, Moldova and Belarus; Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan; and Cyprus, plus Serbia.

O'Hanlon recommends that consideration of the new framework begin within NATO, followed by discussions with the neutral countries themselves before formal negotiations with Moscow.

Michael O'Hanlon is a senior fellow and research director for the Brookings Institution.



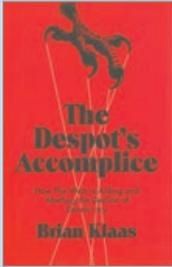
### **The Confusion of Languages**

Siobhan Fallon, G.P. Putnam's Sons, 2017, \$26/hardcover, \$12.99/Kindle, 336 pages.

Siobhan Fallon's debut novel takes place in Amman, Jordan, against the backdrop of the newly developing Arab Spring. The story examines the strange friendship that develops between Cassie and Margaret,

both spouses of military officers at the embassy. If you've been posted to Amman, you'll feel a homesick twinge as you read her descriptions of the sites you once wandered. But even if you've never been there, you'll recognize that strange landscape that is life lived overseas: the confusion, shame and sadness that sometimes envelope you as you try to navigate the shores of foreign cultures and strangers-turned-friends.

Fallon's first book, a collection of short stories titled *You Know When the Men Are Gone* (G. P. Putnam's Sons, 2012), won the PEN Center USA Literary Award in Fiction, the Indies Choice Honor Award and the Texas Institute of Letters Award for First Fiction.



**The Despot's Accomplice:  
How the West Is Aiding and  
Abetting the Decline of Democracy**

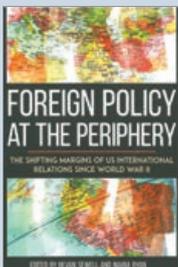
Brian Klaas, Oxford University Press,  
2017, \$27.95/hardcover, 256 pages.

For the first time since the end of the Cold War, the world is steadily becoming less democratic. Although the true culprits are

dictators and phony democrats, Klaas argues that the West is also an accomplice, inadvertently assaulting pro-democracy forces abroad as governments in Washington, London and Brussels chase pyrrhic short-term economic and political victories—ultimately making the world less prosperous, stable and democratic.

*The Despot's Accomplice* draws on years of extensive interviews on the front lines of the global struggle for democracy with a wide range of interlocutors. Cumulatively, their stories weave together a tale of a broken system.

Brian Klaas is a fellow in comparative politics at the London School of Economics, where he focuses on democratization and political violence. He has advised several national governments and major international nongovernmental organizations, including the International Crisis Group, the Carter Center and One Earth Future.

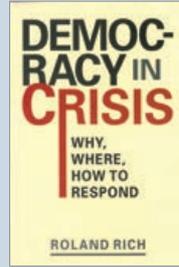


**Foreign Policy at the Periphery:  
The Shifting Margins of  
U.S. International Relations  
since World War II**

Bevan Sewell and Maria Ryan, editors,  
University Press of Kentucky, 2016,  
\$55/hardcover, \$34.49/Kindle, 386 pages.

As American interests assumed global proportions after 1945, policymakers faced the challenge of prioritizing various regions and determining the extent to which the United States was prepared to defend and support them. Featuring original essays by leading scholars, *Foreign Policy at the Periphery* examines relationships among new nations and the United States from the end of World War II through the global war on terror.

Bevan Sewell, an assistant professor in American history at the University of Nottingham, is the author of *The U.S. and Latin America* (I.B. Taurus, 2016). Maria Ryan is an assistant professor in American history at the University of Nottingham. She is the author of *Neoconservatism and the New American Century* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).



**Democracy in Crisis:  
Why, Where, How to Respond**

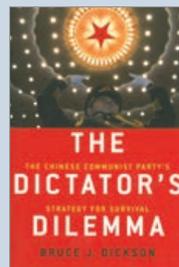
Roland Rich, Lynne Rienner Publishers,  
2017, \$32.50/hardcover, 231 pages.

Democracies around the world are beleaguered with threats from multiple sources. Where did these challenges to democratic governance come from, and how can they

best be overcome?

Grappling with these questions, Roland Rich interprets the danger signs that abound, not just in the developing world but in the United States and Europe, and offers innovative strategies for turning the tide.

Roland Rich is on the faculty of the Department of Political Science at Rutgers University. He previously served as executive head of the United Nations Democracy Fund (2007-2014), director of the Center for Democratic Institutions at the Australian National University (1998-2005) and a member of the Australian Foreign Service. He is the author of *Pacific Asia in Quest of Democracy* (Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2007).



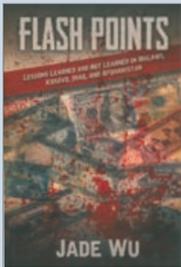
**The Dictator's Dilemma:  
The Chinese Communist  
Party's Strategy for Survival**

Bruce J. Dickson, Oxford University Press,  
2016, \$27.95/hardcover, \$9.99/Kindle,  
368 pages.

Many predicted the Chinese Communist Party would collapse following the Tiananmen Square crackdown in 1989 and as the Berlin Wall came down. But despite minor setbacks, China has experienced stunning economic growth and relative political stability.

In *The Dictator's Dilemma*, China scholar Bruce Dickson offers a comprehensive explanation for the party's continued ability to maintain high levels of popular support even when its policies often generate resentment. Drawing on public opinion surveys, interviews and published materials, he asserts that the Chinese people today see the regime as increasingly democratic; and even though it does not allow political competition and its leaders are unelected, they prefer that political change occur within the existing structures.

Bruce J. Dickson is a professor of political science and international affairs, chair of the Political Science Department and director of the Sigur Center for Asian Studies at The George Washington University.



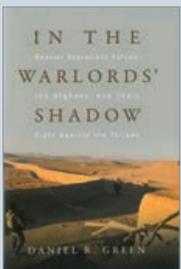
**Flash Points: Lessons Learned and Not Learned in Malawi, Kosovo, Iraq and Afghanistan**

Jade Wu, State University of New York Press, 2017, \$24.95/hardcover, \$14.72/Kindle, 302 pages.

Both a salient critique of U.S. foreign assistance and a thought-provoking memoir,

*Flash Points* illuminates the cross-cultural challenges that often undermine and betray the best intentions of policymakers comfortably situated in Washington, D.C. Jade Wu recounts her experiences as a U.S. foreign aid worker across the globe, where she found that her colleagues often failed to deal respectfully and effectively with host governments and their citizens. The results were often detrimental to American national interests.

Jade Wu has worked on U.S. foreign assistance projects in Malawi, Kosovo, Germany, Iraq, Afghanistan and the Philippines. Her foreign affairs analyses have appeared in *The New York Times*, *International Herald Tribune*, *The Hill*, *Washington Diplomat* and *Foreign Policy Journal*. She currently lives and practices law in the Washington, D.C., area.



**In the Warlords' Shadow: SOF, the Afghans and Their Fight Against the Taliban**

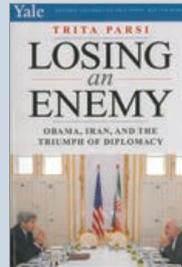
Daniel R. Green, Naval Institute Press, 2017, \$29.95/hardcover, \$16.17/Kindle, 304 pages.

In 2010, U.S. special operations forces (SOF) in Afghanistan began an innovative program

to fight the Taliban insurgency using the movement's structure and strategy against it. The Village Stability Operations/Afghan Local Police initiative embedded U.S. Army Special Forces and U.S. Navy SEAL teams with villagers to fight the Taliban together.

In this first-hand account, Green offers a long-term perspective on how SOF stabilized the southern Afghan province of Uruzgan and its impact on the course of the war in Afghanistan.

Daniel Green is a defense fellow at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy and the author of *Fallujah Redux: The Anbar Awakening and the Struggle with Al-Qaeda* (Naval Institute Press, 2014) and *The Valley's Edge: A Year with the Pash-tuns in the Heartland of the Taliban* (Potomac Books, 2011).



**Losing an Enemy: Obama, Iran and the Triumph of Diplomacy**

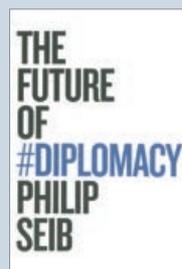
Trita Parsi, Yale University Press, 2017, \$32.50/hardcover, \$16.99/Kindle, 472 pages.

In his October *Foreign Service Journal* review of this book, former *FSJ* Editor Steven Alan Honley commented on what a daunting task it is to write about a historic diplo-

matic agreement, particularly one as complex and polarizing as the 2015 Iran nuclear deal, just two years after its signing.

"This is even truer when one's subject is the product of six years of intricate negotiations and maneuvering on an array of political chessboards, and remains so controversial that its durability is in serious doubt," he stated, adding that the author possessed "in spades" the two skill sets required to meet the challenge: substantive expertise and insider knowledge.

Trita Parsi is the founder and current president of the National Iranian-American Council and was an informal adviser to the Obama administration's negotiating team. Fluent in Farsi, English and Swedish, he has served as an adjunct professor of international relations at the Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies, where he earned his Ph.D., as an adjunct scholar at the Middle East Institute and as a policy fellow at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington, D.C.



**The Future of #Diplomacy**

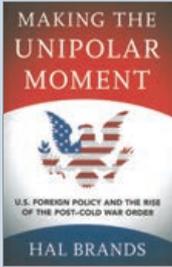
Philip Seib, Polity Press, 2016, \$19.95/paperback, \$9.99/Kindle, 144 pages.

A central premise of this crisp book is this: "The future of diplomacy is inextricably tied to the future of media." As Philip Seib, one of the world's top experts on media and foreign pol-

icy, noted, today's diplomats are increasingly obliged to respond instantly to the latest crisis fueled by a YouTube video or Facebook post. Among other consequences, that trend has given rise to a more open and reactive approach to global problem-solving.

Reviewing the book in the March *Foreign Service Journal*, Dennis Jett noted some problems with Seib's analysis, but praised it as "an interesting and useful read [that] clarifies the differences among digital diplomacy, e-diplomacy and public diplomacy. And he covers a wide range of topics in an extremely well-written book"

Philip Seib is professor of journalism, public diplomacy and international relations at the University of Southern California.

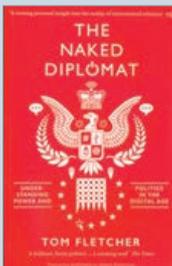


**Making the Unipolar Moment: U.S. Foreign Policy and the Rise of the Post-Cold War Order**

Hal Brands, Cornell University Press, 2016, \$29.95/hardcover, \$14.37/Kindle, 480 pages.

In the late 1970s, the United States often seemed to be a superpower in decline. Battered by crises and setbacks around the globe, its post-World War II international leadership appeared to be draining steadily away. Yet just over a decade later, by the early 1990s, America's global primacy had been reasserted in dramatic fashion. The United States was now enjoying its "unipolar moment"—an era in which Washington faced no near-term rivals for global power and influence, and one in which the defining feature of international politics was American dominance. How did this remarkable turnaround occur, and what role did U.S. foreign policy play in causing it?

Hal Brands, an associate professor of public policy and history at Duke University, uses recently declassified archival materials to tell this fascinating story.



**The Naked Diplomat**

Tom Fletcher, William Collins, 2017, \$16.99/paperback, \$5.99/Kindle, 336 pages.

Who will be in power in the 21st century? Governments? Big business? Internet titans? And how can we influence the future?

This book looks at how the rise of digital technology is changing power at a faster rate than any time in history, fueling political, economic and even existential uncertainty. The author considers how we—as governments, businesses and individuals—can survive and thrive in the 21st century. He examines how we can use technology to create opportunity, improve security, outsmart the extremists and make it easier for citizens to take back control.

Tom Fletcher, a former British ambassador to Lebanon, is visiting professor of international relations at New York University. He advises the Global Business Coalition for Education and the Emirates Diplomatic Academy, and chairs the International Advisory Board of the Creative Industries Federation.

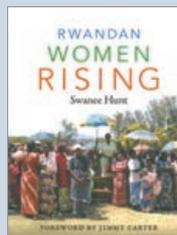


**Nixon's Back Channel to Moscow: Confidential Diplomacy and Détente**

Richard A. Moss, University Press of Kentucky, 2017, \$45/hardcover, \$27.99/Kindle, 418 pages.

This penetrating study documents and analyzes Washington and Moscow's use of confidential diplomatic channels, from President Richard Nixon's January 1969 inauguration through what has widely been heralded as the apex of détente, the May 1972 Moscow Summit. Using newly declassified documents, the author argues that while the back channels improved U.S.-Soviet relations in the short term, the Nixon-Kissinger methods left a poor foundation for lasting policy.

Richard A. Moss is an associate research professor at the United States Naval War College's Center for Naval Warfare Studies. A specialist in U.S.-Russia relations and the Nixon presidential recordings, Moss was a graduate intern in the Office of the Historian at the U.S. Department of State, and later worked there as a contract historian.

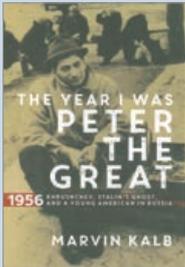


**Rwandan Women Rising**

Swanee Hunt, Duke University Press, 2017, \$34.95/hardcover, \$24.36/Kindle, 448 pages.

To write this inspirational book, Swanee Hunt interviewed some 70 female activists who overcame the unfathomable brutality of the 1994 Rwandan genocide, and countless subsequent obstacles, to rebuild their society. Hunt, who has worked with female leaders in 60 countries over the past two decades, shows us that these women's accomplishments offer important lessons for policymakers and activists who are working toward equality, whether elsewhere in Africa or other post-conflict societies.

During her tenure as U.S. ambassador to Austria (1993-1997), Swanee Hunt hosted negotiations and symposia focused on securing peace in the neighboring Balkan states, and now chairs the Washington-based Institute for Inclusive Security. She is the author of three previous books, also published by Duke University Press: *Worlds Apart: Bosnian Lessons for Global Security*, *Half-Life of a Zealot* and *This Was Not Our War: Bosnian Women Reclaiming the Peace*.



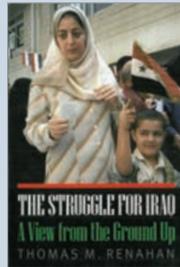
**The Year I Was Peter the Great:  
1956, Khrushchev, Stalin's Ghost  
and a Young American in Russia**

Marvin Kalb, Brookings Institution Press,  
2017, \$24.99/hardcover, \$14.79/Kindle,  
300 pages.

In this, his 15th book, the veteran diplomatic correspondent writes a compelling eyewitness account—a “professional memoir,” as he calls it—of a superpower in upheaval. The year was 1956. Known as “the year of the thaw,” it was the year when Nikita Khrushchev, then the leader of the Soviet Union, denounced his predecessor Joseph Stalin’s despotic leadership.

Fluent in Russian and a doctoral candidate at Harvard, Kalb had the opportunity to observe this tumultuous year while working at the U.S. embassy in Moscow. He listened as Russian students attacked communism and threatened rebellion against the Soviet system, and even met with Khrushchev, who playfully nicknamed him Peter the Great.

Marvin Kalb is currently a nonresident senior fellow with the Foreign Policy program at Brookings and a senior adviser at the Pulitzer Center on Crisis Reporting.



**The Struggle for Iraq:  
A View from the Ground Up**

Thomas M. Renahan, Potomac Books,  
2017, \$36.95/hardcover, \$31.09/Kindle,  
536 pages.

*The Struggle for Iraq* is a revealing personal account of Iraq’s fight for democracy and justice, as seen by an American political scientist on the ground. One of the few Americans to serve in all major regions of Iraq, Thomas Renahan led projects to develop democratic institutions, promote democracy and fight corruption throughout the country.

In this book he looks at the obstacles the effort faced, highlighting both achievements and frustrations, and recounts the dangers and hardships the expatriate staff and Iraqis endured as they struggled to build a new country in the midst of violent sectarian conflict. He explains how the United States can help resolve these complex problems and offer hope through reconciliation.

Thomas M. Renahan is a political scientist, public administrator and international development consultant. He is co-editor of the *Daesh Daily* newsletter. ■

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## FICTION AND POETRY (Continued)



### Vixen

Charles Ray, Uhuru Press, 2017, \$15/paperback, \$5.99/Kindle, 378 pages.

