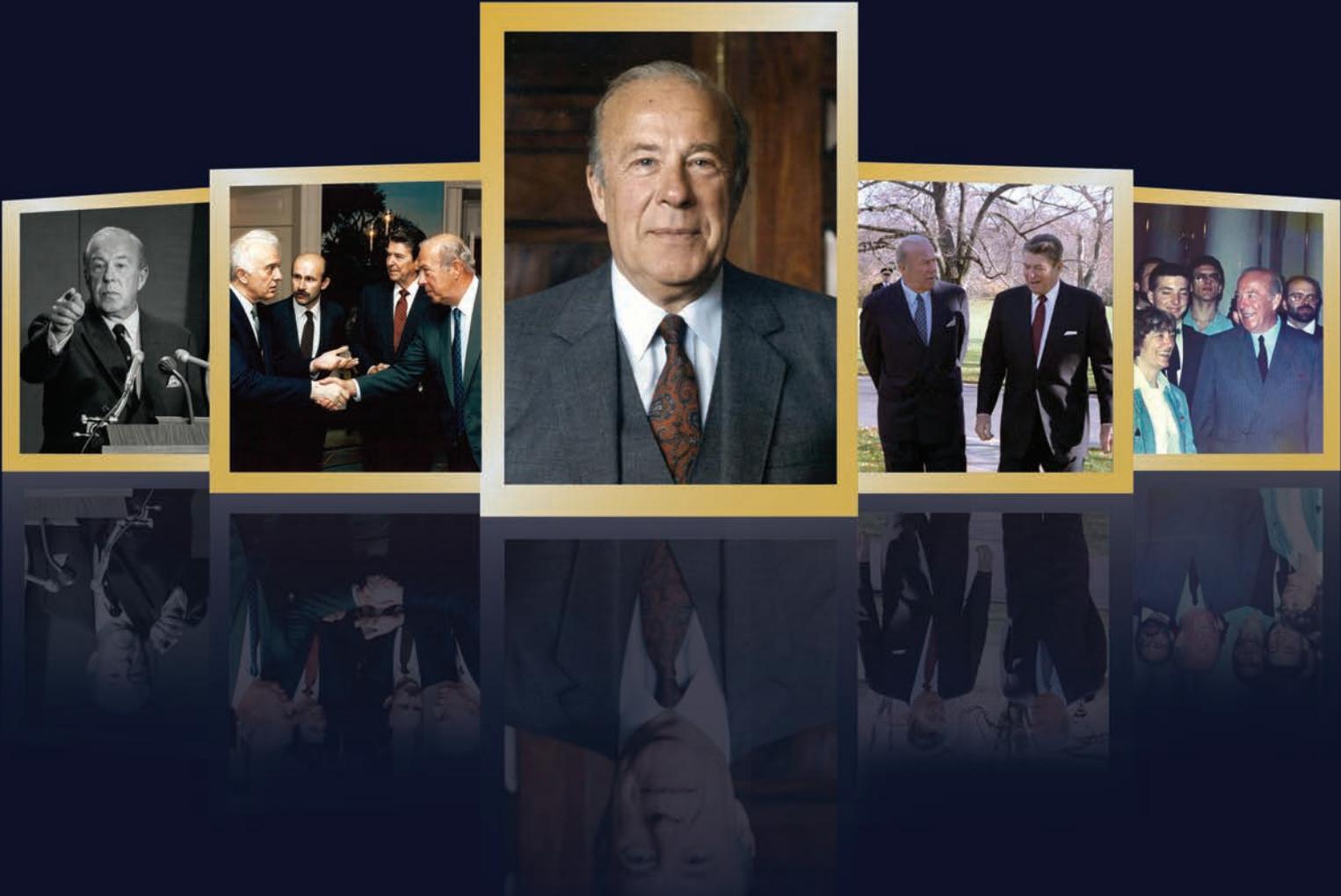


# THE FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

PUBLISHED BY THE AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION

NOVEMBER 2020



GEORGE SHULTZ "ON TRUST"

IN THEIR OWN WRITE

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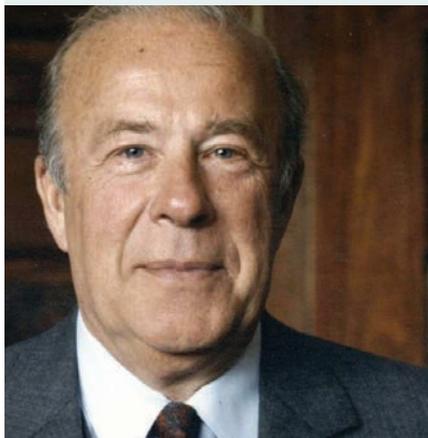
CHURCH SCHOOLS IN THE  
DIOCESE OF VIRGINIA



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November 2020 Volume 97, No. 9

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# A Message from George Shultz to the Foreign Service

BY ERIC RUBIN

We are honored to share in this month's *FSJ* a superb essay by former Secretary of State George Shultz on the occasion of his 100th birthday. In it, he asks that we take another look at training and education in the Foreign Service as a requirement for the kind of strategic thinking needed going forward.

He notes that the U.K. has established a diplomatic academy and urges that we consider much greater training and preparation for members of the Service, both at the beginning of their careers and at various stages along the way.

Secretary Shultz asks that we stop stigmatizing education and training as “non-promotable” endeavors and instead treat them as essential experiences for promotion, as the U.S. military does. His ideas bring to mind the efforts of former Secretary of State Colin Powell to create a “training float” to ensure that all State Department employees have ample time and opportunity to expand their skill sets and broaden their horizons.

The training float never took hold, as the Foreign Service instead had to surge to cover the post-9/11 wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. The years since have seen

more resource cuts than increases, more retrenchment than expansion, and more crises than periods of calm and reflec-

tion. We are nowhere near achieving Secretary Powell's objectives, or those of Secretary Shultz.

We at AFSA strongly endorse Secretary Shultz's vision. We also salute him for the essential contributions he made toward obtaining funding for building the National Foreign Affairs Training Center, now appropriately named for him in honor of his determination to see it happen.

Early in his tenure as Secretary, Shultz was taken aback by his first tour of the shabby, cramped rented FSI buildings in Rosslyn, and committed himself to replacing them with a campus worthy of our nation and its public servants. The National Foreign Affairs Training Center thus came to be. Our debt to Secretary Shultz for seeing this project through is enormous and enduring.

Secretary Shultz was an experienced manager and leader, and his confidence in and support for the people who worked for him was demonstrated on many occasions. I recall one incident vividly.

During my first year in the Foreign Service, shortly before Christmas 1985, Secretary Shultz publicly threatened to resign if the Reagan administration went ahead with plans to require all federal employees with Top Secret clearances to undergo polygraph testing.

The planned testing would have covered nearly 200,000 federal employees, including almost 5,000 in the Foreign

Service. Secretary Shultz objected strongly, maintaining that polygraphs were inaccurate and unreliable, and that showing such a clear lack of confidence in the integrity of our patriotic public servants was unfair and unwarranted.

In public comments, he said that if State Department employees had to take polygraphs, he would take the first one and then resign his post the next day. The Reagan administration backed off.

Secretary Shultz's determined action to defend and protect his employees resounds to this day as an example of leadership, one that is captured in a Harvard Business School case study. How fitting that his article in this month's *FSJ* is called “On Trust.”

Secretary Shultz also laments the loss of bipartisanship and nonpartisanship in our foreign policy, and he urges that we return to the idea of achieving a broad consensus on our relations with the world based on shared values and objectives. We at AFSA share that vision.

It is likely that our elections will have taken place before you read this column. I hope that they go smoothly, and that we can once again be a model to the world of how decisions are taken and leaders are chosen democratically, by the voters.

I remain convinced that the rest of the world needs America, and that America needs the rest of the world. May the next year be one of success in our nation's engagement with the world in support of our country's security and prosperity. ■



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

**Editor-in-Chief, Director of Publications**  
Shawn Dorman: [dorman@afsa.org](mailto:dorman@afsa.org)

**Senior Editor**  
Susan Brady Maitra: [maitra@afsa.org](mailto:maitra@afsa.org)

**Managing Editor**  
Kathryn Owens: [owens@afsa.org](mailto:owens@afsa.org)

**Associate Editor**  
Cameron Woodworth: [woodworth@afsa.org](mailto:woodworth@afsa.org)

**Publications Coordinator**  
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## CONTACTS



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**AFSA Headquarters:**  
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# Tending the Garden

BY SHAWN DORMAN

There's so much in this issue worth highlighting—from the bountiful collection of books by FS authors this year to the bold Speaking Out from six Black women diplomats, and from the remarkable account of discovering overlooked diplomats to the heartbreaking look at Africa's Sahel region. We even get a glimpse of Nuuk from the new Arctic envoy.

And yet it's the cover story I want to focus on in this letter, because it offers the chance to share a heartfelt thank you and happy 100th birthday from the Foreign Service to a legendary Secretary of State, George Shultz. We could not be more pleased, and honored, that George Shultz chose to write an essay to the Foreign Service for publication in *The Foreign Service Journal* on his centennial.

"On Trust" is a timely message on what is needed now in U.S. diplomacy.

George Shultz believes in the Foreign Service and in the everyday work of building and maintaining relationships. He has often compared diplomacy to gardening, a wise analogy that bears repeating now. In an interview with Jim Goodby for the December 2016 *FSJ*, Shultz spelled it out:

"If you plant a garden and go away for six months, what have you got when you come back? Weeds. And any good gardener knows you have to clear the weeds out right away. Diplomacy is kind of like that. You go around and talk to people,

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



you develop a relationship of trust and confidence, and then if something comes up, you have that base to work from.

"For example, I got to know Wu Xueqian, who was the Chinese foreign minister, and we had a good relationship. I remember him saying to me once: 'OK, George, you wanted to get to this point, and you are trying to go about it in a certain way. That way is very hard for us, but if you can come at it in a little different way, we can get where you want to go.'

"I said, fine, and we did. But that kind of progress does not happen unless you have gardened."

I'd wager that any U.S. diplomat who was in the Service in the late 1980s remembers when George Shultz was Secretary of State with nostalgia and admiration for how he practiced diplomacy. His example is woven into the fabric of our collective experiences of the past 40 years.

When I was a college intern on the Soviet Desk, I helped update the lists of refuseniks—primarily Jews in the USSR who had been denied the right to emigrate—that Secretary Shultz would regularly share with the Soviet Foreign Ministry during high-level meetings,

requesting attention to those cases, freedom for those people.

During one of his visits to Moscow, in February 1988, he attended a reception for refuseniks at an embassy residence. As he worked the room, he greeted the guests individually. He knew their names, and he told them he was working for their freedom. This was human rights work, up close and personal. It was inspiring.

I was helping out at that reception (then in Moscow as a nanny and local hire for the political section). When the Secretary stopped to greet a couple I was talking with, he mistook me for their daughter and said he had just been talking about us in Seattle. The photographers in tow captured the moment.

What was remarkable was that Shultz knew who Yelena and Ilya Bezprozvani were, and he knew their case. That was typical; that was George Shultz, and it meant so much.

Eventually, just about everyone on his lists was allowed to emigrate.

May we all keep his legacy in mind as we continue the vital work of tending the global garden. ■

## Another Antiquated Rule

I fully agree with Ted Craig (“Why ‘27 Years and Out’ Should Be Retired,” September *FSJ*) that there are some antiquated rules on retirement from the Foreign Service that need to be updated.

The Foreign Service Act of 1980 also established mandatory retirement from the Foreign Service at age 65. At the time of the law’s enactment, the typical age to receive full Social Security retirement benefits was also 65.

That age has since increased, based on the year an

individual is born. For example, an individual born in 1962 is now eligible for full Social Security retirement benefits at age 67, not 65.

And yet, the general health and mental acuity of the U.S. population has improved since 1980. One-third of the U.S. working population intends to work until age 70 or older. Further, our current president is 74 years old; nearly half of U.S. senators are over 65; and approximately 150 of 435 members of the U.S. House of Representatives are also over 65.

The forced retirement of able-bodied, medically cleared, highly qualified Foreign Service personnel at the “old” retirement age of 65 should be changed to align with current Social Security Administration retirement age equivalents.

Certainly, many in the Foreign Service will still want to retire after age 50 with 20 years of service. But many of us want to extend our professional careers a few years longer without the need to reestab-

## Tribute to a Foreign Service Childhood

My father, Edward M. Cohen, a Foreign Service officer from 1959 until 1991, died two and a half years ago. I am grateful to him for the wonderful childhood his career in the Foreign Service gave me.

Like other Foreign Service “brats,” my childhood was shaped by the various countries we lived in. I wrote this poem as a tribute to the FS lifestyle and thought it might resonate with others whose childhoods were spent in a series of foreign lands.

### *My Life as a Musical Medley*

Exotic strains of sitar  
plaintively insinuating  
the “otherness” of  
my early childhood  
in Bangladesh

Followed by a  
strident Sousa march  
as I proclaim  
my rightful Americanness  
in the U.S.

And then a cosmic DJ  
scratching my high school years  
in Ecuador:  
salsa and disco  
bible school and hitchhiking  
Straight As and my first beer

College  
the twang  
of country music  
out of sync  
in an elite New England locale:  
country roads don’t take me  
home  
because there is no place I belong

The musical theater of  
marriage and family and job  
the same story often told  
but unique because it is mine

And now  
My jazz years  
No set rhythm

It’s all improvisation, man.

—Wendy N. Cohen, Falls Church, Virginia

lish ourselves in the employment market at age 65.

I hope AFSA will consider leading an effort to amend the Foreign Service Act of 1980 to extend the mandatory retirement age from 65 to 70 and amend the Time-in-Service years to something more appropriate.

*John R. Ezell*

*USAID FSO*

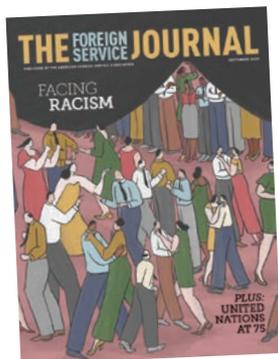
*Dar es Salaam, Tanzania*

## Bunche and Yost: Colleagues, Friends

I am delighted that the *Journal* has drawn attention to Ralph Bunche, an often-forgotten pioneer of the civil rights

movement, and vital member of the United Nations (“Ralph J. Bunche, U.N. Architect,” September). My father, Ambassador Charles W. Yost, and Bunche worked together at the Dumbarton Oaks and San Francisco conferences prior to meeting at the United Nations in the 1960s.

There was, however, another earlier experience they shared. Both were accused of being communist sympathizers and interrogated by loyalty boards during the 1950s. Both answered that they were indignant at having their service and loyalty to their country questioned; and though they were cleared, it was a humiliating and damaging experience that neither forgot.





In 1961, when President John F. Kennedy assigned my father to serve as deputy to U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Adlai Stevenson, he was delighted to learn that he would be collaborating with Bunche, who was working across the street as Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs. As Sir Brian Urquhart wrote to me: “Your father and Bunche, who did not take people into his confidence easily, became close friends and partners.”

Necessity drove Bunche and my father to take their friendship to another level. Though the two had a great affection for Amb. Stevenson, they soon realized that he was no longer the incisive and energetic young man they had worked with in San Francisco. As a result, Bunche decided to stay in regular contact with my father over matters of mutual concern in late-night calls to our apartment. “Their frequent talks,” says Urquhart, “were a model of relevance, understanding, analysis and constructive thinking.”

Neither man was happy about going behind Stevenson’s back, but both men knew that their first duty was to the United Nations, and in my father’s case also to the U.S. government. When Ralph Bunche announced his retirement (on account of medical issues), he recommended to U.N. Secretary General U Thant that my father replace him. ■

*Felicity O. Yost  
United Nations, retired  
Honolulu, Hawaii*

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# Stay Focused on the Consequences

BY VICTOR MARSH

The September *FSJ*'s dual focus on race inside the Department of State and the 75th anniversary of the United Nations is poetic.

First, Julie Chung's and Patrice Johnson's reflections were so poignant. I did not know that other Pickering Fellows felt a sense of (manageable) loss, too. To have an achievement of merit (achieved for me at the tender age of 19) be so derided by fellow policy nerds whom I genuinely like as individuals was painful, but we worked through it.

What I now know about tacit social support is that it helps psychologically to know you are not alone. I would still be an FSO today, had I only known that others saw what I was seeing. At the very least, I have rejoined as a paying member of AFSA and urge others who departed to do the same.

Second, if you are a Black Detroiter raised in the 1990s, and you see Ralph Bunche's contributions to the United Nations highlighted—you are intrigued. Detroiters claim Bunche.

If you are a kid reading *Foreign Affairs* and *The Economist* in the seventh grade and winning citywide Black History Facts competitions in the first quarter of each

---

*Victor Marsh is a doctoral candidate at the University of Colorado–Boulder's organizational leadership and information analytics program (May 2021, expected). At State, Marsh was in the Foreign Service from 2007 to 2015 as an economic reporting officer. His languages are Turkish, taxicab Cantonese and Mandarin. He served in Hong Kong, the Operations Center, on the Haiti desk and as political section chief in Cyprus.*

year (imagine the grandfather from “My Big Fat Greek Wedding” explaining all Greek inventions), knowing the story of Ralph Bunche reaches the level of obsession.

As an undergraduate, I even used my peacekeeping research project to wiggle my narrow behind into Ralph Bunche's famous brown leather “thinking chair” at the U.N. Department of Peacekeeping Operations. (Salman Ahmad did not find this to be professional, but being dignified was not this fanboy's goal.)

Move aside State Department librarians, Brian Urquhart and James Dandridge II! Despite your excellent written works on Bunche, I am the (unpublished) #1 fan!

I believe that Ralph Bunche was an “ethical consequentialist”—one who prized the quiet achievement of racial justice results over the expression of his own personal feelings. He negotiated with racists all the time.

In his first mission, Bunche was charged with the liquidation of colonialism (and you thought your first tour was bad). Like the original utilitarian, Niccolò Machiavelli, Bunche was willing to say whatever it took to achieve his decolonization objective.

Bunche even deployed flattery to get colonizers to come along quietly as he removed the jewels from their imperial crowns. He said: “It cannot be questioned that the colonial regimes of the United Kingdom, France, and the Netherlands have brought much progress to the dependent people of the Far East. ... The issue, then, resolves itself into questions of timing, acceleration of progress toward self-rule, and the mechanisms that may be devised to speed up the process of

colonial liquidation and to discharge the obligation of accountability.”

What drives consequentialism is probably a need to manage one's power dependence. The State Department's minorities therefore want to see results, not intentions. Managing objective power gaps in his volatile neighborhood was the task that a besieged Machiavelli had before him in Florence and what Bunche faced in the work of decolonization.

In the United States, Bunche and his people were (are?) besieged, too. We are surrounded by people who are stumbling in their execution of anti-racist work.

Here are some examples of what feels good (but may not be so good):

- Mandatory diversity training helps send the signal that “we mean business” to some audiences. But it correlates, counterintuitively, with a sharp reduction of Black women, Asian men and women in management across the U.S. economy (see [bit.ly/why-diversity-programs-fail](https://bit.ly/why-diversity-programs-fail)).

- A 14th precept, for “diversity,” would feel virtuous. Yet this kind of “diversity evaluation” correlates, counterintuitively, with significant declines in white women reaching leadership ranks (see [bit.ly/rage-against-the-iron-cage](https://bit.ly/rage-against-the-iron-cage)).

- Listening to employee affinity groups engaging in free labor to fix State feels satisfying. But more free labor could mean minorities' promotion rates will decrease.

- The Qualifications Evaluations Panel feels virtuous and meritocratic, to look at people's résumés rather than rely on tests.

- The current FSOA (oral assessment) feels virtuous and meritocratic, as it tests our ability to interact inside an American embassy office setting.



• Recruitment campaigns feel illogical when we have long lists on the register of people ready to fill our jobs.

Like Bunche, I remain focused on the consequences. A results-focused, evidence-driven diversity package challenges the virtuous ideas above:

• Blinding processes for EERs, eliminating names and using “they” for gender are hard to do, but better than diversity training.

• Converting the Y-tour diversity coordinator jobs at powerful regional bureaus into full-time jobs is a better approach than relying on EAGs, volunteer minority groups whose extra work helps senior officials pretend to consult minorities, or a 14th precept, which only encourages creative writing by those seeking promotion.

• The FSOT (written test) has test-retest validity, but it is unlikely to be valid as a predictor of job performance. Let’s study the correlations with career track rankings in employee PARs (performance ability reports) to find out.

• The FSOA is coachable and does not test how you get along with foreigners. Could an assessment center help fix this?

• Deliberately targeted recruitment would let us find people who are high on conscientiousness (get the papers done) and high on emotional stability (be ready for expeditionary work), rather than just being high on proactivity (signing up for FSOT and FSOA tests).

Virtue ethics—the praise for our internal intentions and character—permeates our culture. Bunche achieved the unthinkable at an amazing pace by valuing one result, the liquidation of colonialism, as his North Star. By contrast, our comic book heroes battle those whose nature is bad. I hope that we at the State Department will accept another pathway to living meritocratically, the path of results and evidence. ■

# No Quick Fixes

BY ALEX KARAGIANNIS

**K**udos to the *Journal* for dedicating the September issue to diversity, inclusion and engagement. Individually and collectively, the articles highlight that whatever progress the State Department has made, it still has further to go.

Sadly, and ironically, the Foreign Service does reflect America, an America of systemic racial disparities in opportunities and outcomes. To use only one metric, the website Black Demographics points out that whereas 34 percent of whites have bachelor’s degrees, the figure for Blacks is 24 percent; according to Department of Education statistics, Hispanics, though catching up to Blacks, still trail a bit behind.

The gap is even wider in advanced degrees between whites and minorities (other than Asians), resulting in an uneven playing field in the competitive war for talent in both the private and public sectors.

The Foreign Service has yet to make itself the go-to career choice for minorities. Overhauling and resourcing the advertising, recruitment and social media platforms, when combined with sustained senior political commitment, would boost the visibility and attractiveness of an FS career for potential candidates.

More broadly, the department needs to work harder and think more creatively

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*Alex Karagiannis retired from the Foreign Service in November 2017 with the rank of Minister Counselor. His last assignment was as senior adviser to the Director General of the Foreign Service and Director of Human Resources.*

to change the trajectory for minorities. Unlike the recruitment challenges, where the Foreign Service faces many competitors and is one of many possible options for candidates, the department’s internal operations regarding diversity, inclusion and engagement are directly under its control. Painful to say, however, there are no quick fixes here.

Numerous academic and consultancy studies point out that most organizations’ leadership development and diversity programs fail; too many are ill-designed and poorly executed. Worse, even many detailed analytic studies of State have not generated specific actionable suggestions that would yield both near-term results and enduring long-term success.

For all its rigor, neither the Government Accountability Office report on State’s diversity record nor, apparently, a separate Deloitte study (still under wraps) makes practical recommendations that would appreciably change diversity numbers or engagement scores (see my LinkedIn post, “Reviewing GAO Study on State Department Diversity: Greater Clarity Needed,” [bit.ly/reviewing-GAO-study](https://bit.ly/reviewing-GAO-study)). Repeated calls for midlevel entry programs, for example, do not account for the reality that potential candidate pools are overwhelmingly non-minority.

Of the *Journal* articles, some suggestions are spot on; others either miss the mark or create more complexity without addressing fundamental issues. For example:

• Extending Time-in-Service (TIS) by three years could perpetuate cur-

rent demographic over-representation instead of rebalancing it.

- Additional Time-in-Class (TIC) for Board of Examiner assignments does nothing for promotability, which is what employees want.

- A new or more expansive decisional criterion for promotion, based on commitment to minority recruitment, retention, promotion and professional development of subordinates, would add to an already dense mix of precepts that few employees fully absorb now.

It would also create requirements over which raters and reviewers do not have control (e.g., selection boards make promotion decisions). And with Black FSOs representing only 6 percent of the officer corps, it would not change the competitive landscape for assignments in the 275 overseas posts and many domestic bureaus.

The supply and demand equation means that some offices, no matter how much effort they expend, may not be that attractive to minorities. Of course, they should make maximum effort, but the outcomes are still uncertain.

- Having the chief diversity officer report to the Secretary of State rather than the Deputy Secretary is an organizational chart formality that does not change actual practice.

Many of the individual ideas in the articles have merit, but they would not move the institutional needle by much. In contrast, Patrice Johnson's call for systemic changes in performance management and assignments, if implemented, would be a much more effective means to propel progress.

It is time for bold and fundamental changes. Realistically, some will take time to play out before they produce the results we all want to see. That is why urgency is necessary to conceive and

engineer deep reforms. Being clear-eyed about structural misalignments and shortcomings and hard-headed about genuine solutions, and having a tenacious, relentless commitment to overhaul creaky systems and embedded

cultural norms are all necessary.

With the compelling imperative for change, the FS must focus on the most consequential reforms as the first-order priority. Systemic problems require systemic solutions. ■

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## The Ability to Connect

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BY DIANE MITCHELL HENRY

**T**he world is still grappling with the challenges of the coronavirus pandemic and global protest to end systemic racism. The waves of global solidarity in response to these dilemmas have affected all sectors of life. In this new level of activism, the message resounds: "Enough is enough."

It is not rocket science to know what is right and reject what is wrong in 2020. Now is the time for the international community leadership to deploy solutions that dismantle systemic racism and establish equity.

We salute *The Foreign Service Journal* for focusing on solutions to the lack of diversity in the foreign affairs agencies.

American Women for International Understanding, at awiu.org, is a nonprofit organization established in 1968 to contribute to solutions to systemic oppression around the world. As the organization states on its website: "American Women for International Understanding champions a more just, economically sound and humane society around the

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*Diane Mitchell Henry is founder and chair of the American Women for International Understanding's Career Opportunities for International Relations program.*

globe. Our advocacy begins with a strong foundation here at home, where racism and discrimination have no place. Our mission drives us to build a better world with understanding, compassion and respect for all."

As chair of the AWIU Greater Los Angeles County Chapter since 2012, and founder and chair of the AWIU Career Opportunities for International Relations program (COIR), I have been deeply involved in advancing global exposure for young people from underrepresented communities to become change agents for social and economic equity.

COIR is an empowerment leadership initiative for global engagement for high school students, college students and young adults who are interested in internships, travel and working in international relations, diplomacy and the global corporate world.

Participants in COIR convene in distinguished locations in Washington, D.C., and observe conversations between global icons. They interact with panelists working in various international relations and global careers and professions. They interact with public and private global organization mentors and recruiters in networking sessions, and also network with like-minded youth.

Racist disparities have affected our ability to connect with underrepresented communities regarding participation in the COIR program.

As Ramona Harper, a retired Senior Foreign Service officer who is instrumental in mentoring COIR participants, once said: “Systemic racism and educational and cultural inequities have created a situation in the United States in which African Americans are in a deficit when it comes to thinking of themselves as global citizens. Before you can even fantasize about an international career, there needs to be an exposure to international living through travel experiences and other direct experiences of living abroad.”

Patricia Mitchell, a City Year Alumna of AmeriCorps, adds: “Having recruit-

ers go into the under-represented feeder schools and communities for targeted students; looking for recruits straight from the source; and providing them with the proper training and resources to fit the needs of the programs would create results for inclusion.”

The American Foreign Service Association has played a role in COIR by providing pertinent literature (including copies of its book, *Inside a U.S. Embassy*) and Foreign Service speakers.

It would be great if the association could expand its role, for instance by attending career day and other gatherings involving underrepresented schools and organizations; by collaborating with COIR to extend invitations to clubs and organizations of the underrepresented

for events hosted by AFSA and the State Department; or by facilitating the selection of two students from Southeast Washington, D.C., to receive a summer internship position at the State Department.

Further, as Ambassador (ret.) Ruth A. Davis has often pointed out, it isn’t enough to increase the numbers from underrepresented communities being taken in; these new diplomats must be retained and developed. Here the promotion system, unconscious bias and the awards programs must all be looked at.

Going forward, dismantling global oppression and racism with concrete action must be the mission of the U.S. Foreign Service, both internally and in our foreign policy. ■



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## Pew Survey: U.S. Credibility Plummetes Globally

The public image of the United States has plummeted, in part over concerns about the country's handling of the coronavirus. This is the main finding from the U.S. Global Image and Anti-Americanism survey of 14 nations released by the Pew Research Center on Sept. 15. All of the countries surveyed are wealthy democracies.

"In several countries, the share of the public with a favorable view of the U.S. is as low as it has been at any point since the Center began polling on this topic nearly two decades ago," according to Pew.

For example, only 41 percent of people polled in the United Kingdom viewed the United States favorably, the lowest percentage of any Pew survey there. (The U.K.'s favorability rating for the United States has reached as high as 83 percent, in 2000, according to Pew.) In France, only 31 percent of those polled have a favorable view of the United States.

## Pew Research Center

Combined, only 15 percent of those polled in the 13 countries think the United States has done a good job handling the coronavirus.

According to the survey, respondents had less confidence in President Donald Trump "to do the right thing regarding world affairs" compared to other world leaders. A median of 76 percent across the nations polled have confidence in German Chancellor Angela Merkel, compared to 64 percent for French President Emmanuel Macron, 48 percent for British Prime Minister Boris Johnson, 23 percent for Russian President Vladimir Putin, 19 percent for Chinese President Xi Jinping and 16 percent for President Trump.

## Contemporary Quote

**ee** I am very worried that the cracks in the firewall are going to just destroy the whole image of USAGM [U.S. Agency for Global Media]. Our reputation for telling the truth has been a core element of our strength as a nation. Now, it is in danger, putting at risk not only our national values, but also our national security. **”**

—Ambassador (ret.) Ryan Crocker, a former board member for the U.S. Agency for Global Media, speaking before a House Foreign Affairs Committee hearing, "Oversight of the U.S. Agency for Global Media and U.S. International Broadcasting Efforts," Sept. 24.

## Chicago Council: Americans Want World Engagement

**S**olid majorities of Americans continue to support U.S. security alliances and free trade "as the best ways to maintain safety and prosperity," according to the survey released Sept. 17 by the Chicago Council on Global Affairs. Most Americans also believe that globalization is good for the United States, the survey found.

At the same time, Democrats and Republicans are divided on which foreign policy issues matter most. "Generally speaking, Democrats prefer an internationalist approach: cooperating with other countries, amplifying U.S. participation in international organizations and agreements, and providing aid to other nations," the council found.

"In contrast, Republicans prefer a nationalist approach: putting U.S. interests above those of other countries, creating economic self-sufficiency, and taking a unilateral approach to diplomacy and global engagement."

The council found that 58 percent of Republicans prefer "to be self-sufficient as a nation so we don't need to depend on others," while 18 percent of Democrats feel that way.

Sixty-eight percent of Americans believe that "it will be best for the future

of the country if we take an active part in world affairs," compared to 30 percent who think it's better if the United States stays out of world affairs.

The council reports that Democrats and Republicans "are worlds apart" on what are the most important foreign policy issues facing the nation. Eighty-seven percent of Democrats see the pandemic as a critical threat, while 75 percent cite global warming as a crucial challenge. And seven in 10 Democrats are worried about foreign interference in U.S. elections.

Republicans, on the other hand, are more worried about traditional security challenges, such as China's rise as a global power (67 percent), international terrorism (62 percent) and Iran's nuclear program (61 percent).

## State Expands Diversity Fellowships

**T**he State Department announced Sept. 1 that it will increase annual intake for both Pickering and Rangel Fellowships by 50 percent—from 30 to 45 fellows per program per year. The change will take effect in 2021.

In a Sept. 1 press statement announcing the increase, Secretary of State Mike Pompeo said the State Department "is committed to creating a more diverse and inclusive workforce." The department, he

said, is also working to finalize its Diversity and Inclusion Strategic Plan to guide its work over the next two years.

ABC News reported Sept. 1 that Amb. (ret.) Thomas Pickering earlier this summer had proposed doubling the number of participants in the fellowship program that bears his name.

“It has to begin with the Secretary of State making a statement to all of our employees, not only about the importance and the attention to diversity in the Foreign Service, but setting forth some guiding principles,” Pickering told ABC News.

Pickering also called for more Foreign Service recruitment at Historically Black Colleges and Universities, appointing a chief diversity officer and requiring diverse officials on promotions panels.

Diversity advocates praised the decision, but some said it is a modest step,

and the Foreign Service must do more to increase hiring and retention of minorities.

“Great news but again this alone will be insufficient in addressing the real racial, diversity, and inclusion issues at @StateDept,” former Foreign Service Officer Desirée Cormier Smith tweeted on Sept. 1.

“As a former Pickering [Fellow], I know firsthand its value. If it weren’t for the fellowship I would have never even known about the Foreign Service nor would I have been able to afford to go to grad school,” she noted. “But the program shouldn’t be used as a prop to avoid addressing systemic problems.”

“Over the years, the department has taken steps to expand the fellowships exponentially, but new fellows will succeed only if the department decides that ensuring their long-term career success—and the project of normalizing diversity

at the State Department—is everyone’s responsibility,” Ana Escrogima, Lia Miller and Christina Tilghman, three former Pickering fellows, wrote in the September *Foreign Service Journal* as quoted in the ABC story.

## State DG Testifies on Diversity

Carol Perez, the State Department’s Director General, testified before a subcommittee of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs Sept. 22 about the agency’s efforts to expand diversity. She said State is working hard to figure out how to improve recruitment and retention of minority groups.

The proportion of minorities in the Foreign Service does not reflect American demographics. A January Government Accountability Office report noted that African Americans represented 7 percent

## 50 Years Ago

### The Nixon Doctrine and Beyond

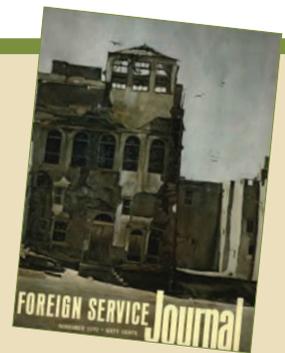
The question of implementing a low posture policy is one of relinquishing power. The United States has never looked at its position as an imperial one, but to a great extent the nation did fulfill the imperial role of maintaining security and minimum order on a worldwide basis. How can we divest ourselves of part of this role without seeming to incur a defeat in the traditional concepts of international politics? How can we get down from the tiger?

The move toward a low posture in U.S. policy has been generally accepted by our fellow actors on the international stage, but their acceptance has resulted in no small part from the lack of specifics in the Nixon Doctrine. A little wishful thinking can go a long way in estimating the impact that a change in U.S. policy will have. We must expect that our allies will seek to avoid doing many of the jobs that must ultimately fall to them. Few will willingly take over costly and unpleasant duties that we have performed previ-

ously, and we shall sometimes have to play the role of a drill sergeant in calling for “volunteers.” Having gotten our volunteers, however, it will be hard to restrain ourselves when our allies do not do their job the way we would do it and may even seem to be failing.

The temptation to retrieve deteriorating situations—to intervene “just a little bit” to save a country from its own shortcomings—will be great. But we must, as a senior administration official recently said, get over the idea that the security and development of other countries are more important to us than to the countries themselves.

—Thomas P. Thornton, former chief of the Bureau of Intelligence and Research’s South Asian Division, excerpted from an article of the same title in the November 1970 FSJ.



of the Foreign Service in 2018, while their percentage of the population, according to the U.S. Census Bureau in July 2019, was 13.4. And as of September, only four out of 189 U.S. ambassadors were Black American career diplomats, and only four were Hispanic career diplomats.

Rep. Joaquin Castro (D-Texas), chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs' Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations, called the hearing to explore the department's efforts to improve diversity. He said the key to improving diversity is to ensure that promotions are distributed equitably.

"The biggest challenge is not in recruiting racial and ethnic minorities, but in retaining and promoting them," he said. "During the promotion process, women and people of color don't have equal access or chances of advancement."

In her prepared opening statement, Director General Perez said: "I would like to emphasize that these issues are of great personal significance to me, and

I've worked to advance them in my 17 months on the job as Director General. Yet never in my almost 33-year career have I seen such passion on the part of employees, of all backgrounds, for creating an environment where we are listening to each other as a community as I have over the past two months.

"Like our nation, our workforce has been rattled by the pain of long-standing wounds and the opening of new ones with the horrific killing of George Floyd," she continued. "We're at an inflection point in our nation's history, the history of our Service, and the Department. The Department is part of the broader fabric of American society, and like our nation, the Department must acknowledge its own checkered history. We are not exempt from the racial and social justice challenges that our nation has experienced since its inception. Women, Black Americans, Hispanic Americans, People of Color, and LGBTQ Americans, among others, have fought valiantly for

the opportunity to serve our country in the Foreign Service and, more broadly, at the Department.

"Thanks to the efforts of courageous employees, congressional support, and the advent of our Pickering Fellowship in the 1990s and the Rangel Fellowship a decade later, we've made important advances. But we remain a work in progress, and we still have work to do before we fully represent America."

## Combating Race and Sex Stereotyping?

On the same day Director General Perez testified, Sept. 22, the White House issued an executive order on "Combating Race and Sex Stereotyping." This followed earlier comments from President Donald Trump calling for the ban on racial sensitivity training and a Sept. 4 memo from the Office of Management and Budget spelling out the restrictions.

On issuing the memo, OMB Director Russell Vought said that President Trump had directed him "to ensure that federal agencies cease and desist from using taxpayer dollars to fund these divisive, un-American propaganda sessions."

The president said he was issuing the order "to combat offensive and anti-American race and sex stereotyping and scapegoating." The Trump administration had ordered federal agencies to stop funding certain types of racial sensitivity training in early September.

The executive order calls for an end to any training that can "perpetuate[s] racial stereotypes and division and can use subtle coercive pressure to ensure conformity of viewpoint." It states that "blame-focused diversity training reinforces biases and decreases opportunities for minorities."

The order continues: "Therefore, it shall be the policy of the United States

### Podcast of the Month Things That Go Boom

Billed as "your friendly neighborhood national security podcast," Things That Go Boom is hosted by Lacie Heeley, founder of the foreign policy magazine *Inkstick*. Heeley is also a partner with the Truman National Security Project.

Launched in 2018, the podcast is now in its third season. The reporting and interviews with experts are compelling, taking an in-depth look at critical national security issues like arms control, disinformation, U.S.-Iran relations in context and much more. They explore whether the rise of China and Russia could spell the end of the



United States as the dominant world power and ask whether we are prepared for life in a multilateral world. Things That Go Boom combines narrative storytelling, short explainers and conversations with experts in the field.

Starting in season three, each episode includes recommendations for further reading.

Visit the Things That Go Boom podcast at [pri.org/programs/things-go-boom](http://pri.org/programs/things-go-boom).

not to promote race or sex stereotyping or scapegoating in the Federal workforce or in the Uniformed Services, and not to allow grant funds to be used for these purposes. In addition, Federal contractors will not be permitted to inculcate such views in their employees.”

While it is not clear which trainings will be deemed off limits, the impact could be seen immediately in the postponement of at least one training planned at State.

## State Develops Air Quality Tracking App

**A**ir pollution is a growing health threat in many parts of the world, yet many countries either do not have information that is trustworthy or do not communicate current air quality with the public.

Current apps and websites do not always make data sources—or the formulas for describing air quality—available to the public, which can leave U.S. personnel, American citizens and the broader public confused as to the accuracy or reliability of air quality information.

With 90,000 employees around the world, the State Department has a keen interest in this issue. Responding to requests from U.S. personnel and their families for more accessible air quality data, the Office of Management Strategy and Solutions (M/SS) and the Bureau of South and Central Asian Affairs (SCA) collaborated to develop the ZephAir mobile app.

The app leverages data collected by the State Department’s more than 60 high-quality instruments, EPA health messaging and real-time alerts to help ensure that American personnel, their families and U.S. citizens abroad have a consistent and trustworthy place to turn for information on current air quality anywhere in the world and advice on actions to take to reduce exposure and health risks.



The app allows users to customize their locations of interest and notifications on actions to take that fit their health status and routines. The app displays both pollutant levels and the EPA’s Air Quality Index. Users will gain a clear understanding of how clean or polluted the air is and have access to recommended actions to take to mitigate exposure. Users will also be able to understand trends through graphs that show daily and monthly patterns in air quality.

The app is available now for Apple and Android. Future iterations will bring in data from other governments, Department of State-owned low-cost sensors and satellite information.