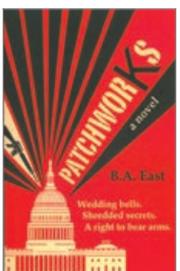
Eight-year-old Elizabeth Parker was captured by pirates who murdered her parents. As an adult, she's forgotten her past and become one of the most feared pirates in the Caribbean. She and her vessel, the *Vixen*, prey on

American and British ships that sail those treacherous waters.

Colin Worth, the son of a Boston merchant, ran away to sea and ended up in the young American navy, an executive officer aboard the frigate USS *Intrepid*. But after a confrontation with his tyrannical captain, he is marooned in a ship's boat and left to die at sea.

When Elizabeth and her crew find and rescue Colin, the two learn that their lives are entwined in a macabre way—they have a common enemy, Captain Beaugard Dangerfield, the demented master of the *Intrepid*, and a growing mutual attraction. Can two people from such different worlds co-exist, or are they fated to be enemies? To find the answer to these questions, they must first survive.

Ambassador Charles Ray retired from the Foreign Service in 2012 after a distinguished 30-year career (see p. 31).



### Patchworks

B.A. East, Moonshine Cove Publishing LLC, 2017, \$13.99/paperback, \$6.99/Kindle, 226 pages.

Gabriel Dunne's federal internship with the Bureau of Government Intelligence and Execution has him tracking gun violence in America. But before Gabe can even start

working at BOGIE, his boss, Chloe Gilchrist, tasks him with planning her wedding; Juston Parker wants help seducing their fellow intern; security chief Old Hubbard hounds him about expired passwords; and the shredder guy needs saving from his own deadly machine. Meanwhile, Congress threatens a government shutdown that will send them all packing.

As if all that drama weren't enough, when one of Gabe's colleagues is victimized by the very violence their office exists to prevent, these ordinary bureaucrats must fight back—or become statistics themselves in America's next mad shooting spree.

B.A. East is a Foreign Service officer who has served in Saudi Arabia, Nicaragua, Ghana, Mexico and Washington, D.C. Before

joining the State Department he taught English literature and composition in Malawi as a Peace Corps Volunteer and elsewhere. His debut novel, *Two Pumps for the Body Man* (New Pulp Press, 2016), has been described as “doing for American diplomacy what *Catch-22* did for military logic.” *Patchworks* examines the American government and gun culture in a similar light.

East posts black humor on his blog: [www.BenEastBooks.com](http://www.BenEastBooks.com).



### Crossings

Sarah Johnson, Cedar Fort Inc., 2017, \$17.99/paperback, \$7.99/Kindle, 320 pages.

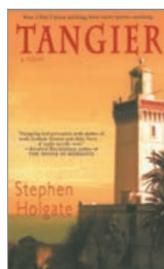
In a world where using a magical gift is punishable by death, Eliinka has been able to hide her deepest secret ... so far. But she has no choice but to undertake a perilous crossing to a foreign land, where she'll dis-

cover the truth about a powerful legend and the hope for peace after centuries of conflict. Her action will alter the fates of two nations and trigger events that might cause the destruction of her homeland. Set in an enchanting fantasy world, this novel is a page-turner for young adults, with compelling characters and relationships, including friendships and romance.

“*Crossings* is a haunting, beautiful book that never leaves you,” says Kimberly Loth, author of *The Thorn Chronicles* series. “Gorgeously written, its characters stay with you long after you read.” The story deals with issues of peace and conflict, and the irreconcilable differences between people and whether it is possible to get past them. It is also a story of moving to a new country and learning to adapt to a new culture.

Sarah Johnson, a writer, photographer and Foreign Service spouse, now lives in Cairo after postings with her family in São Paulo, Helsinki, Reykjavik, Guangzhou, Frankfurt and Abuja. She began writing in 2005 while living in Finland, and was later accepted to the Vermont College of Fine Arts where she earned an MFA in writing for children and young adults.

This is her first novel. You can follow her blog at <https://sarahblakejohnson.blogspot.com>.



### Tangier

Stephen Holgate, Blank Slate Press, 2017, \$16.95/paperback, \$9.99/Kindle, 377 pages.

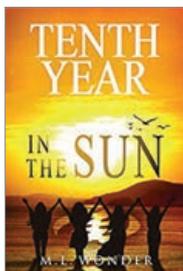
*Tangier* is a story of fathers and sons, the alienation of being a stranger in a strange land, the seductive face of betrayal and, finally, the lengths we'll go to for redemption.

It is two stories in one: a mystery and a spy story, set 50 years apart and woven together in alternating sections.

The first story follows Christopher Chaffee, a disgraced Washington power broker whose father, a French diplomat, died in a Vichy prison in 1944—or so Christopher believes, until a letter, received decades after it was posted, upends his life. The letter leads him to Tangier's ancient medina in search of the father he never knew.

The second story takes place in Morocco during World War II. Rene Laurent, Christopher's father, struggles to maintain his integrity and his life in the snake pit of wartime Tangier. The stories of father and son intertwine as Christopher unravels the mystery of his father's fate.

First-time novelist Stephen Holgate is a former member of the Foreign Service who spent four years at U.S. Embassy Rabat. The peripatetic Mr. Holgate also worked as a congressional staffer, managed two electoral campaigns, acted with an improvisational theater group, worked as a crew member of a barge on the canals of France, and lived in a tent while working as a gardener in Malibu. He has published several short stories and many articles, and successfully produced a one-man play. His second novel, *Madagascar*, is due out in 2018. He lives in Portland, Oregon.



### **Tenth Year in the Sun**

M.L. Wonder. Bliss Life Press, 2017, \$11.97/paperback, \$1.99/Kindle, 297 pages.

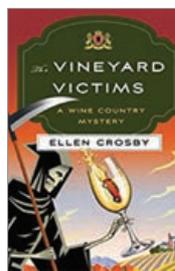
A decade after their pact to reunite, Adoma awaits the arrival of her three best friends on a remote island off the east coast of Africa. Memories of the events that have transpired since the four last saw each

other come alive, revealing the twists and turns of life and love. Adoma recently left her former beau, a powerful businessman, and started over as a songwriter. But betrayal makes love seem virtually impossible. Meanwhile, Casey's wild ways affect her employment—and possibly even her chances of finding true love. After Genna's husband's unthinkable secret comes to light, their perfect image and life begin to publicly collapse. And sweet Mya falls for a toxic man who exposes her pain and changes the course of her life.

Their reunion reaffirms the value of friendship, but then a turn of events threatens the life of one of the four. Will their sisterly bond survive, or will the reunion sever what binds them, forever?

Proceeds from the book will help support Malaria No More, a nonprofit committed to ensuring that no more children die from a mosquito bite.

Ghanaian-born, M.L. Wonder dabbled in poetry in high school, but it was diplomatic experience that inspired her and helped bring out her talent for writing. A member of the State Department Foreign Service for 10 years, she served overseas in Egypt, Colombia and South Africa. She describes *Tenth Year in the Sun*, her first novel, as standing "at the intersection of women's fiction and West African culture." She lives in Austin, Texas.



### **The Vineyard Victims: A Wine Country Mystery**

Ellen Crosby. Minotaur Books, 2017, \$25.99/hardcover, \$12.99/Kindle, 336 pages.

In spite of being saddled with massive campaign debts from the recent election, billionaire Jamison Vaughn seems to have the perfect life. But when the real estate mogul, Virginia vineyard owner and unsuccessful U.S. presidential candidate suffers a fatal car crash, Lucie Montgomery suspects foul play. Everyone else in Atoka, Virginia, is sure that Jamie must have lost control of his car on a rain-slicked country road. After all, what possible reason could he have for committing suicide ... or was it murder?

Before long, Lucie uncovers a connection between Jamie and some of his old friends, members of an elite group of academics, and the brutal, 30-year-old murder of a brilliant Ph.D. student. The investigation into the two deaths grows more complicated when someone from Lucie's past gets involved, forcing her to confront old demons. The race to solve the mystery becomes intensely personal as Lucie realizes someone wants her silenced for good.

Ellen Crosby, the wife of veteran FSO André de Nesnera of the Voice of America, began writing mysteries under her maiden name when her husband was posted to Geneva. This is the eighth volume in her Virginia wine country mystery series, which began with *The Merlot Murders*. She has also written a mystery series featuring international photojournalist Sophie Medina, and *Moscow Nights*, a standalone. Previously she was a freelance reporter for *The Washington Post*, Moscow correspondent for ABC News Radio and an economist at the U.S. Senate.

## POTPOURRI



### **Sound Advice for the Young King's Envoy**

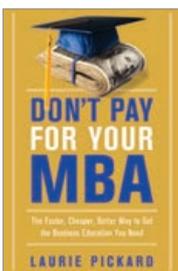
Alice Davenport & Peter Thomas,  
Música Eugenia, 2017.

At a time when many traditional diplomatic values and practices are being questioned, this music video makes a quiet case for the honorable role of the diplomat and the importance of sound diplomatic tradecraft.

The song was written in the art song tradition (which provides a classical musical setting for poems, with one vocalist and one accompanist). The visuals that appear in the video reflect an American perspective on history. Other perspectives will be equally valid. The envoy might live in any time period: however, the principles of honorable diplomacy and sound diplomatic tradecraft remain constant.

This entry is an original musical composition—the first-ever musical submission to “In Their Own Write.” As a song, it is intended to be heard, and you can access it via YouTube: “Música Eugenia/sound advice.” Listening is free.

Retired FSO Alice Davenport collaborated with classical guitarist Peter Thomas to create this music video.



### **Don't Pay for Your MBA: The Faster, Cheaper, Better Way to Get the Business Education You Need**

Laurie Pickard, AMACOM, 2017,  
\$17.95/paperback, \$9.99/Kindle,  
240 pages.

Each year, the nation's top business schools are flooded with applications from people eager to pursue their MBA dreams. But those aspirations come at a steep price. According to *U.S. News and World Report*, the average debt load for graduates of top business schools exceeds \$100,000.

Laurie Pickard couldn't afford that, but she needed a business education to land her dream job in international development. She discovered that some of those same prestigious business schools offer low- or no-cost MOOCs (massive online open courses). By picking the right classes from the best schools, she gained the skills, without incurring the debt.

Building on her popular *No-Pay MBA* blog, Pickard explains in this book how to define your goals and tailor an online cur-

riculum that works for you, build a strong network and showcase your nontraditional education in a way that attracts job offers.

Laurie Pickard is the wife of a Foreign Service officer with USAID currently serving in Africa. She has written about self-directed business education and works as a development consultant, most recently as adviser to a USAID project in Rwanda.



### **The Complete Guide to Airport Exercise**

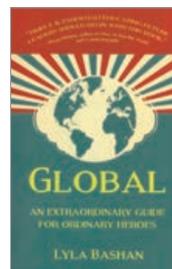
Ken Seifert, Telemachus Press, 2017,  
\$16.99/paperback, \$5.99/Kindle,  
64 pages.

Tired of wasting time during long layovers at the airport? Wish you had more hours in the day to exercise? This book will change your life ... or at least your waistline.

*The Complete Guide to Airport Exercise* is a first-of-its-kind manual on how to turn time wasted in airports into workout opportunities for anyone, regardless of age, sex or fitness level. The book gives descriptions and diagrams of cardio programs and upper-body workouts, fusing humor with practical tips on how to burn calories while working out as you wait to begin boarding your flight.

Readers will learn how to prepare and pack for exercising and how to use everyday objects to create dynamic exercise programs. The book also includes a comprehensive section on hygiene and clean-up, as well as recommendations for dealing with the extra attention of fellow travelers.

Ken Seifert, an FSO with USAID, is currently serving in Santo Domingo. A former Presidential Management Fellow, he worked at USAID for several years before joining the Foreign Service in 2010. He is also the author of a novel, *The Rising Storm* (AuthorHouse, 2007).



### **Global: An Extraordinary Guide for Ordinary Heroes**

Lyla Bashan, Red Press, 2017, \$19.97/  
paperback, \$12.99/Kindle, 316 pages.

It's a big world out there, and it needs our help, Lyla Bashan declares in this inspirational call to action. Global poverty, social inequality, famine, conflict and climate change are just a few of the pressing international challenges she explains to young people, before exhorting them to turn their passion for social justice into a global career of conscience.

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### **Help AFSA tell the story of the Foreign Service.**

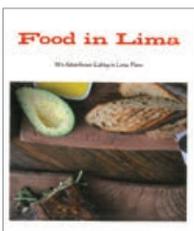
AFSA's Fund for American Diplomacy (FAD) is a 501(c)(3) that supports outreach to tell the proud story of the Foreign Service to the American people. The FAD's aim is to educate and build a domestic constituency for the Foreign Service so that we have champions, ideally in all 50 states, prepared to stand up for the Foreign Service and defend our vitally important mission.

The FAD is registered in the **Combined Federal Campaign as "Diplomacy Matters-AFSA"** and its CFC number is **#10646**. We appreciate your support. All donations to the FAD are tax deductible.

This extraordinary guide will help readers learn how the international system works, identify the key problems and players, and kick-start a do-gooder career. Whether you're a budding diplomat, an aspiring international development expert or anything in between, this is a must-read book for the change-makers of tomorrow.

Proceeds from the sale of this book will be donated to social justice causes.

Lyla Bashan is a Foreign Service officer with the U.S. Agency for International Development, who currently serves in Armenia as the director of USAID's Sustainable Development Office. Her previous postings include Guatemala, Tajikistan and Washington, D.C. Prior to joining the Foreign Service, Lyla worked for several nongovernmental organizations, including Mercy Corps and InterAction, and was later a State Department civil servant.



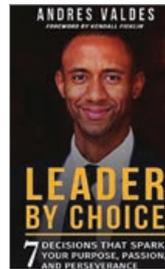
**Food in Lima: M's Adventures Eating in Lima, Peru**

Mikkela Thompson, Lulu Press, 2017, \$18.21/paperback, 25 pages.

*Food in Lima* is writer, painter and photographer Mikkela Thompson's tribute to the food she has tried in Lima, Peru. "The best part of food is who you eat it with," the author begins, dedicating this book to her friends.

In one colorful spread after another, she shares some of the meals she has enjoyed with her friends. This slim volume is divided up according to categories: from traditional dishes named after a women's sales cry during the War of the Pacific and "sanguches," to the Japanese-influenced food called "Nikkei" and the contributions to the internationally renowned cuisine of Peru made by the waves of Chinese, Japanese and Italian immigrants to the country during the 1800s. The photos are intended to make you drool and to whet your appetite for food and travel.

A Foreign Service office management specialist (OMS), Mikkela Thompson is currently posted in Lima. She has also served in Bangladesh and Colombia, and as an OMS rover in the Western Hemisphere. The daughter of an FSO, she joined the Foreign Service in 2011 and prior to that was *The Foreign Service Journal's* business manager for several years. Her *M's Adventures in Bangladesh* was published in 2013 and *M's Adventures in Colombia* was published in 2016. To purchase these books, and to follow her adventures, go to [madventures.me](http://madventures.me).



**Leader by Choice: 7 Decisions That Spark Your Purpose, Passion and Perseverance**

Andres Valdes, Amazon Digital Services, 2017, \$3.99/Kindle, 226 pages.

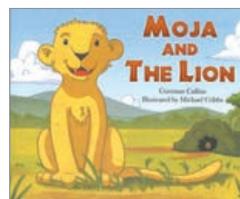
Why leave your short life up to chance when you can start living and leading by choice?

This book is your kick in the pants!

As its title implies, *Leader by Choice* isn't an academic exercise full of theories. It's jam-packed with practical and motivational stories designed to help ignite your personal transformation through easy-to-implement advice and exercises for those ready to start living and leading.

The author, a proud graduate of "the School of Hard Knocks," as he puts it, draws on his own experience surmounting the setbacks and tragedies he faced to demonstrate that one doesn't need special talents, a new job or more education to change one's life for the better. In this book he presents the seven specific decisions that took him from accidental to intentional living.

Andres Valdes joined the Foreign Service in 2005 and is currently serving as a management officer in Armenia. He has completed tours in Rwanda, Japan and Cuba, and an assignment in Washington, D.C., in the Bureau of Population, Refugees and Migration, where he worked on humanitarian diplomacy. When not at work or spending time with his family, the author mentors and writes or lectures on leadership, personal development and communication.



**Moja and the Lion**

Corrinne Callins (author), Michael Cribbs (illustrator), Callico Press, 2017, \$10.99/paperback, 20 pages.