## State Officials Defend IG Firing

**U**nder Secretary of State for Management Brian Bulatao and other officials testified before Congress on Sept. 16 that President Donald Trump fired Inspector General Steve Linick in May because of poor performance and low morale in his office, and not because of his investigations into Secretary of State Mike Pompeo’s conduct.

But the data they used also showed that employee satisfaction in the inspector general’s office was higher than in many parts of the State Department, including in Secretary Pompeo’s office, the *Washington Post* reported Sept. 22.

Democrats have argued that one reason Linick was fired related to his investigation into Secretary Pompeo’s 2019 emergency declaration to sell arms

to Saudi Arabia for \$8 billion while sidestepping Congress, as well as allegations that Secretary Pompeo used government resources for personal tasks.

“We rely on the role of the IG to serve as a catalyst for effective management and internal controls. Unfortunately, Steve Linick did not fulfill this role,” Bulatao testified. “The IG’s removal was not about retaliation for any specific report or investigation.”

Rep. Brad Sherman (D-Calif.) questioned the claim that Linick was fired for low morale. “All of us in this room know what morale is like at his State Department,” he said. “If low morale is reason for someone to be fired, look up, not down.”

Rep. Scott Perry (R-Pa.), on the other hand, said that because of Linick’s “substantial and numerous” failures, Democrats’ defense of him “runs contrary to our duty to maintain the public trust.”

Meanwhile, Acting State Department Inspector General Stephen Akard abruptly resigned for undisclosed reasons on Aug. 5, less than three months after he was brought in to replace Linick.

Akard didn’t say why he was resigning. Secretary Pompeo told reporters: “He left to go back home. This happens. I don’t have anything more to add to that.” Akard’s deputy, Diana Shaw, took over the acting IG role after his departure.

The State Department has canceled congressional briefings on counterterrorism issues and the closure of a U.S. diplomatic post in China over the investigations into the firing of Linick, *Foreign Policy* reported Aug. 18.

## Contact with WHO

**S**tate has ordered its employees “to sharply curtail diplomatic contact” with the World Health Organization, *Foreign Policy* reported on Sept. 9. U.S. government personnel overseas must

now gain prior approval to participate in WHO-related events or meetings.

According to Foreign Policy, despite the Trump administration's July 7 notification to the United Nations that it would withdraw from WHO in July 2021, American officials have been trying to maintain influence at the global health agency. American diplomats had been working with WHO officials on programs fighting various infectious diseases, for example.

"It seems the United States doesn't want to completely cut its relationship with the WHO," Yanzhong Huang, a senior fellow for global health at the Council on Foreign Relations, told the

magazine. "Like it or not, the U.S. can't live without this organization."

The Trump administration planned to redirect \$62 million that it still owes WHO to other health-related causes, *The New York Times* reported Sept. 2. But, the *NYT* noted, USAID would continue with plans to give \$68 million to WHO to support polio eradication in Pakistan and Afghanistan, as well as other work in Libya and Syria.

## Judge Reverses Diversity Visa Freeze

A federal judge has ordered the State Department to process applications

for diversity visas to immigrants from underrepresented countries, partially lifting a freeze enacted by the Trump administration in June, *Jurist Legal News* and *Commentary* reported Sept. 7.

President Trump had argued that the freeze was needed to protect jobs for American workers during the economic downturn caused by the COVID-19 pandemic.

"To be clear, there is no statutory requirement that every available diversity visa be issued each year," Judge Amit Mehta of the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia wrote in his Sept. 4 decision. "But that does not mean that the State Department could effectively extinguish the diversity program for a given year by simply sitting on its hands and letting all pending diversity visa applications time out. Doing so would 'plainly frustrate the congressional intent' to make available 55,000 diversity immigrant visas each year."

In response, the State Department issued updated guidance on Sept. 9, directing embassies and consulates to begin processing visas for diversity visa lottery winners "where local health conditions and post resources allow."

The department said it would "prioritize processing applications for the 918 individuals who were named plaintiffs" in the court case against the freeze, Bloomberg Law reported Sept. 9, as well as applicants whose consular appointments were canceled in March, April or May because of the pandemic.

But State also noted that diversity visa lottery winners are still subject to COVID-19-related traffic bans from China, Iran, Schengen Area member states and certain other countries. ■

*This edition of Talking Points was compiled by Cameron Woodworth and Shawn Dorman.*

### Time for a Deep Reappraisal

We must also look to reimagine American diplomacy and the State Department for the world as it is. Congress last made a major revision to the Foreign Service Act in 1980, the law that governs much of the State Department. I believe it is time for a deep reappraisal of how our nation prioritizes diplomacy as the primary means to defend American values abroad—what capabilities we invest in to strengthen our diplomacy and how every American can have the opportunity to represent our nation abroad.

—Chairman Joaquin Castro (D-Texas) at the House Foreign Affairs Committee Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations hearing, "Diversity and Diplomacy: Assessing the State Department's Record in Promoting Diversity and Inclusion," Sept. 22.



### A Troubling Pattern

Based on postings and accounts by other former diplomats, Ms. Spears' experiences appear to be part of a troubling pattern of mistreatment of minority U.S. government officials by CBP agents at U.S. border crossings.

... Not only are these incidents unacceptable, they fly in the face of our American values of diversity, equality, and respect for fundamental civil rights. The vile legacy of racially profiling Americans simply based on their skin color, a quality they have no choice in whatsoever, has no place in our nation's present nor our future.

—Senate Foreign Relations Committee Ranking Member Bob Menendez (D-N.J.), Senators Cory Booker (D-N.J.), Ben Cardin (D-Md.), Tim Kaine (D-Va.), Jeff Merkley (D-Ore.), Ed Markey (D-Mass.) and Jeanne Shaheen (D-N.H.) in a letter to the Department of Homeland Security IG, Oct. 8.

# Female, (Won't) Curtail & Yale: Waiting to Exhale

Reflections on race and service from six Black women working at the State Department

BY SAMANTHA JACKSON, AYANDA FRANCIS-GAO, LISA-FELICIA AKORLI, AJA KENNEDY, ANNAH MWENDAR-CHABA AND TESSA HENRY

Since the May murders of Breonna Taylor and George Floyd, discussion about racism has filled the halls of the State Department. Many Black Foreign Service officers have received words and actions of support from our non-Black colleagues. But we've also heard voices of disbelief and denial and seen delay and lack of action, implying that incidents of racism at State, and in the United States generally, are one-offs or not a priority to address.

We are writing now to reassert that, unfortunately, racism is and has always been the systemic rule, not the exception. In 1946 Secretary of State Dean Acheson warned that the "existence of discrimination against minority groups in this country has an adverse effect on our relations." Sadly, this remains true. Racism needs to be acknowledged and addressed as a priority at all levels.

As Black, female, Ivy League graduates and members of the Foreign Service, we feel a responsibility to disrupt the good ol' (white) boys' club stereotype of the FSO ("Pale, Male and Yale") that lingers, ghostlike, around the State Department. In the interest of making progress toward genuine diversity and inclusion, and to amplify the voices of the Breonnas and Tiannas, we share here a few of our stories and perspectives on racism at State.

## Samantha Jackson

*Samantha Jackson, a three-time Ivy League alumna, is a public diplomacy officer learning Arabic to serve in Doha.*

If I didn't define myself for myself, I would be crunched into other people's fantasies for me and eaten alive.

—Audrey Lorde



Ugh. That's not even an overstatement. If you are a Black professional and you do not fit the fantasized stereotype living in some minds, you are "confusing." If you are anything like us, Black female FSOs with Ivy League degrees, prepare for acute reminders of your difference. The seemingly innocuous reminder can come in the form of the side-eye or the microaggressive incoherent insinuation that your achievement is somehow at odds with your race: Voilà—The White Black Girl. Apparently, it is a thing.

That State has historically struggled to retain talented Black officers is discussed ad nauseam, but the idea that its hostile culture hemorrhages talent, provoking Black FSOs to resign citing racism and isolation in predominantly white spaces, is not. For those of us who remain, the Herculean task of dragging the margins into the narrative rests on our shoulders. As diplomats who take the advancement of American ideals seriously, we are

uniquely positioned to offer perspective and provide solutions, yet our expertise all too often goes untapped.

We are the cohort who grew up to the "Waiting to Exhale" movie soundtrack of Toni Braxton, Whitney Houston, SWV and Babyface hits. We are the generation who witnessed 9/11 in grade school and came of legal age to vote in the historic election of the first Black president. We've completed our first tours and are waiting to exhale. But this time it's not a soundtrack; rather, we aim to track a sound response to State's incessant delay in unambiguously committing to meeting the needs of all employees. Perhaps you were drawn in by the audacity of this article's intriguing title, and perhaps you now understand why.

Over to you, Ayanda...

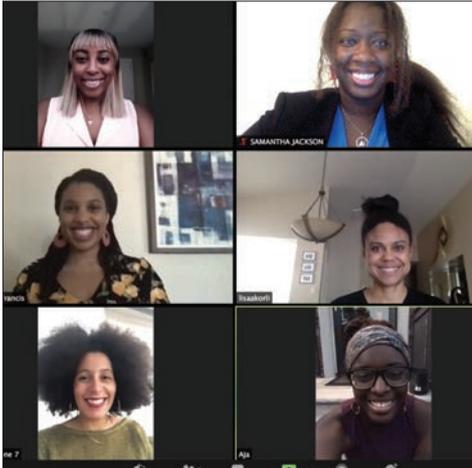
## Ayanda Francis-Gao

*Ayanda Francis-Gao, a Columbia University alumna, is an economic officer serving in Seoul.*



"I can't breathe." The famed last words of Black people dying at the hands of the police in state-sanctioned (or at least condoned) violence

is relevant to the experience many people of color—particularly Black women—face in the State Department. Our nation's oldest agency lives up to its "Pale, Male and Yale" legacy by systematically pushing



A screenshot of the authors in a Zoom conversation in September.

Black people consciously and subconsciously out of its ranks. Death by a thousand cuts. Some of us begin our careers praised for our ingenuity, only to go from “office pet” to “office threat” in an instant. Others are disparaged from the start: our experiences ignored, and our knowledge undervalued.

We face overt racial and sexual discrimination outside our embassies—guards refusing to let us into our residences; not being perceived as American at all, much less diplomats—and covert discrimination within. In one unforgettable example, the Marine staff sergeant on duty with whom I regularly interacted gruffly asked if I was a “blue badger [American] or yellow badger [local staff]” in an embassy with fewer than 40 U.S. direct hires and fewer than 10 Black U.S. direct hires.

After suffering injustice from all sides, we are then expected to do our day jobs, as the adage goes, “twice as good to get half as far.” It is no wonder then that in a career whose expectation is that employees are working 24/7 to represent the United States, simply trying to survive can feel like treading water, lungs slowly filling as you lose oxygen.

Like treatment for serious wounds, addressing racism first requires a true understanding of the damage’s extent, followed by disciplined, regular and dedicated action. Racism of all kinds and at all levels at State will not fade with listening sessions and unconscious bias training alone. Department bidding, hiring, tenure, promotion and awards policies should be reviewed and changed to increase transparency. Offenders (particularly repeat ones) should be held accountable for their actions, not simply shuffled around and whispered about. Corridor Reputation™ should not shield bad actors and shame victims into silence.

“I can’t breathe.” With a thousand cuts, at least the extent of the wounds is clear and indisputable. Suffocation can happen slowly enough that even the dying may not recognize their condition.

*Over to you, Lisa-Felicia...*

### Lisa-Felicia Akorli

*Lisa-Felicia Akorli is the political/economic officer at Consulate General Melbourne after serving her first tour as a consular officer at Embassy Kinshasa.*



I’m pretty sure that when I am in the United States, people who don’t know me see me as an African American woman. But I’m not, technically. That is, my ancestors were not enslaved. I am a naturalized U.S. citizen, born to a Ghanaian father and Dutch mother. My dad grew up in Ghana, in a village where our last name is well known. My mom was Dutch and grew up in the Netherlands. In the early 1990s, when I was a toddler, she won an immigrant visa through the Diversity Visa program and raised me as a single parent in Scottsdale, Arizona. She

didn’t know much about the history of racism in the United States and so never talked to me about discrimination.

One anecdote illustrates how naive my upbringing was. Soon after my mom and I moved to Arizona, one of her sisters (my aunt) followed. Coincidentally, she also had a half-Ghanaian child, my cousin Quincy. In high school Quincy let me borrow his car one day. When I went to my aunt’s house to pick up the keys, she said to me, in complete earnest: “Just be careful. There’s something about that car. Quincy always gets pulled over.” Years later, after I had begun college, where conversations about race were common, I realized that the car wasn’t the problem.

Racism in the United States is obviously a grotesque injustice. But when it comes to my personal experience, it feels really complicated. Quincy always got pulled over; I never did. When I think back on my life, it’s hard for me to identify moments where I was clearly being discriminated against. I have to imagine that it has happened. But to say that I feel it often would be disingenuous. And writing that last sentence feels somehow like I’m betraying my African American friends and colleagues who have clear-cut, heinous examples of being victims of racism.

Basically, racism in America is complex. Before writing this piece, I talked to Sam, one of my sisters in diplomacy. I told her my perspective and that I didn’t want to diminish or muddle the message. She encouraged me to write anyway, saying that the nuance and complexity of our diverse experiences is worth sharing. So here we are.

Is racism a problem in the Foreign Service? Certainly. But you’re not going to get a scandalous personal account from me, because I’m not sure I have one; and if I do, it went over my head.

*Over to you, Aja...*

## Aja Kennedy

*Aja Kennedy, a Princeton alumna, is an economic officer currently serving in Bogotá.*



In the same way all diplomats adapt to local cultural quirks when serving overseas, Black women in the professional world must learn unspoken rules when we step into white spaces. We are used to being on the “margins” before we even begin A-100. By the time we become FSOs, discomfort has become almost routine. But one advantage it gives us is the ability to look at the culture of the department with a critical eye. Perhaps this less glamorous perception of the Foreign Service career is what leads some of our peers to decide to cut the journey short and pursue other professional avenues instead.

We want to be clear: Although we have decided to remain with the department through this difficult time, we strongly support the women who speak up and make the difficult decision to leave. They are our close friends and colleagues. Many of us who serve are holding our breath until the day we can feel comfortable in a committed relationship with the State Department—the women who left just got tired of waiting and wanted to exhale now. *They couldn't breathe.*

My colleagues and I know our worth, and we've worked hard to gain the opportunity to serve our country in the diplomatic corps. We are honored to support our colleagues in serving the American people. At the same time, we are disappointed that the risk-averse nature of the agency and the “corridor reputation” boogeyman all but eliminate the kind of candor needed to have an honest conversation about race. The levels of bureau-

cracy and slowness to change is disheartening for those of us who want to see a stronger department that truly embraces its diversity and uses that asset to its fullest. Working to make this change is a tall order, but we don't have an option.

We, as a department, have to fix it.

The events of recent months have encouraged some of us to be more outspoken about our experiences. I'll be honest—as a cautious entry-level diplomat, I haven't always spoken up. I've had conversations with more senior leadership who share similar self-critiques. But if we want to change, the time is now. It seems people are listening, at least for the moment.

*Over to you, Annah...*

## Annah Mwendar-Chaba

*Annah Mwendar-Chaba, a Columbia University alumna, is a public diplomacy officer who is currently learning Arabic to serve in Jerusalem.*



I am the America-born child of immigrants from Kenya, and my experience of racism in the U.S. has been one of learning and teaching, evolving from a perspective of naiveté to resolution.

I was blessed to have a stable upper-middle class family, which presented me opportunities to excel and the resources and support to chase my dreams, including attending an Ivy League institution. I learned to look back on the moments of discrimination I faced—whether for being a girl, “not American enough” or because of my race—with hope and reaffirma-



“Class is adjourned,” a still image of an animated GIF from the award-winning 2016 film “Hidden Figures.”

tion because thriving in spite of these moments was a testament to my destiny and our evolution. Simultaneously, I developed a deep call of duty to amplify the voices of these different groups I was identified with who are systematically marginalized and disadvantaged. All in hopes of a reckoning.

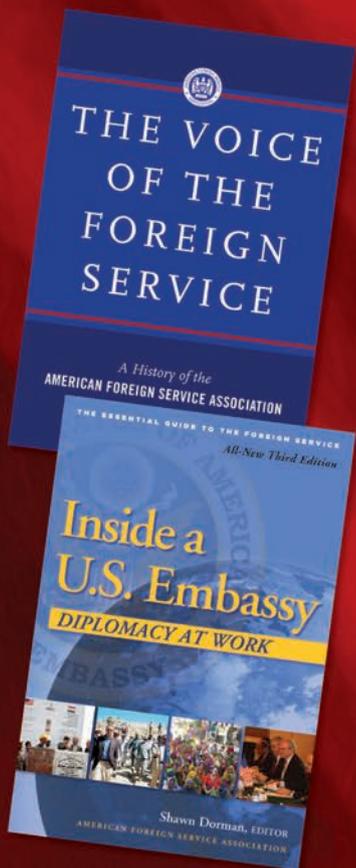
I first experienced the duel of reckoning and hope after listening to my second-grade teacher read a story about the friendship of a Black boy and a white boy during the Reconstruction era. My 8-year-old self realized that for some reason in America's history, any person with skin the color of a brown crayon was hated and treated worse. I was the only child in that classroom with beautiful soft skin the color of a brown crayon. Everyone else, including my teacher, had skin the color of an apricot crayon; I started to cry.

My teacher held me on her lap, and my classmates crowded around us, hugging us and patting my back in silence. We could all understand that this was a painful story, a truth that required acknowledgment, reconciliation and restoration. At that moment, I was hopeful. As I've grown and learned more, it has become more challenging to maintain that hope.

How can our nation—founded on

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such revolutionary ideals and values and an inspiration to peoples from all around the world—not be able to reconcile with one of our earliest and foremost wrongdoings? When will we finally and wholly live up to our professed ideals? When will we reckon?

I believe our time of reckoning is now, and always will be now. I hope we can all do the work that is needed to expand our individual worldviews, leverage and embrace the diversity around us, and be part of a community and organization that is truly committed to equal opportunity for all, not just in word but through equitable and anti-racist internal policies.

*Over to you, Tessa...*

## Tessa Henry

*Tessa Henry, a Harvard alumna, is a management officer, currently learning Spanish for her next assignment in Buenos Aires.*



“You are brave to wear your hair like that to work.” I looked up, and the woman was smiling at me. It wasn’t the first time I’d experienced

unconscious bias regarding my natural curls. Still, I couldn’t help but pause. Why was my natural hair, in its natural state, “brave”? And, where do these associations for black hair come from?

This incident is exemplary of the many racist and discriminatory incidents that happen in the United States every day. Unconscious biases based on social stereotypes about certain groups are formed by individuals outside their own awareness.

To truly appreciate the implications of that woman’s comment, one has to deal with a broader problem in American culture: history, and our failure to understand it. As James Baldwin said: “History is not the past. It is the present. We carry

our history with us. We are our history.”

Many Americans were shocked by the killing of George Floyd and police brutality. However, if you understand history, you would not be surprised. During Reconstruction, the role of the police was to terrorize Black communities. The targeting of Black communities continued through the Jim Crow era. Fast-forward to the 21st century, and we see the serious implications this had for housing, educational opportunities, the justice system and access to equal employment.

Like skin color, black hair is often associated with negative connotations—“kinky” or “rebellious.” As I stared back at this woman, I realized she did not even understand the historical implications of her discriminatory remarks. Black hair is often the target in misconceptions of beauty in America. This was nothing new.

The State Department took a step to address racism and discrimination in its workplace with the Foreign Service Institute course, “Mitigating Unconscious Bias.” Take it. However, I encourage my friends, colleagues and family members to go deeper. Explore the why. Why is police brutality ongoing? Why are micro-aggressions so common? Why are only four of the 189 U.S. ambassadors serving overseas Black?

The effects of history and racism are still present today. We need to understand the why to fully address these challenges moving forward.

**HAIR (HERE) TO STAY. ■**

Speaking Out is the *Journal's* opinion forum, a place for lively discussion of issues affecting the U.S. Foreign Service and American diplomacy. The views expressed are those of the author; their publication here does not imply endorsement by the American Foreign Service Association. Responses are welcome; send them to [journal@afsa.org](mailto:journal@afsa.org).

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# On Trust

BY GEORGE P. SHULTZ

**A distinguished statesman shares his thoughts on the path ahead, starting with the importance of rebuilding trust.**

**N**ow in my hundredth year, I am impelled by recent events to offer my thoughts about what I have come to believe is as crucial an element in public life as it is in private life. I am thinking about trust. We all instinctively, or from personal experience, know that good neighborly relations thrive when neighbors trust one another, and that life can become miserable if trust is replaced with suspicion and doubt. Trust is perhaps a more complex factor in life between communities and nations, but it is just as critical in determining whether cooperation or conflict—or even war or peace—will dominate the relationship.

I have become deeply concerned in these last few years that distrust has become a common theme in our domestic life. It is now accepted as normal that our two great political parties rarely find common ground and that legislation to advance the well-being of American citizens can be achieved only under the pressure of a great life-or-death crisis like the

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*George P. Shultz served as the 60th Secretary of State, from 1982 to 1989. He also served as the first director of the Office of Management and Budget, as Secretary of Labor and as Secretary of the Treasury. Since 1989, he has been a distinguished fellow at Stanford University's Hoover Institution.*

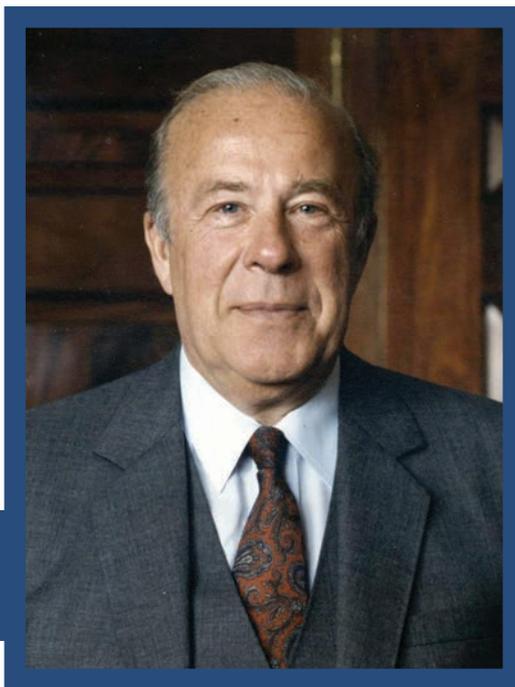
COVID-19 pandemic. It has taken a nationally circulated video of a Black man's atrocious murder by a police officer—whose duties included training newcomers to a major American city's police department—to reveal the depths of racial distrust that exist in our country.

Our relations with much of the rest of the world also have become characterized by distrust bordering on hostility, even in the way Washington deals with close allies in Europe and Asia. We are nearing a Cold War II situation in our relations with China and Russia. Reliance on military threats, with little or no effort at diplomacy, is the most prominent feature of our relations with nations that we associate with anti-American sentiments and actions.

## What Trust Means

Trust among nations or between those who represent their nations in official discourse with other nations should not be equated with burgeoning friendship or a change in fundamental beliefs on either side. The idea implies a belief that what a nation or a public official commits to do will, in fact, be done. That means not only that honesty has become the accepted norm but also that what a nation or its official says will happen is, in fact, capable of being done; that is, the commitment is precise enough to measure its implementation, and the authority to carry out the commitment is assured.

As President Ronald Reagan's Secretary of State, I had the president's backing to change the arms control paradigm from



“capping” the buildup of U.S. and Soviet strategic nuclear forces to one of beginning to actually reduce the levels of forces. We succeeded, with the cooperation of General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev, in turning around the nuclear buildup so that 1986, the year of the Reagan-Gorbachev Reykjavik Summit, became the high-water mark for the world’s nuclear weapons instead of just another year of more and more nuclear bombs and warheads.

Trust was key to reaching these agreements. The American president and his Secretary of State became convinced that Mikhail Gorbachev was a new type of Soviet leader, one who shared their concerns about nuclear weapons and could be trusted to carry out agreements. Of course, we used a Russian proverb to stress that verification had to be a part of the deal: “Trust, but verify.” That brings us to another point about the meaning of trust: It has to be earned, which means that it has to be based on undertakings that can be seen to be carried out.

After nearly four years of an administration that seems to have assumed that American relations with the rest of the world is a zero-sum game and that the game is based largely on the personal relations between national leaders, distrust abounds internationally. The ability of the United States government to execute the president’s foreign policies has become severely limited by the lack of a clear and coherent method of formulating policy. The president’s use of social media to make frequent public reversals and revisions in

policies has made the job of America’s diplomats exceptionally complex.

I see a need in the coming years to rebuild trust where now it is absent, based on policies that defend and advance American interests and ideals. The international system is constantly being reshaped; right now, trends in technology and economics, and even the pandemic, are having a major impact on how our country interacts with the rest of the world. With skillful diplomacy and visionary leadership, we can influence these trends and help to create an international system consistent with our values. Our partners in this effort will have to regain trust that we do, indeed, share the same democratic values, and that we really are working for an international system of nations that benefits all of us. Even our adversaries will have to regain the trust that we can work together to manage global threats to humanity’s very existence even when we disagree on other issues. This task may require more than a single presidential term to accomplish.

### **The Role of Strategic Thinking**

At the beginning of Ronald Reagan’s second term, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee invited me to talk with them about the future and how American foreign policy might shape a world to our liking. I gladly met with them on Jan. 31, 1985. I recommend that the Senate convene a similar meeting in January 2021, or whenever a new Secretary of State is in place, because strategic thinking is critically impor-



**Secretary of State George Shultz meets staff at Embassy Moscow ahead of the May 1988 Moscow Summit meeting between President Ronald Reagan and General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Mikhail Gorbachev.**

tant in policymaking and we have to get back in the habit or, as some observers might say, break new ground.

In my remarks on that January day 36 years ago, I said “history never stops,” adding that “our duty must be to help shape the evolving trends in accordance with our ideals and interests.” Another point I made in my talk with the Foreign Relations Committee that day is one that I want to expand on because it bears on the rebuilding that must take place in the federal government in general, and in the State Department and its Foreign Service, in particular. Referring to the new developments of those days, I said: “Our ways of thinking must adapt to new realities; we must grasp the new trends and understand their implications.” I stress this point because to me an important implication of recent trends is that rebuilding the State Department and its Foreign Service, like nearly all the rest of the federal government, cannot mean simply replicating what was there in the Obama and Bush and earlier administrations.

Technology has empowered American citizens so that they can make their views known through social media and organize movements in the same way. This has changed the way politics and policymaking work in our country and elsewhere. Representative democracies have all reacted to these changes, although in different ways, and their diplomacy must reflect those changes. Most governments, and I would say our own included, have not caught up with new realities. The people who succeed the present generation of civil servants and members of the Foreign Service will be familiar with the new realities because they will have been part of them during much of their lives; but the ways in which the future leaders of the State Department and its Foreign Service manage the professional development of incoming diplomats and policy advisers will require changes, and that is really hard to do.



**George Shultz walks with President Ronald Reagan outside the Oval Office on Dec. 4, 1986.**

I was very pleased that during my tenure as Secretary of State, a National Foreign Affairs Training Center was established that absorbed the Foreign Service Institute, and I was proud that the center was given my name. As a former educator at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the University of Chicago and Stanford University, I cherished this legacy, and still do. One of the priorities of 2021 should be to review the resources devoted to the center in light of educational

goals appropriate to the new realities.

A few years ago, the U.K. government decided to create a British Diplomatic Academy for the first time in the long history of British diplomacy. Probably in recognition of the fact that foreign policy, both in its making and its execution, had become dispersed through several ministries, the stated goals of the new academy included the vision of “a Foreign Office that is an international center of ideas and expertise; that leads foreign policy thinking across government.” Another stated goal, one more aimed at acquiring the people who could achieve this vision for the Foreign Office, was to become “the best diplomatic service in the world.” Other nations have had diplomatic academies for many years, and they have sought more modest goals. The German diplomatic academy focuses on purposefully and strategically networking with counterparts from other nations. The French academy places high value on mentoring junior officers.

### **The Making of Career Diplomats**

There are lessons to be learned from other countries about the professional education of America’s diplomats, but of course our

academy has to be rooted in the American experience. In the period of rebuilding that lies ahead, I hope that the State Department and its Foreign Service will take a close look at the professional formation of career diplomats. One thing I learned as Secretary of State was that the culture of the Service did not reward people with promotions or postings for the efforts they made to improve their knowledge base by taking courses at the Foreign Service Institute or at universities. In a promotion system where failure to achieve promotions results in dismissal from the Service, this attitude is a powerful disincentive to spend much time in educational institutions. I hope that attitude is changing, because there is a large body of knowledge that our diplomats should have mastered or at least have some familiarity with that is not easily acquired these days even in universities. I am thinking of area studies, the history and practice of international negotiations and, of course, a working knowledge of exotic languages.

It is tempting to believe that good diplomats are born, not made, and that our recruiting system should simply find such people and the rest will take care of itself. There is some truth in this, because the personal qualities of integrity, empathy, problem-solving attitudes and the ability to build trusting human relationships are critical to success as a diplomat. Traits like these, plus



FSJ Editor Shawn Dorman congratulates Secretary Shultz at the AFSA awards ceremony in June 2003 when he was honored with the award for Lifetime Contributions to American Diplomacy.



During his tenure as Secretary of State from 1982 through 1989, George Shultz featured on the cover of *The Foreign Service Journal* several times. The June 2003 FSJ (at bottom) celebrates his receipt that year of AFSA's highest award, for Lifetime Contributions to American Diplomacy.

courage, determination and patriotism, are what made Marie Yovanovitch such an effective American ambassador to Ukraine. She had other credentials, too, that enabled her to go to the top of her profession, one that, like other professions, requires a solid background in specialized knowledge.

My sense is that incoming members of the U.S. Foreign Service should be required to participate in a full academic year of professional education at the National Foreign Affairs Training Center. There might be a distinct part of the center that could be called "The School of Diplomacy." A diverse group of future American diplomats would benefit, I think, from the integrating effects of a common learning experience. That said, there should also be separate courses in area studies and languages. The common program should include a feature pioneered by the now defunct Senior Seminar, a course that gave diplomats an introduction to various slices of American life. Personally, I would like to see the common course include case studies in diplomacy and many opportunities for extended talks with senior American diplomats and with those of other nations, too. As a former teacher myself, of course I have an interest in curriculum, and so I would be pleased to meet with people who are giving serious thought to what is suitable for today's realities.

I want to be clear that I am not criticizing the very good people in the State Department and the Foreign Service who, so far as I can see, are conducting themselves in a way that should make the American people proud of them. Nor do I mean to impute malign intent to the leaders of the current administration. Several issues that will need to be addressed in a rebuilding program antedate this administration, the impact of social media on our national conversation being one. I have always believed that in the end, and probably after much impassioned debate, our national security must rest on a nonpartisan consensus framed by our shared values. So let it be in this case. ■

# In Their Own Write



We are pleased to present  
this year's collection of books  
by members of the  
Foreign Service community.

**T**he *Foreign Service Journal* is pleased to present our 19th annual Foreign Service authors roundup in plenty of time for holiday orders.

Our primary purposes in compiling “In Their Own Write” for publication are to celebrate the wealth of literary talent within the Foreign Service community, and to give our readers the opportunity to support colleagues by sampling their wares. Each entry contains full publication details along with a short commentary.

This year our annotated list of books written, edited or translated by Foreign Service personnel and their family members has almost doubled from last year—from 43 to 78—a development that may be an unintended consequence of the COVID-19 pandemic and associated lockdowns.

The list of books published in 2019 and 2020 is not a

comprehensive or definitive record of works by FS authors; as always, we rely on the authors themselves to bring their books to our attention.

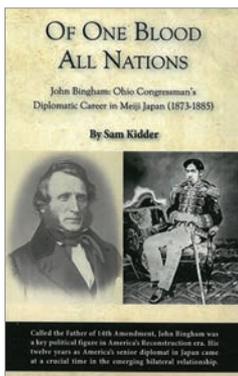
This year we’re featuring 14 works of history and biography, 11 books on policy and issues, 13 memoirs, six books for children and young adults—and no less than 29 works of fiction. (Fiction as a refuge from 2020’s stranger-than-reality?) Our “potpourri” section sports five books, on the afterlife, adoption, financial independence and project management, as well as a collection of cartoons.

As usual, we also include in this month’s focus a selection of recent books “of related interest” to diplomats and their families that were not written by FS authors.

This year’s roundup was assembled with the vital assistance of Publications Coordinator Dmitry Filipoff, Contributing Editor Steven Alan Honley, Associate Editor Cameron Woodworth and Managing Editor Kathryn Owens.

—Susan Brady Maitra, Senior Editor

## BIOGRAPHY AND HISTORY



**Of One Blood All Nations:  
John Bingham: Ohio  
Congressman's Diplomatic  
Career in Meiji Japan  
(1873-1885)**

Sam Kidder, Piscataqua Press, 2020,  
\$16.99/paperback, e-book available,  
256 pages.

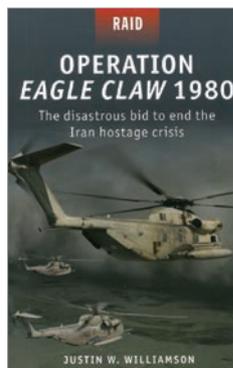
In the immediate aftermath of the American Civil War, John Bingham established himself as one of the more

consequential figures shaping U.S. history. He was a primary author of the 14th Amendment to the Constitution, had been an adviser to President Abraham Lincoln, was the lone civilian prosecutor on the military tribunal that tried Lincoln’s killers and delivered the closing prosecution arguments to the Senate at the impeachment trial of President Andrew Johnson.

Several years after the war, President Ulysses Grant appointed Bingham minister to Japan, and he played a historic role in establishing ties between the two nations. Japan had only recently emerged from isolation after Commodore Matthew Perry had helped open the nation. The Meiji Restoration, which had ended several years earlier, helped set Japan on the path toward rapid modernization, and the nation was in the midst of a great transformation when Bingham arrived.

He would become, and remains, the longest-serving American ambassador to Japan, on the job from 1873 to 1885.

Sam Kidder is a retired U.S. Foreign Commercial Service officer whose overseas postings were concentrated in Japan, South Korea and India. After serving as minister counselor for commercial affairs in Tokyo from 1997 to 2001 and from 2003 to 2006, he was named executive director at the American Chamber of Commerce in Japan, a position he held from 2006 to 2014. He is currently managing director at FES, Inc. (Fukuda Editorial Services).



**Operation Eagle Claw 1980:  
The Disastrous Bid to End  
the Iran Hostage Crisis**

Justin W. Williamson, Osprey  
Publishing, 2020, \$22/paperback,  
e-book available, 80 pages.

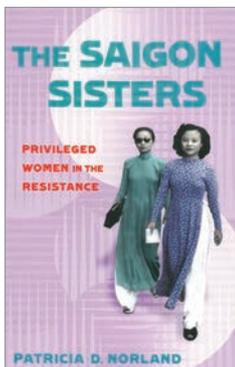
Iran was newly under the administration of a radical revolutionary movement that was thoroughly hostile to the United States. As Ayatollah Khomeini delivered heated anti-American

rhetoric, Iranian radicals stormed the U.S. embassy and took 52 Americans hostage on Nov. 4, 1979. President Jimmy Carter preferred a diplomatic resolution to the crisis, but the Iranian revolutionaries were proving to be extraordinarily difficult to negotiate with. As weeks stretched into months, President Carter authorized a daring rescue operation into Iran, hoping it would not provoke open conflict.

In this illuminating account of Operation Eagle Claw, Justin Williamson delves into the details of a controversial rescue operation, including the reservations of some senior military leaders, the assembled operational plans and how Carter's increasing desperation to retrieve the hostages ultimately forced his hand in April 1980.

Operation Eagle Claw ended in disaster, with two of the transport aircraft colliding after a mission abort order was issued. But while the operation is remembered as a failure, it prompted significant military reform, and the author argues that "the extraordinary abilities of today's U.S. Special Operations Forces arose from the ashes."

Justin W. Williamson is a Foreign Service officer who has served in Iraq, Mexico, Spain and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. He has earned degrees from Texas Tech University and the University of Texas at El Paso, and is a recent graduate of the U.S. Army Command and Staff College.



**The Saigon Sisters: Privileged Women in the Resistance**

Patricia D. Norland, Northern Illinois University Press, 2020, \$39.95/hardcover, e-book available, 280 pages.

*The Saigon Sisters* is the story of nine women who led double lives in wartime Vietnam. In one life they were mothers and teachers, humble and apparently ordinary. In their other

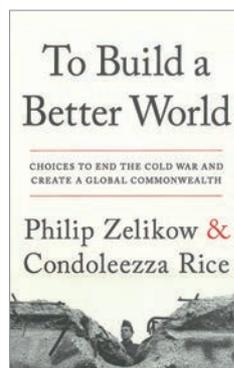
lives, however, the women were underground revolutionaries, working with resistance movements to expel the French colonial government and American forces.

In navigating their double lives, the Saigon sisters endured much as conflict swirled about them. They suffered long family separations, including from spouses who joined to fight but were never heard from again, or who were gone for so long they failed to recognize their wives upon reunion. Through decades of such hardship the Saigon sisters were driven by steadfast patriotism and unyielding devotion to their cause: the eventual liberation of Vietnam.

The author gathered these stories in face-to-face interviews with the nine women, their families and other sources. Some struggled to share their perspective, whether from humility or the difficulty of recounting painful experiences. In recording the histories and putting them to print, Patricia Norland succeeded in capturing an important slice of history and

the very personal story of exemplary women. The book is a volume in the NIU Southeast Asian series.

Patricia D. Norland retired from the Foreign Service in 2016 after a 21-year career as a public diplomacy officer with multiple tours in Southeast Asia. Born into a Foreign Service family, she worked with the Indochina Project, a nonprofit promoting exchanges with Southeast Asia, before joining the Service herself. During that time, she translated a book from French, *Beyond the Horizon: Five Years with the Khmer Rouge* (St. Martin's Press, 1991).



**To Build a Better World: Choices to End the Cold War and Create a Global Commonwealth**

Philip Zelikow and Condoleezza Rice, Twelve, 2020, \$17.99/paperback, e-book available, 528 pages.

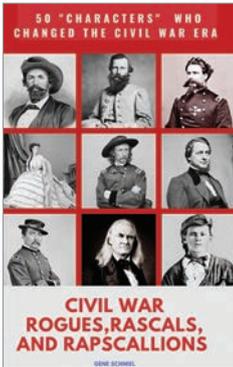
Former Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice and career diplomat Philip Zelikow, both scholars, have teamed up to assess the forces that led to the end of the Cold War, as well as what came

next. The pair interviewed leading sources, combed texts in several languages and drew on their own firsthand experience to shed light on the choices that shaped our contemporary world.

*To Build a Better World* explores how a world changed, states fell apart and new systems of governance were developed—all without ending up in war. As FSO Joseph L. Novak writes in his review of the book (*FSJ*, June), "The larger point made by Zelikow and Rice is a vital one: the art of diplomacy is a serious business, and success (as shown in 1989-1991) requires coordinated policy planning, steadiness of purpose and tactical skill."

A former Foreign Service officer who was detailed in 1989 to the National Security Council, where he was involved in the diplomacy surrounding the end of the Cold War and German reunification, Philip Zelikow is the White Burkett Miller Professor of History and J. William Newman Professor of Governance at the Miller Center of Public Affairs, both at the University of Virginia.

Condoleezza Rice served as George W. Bush's first national security adviser and was the first Black woman to serve as Secretary of State. She is now a professor at Stanford University and the Thomas and Barbara Stephenson Senior Fellow on Public Policy at the Hoover Institution.



**Civil War Rogues, Rascals, and Rapsallions: 50 “Characters” Who Changed the Civil War Era**

Gene Schmiel, independently published, 2020, \$14.99/paperback, e-book available, 251 pages.

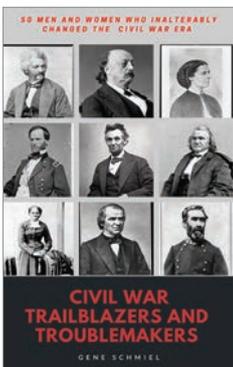
Every conflict involves colorful characters who are memorable for good and bad reasons. The Civil War was certainly no exception. Jesse James, George Custer, Napoleon III, Ambrose

Bierce and Phil Sheridan are among the 50 “characters” you will meet in *Civil War Rogues, Rascals, and Rapsallions*. The book is one of three published by historian and Civil War expert Gene Schmiel this year, each featuring portraits of 50 individuals involved in the Civil War.