Moja is a lion cub who has much to fear living alone with his mother, without the protection of the pride, on the Kenyan plains. But the wise lioness teaches Moja that he can overcome any threat by trusting God, and one day the little lion is tested. The story is based on Psalm 118:6— "The Lord is with me. I will not fear."

Pleasingly illustrated by Michael Cribbs, this book for ages 3 to 6 is the second from Callico Press. Dedicated to publishing thoughtful books that encourage readers to understand their value and worth and to recognize the value and worth of others, Callico's motto is: "Encouraging faith and learning through truth and inspiration."



# BIBLIOGRAPHY OF USAID AUTHORS —AN UPDATE

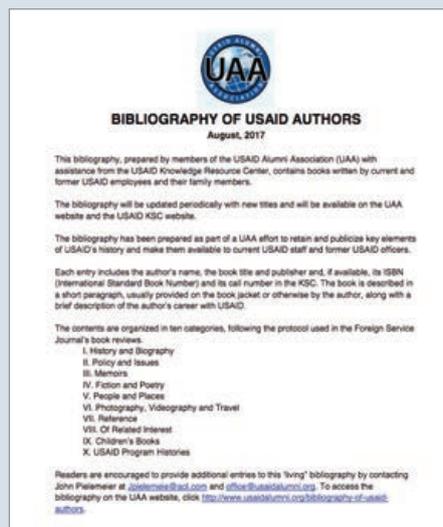
BY JOHN PIELEMEIER

In November 2015, *FSJ* readers were introduced to a new compilation of books written by former and present USAID staff, their families and children.

The “Bibliography of USAID Authors,” available on the website of the USAID Alumni Association ([bit.ly/usaidbooks](http://bit.ly/usaidbooks)) and provided to interested universities, has grown from 170 to 218 titles. Each entry includes a description of the book and a paragraph about the author. It is organized into 10 categories, including photography, video and travel sections, and is updated quarterly.

Recent additions provide readers with insights into historic events (e.g., USAID in Afghanistan, Iraq and Bolivia). There are several books on Vietnam and forgotten tales of USAID’s role in the development of Korea, Indonesia and Iran. Memoirs and works of fiction have been added, as well as seven books of photography (e.g., Tibetan nomads) and a series of videos (“Endangered Threads”).

Two comprehensive histories of USAID programs—on urban development and food aid—have also been published recently. Barry Riley’s *The Political History of American Food Aid: An Uneasy Benevolence* wins my award for best book title (see p. 27). Several of the authors of new books have served with both



USAID and the State Department (e.g., Ambassadors Jonathan Adleton, Princeton Lyman and Lewis Lucke).

Although few of us are likely to read a bibliography, we encourage you to scan it to find a book or two that pique your interest. If you want to read the book, you have several options:

**BUY:** Go to Amazon.com or the publishers’ website and purchase the book (the author will be pleased).

**BORROW:** Go to your local library, or the USAID, State Department or post library; give them the title and author and ask them to obtain the book for you.

**PERUSE:** Go to Google or Google

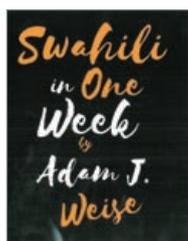
Scholar and type in the title. You should find lengthy reviews of the book and links to other books on the same topic. You can also search the author and will usually find a lengthy history of that person’s career.

**LINK UP:** Use the link provided in the bibliography (for some titles) to go directly to the book or author.

Finally, take a minute to recall other books you’ve read by USAID authors, check the bibliography to see if they are already included. If not, please send me the names of the author and/or the title. Or, if you are writing a book, let me know when it will be published. The bibliography is updated every three months. ■

*John Pielemeier is a retired USAID Foreign Service officer, a member of the USAID Alumni Association and an interviewer for the new USAID Oral History program. You can contact him at [jpielemeie@aol.com](mailto:jpielemeie@aol.com).*

Corrinne Callins is the daughter of FSO David Callins, who currently serves in Dubai. Her first book, *A Day in the Life of a Shoe*, which told the story of the Little Rock Nine for children ages 4 to 8, was featured in the November 2016 *FSJ*. Contact [www.callicopress.com](http://www.callicopress.com) to order a copy.



### Swahili in One Week

Adam J. Weise and Sayi Michael,  
CreateSpace, 2017, \$7.50/paperback,  
100 pages.

Many language textbooks are full of unnecessary information, or simply list words and the path to fluency by teaching the fundamentals of the language, which they can then use as a base for future learning.

Divided into seven days' worth of subjects and practice exercises, the book includes Swahili-English and English-Swahili dictionaries. The goal is to give the reader with no prior knowledge of Swahili the ability to manage basic exchanges—and, more importantly, an understanding of the language upon which they can quickly build to become a proficient speaker. This is why Adam J. Weise consistently uses literal translations. By knowing that “habari yako,” for instance, actually means “news your,” not “How are you?”—the usual, non-literal translation—language learners add two unique words, plus the phrase itself, to their vocabulary.

All proceeds from this book will go to two Tanzanian charities: House of Blue Hope and AVC Tanzania.

Adam J. Weise has been a member of the Foreign Service since 2012. Prior to becoming a diplomat, he lived in Dar es Salaam, where he worked for House of Blue Hope, a nongovernmental organization that helps vulnerable children break the cycle of poverty through education. There he studied under Sayi Michael of the Swahili Dar Language School. Weise is also a co-founder of Ex Fabula, a Milwaukee, Wisconsin-based nonprofit committed to strengthening community bonds through the art of storytelling. ■

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# WHEN CRITICISM FALLS ON DEAF EARS: THE CASE OF U.S. FOREIGN AID

**Although economists and practitioners have questioned the theory behind foreign assistance to underdeveloped countries for more than four decades, the aid industry is bigger and stronger than ever today.**

BY THOMAS DICHTER

**B**ack in March 1974, British economist P.T. Bauer wrote a long essay in *Encounter* magazine questioning the ethics, effectiveness, unintended consequences and, more important, the theory behind foreign aid to underdeveloped countries. The essay's title was "Foreign Aid, Forever? Critical Reflections on a Myth of Our Time."

Bauer mustered evidence from history and economics, as well as foreign aid's own record, to confront the growing aid establishment with its "sometimes brutal consequences, enormous costs, little success and virtually no adverse criticism." He expressed amazement at "the only category of government spending which goes unquestioned," and concluded that foreign aid was an act of faith, a myth.



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Today, foreign aid is even more robust than it was in 1974. Official development assistance (ODA, in Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development parlance) provided by the advanced industrial countries to the developing countries has grown steadily since 2000, with a record high of \$142 billion reached in 2016, and it involves scores of bilateral and multilateral agencies, hundreds of large international nongovernmental organizations, foundations old and new, and private contractors—all employing hundreds of thousands of professionals. Now, too, at the dawn of its eighth decade, with aid funding at historic highs, the likes of Tony Blair, Bono, Bill Clinton, Bill Gates, Jeff Sachs and others call for yet more aid money, convinced that the problem of world poverty can be solved if only we'll direct more money toward it.

Yet the call for more aid is still based on an act of faith, a belief in defiance of the evidence, that it makes a significant difference in fostering development and sustainably reducing poverty. Those countries that have made real progress in reducing poverty (the Asian Tigers, China and others) have done so for myriad and complex reasons having to do with culture and changes in the political economy, but not with foreign aid. In fact, foreign aid, particularly the big ideas of prestige players like the World Bank, has often proved harmful. A long history of the rise and fall of the next new big idea, fad or buzzword (e.g., structural adjustment, community-based development, micro-finance, participatory development, capacity building)—each of which amounted to saying “we were wrong before, but now we've figured it out”—has failed to produce even a sign of embarrassed self-consciousness.

Instead triumphal declarations of success, as we've recently seen with the United Nations' millennium development goals (never mind that at least half of them failed to be achieved), mark the aid industry. And always, there is a call for more money. As Bauer pointed out in 1974, “either progress or lack of progress can be used to argue for more aid. Progress is evidence of success, and lack of progress is evidence that more must be done.”

Indeed, all of Bauer's criticisms remain valid today except one: his claim that foreign aid has had “virtually no adverse criticism.” Since 1974, the criticism and questioning of foreign aid has steadily increased.

Despite the evident truth of contextual complexity, aid agencies continue to be wedded to preconceived recipes for how to “implement” development.

## The Steady Growth of Questioning

A mix of semi-scholarly critiques of the aid system has appeared in the decades since Bauer. These included Judith Tendler's *Inside Foreign Aid* (1976); Eugene Linden's *The Alms Race*, (1976); Francis Moore Lappé, Joseph Collins and David Kinley's *Aid As Obstacle* (1981); R.J. Parkinson's edited volume, *Poverty and Aid* (1983) and Pascal Bruckner's *Tears of the White Man* (1986). Then came a few bittersweet insider critiques, like Leonard Frank's essay “The Development Game” in *Granta* (1988), Graham Hancock's *Lords of Poverty* (1989) and Timothy Morris' *The Despairing Developer* (1991).

During the 1990s, there were major feature articles like “The Twilight of Foreign Aid” in the *Financial Times* (1992) and “Why Aid Is an Empty Promise” in *The Economist* (1994), as well as book-length studies such as *Compassion and Calculation: The Business of Private Foreign Aid* by David Sogge, Kies Biekart and John Saxby (1996) and journalist-cum-insider Michael Maren's *The Road to Hell: The Ravaging Effects of Foreign Aid and International Charity* (1997).

The new century saw the momentum pick up, with Ha-Joon Chang's *Kicking Away the Ladder* (2002), my own *Despite Good Intentions: Why Development Assistance to the Third World Has Failed* (2003), William Easterly's *The White Man's Burden: Why the West's Efforts to Aid the Rest Have Done So Much Ill and So Little Good* (2006),

Roger Riddell's *Does Foreign Aid Really Work?* (2007), Dambisa Moyo's *Dead Aid* (2009), Derek Fee's *How to Manage an AID Exit Strategy: The Future of Development Aid* (2012) and Ben Ramalingam's *Aid on the Edge of Chaos: Rethinking International Cooperation in a Complex World* (2015).

There is also the work of economists and historians who support the thesis that development is too complex to be engineered by outsiders. A prime example is David S. Landes' *The Wealth and Poverty of Nations* (1999).

Virtually all critics point to the creation of dependency and suggest that in this way foreign aid works against its own long-term goal—the day when developing countries themselves take the lead and foreign aid won't be necessary. Sogge et al., for example, put the issue of self-interest at the heart of this contradiction: “The hope of ending charity, of making the helpers answerable to the helped, and of establishing something like mutuality, remains an

idea ... an open question.”

Many critics also look in some detail at the bureaucratic imperatives of planning—the perverse relationship between the need for accountability and the consequent reliance on short-term projects, the games played in the business of aid contracting, the waste of money, the fact that much of the money stays home instead of going to the intended recipients—and show how these imperatives get in the way of effectiveness.

Sogge et al. put it this way: “Agencies must feed their official aid system funding authorities with an increasingly narrow diet of information according to indicators easily digested in bureaucracies and in public discourse. Water wells dug and babies jabbed continue to stand for improved child health; proportions of women in training workshops continue to stand for gender balance. Gradually, the production of indicators treating only the very short run pervades the activities themselves: a longer-run perspective, learning based on real impact, the innovative spark and other ‘comparative advantages’ of agencies gets crowded out.”

## How Development Works

Some critiques point to the hubris of foreign aid, the sure sense that we know what’s good for others. Given that every society is a complex and tightly woven mosaic of political, cultural, social, structural and historically constructed pieces, the appropriate stance is humility. What MIT economist Everett Hagen said in 1962 in *On the Theory of Social Change: How Economic Growth Begins*, holds true: “In the countries in which the transition to economic growth has occurred, it has been concomitant with far-reaching change in political organization, social structure and attitudes toward life. The relationship is so striking and so universal that to assume that one of these aspects of basic social change is unrelated to the others is to strain the doctrine of coincidence beyond all warrant.”

Yet despite the evident truth of contextual complexity, aid agencies continue to be wedded to preconceived recipes for how to *implement* development. Speaking in 2003 about the belief in the magic of market economies, World Bank economist William Easterly pointed out that “no recipe exists, only a confusing welter of bottom-up social institutions and norms essential for markets. These evolve slowly on their own from the actions of many agents; the Western outsiders and planners don’t have a clue how to create these norms and institutions.” Easterly concluded: “It is a fantasy to

We need to face up to the fact that what got us to where we are is not what we tell the developing countries.

think that the West can change complex societies with very different histories and cultures into some image of itself. The main hope for the poor is for them to be their own searchers, borrowing ideas and technology from the West when it suits

them to do so.”

A few critics note the aid industry’s lack of emphasis on time—how much of it “developed” countries needed. The United States did not have a widespread middle class until after the Second World War; whole sections of the country lacked indoor plumbing and electricity well into the 1930s; we did not have a modern national highway system until the late 1950s. And in his *Kicking Away the Ladder*, Ha-Joon Chang reminds us, for example, that the road to democracy in the developed countries was a rocky one; in the United States, universal suffrage did not occur until 1965. He points out that what we today lament as developing-world corruption and bad governance existed relatively recently in our own developed world: public offices were sold, there was widespread nepotism, and professionalism was conspicuously lacking until at least the late 19th century. Chang’s broad conclusion is that we need to face up to the fact that what got us to where we are is not what we tell the developing countries.

Still, few of the aid critiques approach the fullness of Bauer’s in 1974. He, too, castigates the foreign aid establishment for ignoring history, for its arrogance and paternalism. But he goes on to address the deeper question of how aid relates to development in the first place. In a word, it doesn’t. “Promotion of development and relief of poverty are ... altogether different,” Bauer reminds us. Significantly, USAID, the U.S. government’s aid agency, has blurred that distinction in the last few years by emphasizing saving lives and extreme poverty. Its latest mission statement (see [USAID.gov](http://USAID.gov)) leaves out the word “development” altogether: “We partner to end extreme poverty and promote resilient, democratic societies while advancing our security and prosperity.”

Bauer’s blunt conclusion is this: “Foreign aid is patently not necessary to emerge from poverty.” And he reminds us that the key variables for development lie in the cultural, social and political realms: “If the personal and social conditions of progress (capacities, motivations, mores and institutions) are not present, aid will be ineffective. What holds back many poor countries is the people who live there, including their governments. A society which cannot develop without external gifts is altogether unlikely to do so with them.”

Twenty years after Bauer's seminal essay, John Kenneth Galbraith struck the same note in *A Journey Through Economic Time* (1994). "Assistance programs have done something to serve the conscience of the fortunate; they have done much less to lessen despair," Galbraith wrote. "Those countries ... that have flourished ... have done so because of their own internal dynamic. This, not foreign assistance, has been the moving force."

### Some Striking Evidence

Now in 2017 we can look back not just at this corpus of rigorous criticism but at some striking evidence of the unimportance of aid for development. Take, for instance, the "Least Developed Countries" list agreed upon by the United Nations in 1971. Today there are 48 countries on the list, 21 of which have been on the list since it began 46 years ago. In all this time only three of the originally listed countries have "graduated" from it (Botswana in 1994, Cabo Verde in 2007 and the Maldives in 2011). More striking is how dependent on foreign aid these LDCs are. On the current list, there are eight countries where foreign aid is greater than their governments' national budget (e.g., Haiti).

Many of the LDCs are not only not improving but are, in many ways, worse off than before. Malawi, Mali, Burundi, Sierra Leone, Guinea, Burkina Faso, the Central African Republic and others suffer from growing poverty rates, and unimaginably high unemployment among large populations of young people. The argument that more aid money will do more than merely keep them alive simply does not hold up.

How can a major industry like foreign aid ignore such a four-decade-long critique? Imagine the U.S. auto industry persisting decade after decade in ignoring those who, beginning in the 1960s, began pointing out its shoddy workmanship and managerial backwardness? The auto industry turned around, but not just because of the critics; it stopped making money. In short, it was self-interest that prompted change; the auto industry both heard its critics and saw its balance sheet. GM and Ford want to stay in business; indeed, that is their *raison d'être*.

But foreign aid is fundamentally different. The only genuine metric of foreign aid's success is the degree to which it becomes unnecessary; the goal is to go out of business. Yet because foreign aid has become a big business, a kind of aid-industrial complex, using "sales" as the core metric, self-interest does not enable

Today there are 48 countries on the [U.N. Least Developed Countries] list, 21 of which have been on the list since it began 46 years ago.

change: indeed, it prevents it. Like President Dwight Eisenhower's military-industrial complex, the aid-industrial complex marshals political support for increased government spending for its work, on the grounds that foreign aid is crucial for world peace and devel-

opment. Were the aid establishment to take its critics to heart, this would mean a reduction of aid, if not its end in many countries.