In concise essays, Schmiel explains why and how each of the 50 individuals was a rogue (one who acts outside normal parameters), a rascal (a mean, unprincipled or dishonest person) or rapsallion (an extreme version of a rascal)—or all three. Incorporating contemporary photographs, political cartoons and modern maps into each listing helps bring these subjects to life for both the general reader and the Civil War buff.

Gene Schmiel retired from the Foreign Service in 2002, after a 24-year career that included tours as chargé d'affaires in Djibouti, Bissau and Reykjavík, among many other assignments. Before joining the Service, he was an assistant professor of history at St. Francis University in Pennsylvania, and has taught at Marymount, Shenandoah and Penn State universities.

He has specialized in the Civil War ever since the 2014 publication by Ohio University Press of his award-winning book, *Citizen-General: Jacob Dolson Cox and the Civil War Era*.



**Civil War Trailblazers and Troublemakers: 50 Men and Women Who Inalterably Changed the Civil War Era**

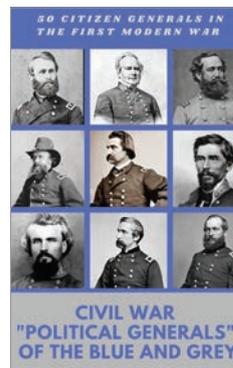
Gene Schmiel, independently published, 2020, \$12.99/paperback, e-book available, 233 pages.

Abraham Lincoln and Harriet Tubman. William Tecumseh Sherman and Frederick Douglass. Mathew Brady

and John Wilkes Booth. These are just a few of the figures profiled in this fascinating history book. In two- and three-page

essays, the author explains why and how each individual was a trailblazer, troublemaker or (as with Mark Twain) both.

Most readers will already be familiar with at least some of these individuals. But you will also learn about more obscure but still significant figures, as well as the anonymous trailblazers of the era: the nurses, the telegraph operators, the military bands, the drummer boys and many others.



**Civil War “Political Generals” of the Blue and Grey: 50 Citizen Generals in the First Modern War**

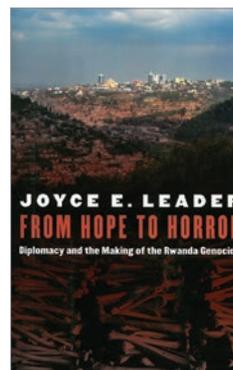
Gene Schmiel, independently published, 2020, \$12.99/paperback, e-book available, 236 pages.

Of the more than three million men who wore a uniform at some point during the Civil War, several hundred were general officers who commanded thousands of troops. The great generals

on both sides—Ulysses Grant, Robert E. Lee, William Tecumseh Sherman, Philip Sheridan, James Longstreet and Joseph Johnston—are well known. They were all West Point graduates and professional soldiers.

But there were also many *near-great* generals who were not professional soldiers: the so-called “political generals.” Yet few of them, other than Joshua Chamberlain, Patrick Cleburne, Nathan Bedford Forrest and John Logan, are remembered today.

This book will introduce (or reintroduce) the reader to 50 of these military leaders, none of whom graduated from West Point. The author has chosen 25 from each side and assesses their achievements, successes and failures.



**From Hope to Horror: Diplomacy and the Making of the Rwanda Genocide**

Joyce E. Leader, Potomac Books, 2020, \$50/hardcover, e-book available, 440 pages.

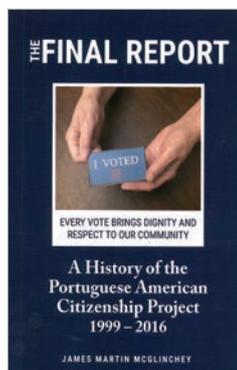
As deputy chief of mission in Rwanda from 1991 to 1994, Joyce E. Leader had a close view of the period leading up to the Rwandan genocide of 1994, in which an estimated 500,000 to one

million Rwandans were killed. It was a time of human rights abuses, escalating violence and political quarrels between rival factions.

*From Hope to Horror*, a volume in the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training's "Diplomats and Diplomacy" series, is her insider's account of Rwanda's efforts to move toward democracy and peace in the early 1990s. She analyzes the difficulties of engaging in diplomacy in countries enmired in internal armed conflict. Hoping to foster a peaceful transition, the United States sponsored negotiations to try to reach an accord. U.S. officials developed what she calls "a revolutionary blueprint" for political and military power-sharing, but it was rejected by the factions and a downward spiral into mass atrocities followed.

Drawing on her experience, Leader discusses ways in which diplomacy can more effectively prevent violence by identifying the unintended consequences of policies and emphasizing conflict prevention over crisis response.

Joyce E. Leader is a retired U.S. Foreign Service officer who served as the deputy chief of mission in Rwanda and as a U.S. observer to the Rwandan peace talks in Arusha, Tanzania, and as U.S. ambassador to the Republic of Guinea (1999-2000).



**The Final Report: A History of the Portuguese American Citizenship Project 1999–2016**

James Martin McGlinchey, Opus Self-Publishing, 2020, \$35/paperback, e-book available, 378 pages.

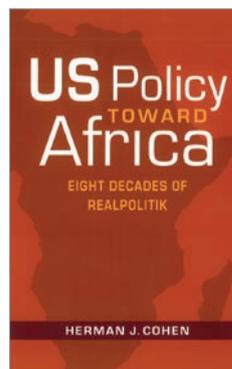
Portuguese immigrants have been coming to the United States for more than two centuries, but the history of the Portuguese American commu-

nity, and particularly its civic engagement, has not been closely studied. The Portuguese American Citizenship Project, begun in 1999, aimed to remedy that. Over 16 years, the project engaged with various community organizations across the United States and filed more than 50 reports on its progress; this book, as its name implies, is the final one.

The Citizenship Project measured the political strength of Portuguese American communities, carried out a campaign to encourage voter registration and facilitated public meetings between candidates for elected office and Portuguese American communities. In a series of case studies, it then assessed whether these efforts affected political outcomes.

James Martin McGlinchey is a retired Foreign Service officer who served in Poland, Malaysia, Indonesia, Australia and Portugal. His last overseas posting was as counselor for economic affairs in Lisbon. He was coordinator of the Portuguese American

Citizenship Project from 1999 to 2009 and served on the project's board of directors until it closed in 2016. His maternal grandparents immigrated to the United States from the Azores at the turn of the 20th century. Mr. McGlinchey and his wife, Andrea, also a retired FSO, reside in McLean, Virginia.



**US Policy Toward Africa: Eight Decades of Realpolitik**

Herman J. Cohen, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2019, \$35/paperback, 280 pages.

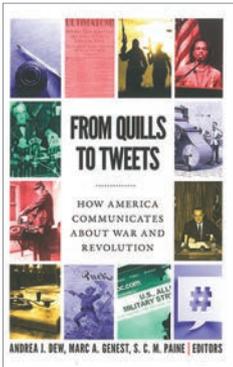
*US Policy Toward Africa* is a critical history of each U.S. president's policies toward Africa since 1941. Its author, Ambassador Herman J. Cohen (universally known as "Hank"), needs no introduction for most *Foreign*

*Service Journal* readers. As someone who spent virtually his entire 38-year Foreign Service career either serving in Africa or helping to direct our relations with the continent, Amb. Cohen is an Africa hand par excellence.

Neither an academic study nor a memoir, the book reflects both the author's command of the documentary record and his decades of on-the-ground experience. Starting in 1941 as Franklin Delano Roosevelt begins his third term, each chapter assesses a U.S. president's record in dealing with Africa. Cohen places each administration's record in the larger context of the continent's struggle for independence from European powers; American efforts to cultivate relationships with the new nations against the backdrop of the Cold War; and the post-9/11 era.

Reviewing the book in the September *FSJ*, Steven Alan Honley called it "a valuable addition to the literature, with much to offer both seasoned Africa hands and general readers." The book is a volume in the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training's Diplomats and Diplomacy series.

Herman J. Cohen joined the Foreign Service in 1955 and retired with the rank of Career Ambassador in 1993, after serving as assistant secretary of State for African affairs for four years. He received AFSA's Award for Lifetime Contributions to American Diplomacy in 2019. He is president and chief executive officer of Cohen and Woods International.



### **From Quills to Tweets: How America Communicates about War and Revolution**

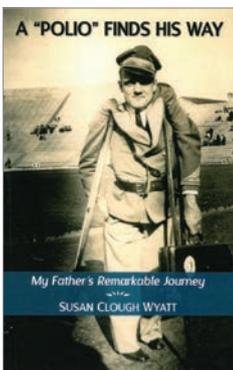
Andrea J. Dew, Marc A. Genest  
and S.C.M. Paine, eds.,  
Georgetown University Press, 2019,  
\$36.95/paperback, e-book available,  
320 pages.

While today's presidential tweets are light-years away from the scratch of pens on parchment during the era of the American Revolution, the importance of political communication is eternal. *From Quills to Tweets: How America Communicates about War and Revolution* explores the roles that political narratives, media coverage and evolving technologies have played in precipitating, shaping and concluding (or prolonging) wars and revolutions over the course of U.S. history.

Each chapter takes a different conflict and offers a unique assessment of a particular aspect of the communications battle. Collectively, the book provides an overview of the history of American strategic communications that will interest scholars, students and communications strategists alike.

Judith Barood, who retired from the Senior Foreign Service in 2017 with the rank of Minister Counselor, contributed the chapter "American Wartime Communication Strategies during the Gulf War." State Department librarian Martin J. Manning wrote the chapter "The Communications Revolution during the U.S. Civil War."

All three of the book's editors are on staff at the U.S. Naval War College. Andrea J. Dew is the Maritime Irregular Warfare Forces Chair and Co-Director of the Center on Irregular Warfare and Armed Groups; Marc A. Genest is the Forrest Sherman Professor of Public Diplomacy in the Strategy and Policy Department; and S.C.M. Paine is the William S. Sims University Professor of History and Grand Strategy.



### **A "Polio" Finds His Way: My Father's Remarkable Journey**

Susan Clough Wyatt, independently  
published, 2020, \$18.95/paperback,  
e-book available, 350 pages.

As we struggle with the COVID-19 pandemic, it is worth recalling that this is not the first time in history that disease has challenged life as we know it. In addition to the 1918 influenza outbreak, polio ravaged the globe in the

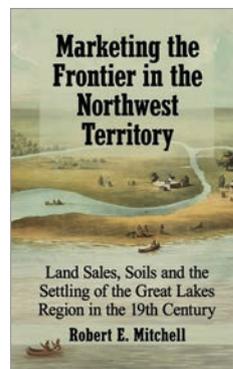
first half of the 20th century. In this book, Susan Clough Wyatt recounts her father's experience with this brutal malady.

Forrest Clough contracted polio at the age of four months in 1909 in Fort Worth, Texas, and the disease left him a paraplegic. In the decades before the passage of the first disability rights legislation in 1966, the United States "was immune to the needs of the disabled," Wyatt writes, calling her father's survival against the disease a "miracle."

Clough was supported by a determined mother, a devoted wife and many others along the way. He became the lead trumpet player in the 1930s with the Southern Methodist University band and went on to enjoy a 30-year career in radio in Texas.

Wyatt draws from her father's college autobiography and seven scrapbooks to interweave his story with the history of polio, FDR's attempts to develop vaccines, her own bout with polio during the 1952 epidemic and efforts to eradicate the disease today. While Wyatt didn't suffer from paralysis, she does share her experiences with post-polio syndrome.

Susan Clough Wyatt was a Foreign Service spouse for 16 years and worked with the State Department for seven of those years. She is also the author of two memoirs, *Arabian Nights and Daze* (2010) and *Thirty Acres More or Less* (2003). She lives in Eugene, Oregon.



### **Marketing the Frontier in the Northwest Territory: Land Sales, Soils and the Settling of the Great Lakes Region in the 19th Century**

Robert E. Mitchell, McFarland, 2020,  
\$55/hardcover, e-book available,  
252 pages.

Robert Mitchell combines narrative history with in-depth, data-rich social and economic research to examine the fate of frontier farms in the Old

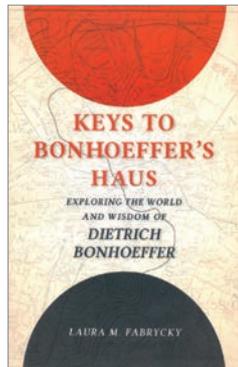
Northwest Territory of the United States. In the antebellum period these farms and their related legislatively created markets resulted in significant investment losses for both individual farmers and the country's economy.

Part narrative and part study, Mitchell describes the ambitions and decision-making of farmers intent on making a living in frontier lands. By examining physical geography alongside the human geography of the westward expansion of the United States in the 18th century, Mitchell overlays individual investment decisions with the growth of frontier communities, and how farmers fared in imperfect markets.

## POLICY AND ISSUES

Much of the analysis and storytelling is performed with an eye toward understanding waste and missed opportunity. Calling on numerous disciplines from soil science to market economics, Mitchell tells the story of an evolving agricultural and human relationship in the Old Northwest Territory.

Robert E. Mitchell, who retired from the Foreign Service in 1995 after postings in the Near East and Africa, is the author of a half-dozen nonfiction books and many articles. Prior to joining the Foreign Service, he was engaged in social science research and teaching for two decades at Columbia University, University of California–Berkeley, the Chinese University of Hong Kong and Florida State University. He lives in Brookline, Massachusetts.



### **Keys to Bonhoeffer's Haus: Exploring the World and Wisdom of Dietrich Bonhoeffer**

Laura M. Fabrycky, Fortress Press, 2020, \$25.99/hardcover, e-book available, 304 pages.

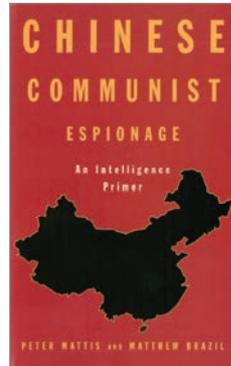
In the summer of 2016, Laura Fabrycky and her family moved to Berlin, Germany, for her husband's three-year assignment at the U.S. embassy. On arriving she felt adrift,

strangely alienated from her home in the United States and not comfortable in her new, unfamiliar surroundings. Yet the figure of theologian and pastor Dietrich Bonhoeffer (1916-1945) would soon offer her mooring and define her time there.

Seeking out more information about this man who died at the hands of the Nazis, Laura discovered the local Bonhoeffer-Haus, his family home that had been memorialized for visitors in the late 1980s. There, she would become a docent and learn over time and through experience to tell his story.

Now holding a physical key to his house, alongside her U.S. government-issued house and official post office keys, she found other keys to Bonhoeffer that would reveal lessons for our time and place, including the importance of asking questions of herself and others—a known practice of Bonhoeffer's. In clean and direct prose, Laura poignantly reflects on these and other civic responsibilities that we all share.

Laura M. Fabrycky is a writer, a Foreign Service spouse, mother of three and a contributor to *The Foreign Service Journal*. She last wrote for the *Journal* in June on the Bonhoeffer-Haus, "Engaging Our Host Country's History."



### **Chinese Communist Espionage: An Intelligence Primer**

Peter Mattis and Matthew Brazil, Naval Institute Press, 2019, \$45/hardcover, e-book available, 376 pages.

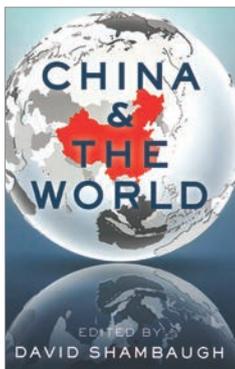
The first book of its kind to employ hundreds of Chinese sources to explain the history and current state of Chinese Communist intelligence operations, *Chinese Communist Espio-*

*nage: An Intelligence Primer* profiles the leaders, top spies and important operations, and links to an extensive online glossary of Chinese-language intelligence and security terms.

*The Wall Street Journal* calls it "the most comprehensive attempt yet to outline the range of China's spying and the complicated web of agencies that carry it out. ... The ignominious list of Americans, both of Chinese descent and otherwise, who have sold national or corporate secrets to China, or attempted to do so, is enough to raise questions about how much of China's military and economic rise could have been achieved without espionage."

Matthew Brazil was a Foreign Commercial Service officer in Beijing from 1991 to 1995, and also worked in the Commerce Department's Office of Export Enforcement and for U.S. Army Intelligence before joining the private sector. He is a nonresident fellow at the Jamestown Foundation and an account manager at an American technology company in California.

Peter Mattis is a research fellow in China studies at the Victims of Communism Memorial Foundation and a contributing editor at *War on the Rocks*. He was previously a fellow at the Jamestown Foundation and edited its biweekly *China Brief* from 2011 to 2013. He also worked as a counterintelligence analyst at the Central Intelligence Agency.



### **China and the World**

David Shambaugh, ed., Oxford University Press, 2020, \$27.95/paperback, e-book available, 416 pages.

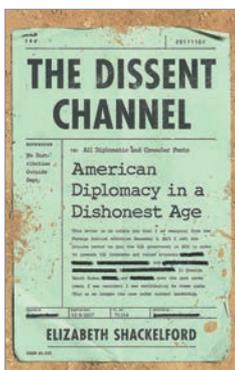
In *China and the World*, David Shambaugh, one of the world's leading China specialists, has assembled 15 international scholars and diplomatic practitioners—including, most notably, retired Ambassador Chas W. Freeman Jr., who discusses “China’s National

Experiences and the Evolution of PRC Grand Strategy”—to create a comprehensive assessment of Beijing’s foreign relations and role in international affairs.

The book explores the sources of China’s grand strategy, describes how the past shapes the present and assesses the impact of domestic factors that shape China’s external behavior. This uniquely focused and well-organized volume offers many insights into Beijing’s calculations and behavior, as well as identifying a variety of challenges it will face in the future.

Chas W. Freeman Jr., a retired Foreign Service officer and former ambassador to Saudi Arabia, is a visiting scholar at Brown University’s Watson Institute for International and Public Affairs. The principal American interpreter during President Richard Nixon’s visit to China in 1972, he served as director for Chinese affairs at the State Department (1979-1981) and deputy chief of mission and chargé in Beijing (1981-1984).

David Shambaugh is the Gaston Sigur Professor of Asian Studies, Political Science and International Affairs, and the founding director of the China Policy Program in the Elliott School of International Affairs at The George Washington University. An active public intellectual and frequent commentator in the international media, he has published more than 30 books.



### **The Dissent Channel: American Diplomacy in a Dishonest Age**

Elizabeth Shackelford, PublicAffairs, 2020, \$17.99/paperback, e-book available, 304 pages.

In late 2017, Foreign Service Officer Elizabeth Shackelford delivered her resignation letter to Secretary of State Rex Tillerson. But, as retired FSO Edmund McWilliams states in his review of this book (*FSJ*, October),

“*The Dissent Channel* is much more than a cri de coeur targeting

the Trump administration. In the book, Shackelford reveals the full tragedy of South Sudan.”

The author documents the tragedy of South Sudan as she witnessed it during her 2013 posting in Juba and as she struggled to set it right with, among other things, a dissent channel message in 2015. Well into 2017, nothing had changed.

Born in hope in 2011, South Sudan was plunged into civil war two years later. Determined not to preside over the dissolution of the new nation, whose creation was viewed as a great achievement for Washington, the Obama administration refused to pressure the authoritarian Kiir government despite its corruption and the atrocities it committed against its own people and international personnel.

Elizabeth Shackelford, a Foreign Service officer from 2010 to 2017, served in Poland, South Sudan, Somalia and Washington, D.C. For her work in South Sudan during the outbreak of civil war, she received the Barbara M. Watson Award for Consular Excellence, the State Department’s highest honor for consular work. Now an independent consultant, she focuses on human rights advocacy, conflict mitigation, political affairs and democratic processes. Born and raised in Mississippi, she now lives in Rochester, Vermont.



### **Decolonizing Mission Partnerships: Evolving Collaboration between United Methodists in North Katanga and the United States of America**

Taylor Walters Denyer, Wipf and Stock, 2020, \$42/paperback, e-book available, 364 pages.

The legacies of colonialism, racism and trauma affect the ability of religious missions to work together abroad.

Using extensive sources and research material, Taylor Walters Denyer examines how these factors apply to the partnership between American Methodists and Congolese United Methodists in the North Katanga Conference.

Methodism has existed in the Congo for decades, mainly through partnerships between American missionaries and evangelists in Katanga province. These collaborations evolved from a more colonial mission model to a nominal partnership, but the relationship experienced its most significant changes within the past 20 years. As widespread violence swept the Congo in the 1990s foreign missionaries left the country. Local Katangan leaders stepped into the resulting leadership void.

Denyer focuses on the question of what a truly decolonized mission partnership could look like. Historical narratives, conversations about missionary work and histories of violence all play a role in deconstructing this complex relationship and discerning lessons for other missions abroad.

Taylor Walters Denyer, the spouse of Foreign Service Officer Stuart R. Denyer, is a missiologist, pastor and global nomad. The president of Friendly Planet Missiology and executive assistant for strategic partnership and engagement in the office of Bishop Mande Muyombo (of the United Methodist Church's North Katanga Episcopal Area), she is currently on loan to the Church of England, shepherding its congregation in Ljubljana, Slovenia, where her husband is posted.

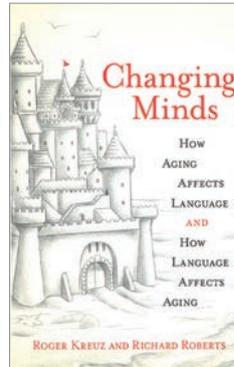
### Cultural Diplomacy and Conflict Resolution

Helena Finn, Columbia University, 2019, free/online, no cover image available, 124 pages.

"As we see the deterioration of the institutions created and fostered after the Second World War to create a climate in which peace and prosperity could flourish in Europe and beyond," Helena Finn writes at the beginning of her memoir, *Cultural Diplomacy and Conflict Resolution*, "it is important to understand the role played by diplomacy in securing the stability and strengthening the shared values of freedom and democracy that have marked this era for the nations of the world."

This book is both memoir and policy think piece. Throughout it, the author shows how public and cultural diplomacy can be used to reduce tensions between opposing parties in the pursuit of universal human rights. Each chapter, covering a distinct period of her Foreign Service career in public diplomacy, includes a section on lessons learned.

Helena Finn, a retired FSO, has three decades of cultural diplomacy experience in hot spots around the world. She began her diplomatic career in 1981 in Turkey. Along the way, she worked on conflict resolution between India and Pakistan from 1984 to 1989; on post-Cold War diplomacy in Germany from 1992 to 1995; and on public and cultural diplomacy in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem from 2003 to 2007. She also served as acting assistant secretary of State for the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs in 2001.



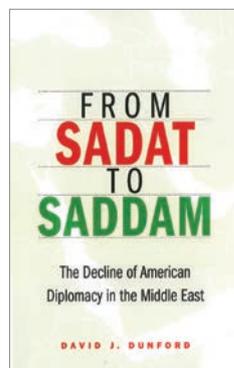
**Changing Minds: How Aging Affects Language and How Language Affects Aging**  
Roger Kreuz and Richard Roberts, MIT Press, 2020, \$16.95/paperback, e-book available, 288 pages.

In our infancy and early childhood we acquire our native language, seemingly without effort. Over the course of our life, language is our constant companion, even as we grow old. Compared with other areas of cognition, it turns out that language is relatively resilient through the process of aging. In this book, the authors examine how aging affects language, and vice versa—and the results are surprising.

Roger Kreuz and Richard Roberts reveal that what appear to be changes in older peoples' language ability are actually caused by declines in other cognitive processes, such as memory and perception. They discuss the cognitive processes that underly our language ability and explore how changes in these processes lead to changes in listening, speaking, reading and writing. While "the complete story of language change in adulthood is one of decline," it is also one of "adaptation, resilience and even enhancement," they write.

Roger Kreuz is an associate dean and director of graduate studies in the College of Arts and Sciences and professor of psychology at the University of Memphis. Richard Roberts is a Foreign Service officer currently serving as the public affairs officer at the U.S. consulate in Naha, Okinawa.

The pair have co-authored two previous books: *Getting Through: The Pleasures and Perils of Cross-Cultural Communication* (2017) and *Becoming Fluent: How Cognitive Science Can Help Adults Learn a Foreign Language* (2015).



**From Sadat to Saddam: The Decline of American Diplomacy in the Middle East**  
David J. Dunford, Potomac Books, 2019, \$29.95/hardcover, e-book available, 280 pages.

*From Sadat to Saddam* offers a fresh perspective on the politicization of the U.S. diplomatic corps and the militarization of U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East. It begins with the 1981 assassination of Egyptian President Anwar Sadat, continues

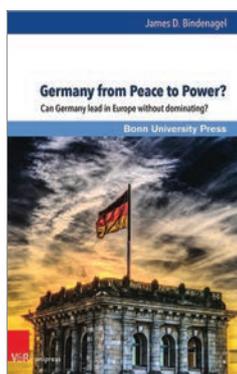
through two Persian Gulf wars, and ends with the U.S. withdrawal of combat troops from Iraq in 2011.

As former FSO Harry Kopp points out in his review of the book (*FSJ*, September), “David Dunford’s bottom-up perspective is unique.” Ambassador Dunford aimed, as he states in the introduction, to give readers the practitioner’s perspective.

Drawing on his own Foreign Service career for examples, Dunford argues that the reason we find ourselves bogged down in “forever wars” in the Middle East is directly related to the decline in reliance on our diplomatic skills. He chronicles the frustrations of working with bureaucrats and politicians who don’t understand the world and are unwilling to listen to those who do. But he also makes clear that the decline of our diplomatic capability began well before the election of Donald Trump.

He recommends that instead of trying to make soldiers into diplomats and diplomats into soldiers, we invest in a truly professional diplomatic service.

David J. Dunford spent three years as the U.S. ambassador to Oman and four years, including during the 1990–1991 Persian Gulf War, as the deputy chief of mission to Saudi Arabia. Now a member of the governing board of the University of Arizona’s Center for Middle East Studies, Ambassador Dunford is also the co-author of *Talking to Strangers: The Struggle to Rebuild Iraq’s Foreign Ministry* (Southwestern College Academic Press, 2013).



### **Germany from Peace to Power? Can Germany Lead in Europe Without Dominating?**

James D. Bindenagel, V&R Unipress, 2020, \$44/hardcover, 223 pages.

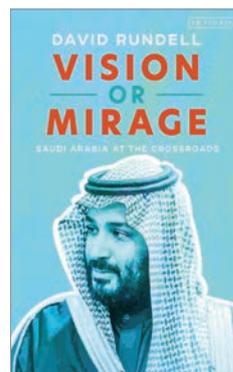
Can a peaceful and prospering Germany lead the continent of Europe toward greater unity without dominating? Ambassador James Bindenagel, a former deputy chief of mission at the U.S. embassy in East Germany, seeks to

answer this question.

In this book he discusses Germany’s strategic tradition of “reluctant leadership”—and how this has shaped its conduct of diplomacy—and surveys the country’s role within the budding era of great power competition. The responsibility to shape the debate on the European community’s response to threats from Russia and China is among several strategic challenges facing German foreign policy. But to shape such a debate, he argues, Germany must also reinforce and deepen its trans-Atlantic

relationship with the United States and elevate its role as a preferred security partner to allies.

James D. Bindenagel, a retired FSO, was deputy chief of mission (U.S. Minister) at the U.S. embassy to the German Democratic Republic in 1989–1990 and later served as director of the Office of Central European Affairs at the State Department, deputy chief of mission and chargé in Bonn and as a senior fellow at the German Marshall Fund of the United States. Since 2014 he has been the Henry Kissinger Professor and director of the Center for International Security and Governance at the University of Bonn.



### **Vision or Mirage: Saudi Arabia at the Crossroads**

David Rundell, I.B. Tauris, 2020, \$27/hardcover, e-book available, 336 pages.

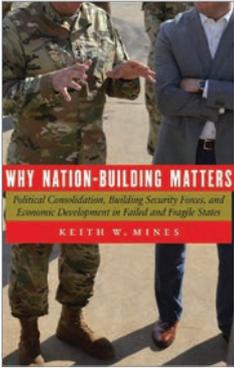
One of America’s foremost experts on Saudi Arabia, David Rundell explains how the country has enjoyed so many years of stability, how it has become less stable today and what to look for in the future.

*Vision or Mirage* is based on Rundell’s close contacts and intimate knowledge of the country where he served for 15 years, working at the embassy in Riyadh and at the consulates in Jeddah and Dhahran. In Saudi Arabia, he served as chargé d’affaires, deputy chief of mission, political counselor, economic counselor, commercial counselor and commercial attaché.

Saudi Arabia is undergoing extraordinary change, according to Rundell. Once known for its lack of tolerance, the country is implementing major economic and social reforms, as Crown Prince Mohammad bin Salman tries to promote a more tolerant Islam. But the book questions whether this is “merely a mirage likely to dissolve into Iranian-style revolution.”

The book has garnered wide praise, including from former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, who states: “At once modern and theocratic, reserved and assertive, Saudi Arabia’s paradoxes defy easy comprehension. For those seeking to understand the Kingdom and its role in the world, longtime observer David Rundell has distilled his experience into a clear-eyed and illuminating explanation.”

David Rundell served as an American diplomat for 30 years in Washington, Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Tunisia and the United Arab Emirates. He lives in Dubai and London, travels regularly to Saudi Arabia and is a partner in the consulting firm Arabia Analytica.



**Why Nation-Building Matters: Political Consolidation, Building Security Forces, and Economic Development in Failed and Fragile States**

Keith W. Mines, Potomac Books, 2020, \$40/paperback, e-book available, 402 pages.

Nation-building is among the most controversial subjects in American foreign policy. Should the U.S. embark

on nation-building projects? How do these projects contribute to national security? And if the U.S. does decide to contribute to such projects, how should it design its efforts and define the scope of its involvement?

Keith Mines examines nation-building and its value as an investment for American foreign policy through the lens of his extensive on-the-ground experience—as a Special Forces officer, United Nations official and Foreign Service officer.

Across these roles, Mines saw how ungoverned spaces can radiate instability, and how an effective blend of hard and soft power is necessary to produce lasting success. Defining core lines of effort such as security force assistance, economic development and political consolidation will help form a framework for devising stable solutions for unstable locales, he argues.

From Darfur to Iraq, Afghanistan and other hot spots, Mines vividly recounts firsthand experiences with both successes and failures. Drawing on these accounts, he identifies lessons learned, outlines strategies that may be more successful for future endeavors and highlights why nation-building campaigns can be valuable investments for preserving national security.

Keith W. Mines retired recently from the Foreign Service and is now director for Latin America at the U.S. Institute of Peace. He has published numerous articles in *The Foreign Service Journal*, *Parameters*, *Orbis*, the *Baltimore Sun* and *Denver Post*, and has also written for the Foreign Policy Research Institute and the U.S. Institute of Peace.



**Cacao Source: An Emerging Sustainable Chocolate Landscape**

Alain d'Aboville, in collaboration with Cherrie Lo, independently published, 2019, \$23.95/paperback, e-book available, 138 pages.

“There may well not be a chocolate industry in fifty years,” Alain d'Aboville and Cherrie Lo warn in the foreword to *Cacao Source: An Emerging Sustainable Chocolate Landscape*,

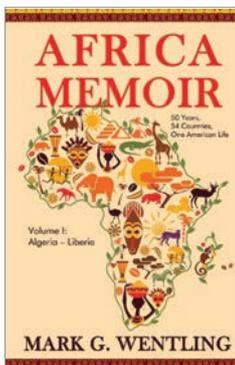
an examination of the state of the chocolate industry. The \$83 billion industry run by some two dozen multinational corporations is in flux, we learn, troubled by a combination of new market dynamics and environmental and technological challenges.

The authors take a comprehensive look at cacao farming and chocolate making, from its history to significant players and recent developments. As global demand for chocolate soars, corporate consolidation has grown along with pressures on the approximately five million tropical farmers, mostly in West Africa, who produce some four and a half million tons of cacao beans annually at increasingly exploitative rates of pay. The proliferation of artificial substances, the uncertain effects of global warming and a movement to turn chocolate making into a cottage industry add to the testy mix.

The book profiles six chocolate entrepreneurs on the basis of a set of questions addressing their approach to the industry, and concludes with a chapter on what the chocolate industry may require to be sustainable by 2050.

Alain d'Aboville, the spouse of USAID Foreign Service Officer Karen d'Aboville, became a consular adjudicator in 2012. His overseas postings include Kabul, Baghdad, Santo Domingo and Nairobi. He started his chocolate journey while in Nairobi by traveling to cacao-growing countries like Madagascar (where he spent the first five years of his life) and Tanzania.

## MEMOIRS



### **Africa Memoir: 50 Years, 54 Countries, One American Life (Volume 1: Algeria-Liberia)**

Mark G. Wentling, Open Books, 2020, \$21.95/paperback, e-book available, 256 pages.

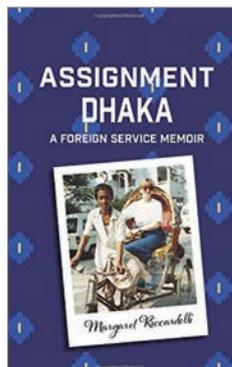
Retired USAID Senior Foreign Service Officer Mark Wentling has worked in or visited all 54 African countries over the course of a half century. In his planned three-volume memoir, he

shares his firsthand experiences as well as thoughts about the future prospects of all 54 countries in the hope that information about this fascinating continent will be preserved.

This first volume covers 27 countries, from Algeria to Liberia. Volume II will cover Libya to Senegal, and Volume III the Seychelles to Zimbabwe. Despite the varying length of the chapters, which reflects how long he spent in a particular country, the author presents consistently well-told tales that reflect a knack for selecting interesting, oft-overlooked nuggets of political and cultural history.

Most Americans do not have a strong knowledge of Africa, with its estimated population of 1.2 billion people, but the continent is expected to have more people than either China or India by 2022, he writes. Nigeria alone is projected to surpass the United States in population in 2050 and become the third most populous country in the world.

A Peace Corps volunteer in Togo (1970-1973) and, later, director in Gabon and Niger, 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.



### **Assignment Dhaka: A Foreign Service Memoir**

Margaret Riccardelli, S&H Publishing, 2020, \$10.99/paperback, e-book available, 134 pages.

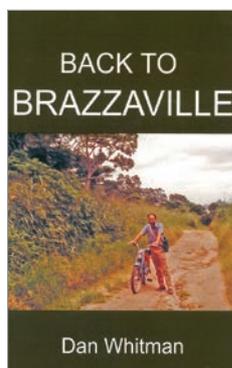
When Margaret Riccardelli heard that her first assignment in the U.S. Foreign Service was Dhaka, Bangladesh, she didn't even know where that was—and that was just the first surprise in store for her. *Assignment Dhaka* is the

story of resilience and adaptation by a woman thrown into a world she never expected.

Share her adventures as she attends formal balls, battles mutant cockroaches, experiences a civil uprising and falls in love with the street children of Dhaka.

From joining the Foreign Service at age 46 to publishing her first book at age 75, Margaret Riccardelli has never been afraid to try new things. As a secretary with the Foreign Service, she lived in Dhaka, Rome, Havana and Ashgabat, and traveled to Moscow, New Delhi and Mumbai.

Prior to joining the Foreign Service, Ms. Riccardelli worked in international aviation, and, so far, has visited more than 50 countries. After retiring from the Service, she started a business giving talks about her travels, Silk Road Lectures: Entertaining Lectures on Obscure Destinations. She also earned her master's degree in education at age 63.



### **Back to Brazzaville**

Dan Whitman, New Academia Publishing/VELLUM Books, 2020, \$28/paperback, 220 pages.

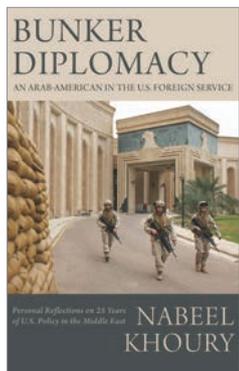
There are two Brazzavilles that author and retired FSO Dan Whitman knows, based on trips to the Republic of the Congo almost four decades apart. In *Back to Brazzaville*, he draws comparisons between them, reflecting on his time 38 years ago from the standpoint

of his knowledge today.

Going beyond experiences and recollections, however, this book is also a captivating history of modern Africa in which the author shares with readers descriptive passages of the city, its people, language and culture. The book's structure loosely follows a chronology, with a break in the middle to cover the 1997-1999 civil war, and it allows for intentional shifts from memoir to

history to oral interviews. By blending genres, Whitman delivers a rich, layered ode to Brazzaville, one that draws readers in to feel the city's triumphs and anguishes.

Dan Whitman was a Foreign Service officer with the U.S. Information Agency and Department of State from 1985 through 2009. His postings included Denmark, Spain, South Africa, Haiti and Cameroon. He now teaches at American University in Washington, D.C. He has published books on Africa and Europe and has written for *The Foreign Service Journal*.



**Bunker Diplomacy: An Arab-American in the U.S. Foreign Service: Personal Reflections on 25 Years of U.S. Policy in the Middle East**

Nabeel A. Khoury, Westphalia Press, 2020, \$16.95/paperback, e-book available, 258 pages.

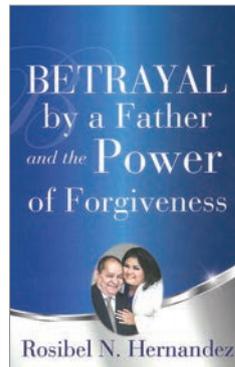
Nabeel Khoury served for years in the Middle East, witnessing crisis after crisis firsthand, along with policy

shifts across administrations. In this memoir he combines an in-depth, on-the-ground look at Middle East diplomacy with a strategic perspective honed through years of service in a turbulent region. In the words of former Deputy Secretary of State William J. Burns, Khoury “offers readers a searing personal journey through America’s trials and tribulations in the Middle East.”

In conversations with Arab journalists, generals and government officials, Khoury worked to bridge the divide between the Arab world and the United States. He sought to execute and improve U.S. policy outcomes in Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Morocco, Iraq and Yemen.

In a book talk at the Atlantic Council, Khoury described how U.S. posts in the region shifted from more open and welcoming facilities into “bunkers,” and how he was forced to negotiate with his own security team just to go out alone.

Nabeel A. Khoury retired from the U.S. Foreign Service in 2013 with the rank of Minister Counselor after 25 years of service. His final overseas posting was as deputy chief of mission in Yemen (2004-2007). In 2003, during the Iraq War, he served as State Department spokesperson at U.S. Central Command in Doha and in Baghdad. He has taught Middle East and U.S. strategy courses at the National Defense University and Northwestern University.



**Betrayal by a Father and the Power of Forgiveness**

Rosibel N. Hernandez, Xulon Press, 2019, \$12.49/paperback, e-book available, 92 pages.

When Rose Hernandez was three years old, her parents immigrated to the United States from El Salvador in pursuit of the American dream. Rose grew up in a tough neighborhood in Washington, D.C., and her family strove to make ends

meet. Her father worked two jobs and was emotionally absent from Rose’s childhood, but his greater missteps would ultimately threaten his relationship with his daughter and family.

Rose’s father had a long-running problem with infidelity. After one especially egregious affair with a woman younger than Rose, this festering wound usually kept behind closed doors erupted in full view of the family, and the result was a shattered home.

Rose was now confronted with a major dilemma. How would she ever trust men again? How would she find forgiveness for her father? What followed was an enlightened journey in which Rose and her family found the courage and the will to forgive Rose’s father. As genuine forgiveness set in and resentment melted away, Rose, her family and her father developed deeper bonds than ever before and restored trust and love to their family.

Rosibel N. Hernandez joined the State Department Foreign Service as an office management specialist in 2005 and later transitioned to the human resources officer career track. She has served in Athens, Bucharest, Havana, Santiago, Mexico City and Washington, D.C.



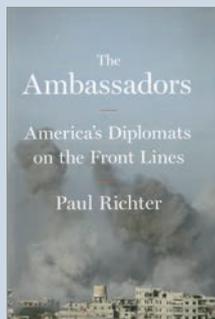
**Guardians of the Grail: A Life of Diplomacy on the Edge**

Christopher Datta, independently published, 2018, \$15/paperback, e-book available, 220 pages.