### The Stakes: Success vs. Self-Interest

Over the last 20 years the outsourcing of U.S.-funded development aid to contractors has grown to the point where they have much to lose. In Fiscal Year 2012, 28 of the top 40 USAID vendors were American for-profit or nonprofit firms whose total contracting business with USAID amounted to \$5.37 billion, fully 25 percent of the agency's budget. In FY 2014, 33 of the top 40 vendors were American firms and their total business with USAID was \$5.53 billion (the latest data available on [www.usaid.gov](http://www.usaid.gov) is from November 2014). And these are only the top vendors.

There are scores of other U.S. organizations that get a piece of the American aid pie. The cohort is a surprisingly mixed group, from mission-driven (and venerable) nonprofit organizations like Catholic Relief Services (\$179 million in USAID business in FY 2012; \$206.3 million in 2014) and Save the Children (\$128 million in FY 2012, and \$125.9 million in 2014) to for-profit firms like Chemonics, founded in 1975 (\$501.7 million in USAID business) or huge newcomers to aid like Tetrattech, which started in the 1960s as an engineering and construction firm and now, with 35,000 employees, has expanded into many fields including international development (\$360 million in USAID business in 2015 alone). Like the other dozen or so "Beltway bandits," these firms pull names from consultant databases to put together teams to implement projects they bid on, and can be counted on to follow the fine print of USAID rules and provide the "deliverables" in the contract, whether they make developmental sense or not. But whether for-profit or nonprofit, the scramble for position and gain in the aid marketplace marks all these organizations.

With negotiated overhead cost rates in the 30 percent to 45 percent range for the more established firms, aid money can be easy money. While the aid industry is accountable in the strict legal sense, it is certainly wasteful. In the interest of responsible oversight, a contracted project might easily charge two to 20 days a month for supervisors at different levels of the firm to look at what

is happening “on the ground.” So people find reasons to fly out to Senegal or Timor-Leste or Haiti to “monitor” a project. And when a capacity-building training program is launched in, say, Bangkok, the heads of the training module design unit will fly out to introduce themselves.

These visits are a burden on the host country. In Tanzania in 2006, there were 541 “donor monitoring missions”—visits by foreigners to check on things. The Tanzanian government responded by declaring a “mission-free period” every year so that civil servants could get some work done. Yet no one asks if the many donor missions are really necessary, and one of the reasons for that is that the visiting supervisor’s time generates overhead. In a sense, waste in the foreign aid world contributes to “profit” rather than reducing it. And of course the constant presence of foreign personnel—from the chiefs of party to the project evaluators to the training consultants—sends the message to the developing countries that “we” are important and needed.

In 2015 there were 524 American nongovernmental organizations registered to do business with USAID (see [www.usaid.gov](http://www.usaid.gov), VOLAG 2015). Interestingly, up until the early 1980s, most of these NGOs saw themselves as outside the aid industry; to them, the World Bank and USAID were adversaries, not partners. But Save the Children, CARE, Catholic Relief Services, Mercy Corps, World Vision and many others evolved, in grow-or-die fashion, to become multisector entities that today resemble nothing as much as big corporations.

World Vision, which topped \$1 billion in operating expenses in 2015, has 31,000 employees, and is involved in everything from health to water supply, agriculture and education; its CEO makes more than \$500,000 annually. CARE, founded in 1945, claims on its website to be working in 90 countries in 880 “poverty-fighting” and humanitarian aid projects, and reaching more than 72 million people. Its operations topped \$533 million in 2014. Save the Children U.S. had an operating budget of \$678 million in 2015, working in “Emergencies, Health & Nutrition, Education, Hunger & Livelihoods, HIV/AIDS, Child Protection, Child Rights and Governance.” Its CEO makes about \$500,000 a year.

In the case of the large NGOs mentioned above, 40 percent or more of their income derives from government contracts, grants and agreements. And for the 524 NGOs registered to do business

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with USAID, on average 12.5 percent of their operations are tied to U.S. government money. In addition, they depend on a steady stream of contributions from individuals, people who believe that their gifts do a great deal of lasting good.

### What Is to Be Done?

In short, there has been no contraction of the aid industry

footprint in the developing countries, no sign of any movement toward “working ourselves out of a job.” Moreover, the pipeline for new “development professionals” to work in the industry remains robust. There are thousands of American young people getting degrees in any one of 45 master’s programs offering development aid-related degrees (from American University to Yale). One such program claims that it “educates young professionals to play increasingly responsible roles in the health and well-being of the world’s poorest citizens.” The idea that such roles ought to be played by the people of the poor countries themselves seems to be ignored.

Can anything be done to reform this system? There are some steps to take, but they all require political will—on the part of the aid establishment, the will to face up to working itself out of a job; and on the part of the recipient countries, the courage to say, help us, but only on our terms, and that, too, with a light hand. We want your goodwill, your ideas, your advice; but we want a clear exit strategy from you up front. The OECD donor countries need to make the concept of country ownership meaningful by beginning a gradual but steady decrease in aid for development.

A first step in this direction is to decouple humanitarian assistance and development assistance; the important distinction between relief and economic development needs to be reasserted. And all assistance, both humanitarian and development-oriented, must shift to a “tough love” approach, where for example, no aid is given unless a significant contribution is made by the recipient country—and not just bricks or labor, but real money in large enough amounts to go beyond tokenism.

As for the cohort of contractors, the message needs to go out that the days of outsourcing large development aid projects are coming to an end, and these firms need to look for work elsewhere. Finally, the international NGOs need to come clean with their supporters about what contributes to economic development and what merely takes the edge off extreme poverty. ■

## The Foreign Service: A Home Run for America



AFSA/GEMMA DVORAK

Washington Nationals mascot, Screech, with (from left) FSO Krystle Norman, AFSA President Ambassador Barbara Stephenson, Owen Watzlavick, Dawn Watzlavick and Sarah Watzlavick, who were honored with the Nationals Spirit Awards before the start of the game on Sept. 8.

On Sept. 8, AFSA and the Washington Nationals MLB team hosted the second annual Foreign Service Night at Nationals Park.

Some 500 members of the Foreign Service and their families attended to catch up with friends and colleagues as the Washington Nationals played the Philadelphia Phillies.

Before the game, AFSA President Ambassador Barbara Stephenson, FSO Krystle Norman, Office Management Specialist Dawn Watzlavick and her two chil-

dren, Sarah and Owen, took to the field to be recognized with the Nationals' Spirit Awards. Ms. Watzlavick's husband is a Foreign Service officer who is currently serving at U.S. Embassy Baghdad.

Members of the U.S. Foreign Service were not the only diplomats at the ball park that evening. Members of the Mexican and Colombian diplomatic corps were also present to celebrate Hispanic heritage night.

*Continued on p. 60*



AFSA/GEMMA DVORAK

Foreign Service members cheer on the Washington Nationals as they hit a grand slam against the Philadelphia Phillies.

## CALENDAR

November 10  
Veterans Day:  
AFSA Offices Closed

November 15  
12-1:30 p.m.  
AFSA Governing  
Board Meeting

November 16  
11 a.m. – 2:00 p.m.  
AFSA Book Market

November 23-24  
Thanksgiving:  
AFSA Offices Closed

December 13  
4:30-6:30 p.m.  
AFSA Holiday Happy Hour

December 20  
12-1:30 p.m.  
AFSA Governing  
Board Meeting

December 25  
Christmas:  
AFSA Offices Closed

January 1  
New Years Day:  
AFSA Offices Closed



## Supporting U.S. Policy Objectives in Congress

As we go to press, Congress continues work on three issues important to us: appropriations, authorization, and the proposed redesign of the Department of State and USAID. Both chambers rejected the draconian cuts the administration proposed.

The House passed an appropriations bill and is waiting for the full Senate to vote on its bill before meeting in conference. The Senate bill would appropriate \$51.2 billion, which is \$1.9 billion below the 2017 level, \$10.7 billion above the administration's request,

and \$3.8 billion more than the House. Meanwhile, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee passed an authorization bill and is seeking floor time.

Both the House and the Senate are engaging with the State Department about the proposed redesign. There is broad support to help State do things that make it more efficient, such as providing better IT, and there is conviction that any redesign should support U.S. foreign policy objectives.

At a September 26 House Committee on Foreign

Affairs hearing with the Deputy Secretary of State, representatives emphasized the need to have diplomats on the ground to prevent conflict and persuade governments to join sanctions regimes.

"Where we depart," Chairman Ed Royce (R-Calif.) said, "we create a void for unfriendly actors to step in and promote interests hostile to our interests. Where there is a diplomatic void we have no eyes, we have no ears to detect the next threat."

So often, members' impressions come from the

Foreign Service people they meet abroad. At the HFAC hearing, Congressman Joe Wilson (R-S.C.) talked about the "first class" Foreign Service people he met on a recent trip to Europe, how skillful they were, and how proud he was of their dedication.

Nothing helps the Foreign Service more than expanding the universe of those who understand what we do, how well we do it, and why what we do matters to the United States.

—Mary Daly, Director of Advocacy and Speechwriting

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Karla Gonzalez, deputy chief of mission for the Embassy of Panama in Washington D.C., recalled receiving a Fulbright scholarship from Amb. Stephenson in Panama when Stephenson was U.S. ambassador there from 2008 to 2010.

The Nationals won the game 11-10, with a rare inside-the-park grand slam—only the second in the team's history—set up by Nats center fielder Michael A. Taylor. The following weekend the Nationals won the National League East title for the second year running.

Speaking after the game, Amb. Stephenson was enthusiastic about the occasion, calling it "a fantastic community-building opportunity for the Foreign Service."

"It was especially fun to see Foreign Service kids—some born abroad—experiencing their very first baseball game," she said. "It's always good to be able to reconnect with home, and the grand slam didn't hurt!" ■



AFSA President Ambassador Barbara Stephenson (right) with Karla Gonzalez, deputy chief of mission of the Embassy of Panama in Washington, D.C. They first met when, as ambassador to Panama, Amb. Stephenson awarded Ms. Gonzalez a Fulbright scholarship to study at Harvard University.



Views and opinions expressed in this column are solely those of the AFSA State VP.  
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## Doing Your Part: The Post Rep's Role

As a proud member of the 95th A-100 class, I remember the luncheon AFSA hosted to welcome us into the Foreign Service and, in particular, the sense of relief in knowing that we new Foreign Service officers had someone to back us up in our new careers.

Having listened to presentation after presentation for nearly six weeks about the arcane and (in some cases) insane administrative and human resource processes we were expected to become familiar with, I had already come to realize that the Department of State was neither easy to navigate nor particularly user friendly.

In nearly 18 years since, I have reconfirmed that again and again. Difficult living and working conditions, challenging interpersonal relationships and professional hiccups can further exacerbate that feeling we all get from time-to-time: Am I all alone?!

Whether it's drafting the Employee Evaluation Reports (ah, GEMS, how we love ya), filing vouchers for temporary duty or PCS travel or managing a complicated medevac, I'm always surprised how the rules put in place to help manage the department seem to lead to more chaos, rather than simplifying procedures so we can focus on our core function: the diplomacy of

the United States.

That's where AFSA can try to help; and the AFSA Post Representative (or "post rep") can be your first line of support.

I served in Berlin from 2005 to 2009, and was the AFSA representative for three of those years. Each person can develop the position according to his or her talents, and an engaged, flexible rep can end up being pulled into many interesting discussions or matters of controversy.

In taking on the role, it's important to recognize that while there are mission-specific constraints to consider, our members also have ideas and concerns that have merit and deserve to be heard.

By developing a solid, amicable relationship with management, the post rep may be included in discussions regarding any number of issues at post—from determining new rules for social events to deciding who can attend a speech by an American candidate for political office on an overseas visit.

Information sharing goes the other way too, as post reps can help consolidate the concerns of our members and share them with management, leading to improved outcomes and enhanced morale. In a Foreign Service where esprit de corps runs deep, our nature

### Being an AFSA post representative means you have a whole team behind you.

is often to find common ground, particularly when we come together in a solutions-based arrangement.

To share a few notes from my own experience, while in Berlin I was a sympathetic ear for those trying to manage challenging interpersonal relationships (especially with one's rater or reviewer). Since FS members sometimes just needed a place to get advice on how to navigate our challenging system, I'd take information received from AFSA and ask to have it included in the CLO newsletter at least once a month, reminding colleagues that any questions could be directed to me.

Before I knew it, I was involved in any number of issues, from the mundane to the more crucial, and it provided me with an insight into post management, the Foreign Service and the Department of State that I otherwise would not have acquired, particularly at that relatively early point in my career.

In short, I believe that by serving as AFSA's post rep, I became a better officer, and certainly a better mentor, which is increasingly important as we rise through the ranks of the Foreign Service.

These days, AFSA reps

are involved in a range of subjects, demonstrating the breadth of issues important to our members. For example, we were recently contacted for a reality check when an overseas mission updated its overtime regulations.

In addition, post reps can—and should—sit on the Housing Board as non-voting members; and the Foreign Affairs Handbook (3 FAH-1 H-5124.1) gives a list of matters which they can discuss with their management, including duty rosters, housing and health unit operations.

Being an AFSA post representative means you have a whole team behind you; I'm always here to help, to offer advice or to troubleshoot. And AFSA's Labor Management team, especially James Yorke and Patrick Bradley, are terrific resources available to you.

AFSA can't help with everything, but where we can, we want to. And after all, isn't that what we're all about? ■

*If you are interested in learning more about the AFSA post rep program and might consider serving as a rep, please see [www.afsa.org/postreps](http://www.afsa.org/postreps) or email [afsa@state.gov](mailto:afsa@state.gov).*



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## Working In Concert—The FCS at Home and Overseas

The United States Commercial Service has an impressive track record of contributing to U.S. economic security. We are focused on delivering real results—leveling the playing field overseas, facilitating export-led job growth and promoting foreign investment job growth back in the United States. Our metrics are rigorously applied.

Last year we assisted more than 28,000 American companies, 90 percent of which are small or medium-sized businesses. Among those companies, 72 percent told the International Trade Administration that they are highly likely to recommend us.

Our assistance worldwide resulted in more than \$59 billion in U.S. exports and supported more than 300,000 American jobs. For every

\$1 that Congress appropriated to the U.S. Commercial Service, we generated \$192 in U.S. exports and inward investment returns to the American economy.

Among U.S. foreign affairs agencies, we are uniquely organized to deliver these results. Overseas we are present in 78 countries, covering 90 percent of U.S. export markets.

But our assistance to American companies starts at home, where we have more than 250 U.S. trade specialists based in 106 cities throughout the country.

All Foreign Commercial Service officers spend at least one year working with the trade specialists in our U.S. field offices. These men and women work with local chambers of commerce,

district export councils, state and local governments, and trade show organizers to offer an impressive array of export mechanics seminars and sector- or region-focused trade shows like the Discover Global Markets series. They host U.S. ambassadors to speak to hundreds of U.S. export-ready companies at these shows.

Trade specialists, acting in an account management capacity for those 28,000 U.S. companies, develop a company-specific international expansion blueprint that helps them prioritize markets and get assistance from our international teams to tackle barriers that prevent fair trade. They do so in concert with our Commercial Office teams in U.S. embassies and consulates around

the world, who can identify market opportunities and challenges.

We judge ourselves on outcomes; if the American company succeeds in selling more overseas—whether that is because we helped knock down a barrier, or because we connected them with key partners or end users—we record it as a win in our Salesforce Customer Relations Management platform, along with the work we did to deliver it.

It is this *combination*—not just the international component, not just the domestic fieldwork, but both working in concert, collaborating on behalf of a clear mission with shared metrics—that makes the U.S. Commercial Service an outstanding contributor to U.S. economic security. ■

### ANNOUNCEMENT

#### ACCEPTING NOMINATIONS FOR SINCLAIRE LANGUAGE AWARD

AFSA is now accepting nominations for the 2017 Matilda W. Sinclair Language Award. The deadline is **Jan. 15, 2018.**

Thanks to a generous bequest from the late Foreign Service Officer Matilda W. Sinclair, AFSA spotlights members of the Foreign Service who have excelled in their study of a Category III or IV language and its associated culture.