Christopher Datta begins his riveting memoir by telling the reader that he wrote it to describe “the arc of my Foreign Service career. As I became more senior, I was challenged with more difficult situations. How do we handle development work better? How do we promote democratic development without killing people? How do we keep America safe? How do we keep the peace without the use of force?”

*Continued on p. 48*

## OF RELATED INTEREST



### **The Ambassadors: America's Diplomats on the Front Lines**

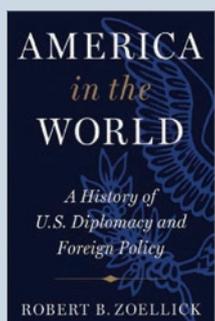
Paul Richter, Simon & Schuster, 2019, \$18/paperback, e-book available, 352 pages.

In this riveting book, veteran diplomatic correspondent Paul Richter goes behind the battles and the headlines to show what members of the U.S. Foreign Service do. The author profiles four U.S.

ambassadors who took on difficult and dangerous assignments in Iraq, Libya and Pakistan: Ryan Crocker, Robert Ford, the late J. Christopher Stevens, and Anne Patterson.

"I hope that everyone who is unfamiliar with the ways of Washington reads *The Ambassadors*, because it conveys the professional ethos of the Foreign Service: courage, honesty and patriotism," says Ambassador (ret.) Gordon Gray in his review of the book in the March *FSJ*.

Paul Richter has written about foreign policy and national security for three decades. He covered the State Department for *The New York Times* from 2001 to 2015, and before that, the Pentagon and the White House.



### **America in the World: A History of U.S. Diplomacy and Foreign Policy**

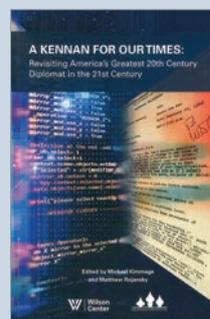
Robert B. Zoellick, Twelve, 2020, \$35/hardcover, e-book available, 560 pages.

Recounting the actors and events of U.S. foreign policy, Robert B. Zoellick identifies five traditions that have emerged from America's encounters with the

world: the importance of North America; the special roles trading, transnational and technological relations play; changing attitudes toward alliances and ways of ordering connections among states; the need for public support, especially through Congress; and the belief that American policy should serve a larger purpose. These traditions frame a review of post-Cold War presidencies, which the author foresees serving as guideposts for the future.

Robert B. Zoellick has served as Deputy Secretary of State, U.S. Trade Representative and president of the World Bank,

among many other positions. He is now a senior fellow at the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs at Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government.



### **A Kennan for Our Times: Revisiting America's Greatest 20th Century Diplomat in the 21st Century**

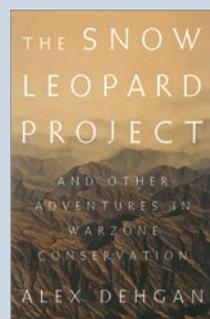
Michael Kimmage and Matthew Rojansky, eds., Kennan Institute, Wilson Center, 2019, free/online, 214 pages.

This collection of essays by a host of foreign policy luminaries—including Dennis Ross, Richard Haass, Anne-Marie Slaughter and Jake Sullivan—originated with a February 2018 Wilson

Center conference. Its purpose was to reassess George Kennan's legacy in light of developments since his death in 2005 at the age of 101. Kennan was instrumental in shaping post-World War II U.S. policy toward Russia and established the Office of Policy Planning at the State Department. The essays, both scholarly and personal, are accompanied by interviews with four of Kennan's successors at Policy Planning.

Michael Kimmage is a professor of history and department chair at The Catholic University of America and a fellow at the German Marshall Fund. From 2014 to 2017, he served on the State Policy Planning Staff, where he held the Russia/Ukraine portfolio.

Matthew Rojansky is director of the Kennan Institute at the Woodrow Wilson Center in Washington, D.C.



### **The Snow Leopard Project: And Other Adventures in Warzone Conservation**

Alex Dehgan, PublicAffairs, 2019, \$28/hardcover, e-book available, 288 pages.

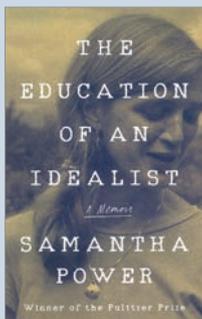
As damaged and volatile as it may be after decades of conflict, Afghanistan remains a beautiful country. To help preserve the country's natural beauty, evolutionary biologist Alex Dehgan set

out in 2006 to create the Afghanistan program of the Wildlife Conservation Society.

Conservation proved to be a common bond between Dehgan's team and the Afghan people. His team helped create

Afghanistan's first national park and protect endangered species, including the iconic Marco Polo sheep and the elusive snow leopard. The frustrations and obstacles that came with pursuing his mission as a U.S. government contractor in a war zone are part of this captivating story.

Alex Dehgan, who teaches at Duke University, is the founder and CEO of Conservation X Labs, an organization focused on transforming conservation through technological and financial innovation. He served previously as USAID's chief scientist.



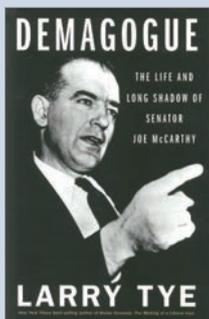
**The Education of an Idealist: A Memoir**

Samantha Power, Dey Street Books, 2019, \$29.99/hardcover, e-book available, 592 pages.

In this memoir, Samantha Power recounts how she juggled the demands of a 24/7 national security job with the challenge of raising two young children. Along the way, she illuminates the intricacies of politics

and geopolitics, reminding us how the United States can lead in the world, and why we each have the opportunity to advance the cause of human dignity.

Samantha Power served in the Obama administration as a human rights adviser and then as U.S. ambassador to the United Nations (2013-2017). Her previous book, *A Problem from Hell: America and the Age of Genocide*, won the Pulitzer Prize in 2003. She is currently a professor of practice at Harvard Law School and Harvard Kennedy School.



**Demagogue: The Life and Long Shadow of Senator Joe McCarthy**

Larry Tye, Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2020, \$36/hardcover, e-book available, 608 pages.

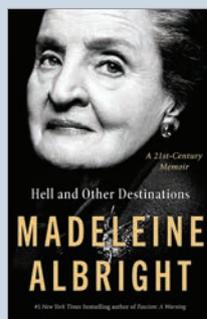
By recklessly charging treason against everyone from George Marshall to State Department personnel between 1950 and 1954, Senator Joe McCarthy (R-Wis.) destroyed many careers and lives. This

definitive biography is the first to draw on his personal and professional papers, medical and military records, and recently unsealed transcripts of closed-door congressional hearings.

McCarthy's chaotic, meteoric rise is a gripping and terrifying object lesson for us all. Yet his equally sudden fall from fame offers reason for hope that, given the rope, most

American demagogues eventually hang themselves.

Larry Tye, a former prize-winning journalist at *The Boston Globe* and a Nieman Fellow at Harvard University, is the author of *The New York Times* bestseller *Satchel*, as well as *The Father of Spin*, *Home Lands* and *Rising from the Rails*.



**Hell and Other Destinations: A 21st-Century Memoir**

Madeleine Albright, Harper, 2020, \$29.99/hardcover, e-book available, 384 pages.

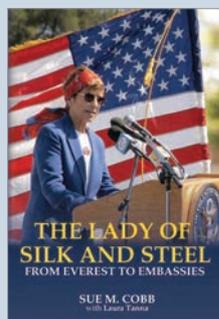
In 2001, when Madeleine Albright was leaving office as America's first female Secretary of State, interviewers asked her how she wished to be remembered. "I don't want to be remembered," she answered.

"I am still here and have much more I intend to do.

As difficult as it might seem, I want every stage of my life to be more exciting than the last."

True to that declaration, Ms. Albright has blazed her own trail, and given voice to millions who yearn for respect, regardless of gender, background or age. *Hell and Other Destinations* reveals this remarkable figure at her bluntest, funniest, most intimate and most serious.

Madeleine Albright served as America's 64th Secretary of State from 1997 to 2001. Her distinguished career also includes positions at the White House, on Capitol Hill and as U.S. ambassador to the United Nations.



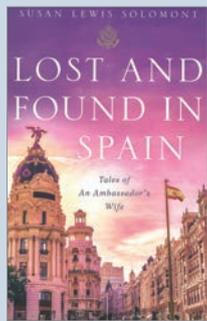
**The Lady of Silk and Steel: From Everest to Embassies**

Sue M. Cobb, Ian Randle Publishers, 2020, \$24.95/hardcover, 376 pages.

In this memoir, Sue Cobb traces her journey from near-destitute circumstances on a small California farm to graduation from Stanford University, tennis and downhill ski racing stardom, and a successful legal practice.

Her experience in the world of diplomacy began when her husband, Charles Cobb, was appointed ambassador to Iceland and culminated when she was named U.S. envoy to Jamaica in 2001. She shares insights on policy issues, as well as useful reflections on the role of political ambassadors. As one reviewer wrote: "She cut to the meat of what an ambassador does on the job—lead, manage and take the heat."

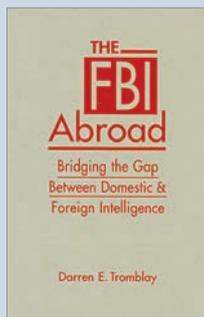
Sue M. Cobb served as U.S. ambassador to Jamaica (2001-2005) and is currently a principal of Cobb Partners LLC and president of the Cobb Family Foundation. She is a trustee of the Center for Strategic and International Studies and the Council of American Ambassadors.



**Lost and Found in Spain: Tales of an Ambassador's Wife**  
Susan Lewis Solomont, Disruption Books, 2019, \$16.99/paperback, e-book available, 234 pages.

When President Barack Obama appointed her husband, Alan D. Solomont, as ambassador to Spain and Andorra in 2010, Susan Lewis Solomont left her career, friends and family, and a life she loved to join her husband for more than three years in Madrid. In this memoir, Solomont recounts how she learned the rules of a diplomatic household; went on a culinary adventure with some of Spain's greatest chefs; found her place in Madrid's Jewish community; and discovered her own voice.

Susan Lewis Solomont has more than 30 years of experience providing strategic philanthropic counsel to private foundations. The Spanish Federation of Female Directors, Executives, Professionals and Entrepreneurs named her International Woman of the Year in 2013.

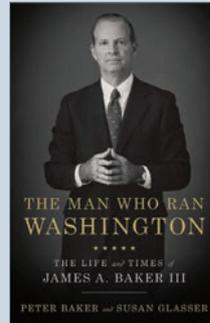


**The FBI Abroad: Bridging the Gap Between Domestic and Foreign Intelligence**  
Darren E. Tromblay, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2020, \$89.95/hardcover, e-book available, 277 pages.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation is a domestic intelligence agency, yet it has been operating beyond U.S. borders for years. Why and under what authorities does it do this? How does its activity contribute to U.S. diplomacy and national security? What role does it play in other countries? These are some of the questions the author addresses in this absorbing book about the history of the bureau's overseas operations.

Darren E. Tromblay has served as an intelligence analyst with the U.S. government since 2005. He is the author of several books on intelligence analysis and operations, most recently *Political Influence Operations: How Foreign Actors*

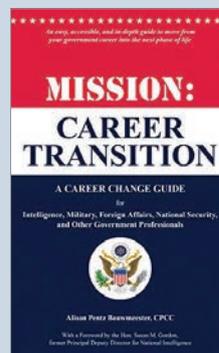
*Seek to Shape U.S. Policy-Making* (2018) and *Spying: Assessing U.S. Domestic Intelligence Since 9/11* (2019).



**The Man Who Ran Washington: The Life and Times of James A. Baker III**  
Peter Baker and Susan Glasser, Doubleday, 2020, \$47/hardcover, e-book available, 720 pages.

James Baker III served in senior positions under three U.S. presidents. With a long record of distinguished public service, he became known as a man who could get things done in Washington. As the 61st Secretary of State (1989-1992), Baker was a key participant in ending the Cold War. Earlier he served as chief of staff to President Ronald Reagan, and then as Reagan's Treasury Secretary and chairman of the National Economic Policy Council (1985-1988). This book offers a close look at one of the most important figures in recent American history and his times.

Susan Glasser was editor in chief of *Foreign Policy* magazine and is a staff writer for *The New Yorker*. Peter Baker, her husband, is the chief White House correspondent for *The New York Times*.

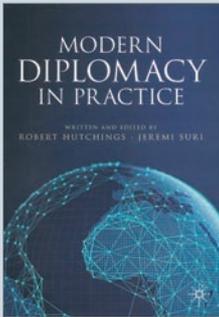


**Mission: Career Transition—A Career Change Guide for Intelligence, Military, Foreign Affairs, National Security, and Other Government Professionals**  
Alison Pentz Bouwmeester, APB Books, 2020, \$18.99/paperback, e-book available, 248 pages.

For Foreign Service and Civil Service employees, planning for retirement after many years of service can be daunting. This book is an invaluable guide to the process. Especially useful, says Associate Professor of Psychiatry Dr. Kenneth Dekleva, a retired member of the Foreign Service, in his review for the *FSJ* (October), are the interviews and direct quotes sprinkled through the narrative from a group of accomplished State Department, intelligence community, military and national security professionals who have been through the experience.

Alison P. Bouwmeester served for 28 years as a senior leader in the Central Intelligence Agency's Directorate of Operations. After retiring, she spent nearly a decade as a senior business executive in the defense contracting industry. In 2018, she became a certified

professional career coach and founded Futurity, a business that provides career transition advice and HR consulting services.

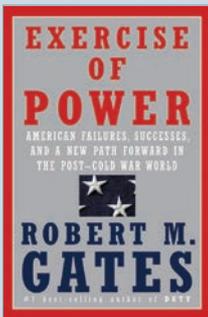


**Modern Diplomacy in Practice**  
Robert Hutchings and Jeremi Suri, eds.,  
Palgrave Macmillan, 2020, \$29.99/  
paperback, e-book available, 268 pages.

This textbook, the first-ever comparative study of its subject, surveys and compares the world's 10 largest diplomatic services: those of Brazil, China, France, Germany, India, Japan, Russia, Turkey, the United Kingdom and the United States. Chapters cover the distinctive histories and cultures of the services, and their preparations for the new challenges of the 21st century.

Robert Hutchings is a professor and former dean of the Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs at the University of Texas at Austin. A former special adviser to the Secretary of State, with the rank of ambassador, he is the author and editor of six books.

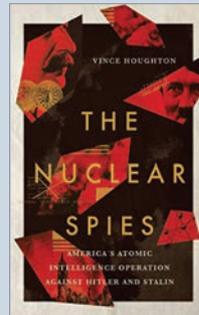
Jeremi Suri holds the Mack Brown Distinguished Chair for Leadership in Global Affairs at the University of Texas at Austin. He is the author and editor of nine books and hosts a weekly podcast, "This is Democracy."



**Exercise of Power:  
American Failures, Successes,  
and a New Path Forward  
in the Post-Cold War World**  
Robert M. Gates, Alfred A. Knopf,  
2020, \$29.95/hardcover,  
e-book available, 464 pages.

In 1991 the Cold War ended with the collapse of the Soviet Union, and the United States stood at the apex of global power. More than a quarter century later, though still the most powerful country militarily and economically, the United States is challenged at every level on every front. How did we get here, and what do we do now? In this book, a quintessential national security insider assesses critical post-Cold War foreign policy decisions in 15 places and draws out the lessons for the future.

Robert M. Gates, Secretary of Defense to George W. Bush and Barack Obama, served eight presidents of both political parties at Defense, the Central Intelligence Agency and National Security Council. He is the author of *Duty* (2014) and *A Passion for Leadership* (2017).



**The Nuclear Spies:  
America's Atomic Intelligence  
Operation against Hitler and Stalin**

Vince Houghton, Cornell University Press,  
2019, \$27.95/hardcover, e-book available,  
248 pages.

How did the Truman administration completely miss Moscow's rapid development of nuclear capabilities following World War II? After all, the Manhattan Project's intelligence team had penetrated the Third Reich and knew every detail of the Nazis' plan for an atomic bomb.

As Houghton documents, the Central Intelligence Agency did its best to assess the Soviet Union's scientists and laboratories. But scientific intelligence was extremely difficult to do well, and when the Soviet Union detonated its first atomic bomb in 1949, no one at the CIA saw it coming.

Vince Houghton is curator of the International Spy Museum in Washington, D.C., and host and creative director of its podcast, *SpyCast*. He is also the author of *Nuking the Moon and Other Intelligence Schemes and Military Plots Left on the Drawing Board* (Penguin, 2019).



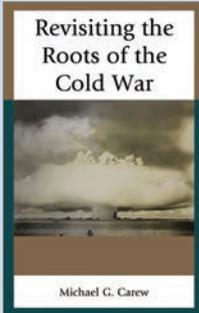
**On Distant Service:  
The Life of the First U.S. Foreign  
Service Officer to Be Assassinated**

Susan M. Stein, Potomac Books,  
2020, \$34.95/hardcover,  
e-book available, 360 pages.

On July 18, 1924, a mob in Tehran killed U.S. Foreign Service Officer Robert Whitney Imbrie at the age of 41. Nearly a century later, Susan Stein tells the fascinating story of this forgotten figure.

Assigned to Russia for his first posting, Imbrie witnessed the October Revolution of 1917, fled ahead of a Bolshevik arrest order and continued to track communist activity in Turkey even as the country's war of independence unfolded around him. His murder in Tehran set off political repercussions that cloud relations between the United States and Iran to this day.

Susan M. Stein spent 35 years teaching, including pedagogical collaborations in Ukraine and Uganda. A columnist and feature writer for the *Omaha World-Herald's* Sunday magazine for 15 years, she is an editor of fiction and nonfiction publications.



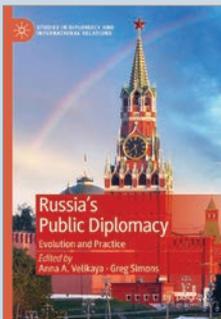
### Revisiting the Roots of the Cold War

Michael G. Carew, Lexington Books, 2020, \$95/hardcover, e-book available, 282 pages.

This book documents the emergence of the Cold War between 1944 and 1948, emphasizing recently available Soviet scholarship and information from other archives. Unlike prior works on the origins

of the Cold War by James Gaddis, George Kennan and Ernest May in the 1980s, Carew analyzes the effects of American demobilization following World War II and the major restructuring of the State and Defense departments to present a more realistic appraisal of the formulation of U.S. policy.

Michael G. Carew is a lecturer–assistant professor at Baruch College. He is the author of several books on World War II, including *Becoming the Arsenal: The American Industrial Mobilization for World War II, 1938-1942* and *The Power to Persuade: FDR, the News Magazines, and Going to War, 1939-1941*.



### Russia's Public Diplomacy: Evolution and Practice

Anna Velikaya and Greg Simons, eds., Palgrave MacMillan, 2020, \$119.99/hardcover, e-book available, 285 pages.

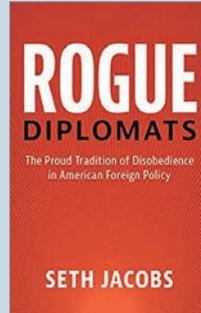
Although some articles and book chapters exist, there are almost no books devoted to Russian public diplomacy.

That makes this anthology an invaluable contribution to the field, with chapters

by prominent scholars, most of them Russians, who discuss best practices. But the book's "real value," according to Vivian Walker in her *FSJ* review (October), lies "in its illuminating insights into Russia's unique public diplomacy challenges."

Anna Velikaya is a research fellow at the Primakov National Research Institute of World Economy and International Relations, part of the Russian Academy of Sciences.

Greg Simons is an associate professor at the Institute of Russian and Eurasian Studies, part of Uppsala University, and a lecturer in communication science at Turiba University in Riga.



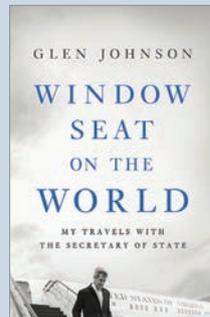
### Rogue Diplomats: The Proud Tradition of Disobedience in American Foreign Policy

Seth Jacobs, Cambridge University Press, 2020, \$34.99/hardcover, e-book available, 406 pages.