Mastery of foreign languages and knowledge of the culture of the host country are critical diplomatic skills. Candidates may be nominated by their language training supervisors at the Foreign Service Institute, by instructors in field schools or by post language officers.

Awardees receive a \$1,000 prize and certificate of recognition. For information about the 2017 winners, check out the May edition of *The Foreign Service Journal*, and see the winners in action in the September *FSJ*.

For further information, please contact AFSA Awards Coordinator Perri Green at [green@afsa.org](mailto:green@afsa.org) or (202) 719-9700. Read more about the Sinclair Awards at [www.afsa.org/sinclair](http://www.afsa.org/sinclair). ■



AFSA/JOSH



Views and opinions expressed in this column are solely those of the AFSA Retiree VP. Contact: naland@afsa.org | (703) 437-7881

## Threats to Your Retirement Benefits

President Donald Trump's proposed FY 2018 budget seeks to cut several federal retirement benefits.

One proposal that would have an impact on current retirees concerns cost-of-living adjustments (COLAs). It has been proposed that COLAs be eliminated altogether for retirees in the post-1983 Foreign Service Pension System retirement system, and reduced by 0.5 percent for retirees in the pre-1984 Foreign Service Retirement and Disability System.

Some in Congress also seek to reduce the government contribution to Federal Employees Health Benefits insurance premiums. Another proposal is to decrease the rate of return of the Thrift Savings Plan's G Fund.

Long-time lobbyists tell AFSA that it is impossible

to predict if or when any of these proposals will pass. Each proposal carries with it a projected 10-year budget savings that could be used later this fall in Congressional deals to offset revenue losses in a tax reform bill or to reduce the deficit in a bill to fund the government through the end of FY18.

The proposed changes would affect 2.7 million federal employees and 2.6 million federal retirees. The Foreign Service comprises less than one percent of those totals. Further, the congressional committees with jurisdiction over federal benefits are different from the foreign affairs committees with which AFSA has developed strong relations through its decades of advocacy.

For these reasons, AFSA's

advocacy on retirement benefits is primarily through our active participation in the Federal-Postal Coalition. This grouping is made up of 30 organizations, including the National Active and Retired Federal Employees Association, the large Civil Service unions and the Senior Executives Association.

Combined, those organizations represent 5 million federal employees and retirees with members living in every congressional district.

The Federal-Postal Coalition has sent several letters to Congress, with AFSA as co-signatory, opposing cuts to federal retiree benefits. The coalition holds frequent meetings, with AFSA participation, to plan advocacy efforts.

NARFE and the large Civil Service unions meet

frequently with members of Congress to argue against benefits cuts. AFSA officers and professional staff members also include talking points on preserving retirement benefits in their discussions with members of Congress and their staffs.

If you have read this far into my column, you are obviously concerned about this issue. I have told you what AFSA is doing.

But it would also be helpful if individual Foreign Service retirees all around the nation would write, call or meet with their members of Congress to urge them not to cut their constituents' hard-earned retirement benefits.

Let us know if you do so, and if you receive a response. ■

## New Associate Editor Joins the *Journal*!

As Gemma Dvorak departs AFSA for an overseas posting with her FS spouse, Donna Scaramastra Gorman joins *The Foreign Service Journal* as associate editor, responsible for AFSA News.

Donna is a writer whose work has been published in *Time Magazine*, *Newsweek*, *The Washington Post*, the *Christian Science Monitor*, the *Huffington Post* and many other outlets. She is

the author of the book *Am I Going to Starve To Death?: A Survival Guide For the Foreign Service Spouse* (2015).

Donna is married to Diplomatic Security Special Agent Bart Gorman, who is currently posted at DS headquarters. They, along with their four children, have previously been posted in Moscow (twice), Yerevan, Almaty, Beijing and Amman.

Like many FS spouses,

Donna has held multiple overseas jobs: She's been an assistant public affairs officer, a human rights reporting assistant, a community liaison office coordinator, a consular associate, a newsletter editor, a Leahy vetting assistant and a group fitness instructor.

Donna has a master's degree in Slavic languages and literatures. Before following her husband into the



New FSJ Associate Editor Donna Gorman

Foreign Service, she worked at BBDO Worldwide advertising agency. If she can ever convince him to retire, she plans to move anyplace where it doesn't snow. ■

## USAID Performance Management System

Since September 2016, AFSA and USAID have been engaged in negotiations to completely overhaul the USAID performance management (employee evaluation) system. Although discussions started off slowly, the two parties came together for a highly productive negotiating session earlier this year.

Because of the unique nature of the Foreign Service and its up-or-out system any changes to the promotion system must be carefully considered. The current and former USAID vice presidents, along with the AFSA labor management team, reviewed lessons learned with previous performance management

reforms to make proposals that would truly strengthen the Foreign Service.

AFSA agreed to separate performance management into two components: the Employee Performance & Development Process and the Promotion Process.

As a result, the familiar Annual Evaluation Form will be replaced by two separate forms for the cycle beginning in April 2018: one for professional development and performance (known as an After-Action Review) the other, a Promotion Input Form, or PIF.

While in previous years all files have been reviewed by the promotion boards, the

new system will allow only those eligible for promotion to be reviewed. This will reduce administrative work for the boards and also ease the pressure on employees who are not up for promotion.

There are more issues to be resolved. One of the biggest is the inclusion of multisource ratings (MSRs) in the promotion process. Best practices show that any use of MSRs should be limited to professional development, not promotions.

USAID management proposed to have MSRs weighted equally with all other board-reviewed materials. AFSA submitted a counterproposal to use MSRs only in situations

where two employees have nearly identical performance (a tie-breaker).

AFSA is also reviewing the agency's proposal for additional paths to separation for unsatisfactory performance. We will provide updates as we continue negotiating on your behalf.

USAID Foreign Service personnel are encouraged to visit <https://pages.usaid.gov/HCTM/fs-pm> (requires USAID login) for updates. Make sure to familiarize yourselves with the new Foreign Service Senior Foreign Service Skills Framework and updated forms. ■

—Jason Snyder,  
Grievance Counselor

## AFSA and USAID Reach Agreement on FSL Hiring

AFSA and USAID have signed an agreement on the hiring of Foreign Service Limited employees (FSLs).

This follows a two-year effort by AFSA that included a letter to then-USAID Administrator Gayle Smith, expressing our concern about the impact on Foreign Service career paths of what appeared to be ad hoc FSL hiring without adequate workforce planning.

AFSA made it clear from the outset that we support appropriate hiring of FSLs, who serve on limited non-career appointments. However, continuing reports from

career FS employees who appeared qualified for particular Foreign Service positions, but lost the positions to FSLs, prompted our pursuit of more transparency in this process.

While USAID management has the right to hire employees into positions, AFSA (in its role as a union) can negotiate procedures regarding the agency's exercise of these rights and the appropriate arrangements to address any adverse impact on Foreign Service employees that result.

Specifically, AFSA sought a mechanism to ensure that all career Foreign Service

employees qualified for a particular position would be considered before staffing the position with FSLs.

This agreement provides that AFSA will be informed by USAID before advertising an FSL position. The agency will provide relevant information regarding the position, and AFSA will have an opportunity to respond.

AFSA and USAID have also agreed to negotiate the lengths of appointments and required breaks in service before obtaining reappointment for FSL positions. Please see Automated Directives

System 414.3.2.3.

We believe the process will now be much more transparent and help ensure that qualified Foreign Service career employees are considered for positions first.

While it is AFSA's hope that recent reforms such as the Human Capital and Talent Management transformation undertaken by USAID will help to improve workforce planning, this agreement represents a significant step forward. ■

—Colleen Fallon-Lenaghan  
Esq., Labor Management  
Counselor

## The Perils of Post Allowances

It can happen to anyone. You've been overpaid, and the State Department wants its money back. It's an unpleasant surprise, but one that you can do a lot to avoid with a few basic precautions.

The Bureau of the Comptroller and Global Financial Services tells us that overpayments most often occur when an employee receiving allowances or differentials departs post for a period that changes the basis for those payments.

If you don't notify the Human Resources or Financial Management Office—or if post delays reporting your departure to CGFS—then the system will continue paying you at the higher rate instead of the (correct) reduced one. Remember that arrival or departure of family members may also change post allowance payments.

- **Notify your HRO/FMO whenever you or your family members arrive at or depart post**

- **Check that post notifies CGFS promptly.**

- **Review your earnings and leave statement regularly** through Employee Express ([www.employeeexpress.gov](http://www.employeeexpress.gov)). In particular, review the earnings section of the E&L where your allowances/differentials are itemized. This is critical!

If you believe you've been over- or underpaid, contact Payroll Customer Support at [PayHelp@state.gov](mailto:PayHelp@state.gov) or 877-865-0760 from 8:30 a.m. to 4:30 p.m. (EST) Monday through Friday.

Just because the department makes a mistake, it doesn't mean you can keep the overpayment. Waivers are rare; you will most likely be asked to repay the overpayment in a

lump sum or in installment by salary deduction.

The Department of State Standardized Regulations covers the rules on allowances, but here's a brief outline:

**Post Allowance (or Cost of Living Adjustment)** starts the date you arrive at post or the date your family arrives at post if your arrival is delayed. It stops when you permanently depart from post, when you go on Home Leave, and on the 31st day of any other absence. If you are away from post for more than 30 days, the family size will be reduced by one member (e.g., if you go to an unaccompanied post and your family remains behind).

**Post Differential (also known as hardship pay)** starts when you get to post (if you are assigned), or after 42 days (if you are on temporary duty). Some priority staffing posts have different rules. It

stops when you PCS from post, leave on an emergency evacuation or travel to the United States for leave or training. It *continues*: for 42 days if you go to the U.S. on detail or medevac and an eligible family member remains at post; until you reach the United States, if you take R&R overseas en route; if you are on Family Visitation Travel from a hostile area; and if you are absent from PSP posts for up to 30 days.

**Danger Pay starts** on arrival at post (must be at post for 4 cumulative hours in one day), and stops on departure from post for any reason.

We hope this will help you navigate the perils of post allowances, particularly as many of our members travel during the holiday season. ■

—James Yorke, Senior Labor Management Adviser

## APHIS Framework Agreement Approved

In August, AFSA and management of the Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service signed a "Framework Agreement" governing their labor-management relationship. That agreement was approved by APHIS in September, and is now in effect.

AFSA became the formal union representative for Foreign Service employees in the Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service in 2013. In August 2014, APHIS and AFSA

signed a formal Memorandum of Understanding setting up the ground rules to begin negotiation of the framework agreement that would ultimately govern the labor management relationship.

This agreement covers a broad range of topics, including such important matters as defining the scope of the bargaining unit, the duties of each party to the relationship, what constitutes an unfair labor practice, timelines for

requesting negotiation on conditions of employment or changes in practices, as well as issues such as the rules regarding use of the Agency's email for union business and attendance at meetings.

The relationship between APHIS and AFSA has been one of mutual respect. Early on in the negotiations both parties attended joint training offered by the Federal Labor Relations Authority that allowed us to meet in person

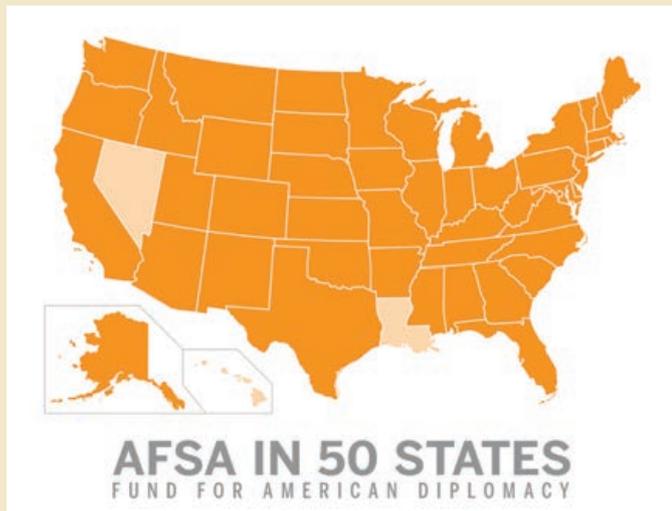
and get a broad overview of the undertaking.

Negotiations have taken three years to complete. One of the more difficult issues to resolve was what positions fall within the bargaining unit, but after thoughtful and productive discussion, we were able to reach consensus.

The agreement will be available on the AFSA website shortly. ■

—Zlatana Badrich Esq., Senior Staff Attorney

## Closing In on AFSA's 50 States Outreach Goal



The year-long “AFSA in 50 States” outreach campaign is speeding toward the finish line.

Our goal was to engage in outreach efforts of one kind or another—from Foreign Service speakers at schools and universities to radio and media engagements—in each of the 50 states. You can check our progress at [www.afsa.org/50states](http://www.afsa.org/50states).

Many of our members have helped AFSA achieve our outreach goals, and we will keep spotlighting those doing this important work around the country.

But we also want to thank some of our true outreach superstars, each of whom has undertaken multiple programs and visited more than one state: Ambassadors (ret.) Jeanine Jackson, Jim Bullington, Pat Butenis and Shaun Donnelly and retired Foreign Service Officer Larry Mandel.

Some notable engagements since our last update have included Richard Teare speaking to the Laos Servicemen Reunion in Williamsburg, Virginia; Phillip French discussing Venezuela at the Shepherd Center in Oakton, Virginia; Shayna Steinger talking to students at Ankeny Centennial High School in Ankeny, Iowa; and Ambassador Jeanine Jackson offering two talks in Swansboro, North Carolina.

In September and October, we offered two Road Scholar educational programs in Washington, D.C., where 22 Foreign Service speakers engaged with more than 80 participants. Special thanks to those individuals who spoke to the Road Scholars for the first—but surely not the last—time: Ambassador (ret.) Gordon Brown, Douglas Wake, Larry Mandel, Ambassador David Mack and John McNamara.

In October, we also organized the year's second Road Scholar program at the Chautauqua Institution in Chautauqua, New York. The week-long program had close to 150 participants who heard from retired Ambassadors Lange Schermerhorn and John Maisto, and retired Senior FSOs Molly Williamson, Richard McKee, Doug Spelman and Dr. Elizabeth Shelton.

Finally, we'd like to ask you to think of a group, organization or educational institution in your hometown that might benefit from having a member of the Foreign Service come and share their experiences, explaining what diplomats

do and why it matters.

We especially welcome connections in states that are traditionally underserved when it comes to such outreach—the Plains and Mountain states and the South.

With only 3 states left, (Hawaii, Louisiana and Nevada) we are asking any AFSA members living in or from those states to help us coordinate an AFSA outreach activity there by the end of the year.

AFSA can provide talking points and other assistance for anyone who wishes to volunteer. With your help, we can take the story of the Foreign Service even further. ■

## AFSA Congratulates JSP Graduates



AFSA President Ambassador Barbara Stephenson (far right) speaks to graduates of the Foreign Service Institute's Job Search Program. She reminded participants of the value of their AFSA membership and encouraged them to rejoin AFSA as retirees (since the process is not automatic) and continue to take advantage of the benefits of membership and the chance to stay in touch with the Foreign Service in retirement. AFSA staff members Erika Bethmann and Christine Miele (third and fourth from right, respectively) stand ready to sign up new and returning members of the association.

## The Combined Federal Campaign: A Great Way to Support AFSA



More than 18,000 nonprofit organizations participate in the Combined Federal Campaign. To make a secure CFC online donation, visit [www.afsa.org/donate](http://www.afsa.org/donate) or [www.cfcnexus.org/\\_cfcnca](http://www.cfcnexus.org/_cfcnca).

### CFC #10646: Diplomacy Matters—AFSA

Nine out of 10 Americans support strong American global leadership. But do our fellow Americans understand that such global leadership is unthinkable without the Foreign Service?

Do they understand that security and prosperity at home depend on members of the Foreign Service deploying around the world to protect and defend American people, interests and values?

AFSA has been working to tell the proud story of the Foreign Service across the United States, and we need

your help to expand our outreach efforts.

Please keep AFSA's Fund for American Diplomacy in mind as you make plans for year-end charitable contributions. The Fund for American Diplomacy is one of AFSA's two 501(c)(3) arms and supports numerous outreach efforts, including allowing us to hire our new retiree outreach coordinator Christine Miele.

The FAD's aim is to build a domestic constituency for the Foreign Service so that we have supporters, ideally in all 50 states, prepared to stand up for the Foreign Service and defend our vitally important mission.

The Fund is registered in the Combined Federal Campaign as "Diplomacy Matters—AFSA," and its CFC number is #10646.

We appreciate your support. Donations may also be made via [www.afsa.org/fad](http://www.afsa.org/fad). ■

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## AFSA Book Notes: Career Diplomacy

On Sept. 14, AFSA held the 26th event in its popular Book Notes series, hosting a talk by former FSO Harry W. Kopp and current AFSA Retiree Vice President John K. Naland about the newly released third edition of their book, *Career Diplomacy: Life and Work in the U.S. Foreign Service* (Georgetown University Press, 2017).

*Career Diplomacy* is billed as “an insider’s guide to the Foreign Service as an institution, a profession and a career.” During their presentation, Mr. Kopp and Mr. Naland delved into those three different ways of looking at the Foreign Service.

They also broke down the FS mission into three parts—

representation, operations and policy—explaining that they found this way of describing the work of the Foreign Service more useful than breaking down the mission according to the five cones of service.

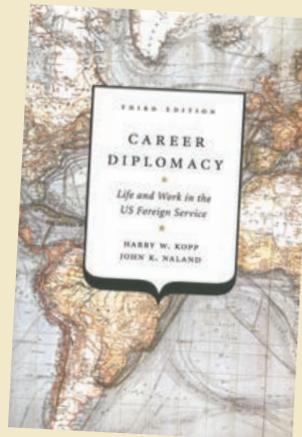
Harry Kopp quoted Ambassador (ret.) Carey Cavanaugh, who reviewed the book for the September *Foreign Service Journal*, saying that this is both the best and the worst time to have published a new edition

Mr. Kopp noted that the book was completed before President Donald Trump came to office, so does not take into account the challenges facing the Foreign Service now. However, it does

offer commentary on many similar challenges faced by the Foreign Service during its history, including the Nixon presidency, the McCarthy era and the hiring freezes under President Bill Clinton.

The authors discussed the “different lifestyle” required of members of the Foreign Service, touching on the up-or-out system of promotion, as well as the pressures the job puts on family members.

They also discussed



the current reduction in hiring and its possible future consequences. In 2010, they said, more than 700 new officers were hired, whereas this year that number will be closer to 100, leading to

future management issues.

“Mark your calendars,” Mr. Naland advised, predicting that five to six years from now there will be Government Accountability Office reports citing inadequate supervision, because the lack of hires now means there will be fewer middle- and higher-level FS personnel then.

At a Q&A session following the talk, questions to the authors on how they would manage a department wide reorganization led to a discussion of problems with State’s information technology program, the top-heavy nature of the organization, the differences in training for diplomats compared to military officers, the problems with special envoys and the difficulties that arise when senior leaders are political appointees rather than career Foreign Service officers.

A video of the event is available on the AFSA website, [www.afsa.org/video](http://www.afsa.org/video). ■



AFSA President Ambassador Barbara Stephenson introduces former Foreign Service Officer Harry W. Kopp and retired FSO John K. Naland at the Book Notes event on Sept. 14.



## AFSA Governing Board Meeting, September 20, 2017

**FSJ Editorial Board:** State Representative Lawrence Casselle moved that, in accordance with AFSA bylaws, the Governing Board confirm the current members of the FSJ Editorial Board for the term of the 2017-2019 AFSA Governing Board. The motion was approved unanimously.

**AFSA-PAC:** On behalf of the Management Committee, AFSA Secretary Ambassador Tom Boyatt moved that the Governing Board approve the standard operating procedure for the AFSA Political Action Committee. The motion was approved.

**Amicus Brief:** State VP Ken Kero-Mentz moved that AFSA submit an amicus brief to the Foreign Service Grievance Board that seeks to clarify two broader issues that arose in a grievance case: 1) with regard to the Six Year Window, whether the TIC clock should stop once the employee has been recommended for promotion by the Selection Board; 2) whether the onus is on the department (not the employee) to advance nominations for the Senior Foreign Service, Commissioning and Tenure. The motion was adopted. ■



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## New Editorial Board Members Get To Work



AFSA/GEMMA D'ORAK

The new FSJ Editorial Board, pictured following their first meeting in September. From left; Shawn Kobb, Chair Eric Green, M. Allyn Brooks-LaSure, Angela Bond, Dinah Zeltser Winant, Lawrence Casselle, James Bever and Pri Sen (not pictured, Alexis Ludwig, John Rendeiro and Suzanne McGuire).

The *Foreign Service Journal* staff would like to thank outgoing Editorial Board members, former Chair Beth Payne, Kara McDonald, Steve Buck, Randy Berry and Gordon Brown for their work over the past several years.

■ **Barbara S. “Babs” Aycock**, 65, a retired member of the Senior Foreign Service, passed away on July 24 at her home in Bucksport, Maine, in the company of her family.

Born on Dec. 16, 1951, in Statesville, N.C., Ms. Aycock was the daughter of Dr. James and Margaret (Collinge) Aycock. She was imbued with a love of nature and discovery, an appreciation of the fine arts, a sense of humor and a generous spirit.

Her love of art is reflected in her choice of art history as a major at Bryn Mawr College, which led to internships at the Museum of Modern Art and the Whitney Museum in New York.

As an undergraduate at Bryn Mawr, Ms. Aycock embarked on a life-shaping journey to India. Living in New Delhi with relatives, she explored India for nine months. This experience shaped her interest in other cultures and would later lead to a service-oriented career in international affairs.

Ms. Aycock received an MBA in finance from the University of Pennsylvania’s Wharton School and went to work on Wall Street. While successful there, she quickly realized that finance was not her niche in life and left her job at Dean Witter to join the Peace Corps.

Serving as a Volunteer in Mombasa, she helped to develop local small businesses by encouraging sustainability and greater financial independence. She then took up a position in small business development in Washington, D.C.

Following her marriage to FSO Charles Raimondi, she accompanied her husband to his assignment in Bucharest and worked at the embassy there.

Ms. Aycock subsequently decided to join the U.S. Foreign Service, and went on to overseas postings in Belgrade, Paris, Ankara, Rome, Mexico City and

Baghdad, in addition to assignments in Washington, D.C.

Rising through the ranks quickly, she retired in 2016 with the rank of minister-counselor. Secretary of State John F. Kerry personally presented her with the Secretary’s Career Achievement Award at a ceremony at Embassy Paris in June 2016.

Ms. Aycock was known for her exquisite collection of paintings and antiques, collected at markets throughout the world and eventually displayed with great care at her dream home in Bucksport. Her forays to art markets throughout the world are a testament to and celebration of a life fully lived. However, she was perhaps best known for her devotion to her family, friends and colleagues.

Ms. Aycock is survived by her daughters Miranda Raimondi of Minden, La., and Charlotte Raimondi of London, England; her ex-husband, Charles Raimondi; and her sister, Margaret Ann Aycock of Sparta, N.C.

■ **Douglas McAlpine Berry**, 65, a retired Foreign Service officer, died on July 3 in Dunedin, New Zealand, of sepsis.

Born in Gary, Ind., on Oct. 11, 1951, he was the son of Clayton Hugh and Armal Jean (Dunckel) Berry. Clayton had fallen in love with Europe during his service in World War II, and Doug Berry grew up in Newport, Wales; The Hague; and London.

During the Vietnam War he served in the Air Force on Guam for three years, where he also attended the University of Guam while off-duty. When discharged, he attended Michigan State University in East Lansing, Mich., graduating with an M.A. in history in 1977, the same year that he married Anne Feryok.

After trying several study and work paths, Mr. Berry was encouraged to take the Foreign Service exam by a friend.

He received his commission in 1984 and served for 21 years.

His first overseas posting was Port-au-Prince, where he did American Citizen Services work and reported on political and military affairs during the turmoil surrounding the departure of President Jean-Claude “Baby Doc” Duvalier.

This was followed by a tour in Dakar, where he was an administrative officer. Mr. Berry switched to consular work, and was assigned to Kraków during the transition from communism, a posting he loved.

After several tours in Washington, D.C., he was assigned as head of the consular section in Yerevan, a posting Doug regarded as the highlight of his career. His last overseas tour was as principal officer at Consulate General Auckland.

Mr. Berry retired in 2007 and moved to Dunedin, where his wife began her career as an academic in applied linguistics at the University of Otago.

Besides providing domestic support for his wife’s career by developing his talent for barbecuing, Mr. Berry also continued reading history, building wooden model ships from the Age of Sail, collecting and detailing cast-iron miniature ships from World War II Pacific theater operations, enjoying an increasingly esoteric high-end stereo system and “fathering” four rescue cats.

Family and friends remember Mr. Berry for his wide-ranging knowledge, his kindness, his wry smile and his sense of humor: “Forward, into the past.”

Mr. Berry was pre-deceased by his sister, Kathleen Henning, and his father and mother. He is survived by his wife, Anne Feryok, of Dunedin.

■ **Melville E. Blake Jr.**, 93, a retired Foreign Service officer, died on Aug. 5 in Bethesda, Md., of complications following a stroke.

A native of Mississippi, Mr. Blake was born on June 29, 1924, and spent his early years at Mileston Plantation, Miss. The Blake family moved to Lexington, Miss., in 1931, where he attended public schools, graduating in 1941.

After two years at Mississippi State College, Mr. Blake entered the U.S. Army. He served in the Philippine Islands as an officer in the 12th Infantry Division (Philippine Scouts), which was being reconstituted as part of the U.S. Army. Mr. Blake left the Army in 1947, but remained in the Army Reserve and retired as a full colonel in 1980.

Mr. Blake received his bachelor's degree from Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service in 1949, and subsequently obtained a M.A. degree in economics from The George Washington University, both in Washington, D.C.

He was a research fellow in international trade and finance at the London School of Economics during the 1962-1963 academic year. His senior officer training was done at the NATO Defense College in Rome in 1969.

Mr. Blake entered the Foreign Service in January 1951. He first served in Frankfurt (1951-1952), Bremerhaven (1952-1953) and Bonn (1955-1958).

He later served as chief of the economic section in San José (1963-1965), counselor and chief of the economic/commercial section in Bern (1969-1973), deputy consul general and acting consul general in Frankfurt (1975-1978), deputy chief of mission and chargé in Panama (1978-1982) and chargé d'affaires in Bermuda (1984). He also served as deputy director of the Office of International Investment at the Department of the Treasury in Washington, D.C. (1973-1975).

In 1982, the government of Panama awarded Mr. Blake the Order of Vasco Núñez de Balboa for his contributions to

cordial U.S.-Panamanian relations while chargé and DCM. He also received the State Department's Superior Honor Award for his services in Panama. He retired from the Foreign Service in 1987 and became a business consultant.

Mr. Blake met his future wife, Rozanne Marie, at an Army Reserve officers' meeting at Bremerhaven, Germany, in September 1952. The couple married three months later, on Dec. 31.

Mr. Blake is survived by his five children: Melville III of Portsmouth, N.H.; Martha Anne of Jamesville, N.Y.; John Waldo of Munich, Germany; Rebecca Eva of New York, N.Y.; Mary Minor of Washington Grove, Md.; and seven grandchildren. He is also survived by a brother, M. Waldo Blake of Silver Spring, Md.

■ **Carol Joan McCloskey Chaplin**, 77, the spouse of retired FSO Stephen M. Chaplin, died on July 23 following an extended illness.

Mrs. Chaplin was born in 1940 in Johnstown, Pa., the daughter of Theodore and Caroline McCloskey. She attended high school in Cleveland, Ohio, obtained a B.A. in economics from the University of Pittsburgh, and later received her law degree from Western Reserve University Law School (now Case-Western Reserve Law School). She was one of two women in her graduating law school class.

After graduation she worked in Washington, D.C., as an attorney for the Securities and Exchange Commission and later at the Department of Veterans Affairs. She was the recipient of a DVA Distinguished Career Award and was also a member of the D.C. and Virginia Bar Associations.

In 1969 she married Stephen Chaplin, a Foreign Service officer with the U.S. Information Agency. She accompanied her husband to overseas postings in Argentina, Mexico, Romania and Por-

tugal, where she made lifelong friends. Living abroad, she enjoyed learning about other cultures and customs.

Family and friends remember Mrs. Chaplin as a kind and selfless person who enjoyed dance and was a voracious reader.

Mrs. Chaplin leaves behind her husband, her sons Christopher Chaplin of Los Angeles, Calif., and Jonathan Chaplin and his wife Sara Chaplin of Denver, Colo.; two sisters-in-law; and extended family in Ohio. She will be buried in Johnstown, Pa.

Those wishing to honor Carol Chaplin's memory are encouraged to make a donation in her name to a charitable, educational or philanthropic organization of their choice. Those wishing to convey condolences to Stephen M. Chaplin may do so via email: chaplincs@msn.com.

■ **Dorothy Jeanne Fischer**, 90, the wife of retired FSO Forrest Fischer, died on Aug. 16 at the Dartmouth Hitchcock Medical Center in Lebanon N.H.

Mrs. Fischer, née Schuster, was born in Chicago, Ill., on Aug. 26, 1926. She began her undergraduate degree at Coe College in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, later continuing her studies in Guatemala City before receiving her B.A. degree at The George Washington University in Washington, D.C., at the age of 56.

In 1946 she married Forrest Fischer, a Foreign Service officer who served in numerous posts in Latin America and Southeast Asia.

During her career as a Foreign Service wife, Mrs. Fischer assisted in founding an orphanage in Tegucigalpa, Honduras, where a house bears her name. In Guatemala, she worked closely with emergency crews and the Red Cross, assisting victims during the earthquake of 1976.

While her husband served in Vietnam during the Vietnam War, Mrs. Fischer lived with her two daughters in Bangkok,

where she began to practice Buddhism, a philosophy that remained important to her for the rest of her life.

An accomplished artist, particularly in watercolor and pastels, Mrs. Fischer also blessed those around her with her beautiful singing voice. She was a member of her church choir and enjoyed singing harmony and rounds with her family.

Mrs. Fischer was predeceased by her son, Forrest Glen. She is survived by her husband, Forrest; her daughter, Jacqueline Fischer (and partner, Ron Miller) of Woodstock, Vt.; her daughter, Jill Fischer (and husband, Jeff Wilcox) of Lebanon, N.H.; and four grandchildren (who affectionately called her “Buela”)—Luke and Clayton (aka Woody) Giveen, Daniel Forrest Murray and Risa Delappe Estep.

■ **Michael Francis Gallagher**, 71, a retired Foreign Service officer, died on Dec. 2, 2016, at Georgetown University Hospital in Washington, D.C., from prostate cancer.

A native of Philadelphia, Pa., Mr. Gallagher received his B.A. from LaSalle University in 1967 and his MBA from Temple University in 1972. He joined the U.S. Army as a commissioned officer in 1967 and was stationed for three years in Germany, where he was a platoon leader and battle commander of Nike missile units during the Vietnam War.

He later earned a mid-career fellowship from Princeton University in 1980 and is a 1993 graduate of Canada’s National Defence College.

Mr. Gallagher entered the Foreign Service in 1973. He began his career as finance administrative officer in Abidjan and switched to economics before transferring to Tunis. He served as an economics officer in London and Jakarta before spending three years as minister-counselor for economic affairs at the U.S. Mission to the European Union in Brussels.

While posted as consul general in Vancouver, B.C., where he managed negotiation of the Pacific salmon agreement and maintenance of the Columbia River Treaty, Mr. Gallagher was promoted to the Senior Foreign Service.

In 2001 he was assigned to the Office of the High Representative to the United Nations in Sarajevo. There, he directed 48 professionals from 14 countries in an attempt to assist the three ethnic groups to govern themselves after the Bosnian War.

His final overseas post was deputy chief of mission and chargé d’affaires in The Hague, where he worked with senior Dutch officials on Afghanistan, the war on terror, curbing international crime and G-20 issues. He also worked with the international courts in The Hague.

On retiring in 2010, Mr. Gallagher received the prestigious Thomas Jefferson Award from American Citizens Abroad.

Mr. Gallagher then settled in Bethany Beach, Del., and continued to work part-time at the State Department, including returning as interim chargé in The Hague and then in Brussels. He also worked as an adjunct instructor of international management in LaSalle University’s MBA program in Philadelphia, Pa.

Friends and family members remember Mr. Gallagher as a savvy and kind individual with a larger-than-life personality. They recall that he wasn’t just a teacher in the classroom; he was a student in life and role-modeled this for his entire family throughout his career. He taught each of his family members the importance of living life fully, seizing moments and opportunities, always exploring and believing the best in others.

Mr. Gallagher is survived by his wife of 49 years, Martha Janzer Gallagher, of Ocean View, Del.; daughters Jennifer Ann Gallagher, Monica Gallagher Sakala, Emily

Martha Gallagher and Annie Gallagher Riehl and their spouses; and three grandchildren.

■ **Phyllis E. Hechtman**, 76, the wife of retired FSO Robert Hechtman, died on Aug. 18 at Fairfax Hospital after a more than 30-year battle with multiple sclerosis and, more recently, dementia and throat cancer.

Born in Brooklyn, N.Y., on Dec. 29, 1941, Mrs. Hechtman was raised by her widowed mother, Lydia. She graduated from Brooklyn College, where she was a member of the Sigma Delta Tau sorority, with a degree in physical education.

She then moved to California to pursue a master’s degree at the University of California, Santa Barbara. Before completing the degree, she returned to New York and married Robert Hechtman on June 22, 1964.

His Foreign Service career took the couple first to Chile, where their son, Douglas, was born in 1970. Later posts included Guatemala and Panama.

Phyllis was a physical education and health instructor in Washington, D.C., public schools and an enthusiastic subscriber to the Washington Ballet and the Signature and Shakespeare theaters.

In Guatemala, she helped lead the local Parent-Teacher Association and organized support for the new Maya school campus.

Back in the United States again, she completed the Publishing Specialist Program at The George Washington University. She was an editorial assistant for the “1990 Surgeon General’s Report on Smoking Cessation,” and later became editor of the Fairfax League of Women Voters Newsletter.

Energetic and athletic before the onset of her MS, she enjoyed taking cruises and traveling throughout the national park system. She also enjoyed exploring local

cultures, historical sites, and arts and crafts throughout Latin America.

Among the many places she visited were Tikal, Antigua, Quirigua, Uxmal, Merida, Machu Picchu, several volcanos, the Argentine Lake District and the Panama Canal. She made several Mayan stone rubbings that decorate their home.

Friends and family members remember her sense of humor and love of wordplay. She enjoyed contributing to her husband's "Clive" theater reviews. She also enjoyed crossword puzzles, and would often laugh at people's malapropisms, getting "mords wixed," as she put it.

In her later years Mrs. Hechtman fought to maintain her beautiful disposition. Her strength of will was evident in her efforts to stay active and her continued travels. In her final years, she was supported by loyal aides Alem Abeje and Mehert Tekle.

She is survived by her adoring husband, Robert, of McLean, Va.; her beloved son, Douglas; and countless friends. Memorial contributions in her name may be made to the National MS Society.

■ **Robert Hennemeyer**, 91, a retired Foreign Service officer, died on Aug. 21 at Sibley Hospital in Washington, D.C.

"Bob" Hennemeyer was born in Chicago, Ill., on Dec., 1, 1925, the son of a German immigrant medical doctor and a nurse—or, as he put it, "an Iowa farm girl of Danish parentage and a worldly Berlin sophisticate."

In 1944 he was drafted into the U.S. Army. Making his way across the Atlantic to England, he marched through France and Belgium, finally arriving in Germany. Though he never rose above the rank of corporal and often told self-deprecating stories about the absurdity of military life, he received the French Legion d'Honneur many years later in recognition of his service.

After the war, he earned his bachelor's and master's degrees at the University of Chicago during the final years of the tenure of legendary educator Robert Maynard Hutchins. He applied to the Department of State in 1952 and embarked on a 35-year career as a Foreign Service officer. He married the former Joan Renaud in 1954.

Mr. Hennemeyer served in Germany (twice), England, Norway, Tanzania and, finally, The Gambia, where he was U.S. ambassador. He also studied at Oxford University and taught at the U.S. Naval Academy.

Among many adventures, he was once taken hostage during an army mutiny in then-Tanganyika and narrowly escaped being executed by firing squad. His diplomatic service was recognized by a variety of awards, including the National Order of the Republic of The Gambia, the German Bundesverdienstkreuz and the State Department's Meritorious Honor Award.

After retiring from the Foreign Service, Mr. Hennemeyer worked for many years promoting social justice, both internationally and domestically, at the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops, the Woodstock Theological Center and the Catholic Diocese of Venice, Fla. As part of this work he co-authored a book, *Forgiveness in International Politics: An Alternative Road to Peace* (2004).

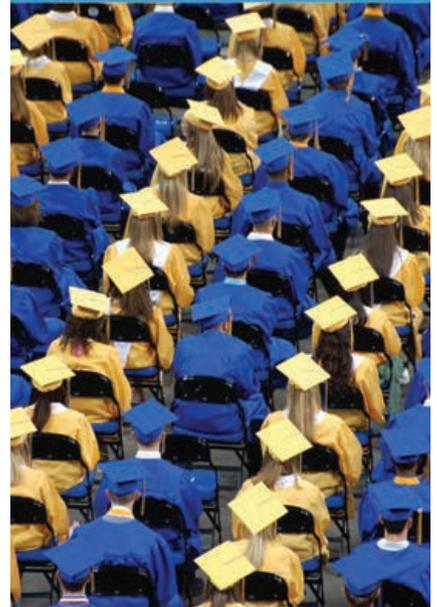
Mr. Hennemeyer was an avid outdoorsman; he loved boating and fishing, and treasured weekend getaways to his cabin in the remote mountains of West Virginia. For many years he also retained an affection for his Chicago White Sox, until finally Washington once again got its own baseball team and he became a rather serious Nationals fan.

Friends and family members remember Mr. Hennemeyer as a learned, kind and humorous man.

He is survived by his wife of 63 years,



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Joan, of Bethesda, Md.; their children Chris, Paul and Robin; grandchildren Frank, Mayan, Philip and Evan; and a sister, Ruth Liston.

■ **Frederick Thomas Kelley**, 85, a retired Foreign Service officer, died on Aug. 3 in Laurel, Md., of heart failure.

Born on Dec. 21, 1931, in Pittsfield, Mass., Mr. Kelley was the seventh of eight children. He graduated from St. Joseph's High School, where he was captain of the football team, in 1949.

After serving in the U.S. Navy during the Korean War, Mr. Kelley arrived in Washington, D.C. He took and passed the Foreign Service exam, and then attended Georgetown University on the GI Bill while working as a congressional aide.

Having completed his studies, he joined the Department of State as a Foreign Service officer in 1957. Mr. Kelley met his wife, Nadine, at a party in 1956, and the couple married on June 1, 1957.

Throughout the early years of their married life they traveled the world, buoyed by the optimism of the Kennedy administration and the hopes of a brighter future for the world. Their assignments included Canada (twice), East Pakistan (now Bangladesh), West Pakistan (now Pakistan) and Singapore.

The couple's favorite assignment was Islamabad. In the late 1960s they found it rich in history and culture and full of promise.

After retirement, the Kelleys traveled the United States in a VW minibus, exploring much of the country before taking up part-time work as tax preparers.

Mr. Kelley also pursued family genealogy work that led to his joining the Society of the Cincinnati. His direct ancestor, Lt. John Crosier of Boston, had been a Minuteman and had fought in several key battles of the Revolutionary War along-

side General George Washington.

In 1996, the Kelleys fully retired to Bethany Beach, Del. They left many dear friends in Bethany when they relocated back to the Maryland suburbs of Washington, D.C., for health reasons in 2016.

Mr. Kelley is survived by his wife of 60 years, Nadine Louise (nee Mayer) Kelley; children Kathleen (and her husband, Wes Clark) of Fairfax, Va., Jennifer (and her husband, Ralph Acevedo) of Rockville, Md., Deborah of Laurel, Md., and Frederick (and his wife, Thuzar Myint) of Columbia, Md.; seven grandchildren: Sean and Daniel Rushlow; Charles and David Acevedo; and Alexander, Christopher and Maria Acevedo. He is also remembered by at least three dozen nieces and nephews, and four sisters-in-law.

■ **Jeanne Kinney**, 85, a retired Foreign Service officer and wife of the late USAID FSO Bert Tollefson Jr., died on March 28 in Phoenix, Ariz.

Ms. Kinney was born on May 14, 1931, in Chicago, Ill. Her father's automobile business took the family from Chicago to Milwaukee, Wisc.; and then to Short Hills, N.J.; Gary, Ind.; Davenport, Iowa and Rock Island, Ill. She graduated from St. Joseph's High School in Rock Island and St. Ambrose College in Davenport. After retiring, she earned a master's degree at the University of Arizona in Tucson.

Ms. Kinney began her government career in the Illinois State Attorney's office in Rock Island. From there, at age 23, she went to Washington, D.C., to work for the Foreign Operations Administration, the predecessor of the U.S. Agency for International Development.

Short-term FOA assignments included the Department of the Army, the Department of Health, Education & Welfare and the Federal Emergency Management Administration. She was also employed by

the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission in Phoenix, Ariz.

In 1982, Ms. Kinney joined the Department of State Foreign Service. Her overseas assignments during her career with USAID and State included Turkey, Vietnam, Morocco, Iraq and Lebanon. She survived the bombing of the American embassy in Beirut on Sept. 20, 1984, and received the State Department's medal for heroism in Lebanon.

Retiring in Tucson and Phoenix, Ariz., she was active in the Committee on Foreign Relations, the Foreign Service Retirees' Association and the Arizona Federation of Republican Women (she founded the Lincoln Republican Women's Club). She also worked on alumni events in Phoenix for St. Ambrose College and Loyola University, and she was recognized for these services by both schools.

Her photographs of the Middle East were on display at the University of Arizona in Tucson's Middle East Center and her photographs of Catholic churches in Arizona were printed in the Phoenix Diocese calendar for two years.

Ms. Kinney was preceded in death by her husband, Bert M. Tollefson Jr., who died in Sioux Falls, S.D., on Jan. 9, 2010; her parents, Merle and Maude (Kilroy) Kinney; her sister and brother-in-law Jane and Tony Weiman; her brother, Michael John Kinney; her sister Mary Kinney and brother-in-law Conrad W. Andrews. She is survived by her sister, Kathleen Kinney Andrews of Fargo, N.D., with whom she spent much time at the lake and in Fargo; seven nieces; and seven nephews.

Memorial contributions in her memory may be sent to St. Jude's Hospital.

■ **Gara Vinson Malesky**, 77, the former wife of retired FSO Lann Malesky, died on June 4 at her home in Fairfax City, Va., surrounded by her family.

Gara Malesky was born on Dec. 4, 1940, in Lee County, Miss. Following graduation from Blue Mountain College in Blue Mountain, Miss., in 1962, she joined the Peace Corps and served in one of the first Peace Corps classes in Cameroon.

On return to the United States, she addressed various groups on her experiences overseas, including attending tea with “Lady Bird” Johnson at the White House. In the mid-1960s she worked as a public school teacher in Charlotte, N.C.

After her marriage to Lann Malesky, a Foreign Service officer with the State Department, she and her family lived in many locations around the world for nearly 20 years: Algiers, Geneva, London, Bamako, Istanbul and Manama.

While valuing her travels and the considerable time she spent overseas, Mrs. Malesky welcomed the opportunity to establish roots in one place during the latter part of her life. She was a 33-year resident of Fairfax City, living in the same house the entire time. Both of her children graduated from Fairfax High School and George Mason University in Fairfax, Va.

Mrs. Malesky is survived by her two sons, Alvin Malesky of Asheville, N.C., and Lowell Malesky of Fairfax, Va.; Lowell’s wife, Katy, and their three children, Kendall, Kelsey and Joshua; and her younger sister, Brenda Hare of Tupelo, Miss., and her husband, Billy.

Family members recall that she valued education highly and instilled that value in her children.

In lieu of flowers, her wish would be to simply plant a tree in her memory, or contributions may be made to the Environmental Defense Fund ([www.edf.org](http://www.edf.org)).

■ **Robert Herbert Marston**, 89, a retired Foreign Service officer, died on Dec. 24, 2016, at the Broad Creek Care Center on Hilton Head Island in South Carolina.

Born on May 12, 1927, in Hempstead, N.Y., Mr. Marston was a magna cum laude graduate of the University of Maryland. He served as a U.S. Army sergeant in Germany and Southern France before returning home to New York.

Mr. Marston began his Foreign Service career in Berlin during the 1948 blockade. On Sept. 19, 1953, he married Mary Francis Price while both were serving in U.S. government posts in Bonn.

During a 39-year diplomatic career he served in 11 different countries, from India to the Middle East, Africa and Europe. In 1987 he retired to Hilton Head Island Plantation.

A lover of music and small theater acting, Mr. Marston played such roles as Felix Unger in “The Odd Couple” while stationed in New Delhi.

He was a member of the Hilton Head Island Barber Shoppers and a long-time choir member at All Saints Episcopal Church. He was also a 32nd-Degree Mason and a founding member of Dolphin Head Golf Course.

Friends and family members recall that Mr. Marston touched many lives with his easy smile, kind eyes and beautiful tenor voice.

He is survived by his wife of 63 years, Mary, of Hilton Head, S.C.; two sons, Bob and John, and a daughter, Elizabeth; a daughter-in-law, Karen; six grandchildren; and a sister, Jean Weisensee.

■ **Arlene J. (Erickson) Mitchell**, 82, a retired member of the Foreign Service with USAID, died on May 17 in North Palm Beach, Fla., surrounded by her family.

The daughter of Lenora Olson Erickson and Lewis E. Erickson, a minister, Mrs. Mitchell was born on the family farm in Maryfield, Saskatchewan, Canada, where they raised cattle and grew wheat.

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School, she moved to Minneapolis, Minn., where she attended business school and worked as a stenographer. Her passion for music and natural ability to play the piano had begun as a child, and continued throughout her life.

In 1966, she joined the U.S. Foreign Service as an executive secretary for the U.S. Agency for International Development. For the next three decades she served in assignments around the world, including postings in Liberia, Ethiopia, Korea, Thailand, Pakistan, Syria, Niger and Egypt.

She received the distinguished Meritorious Honor Award from the Department of State for her devotion to duty under extremely hazardous and difficult circumstances in Islamabad.

In 1982, she married the love of her life, Stanley D. Mitchell. She enjoyed fishing trips with her husband, both overseas and with the West Palm Beach Fishing Club.

Mrs. Mitchell loved to garden and grew broccoli, hot peppers, tomatoes and flowers. One of her true passions was cooking, and she prepared many gourmet meals for friends and family. She often spent hours poring over recipes to choose the best ingredients and cooking methods.

Throughout her years in the Foreign Service, she loved entertaining and hosting parties, enjoying the company of other expatriates and local community members. Parties often involved piano playing, singing and delicious meals.

Friends and family members remember her graciousness, especially when welcoming people into her home. They recall her spunky, adventurous spirit and wry sense of humor that brought laughter and joy to those around her.

Following her retirement from the Foreign Service, Mrs. Mitchell lived in North Palm Beach for nearly 30 years.

She was predeceased by both parents and by her brother, Lowell Erickson of Brit-

ish Columbia. Mrs. Mitchell is survived by her devoted husband of 35 years, Stanley D. Mitchell, as well as her two sisters, Shirley (and her husband, Bernie) Terhaar and Phyllis Gehring of Minnesota; eight nieces and nephews; her stepchildren, John Mitchell of Texas, Kai Mitchell of California and Ruth Mitchell of Maryland; her step-granddaughter, Eva Halasz of California.

Donations may be made in Arlene Mitchell's name for the study and research of osteoarthritis at The Arthritis National Research Foundation (ANRF), 5354 E. 2nd Street, Suite 201, Long Beach, CA 90803 or at [curearthritis.org](http://curearthritis.org).

■ **Charles Willis Naas**, 92, a retired Foreign Service officer, died on Aug. 18 in Silver Spring, Md., from a fall.

Mr. Naas was born on Jan. 24, 1925, in Worcester, Mass., to Willis and Marian Naas. In 1943, at the age of 18, he enlisted in the U.S. Army Air Corps and served during World War II in the Philippines.

Following the war, he graduated from Clark University and the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University.

Mr. Naas joined the Foreign Service in 1951, where he specialized in the Middle East and Southeast Asia. During his career, he was stationed overseas in Pakistan, India, Turkey, Afghanistan and Iran, as well as at the United Nations in New York and as diplomat-in-residence at Davidson College in North Carolina. He retired in 1981.

In retirement, Mr. Naas lived at Leisure World in Silver Spring, Md., where he enjoyed playing golf and poker, watching his beloved Boston Red Sox, reading and avidly following world events and politics.

Friends and family members remember Mr. Naas, above all, as an honorable and kind man who had an unwavering

love for his family and his country and will be greatly missed.

Mr. Naas was preceded in death by his wife of 63 years, Jean Bolen Naas. He is survived by his two sons, Stephen and Brian; his daughter-in-law, Sally Naas; two grandchildren, Alex Naas and Tory Gallagher; and four great-grandchildren.

■ **Frank S. Parker**, 68, a retired Foreign Service officer, died on July 27 in Wilmington, N.C., due to complications from cancer.

Born on May 8, 1949, Mr. Parker was raised in Birmingham, Ala., and Alexandria, Va. After receiving his B.A. from the University of Alabama, he obtained an M.A. from Georgetown University in economics and undertook work toward a doctorate at the University of Colorado.

Mr. Parker began his Foreign Service career at the Department of State in 1975, assigned to the office responsible for international commodity negotiations in the Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs.

After a stint as economic officer in Brasilia (1977-1979), he returned to that bureau to work on international debt restructurings, the Canadian and Mexican energy sectors and coordination with the board of the Ex-Im Bank of the United States.

In 1984 he was assigned as financial economist to Madrid. In 1986 he was sent to Pretoria, where he served during the period leading up to South Africa's transition to majority rule.

In 1989 Mr. Parker was seconded as legislative fellow to the office of Senator Dennis DeConcini (D-Ariz.). The following year he became economic counselor in Caracas, where he worked to open the oil sector to foreign investment and resolve trade and financial disputes.

In 1993 Mr. Parker was transferred as economic counselor to Riyadh. He facili-

tated Saudi membership in the World Trade Organization and helped initiate the U.S.-Saudi Business Forum and the economic dialogue of the Gulf Cooperation Council.

As deputy chief of mission in Belize (1996-1998), he managed the U.S. counter-narcotics assistance program, while also indulging an avid interest in reef diving off the second-largest coral reef in the world.

After retiring from the Foreign Service in 1998, Mr. Parker remained engaged in economic diplomacy. From 1999 to 2007 he was a consultant in the Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs on energy security, terrorist financing and cooperation with the European Union on the Broader Middle East and North Africa Initiative.

From 2008 to 2009 he was a senior analyst in the Combined Intelligence Operations Center in Baghdad. And from 2009 to 2015 he worked for the Joint Chiefs of Staff on emerging trends in the global economy and their implications for U.S. security interests.

Mr. Parker moved with his wife, Caroline Parker, to Wilmington, N.C., in April 2017.

He is survived by his wife and their two sons, Frank Parker of Shanghai, China, and Alexander Parker of Fairfax, Va.

■ **Alan Lewis Roecks**, 70, a retired Foreign Service officer, died on July 6 in Spokane, Wash.

Mr. Roecks was born on Feb. 15, 1947, in Spokane, Wash., to Bettie and Albert Roecks. He grew up on a wheat farm in Rock Creek Valley, where he spent summers helping his family. He attended Liberty High School in Spangle, Wash., and was active on the basketball and football teams, graduating in 1965 as salutatorian.

He went on to double major at Washington State University, earning degrees in

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psychology and mathematics. He earned a master's degree in counseling psychology at Gonzaga University, and went on to earn his Ph.D. at the University of Wisconsin. He also obtained a master's degree in strategic studies from the Army War College in Carlisle, Pa.

Mr. Roecks met his best friend and life partner, Jane Kvitle, at the University of Wisconsin, and the couple married in June 1976. They moved to San Antonio, Texas, where Mr. Roecks worked as a Department of Defense civilian with the Air Force.

In 1990, Mr. Roecks joined the Foreign Service with the Department of State. His first assignment was to Kinshasa. In 1992 he was posted to New Delhi.

There, during a trip to Calcutta (now Kolkata), Mr. Roecks had a private audience with Mother Teresa. It was one of the most influential moments in his life. Before leaving India, the Roecks completed their family, adopting a son, Adam, and a daughter, Jasmyn, from Mother Teresa's orphanage in New Delhi.

Mr. Roecks retired from the Foreign Service in 2012, and went on to found the Roecks-Kvitle Foundation. Service to others was a major tenet of Mr. Roecks' life. And through the foundation he started the Inland NW Bladder Cancer/Uroscopy support group to help others. The foundation also supported a tennis player from Ethiopia who went on to pursue his education in the United States.

He also enjoyed volunteering his time at the American Cancer Society counseling others who battled cancer.

Friends and family members remember Mr. Roecks as a service-oriented, adventurous and creative individual who led a rich life.

Mr. Roecks was preceded in death by his father, his brother Marc and his nephew Chad. He is survived by his wife, Jan; his son, Adam, and daughter, Jasmyn;

his mother, Bettie; his sister, Gayle (and her husband, Jeff Hanna); his brother, Eric (and his wife, Lu-Ann Branch); nephews Marc Jr., Brandon, Andrew and Nicholas; and nieces Nina, Becky and Danielle.

The family requests donations in his memory be made to the Liberty Humanitarian Scholarship or The American Cancer Society.

■ **Clint Ernest Smith**, 86, a retired Foreign Service officer, passed away peacefully on May 25 at his home in Palo Alto, Calif.

Mr. Smith was born in 1930 to Clint Galen Smith and Vene White Smith of Las Cruces, N.M. After graduating from Las Cruces High School, he earned his B.A. at the University of New Mexico, where he participated in the Naval ROTC program.

He served in the Navy from 1953 to 1956 on ships that went to Japan and Korea, and to the Marshall Islands (Bikini/Eniwetok) while nuclear tests were conducted. Following active military service he obtained a master's degree in communications and journalism at the University of California, Berkeley.

In 1957 Mr. Smith was selected to enter the Foreign Service, and in the same year he met Marilyn Sode, a graduate of U.C. Berkeley. They married on Oct. 19, 1957, and went on to enjoy a vital and loving partnership of 59 years.

Postings in Buenos Aires (1959-1961), Madrid (1963-1968), Mexico City (1971-1975), Lima (1975-1978) and Bucharest (1979-1981) were interspersed with periodic assignments in Washington, D.C.

As the Smiths moved their growing family from one post to another, Mr. Smith held positions in the economic, political, and consular sections. In 1962 he contributed to the sensitive work of photo-interpretation during the Cuban Missile Crisis.

During his diplomatic career he also

continued as an officer in the Naval Reserve, retiring at the rank of commander.

In 1981, after serving as political counselor in Bucharest, Mr. Smith retired from the Foreign Service and began a new career as a research scholar at Stanford University and a program officer for education with the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation.

He taught courses at Stanford as a consulting professor of Latin American studies and authored or co-edited multiple books, including two monographs, *The Disappearing Border* (Stanford Alumni Association, 1992) and *Inevitable Partnership* (Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc., 2000).

Mr. Smith also helped to launch initiatives such as Stanford's Project on United States-Mexico Relations, PROFMEX and the North American Forum. In more than 30 years of teaching, awarding foundation support and offering career advice, he fostered the success of many who gratefully recall his mentoring.

Mr. Smith is held in loving memory by his wife, Marilyn Sode Smith; his children Paula (Paul Tjossem) of Grinnell, Iowa; Rosemary (Charles Frederick Williams) of Pocatello, Idaho; Alexandra (Franz Brotzen) of Houston, Texas; and Clint Norman Smith (Elizabeth Arndorfer) of Palo Alto, Calif.; and seven grandchildren: Clara, Clint Thomas, Daley, Eric, Franz, Nora and Sode.

Charitable contributions in memory of Clint E. Smith may be directed to the Stanford University Women's Basketball program or to Planned Parenthood, two groups he appreciated and supported.

■ **Ulrich Alexander Straus, 90**, a retired Foreign Service officer and author, died on Aug. 25. He was a resident of Northport, Mich.

"Rick" Straus was born in Wurzburg,

Germany, to German Jewish parents, Hans and Clara (Itzig) Straus. In 1933 his family moved to Japan, where his father worked as an export manager for a phonograph and record company. He attended the American School in Tokyo until 1940, when the family immigrated to the United States and settled in New York City.

After attending the U.S. Army Japanese Language program at the University of Michigan, Mr. Straus served as a Japanese language officer at Gen. Douglas MacArthur's headquarters. He was a member of the prosecution staff at the Tokyo War Crimes Tribunal. Recalled to duty during the Korean War in 1951, he resumed his earlier responsibilities at G-2 (Intelligence) in Tokyo.

Mr. Straus earned his bachelor's degree in 1950 and his master's degree in 1951 from the University of Michigan. After teaching at his alma mater and the University of California and initiating studies as a Fulbright scholar in Japan, he joined the Foreign Service in 1957.

After two years at the Department of State, he married Sarah Wolcott in 1959 and, was assigned to Tokyo as a political officer. In 1965, he was transferred to Berlin as a political and labor officer, and returned to State in 1967 to serve as deputy director of the Office of Japanese Affairs.

In 1970 he was detailed to the erstwhile Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, and in 1973 was assigned to Rome to study at the North Atlantic Treaty Organization Defense College. Later that year, he was posted to Bern as a political officer.

In 1976 he returned to Washington to serve in the African Bureau. His last assignment overseas was as consul general in Okinawa from 1978 to 1982. There he fostered cooperation between the 50,000-strong United States military and the Japanese and Okinawan authorities.

He returned to State as director of the Office of Philippine Affairs during the regime of Ferdinand Marcos and the assassination of Benigno Aquino. He was later detailed to the faculty of the National War College.

In retirement, he served as an adjunct professor at The George Washington University, University of William and Mary, Johns Hopkins University, Georgetown University and the Foreign Service Institute.

He also facilitated visits for groups of District of Columbia and other state government officials to Japan through the Japan American Society of Washington, D.C. Mr. Straus resided in Japan for more than 20 years—as a child, in the U.S. Army and as a Foreign Service officer.

Mr. Straus researched and wrote *The Anguish of Surrender: Japanese POWs of World War II* (University of Washington Press, 2002). A volume in the DACOR-Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training "Diplomats and Diplomacy" series, it remains the only book on the subject. During the controversy in the United States over the use and efficacy of torture, he was pleased that his book was cited, since it demonstrated that torture was not required to elicit truthful information.

A decade after he retired, Mr. and Mrs. Straus moved to Northport, Mich. They enjoyed living "up north" for the scenery, climate and good neighbors. He was involved in the International Affairs Forum in Traverse City, Mich., and provided commentary for a radio program on Interlochen Public Radio.

Mr. Straus is survived by his wife, Sarah Wolcott Straus; his sons, Michael (and his wife, Christine) and John (and his wife, Michele); his daughter, Rebecca Straus; and four grandchildren, Christopher, Ian, Meg and Nathan. ■

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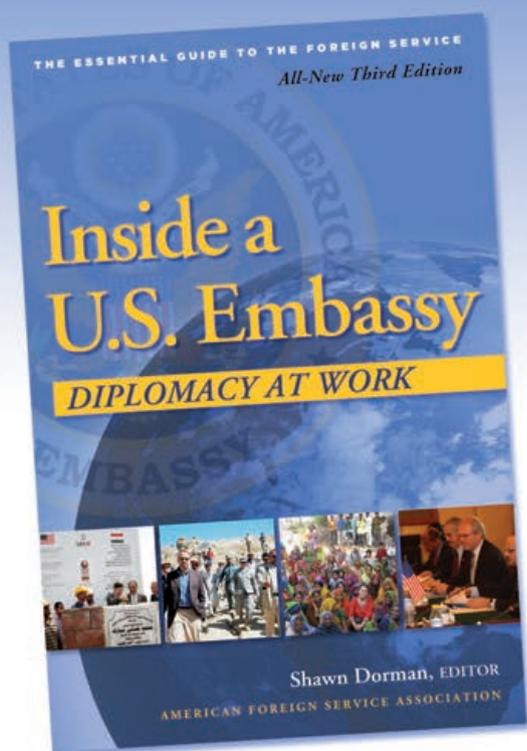


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# An Ambassador Returns to China

BY BEA CAMP

“I have the ambassador in the vault,” announced our consulate communicator; the ashes of John Leighton Stuart had arrived in Shanghai.

Soon after settling in as consul general in Shanghai in the fall of 2008, I had received an email from Under Secretary for Management Pat Kennedy informing me that Ambassador Stuart’s ashes were being shipped in the classified pouch from Washington.

The name of John Leighton Stuart, U.S. ambassador in Nanjing from 1946 to 1949, still resonates in China, where a famous essay by Mao Zedong proclaimed “Farewell, Leighton Stuart!” Celebrating Stuart’s departure after the Communists took control of mainland China, Mao called the ambassador “a symbol of the complete defeat of the U.S. policy of aggression.”

Thirty years would pass before we established relations with the People’s Republic of China and appointed another U.S. ambassador to serve there.

Born in China, the son of missionaries and the founder of Yenching University, Amb. Stuart had asked that his remains

be buried in China alongside his wife’s grave at Yenching, now the site of Beijing University.

When he died in 1962, Amb. Stuart was living with his long-time assistant Philip Fugh, who took on the obligation of fulfilling Stuart’s wish to be interred in China. Philip had twice traveled to China, in 1973 and 1984, seeking permission for burial at Beijing University. After Philip’s death, the jar of ashes passed to his son, John Fugh, along with the solemn obligation to return them to China.

For many years of diplomatic distrust between China and the United States., returning the ashes of the late ambassador proved impossible. As *The New York Times* reported, “Mr. Stuart’s own history is a window into the shifting sands of United States–China relations from the later years of the Qing dynasty to the rise of communism.”

But John Fugh, the first U.S. general of Asian descent, finally achieved a breakthrough after a meeting with Politburo member (and later president of China) Xi Jinping, who had been party boss in Zhejiang Province from 2002 to 2007.

While a Beijing burial was out of the question—and Mrs. Stuart’s grave had long since been obliterated—General Fugh obtained permission to inter the ashes in Hangzhou, capital of Zhejiang Province and Stuart’s birthplace.

I learned most of this in the van taking me, my husband, Gen. Fugh and his wife, June Fugh, to Hangzhou, along with the box containing Amb. Stuart’s ashes. On the way we also found out that the very

companionable June Fugh, who seemed uncannily familiar, was the sister of long-time broadcaster Connie Chung, with her own fascinating family tale.

Ambassador Sandy Randt flew from Beijing to Hangzhou for the interment, which took place at a new official cemetery outside the city. Nearby, we were surprised to notice, stood the grave of the Chinese fighter pilot, Lt. Cdr. Wang Wei, who died after colliding with an American EP-3 in 2001.

The American crew members had been forced to make an emergency landing on Hainan; Wang Wei’s body was never found. We speculated whether the Chinese decision to place Amb. Stuart near a military officer honored as “Guardian of Territorial Airspace and Waters” was a poke in the eye, or another symbol of reconciliation.

At Stuart’s gravesite we were startled to hear from somewhere behind us the strains of “Amazing Grace,” followed by the “Star Spangled Banner.” A group of elderly Yenching grads revealed after the ceremony that they had hidden a tape recorder in the bushes, correctly surmising that the Hangzhou *waiban* (Foreign Affairs Office) would not provide any musical accompaniment.

I never figured out how the old alums learned of the ceremony, but their devotion to the man who founded their university 100 years earlier was a wonderful symbol of an enduring people-to-people relationship, unbroken despite years of war, isolation and diplomatic antagonism. ■



*Bea Camp retired in 2015 from a Foreign Service career that took her to China, Thailand, Sweden and Hungary, in addition to assignments at the department and at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C. The opinions and characterizations in this piece are those of the author and do not necessarily represent official positions of the U.S. government.*



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This photo was taken in early June at 9:01 p.m. from a pedestrian bridge, called the Blue Bridge, that runs through Saint James's Park in London. At the center is the London Eye, Europe's tallest Ferris wheel, which sits on the South Bank of the Thames River. Pictured at its center, as if framed, is Britain's Foreign and Commonwealth Office. In the foreground, slightly offset to the left, you can see parts of both 10 Downing Street and, farther left, the stables of the Queen's Horse Guards. ■

*Brittany McAnally, a professional photographer from Nashville, Tennessee, is posted at U.S. Embassy Ljubljana with her husband, a U.S. Army foreign area officer. She took this photo with a Nikon D610 and a 2470 Tamron lens.*

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