This highly readable book, a volume in the Cambridge Studies in U.S. Foreign Relations series, presents a heretofore neglected aspect of American foreign policy, namely a

pattern of insubordination. It turns out that many milestones in the history of U.S. foreign affairs, such as the acquisition of Louisiana territory in 1803 and preservation of the Anglo-American "special relationship" during World War I, were largely the result of ambassadors, ministers and envoys refusing to heed their instructions. While also examining the failures, Jacobs argues that the disobedience frequently produced improvements for the nation.

Seth Jacobs is a professor at Boston College. A political and cultural historian of 20th-century America, he is the author of *The Universe Unraveling: American Foreign Policy in Cold War Laos* (2012), two books on Ngo Dinh Diem and numerous articles on aspects of the Vietnam War.



### Window Seat on the World: My Travels with the Secretary of State

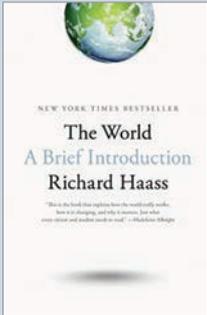
Glen Johnson, Disruption Books, 2019, \$25/paperback, e-book available, 300 pages.

Reporter Glen Johnson was happily covering politics for *The Boston Globe* in 2012 when he was selected to be deputy assistant secretary of State for strategic

communications. For the next four years, 2013-2017, he accompanied John Kerry as he became the most traveled Secretary of State in history.

In his quest to create the most complete photo archive possible, Johnson shot more than 100,000 photographs of Secretary Kerry all over the world, some of which are featured in the book. This volume documents the dedication of a longtime public servant and his team to the practice of diplomacy.

Glen Johnson covered five presidential elections over three decades of reporting for *The Boston Globe*, the Associated Press, a string of local newspapers and the historic City News Bureau of Chicago. He is now a writer, consultant and teacher living outside Boston.



**The World: A Brief Introduction**

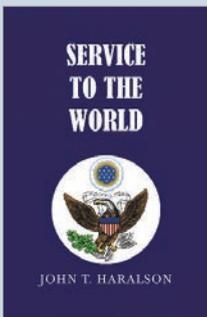
Richard Haass, Penguin Press, 2020, \$28/hardcover, e-book available, 400 pages.

“This is the book that explains how the world really works, how it is changing, and why it matters,” says former Secretary of State Madeleine Albright.

Aiming to raise foreign policy literacy broadly, the author presents

an “essential history” from 1618 to the present, then tours the regions of the world. Next, he discusses issues of the “global era” such as migration, cybersecurity, currency and monetary policy. Finally, he considers elements of the world order such as alliances, war between countries, sovereignty and self-determination.

Richard Haass is president of the Council on Foreign Relations. He served as the senior Middle East adviser to President George H.W. Bush, as director of the State Department Policy Planning Staff (2001-2003), and as U.S. envoy to both the Cyprus and Northern Ireland peace talks. He is the author of many other books, including *A World in Disarray* (2018).



**Service to the World**

John T. Haralson, Xlibris, 2019, \$19.99/paperback, e-book available, 160 pages.

Formalized training in crisis management was still in its infancy when Lt. Col. John Haralson began working for the State Department in 1986 as program manager for the Crisis Management Training Program. The new training program Haralson helped launch was

met with mixed feelings: “We are diplomats, we do diplomacy, we don’t do security,” some said. Haralson would go on to facilitate numerous exercises that helped diplomats at post better prepare for the worst.

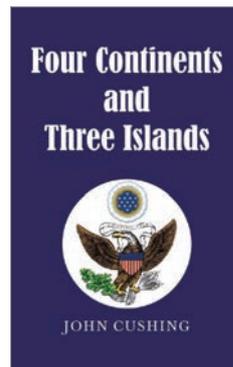
In this memoir, a volume in the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training’s Oral History Bound Book Program, Haralson describes his nearly 50 years on the front lines of American crises and conflicts. Before joining State, he had served for 28 years in the U.S. Army, with combat tours in Laos and Vietnam with Special Forces (Green Berets). He led State’s Crisis Management Training Program and taught at the Foreign Service Institute until 2007.

*Continued from p. 42*

That organizing principle makes *Guardians of the Grail* a truly distinctive book. His first posting, as a U.S. Information Agency public diplomacy officer, was in Madras, where he learned how to navigate India’s famously moribund bureaucracy. After tours in Amman and Khartoum, he became the first public affairs officer in Asmara. While there, he helped reopen U.S. Embassy Kigali in Rwanda following that nation’s 1994 genocide.

Perhaps the most memorable story Datta tells comes from his time as chargé d’affaires in Monrovia in 2003, when he organized the evacuation of 150 Americans using French military helicopters out of Côte d’Ivoire. He also was instructed to see Liberian President Charles Taylor to tell him that the George W. Bush administration wanted him to leave the country.

Now a full-time writer, Christopher Datta has published three novels, *Touched with Fire* (2013), *The Demon Stone* (2014) and *Fire and Dust* (2014). He has also written a movie script and is finishing a detective novel and another movie script, both due out later this year.



**Four Continents and Three Islands**

John Cushing, Xlibris, 2019, \$19.99/paperback, e-book available, 124 pages.

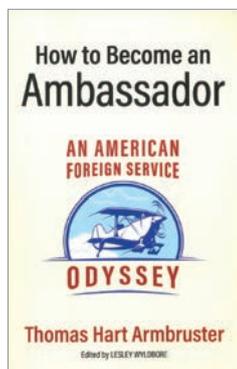
John Cushing’s career in the Foreign Service took him across a broad expanse of nations and regions. Prior to joining the Service, he served in the Peace Corps and spent years as a teacher of English in Japan, Iran and Tacoma,

Washington. *Four Continents and Three Islands*, a volume in the ADST Oral History Bound Book series, is the story of his far-ranging international career.

Joining the Foreign Service relatively late in life—at the age of 43, with a family and a fair amount of work experience behind him—gave Cushing some added perspective that served him well in his diplomatic career. Whether adjudicating visa applications in Santo Domingo or fielding calls from outraged Korean officials, Cushing had more than enough opportunity to exercise diplomatic tradecraft to navigate sensitive situations and safeguard American interests.

John Cushing served as a Peace Corps volunteer in Korea. He joined the Foreign Service in 1988 and served on four continents and three islands before retiring. He now lives in

Portland, Oregon, where he performs volunteer work, plays in several bands and works as a substitute teacher.



### **How to Become an Ambassador: An American Foreign Service Odyssey**

Thomas Hart Armbruster, BookBaby, 2020, \$17.99/paperback, e-book available, 230 pages.

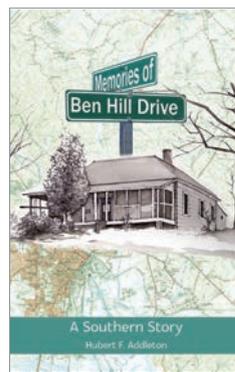
Touted as “a roadmap for anyone interested in the U.S. Foreign Service,” *How to Become an Ambassador* is a breezy memoir interspersed with answers to interview questions from the Association

for Diplomatic Studies and Training Foreign Affairs Oral History Project. Ambassador Armbruster encourages prospective FSOs to “give it a shot, no matter how much of a long shot it may seem.”

Armbruster shares tales of service and adventure from his more than two decades in the Foreign Service. Among other accomplishments, he convinced the Pentagon to clean up a World War II battleship that threatened a reef in the Marshall Islands; nominated the 2014 Civil Society Speaker who brought United Nations delegates to their feet; and successfully negotiated an emergency response agreement with Russia.

Armbruster also discusses the need for the Foreign Service to represent all of America, in all of its great diversity. “Only by including all Americans in diplomacy can we advance further,” he writes.

Retired Foreign Service Officer Thomas Armbruster was born in El Paso, Texas, and now lives in Ithaca, New York. He served as U.S. ambassador to the Republic of the Marshall Islands from 2012 to 2016. Other Foreign Service postings include Vladivostok, Dushanbe, Nuevo Laredo, Moscow, Havana and Helsinki. The only American diplomat to arrive in the Soviet Union by kayak, he is a private pilot and scuba diver.



### **Memories of Ben Hill Drive: A Southern Story**

Hubert Addleton, Doorlight Publications, 2019, \$12.95/paperback, 130 pages.

New author Hubert F. Addleton, the father of Ambassador (ret.) Jonathan Addleton, marked his 90th birthday in November 2019 with two events: taking a tandem skydive from 14,000 feet, organized by one of his grandsons on leave from the military; and publishing this touching account

## **ADST Expands Oral History Program**

If you or a family member recorded an oral history with the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training, you can now order it as an attractive bound book. An excellent gift for family or friends, your oral history transcript can now live on a bookshelf or coffee table instead of in a drawer or your filing cabinet. You can also purchase the bound oral histories of other Foreign Service members.

Here’s how it works: Once an oral history transcript has been edited and posted to ADST’s website, the association offers the opportunity to order copies of the oral history in a bound-book format. To qualify for publishing, the oral history transcript must be edited and complete. ADST doesn’t provide writing or editing services under this program; the text will be printed as it appears on the ADST website. However, before printing begins, you can make edits yourself (take advantage of the time staying safe from COVID-19 at home!).

The book’s generic title will be *Your Name: An Oral His-*

*tory*, and the back cover will feature an image of ADST’s Cool Ben. There are also options for customization, such as adding your own photo and a “blurb” about the book to the back cover. The initial set-up fee is \$300 (waived for ADST Benjamin Franklin Circle members), and each copy will cost \$25-50 (depending on length), plus sales tax and shipping cost.

Bound-book ADST oral histories are another way to help spread the word about ADST’s Foreign Affairs Oral History program and its vital role in preserving and sharing the legacy of U.S. diplomacy since World War II.

If you are interested, please email [OHBook@adst.org](mailto:OHBook@adst.org) for answers to any questions you have about the process or the product.



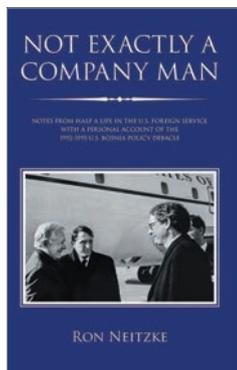
—Susan B. Maitra

of his Depression-era childhood as the eleventh of 14 children growing up in rural Georgia.

While most of Addleton's siblings received a grade-school education before finding work in the nearby cotton mills, Hubert finished high school, attended seminary and spent more than three decades as a Baptist missionary in Pakistan. As one of the few foreigners to speak the local language fluently, he translated religious manuscripts and co-authored a Sindhi-language course.

In addition to describing his childhood, the memoir includes thumbnail sketches of Addleton's parents, as well as his 13 brothers and sisters. It also reflects on several momentous events in his life, such as answering the call to missionary service, meeting the love of his life and embarking on a five-week journey from New York to Karachi on a freighter in the summer of 1956, accompanied by his wife and first child.

Two more children were born during Addleton's time abroad, including his second son, Jonathan—who as a career Foreign Service officer would return to Pakistan as USAID mission director and later serve as U.S. ambassador to Mongolia.



**Not Exactly a Company Man:  
Notes from Half a Life in the  
U.S. Foreign Service With a  
Personal Account of the  
1992-1995 U.S. Bosnia Policy  
Debacle**

Ron Neitzke, Xlibris, 2019,  
\$23.99/paperback, e-book  
available, 400 pages.

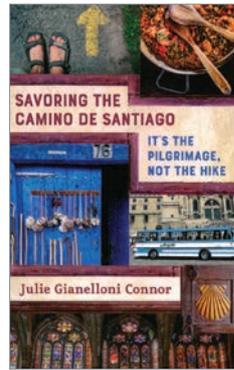
In this memoir, Ron Neitzke takes readers into the environment at the State Department and in Washington, D.C., during the conflicts that engulfed the former Yugoslavia in the early 1990s. As intractable differences among the various ethnicities exploded into violence, Washington was initially adamant about remaining aloof and detached from the budding crisis.

According to Neitzke, Secretary of State James Baker's insistence on "balanced reporting" that focused on Croatian excesses as well as Serbian atrocities paralyzed decision-making, created rifts between senior policymakers and lower echelons and led to a de facto policy of abstention. He is no less scathing when it comes to the Clinton team's handling of the problem: "sloppy and amateurish scarcely does it justice."

*Not Exactly a Company Man* is an unvarnished insider account of the decision-making (or indecision-making) at the highest levels of power in Washington. Whether in the halls of

the seventh floor of the State Department or in National Security Council meetings, Neitzke provides invaluable insight into the moment-to-moment dynamics of how Washington handled one of the most convoluted diplomatic and humanitarian crises in recent memory.

Ron Neitzke retired from the State Department after nearly 28 years in the Foreign Service to become a full-time father to his three young children, an occasional community rabble-rouser and a manic supporter of the Virginia Cavaliers men's basketball team. He lives with his wife, Jean, herself a former FSO, in Old Town Alexandria, Virginia.



**Savoring the Camino de Santiago:  
It's the Pilgrimage, Not the Hike**

Julie Gianelloni Connor, Bayou City Press, 2019, \$17.99/paperback, e-book available, 276 pages.

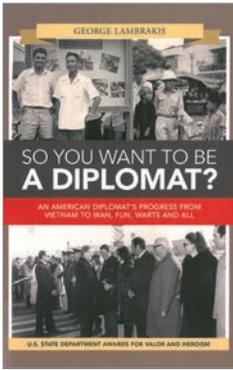
In 2016, Julie Gianelloni Connor made the 500-mile trek from Jean-Pied-de-Port in France to Santiago de Compostela in Spain, joining the more than 300,000 people annually who undertake the pilgrimage. *Savoring the*

*Camino de Santiago* is a memoir of her journey and the process of how she decided to make the trek, as well as a practical guide to the Camino for those interested in experiencing the journey themselves.

While most people walk the route, Connor believes taking buses, taxis or even driving are also valid ways to experience the Camino. She recommends that pilgrims slow down and savor the pilgrimage by visiting churches, museums and interesting towns along the route. She urges people to "take the trip in the manner that will most connect them with their spiritual, religious and transcendent wellsprings."

After finishing the Camino, Connor traveled to Madrid and Toledo, and *Savoring the Camino de Santiago* has chapters covering those visits. She also recounts a thank-you dinner she hosted in her hometown of Houston for those who helped her organize her pilgrimage.

In her 33-year career with the U.S. Information Agency and the State Department, Julie Gianelloni Connor rose to the Senior Foreign Service. After retiring, she founded Bayou City Press in Houston, which focuses on Houston, travel and international affairs. She is a former member of the FSJ Editorial Board.



### **So You Want to Be a Diplomat?**

George Lambrakis, Xlibris, 2019, \$19.99/paperback, 354 pages.

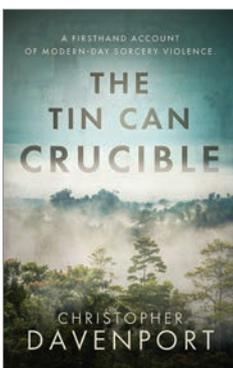
George Lambrakis distills his experience of more than three decades in the U.S. Foreign Service and two decades teaching international relations and diplomacy in this memoir, candidly sharing details about his career, assessments of the historic events in which he played a part and

insights about the work of diplomacy.

In lucid anecdotes, he takes readers through interactions with world leaders and common people in visits to Vietnam, Middle Eastern hot spots and nations afflicted by civil war, and shares his policy disagreements with Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and other higher-ups in the State Department.

Lambrakis goes on to lead an office attempting to limit the political fallout of the U.S. military buildup in the Middle East that would contribute to Saddam Hussein's decisive defeat in the Persian Gulf War, but also to the disastrous invasion of Iraq that followed and to Osama bin Laden's growing resentment of the United States.

A Foreign Service officer with the U.S. Information Agency and the State Department from 1954 to 1985, George Lambrakis served in Beirut, London and Tel Aviv, and on the State Department Israel desk during the 1967 Six-Day War. He was one of two American observers (with Ambassador Alfred "Roy" Atherton Jr.) at the Israel-Syria disengagement negotiations after the 1973 Arab-Israeli (or Yom Kippur) War, and he was deputy chief of mission and political counselor in Tehran during the Iranian revolution, among many other assignments during his long career.



### **The Tin Can Crucible: A Firsthand Account of Modern-Day Sorcery Violence**

Christopher Davenport, Lume Books, 2020, \$4.99/e-book, 227 pages.

In 1994, Peace Corps volunteer Chris Davenport traveled to Papua New Guinea's Eastern Highlands to live among subsistence farmers. There, he settled into village life and learned the local language. Then one day the

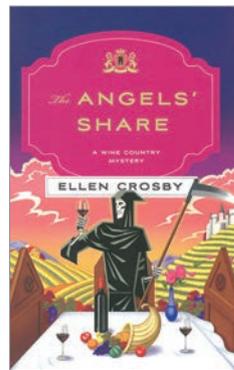
villagers kidnapped, tortured and killed a local woman who

was accused of sorcery. Davenport is forced to reconcile this unspeakable act with a community he had come to love. Trying to comprehend what he had witnessed, he is left with one question: How can love survive the unthinkable?

In this moving story, Davenport recounts a personally transformative experience. He surveys the integrity of his own well-meaning volunteer effort and asks challenging questions about the role of philanthropy at the intersection of cultures. It is a story about empathy, grief and the complexity of humanity.

Christopher Davenport is a Foreign Service public diplomacy officer currently serving in Tbilisi. He previously served in Ho Chi Minh City and Guatemala City, as a watch officer in the Operations Center and as cultural affairs officer in Dushanbe. He and his wife have two daughters and an assortment of pets they have collected from around the world.

## FICTION



### **The Angel's Share: A Wine Country Mystery**

Ellen Crosby, Minotaur Books, 2019, \$26.99/hardcover, e-book available, 368 pages.

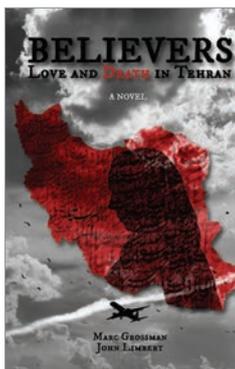
When Lucie Montgomery attends a Thanksgiving weekend party for friends and neighbors at Hawthorne Castle—owned by the Avery family, the last great newspaper dynasty in America—she doesn't expect the festive occasion to end in death.

But soon after Prescott Avery, the 95-year-old family patriarch, tells Lucie he'll pay any price for a cache of 200-year-old Madeira that her great-great-uncle, a Prohibition bootlegger, discovered hidden in the U.S. Capitol in the 1920s, she and her fiancé, winemaker Quinn Santori, discover Prescott's body lying in his wine cellar.

Lucie's investigation uncovers tantalizing hints of a mysterious vault supposedly containing documents hidden by the Founding Fathers and a possible tie to William Shakespeare. If Lucie finds the long-lost documents, the explosive revelations could change history. But will she uncover a 300-year-old secret in time to avoid becoming the next victim?

Ellen Crosby, the wife of FSO André de Nesnera of the Voice of America, began writing mysteries under her maiden name

when her husband was posted to Geneva. She has now published 10 books in the Virginia wine country mystery series, featuring winemaker Lucie Montgomery, as well as *Moscow Nights*, a standalone memoir based loosely on her time as Moscow correspondent for ABC Radio News in the late 1980s. You can visit her website at [www.ellencrosby.com](http://www.ellencrosby.com).



### **Believers: Love and Death in Tehran: A Novel**

Marc Grossman and John Limbert, Mazda Pub, 2020, \$35/paperback, e-book available, 378 pages.

Ambassadors (ret.) Marc Grossman and John Limbert pool their extensive Foreign Service knowledge to create this page-turner about a fictional junior American diplomat, Nilufar Hartman, who arrives in Tehran in

November 1979.

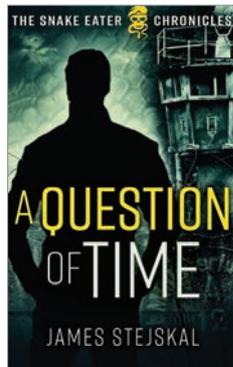
She ends up spending nine years in Tehran as an American spy, reporting on the new Islamic Republic as it collapses into extremism and war. She flees Iran, pregnant and betrayed, carrying secrets of love and tragedy. Returning to the United States, she chooses a quiet life teaching at a university and swears never to work for Washington again.

Hartman's life is upended when Alan Porter, the man who had sent her to Iran in 1979, asks for her help once more. Porter describes a plot by American and Iranian extremists working together to provoke a war between the two countries. Porter says only she can stop it.

Marc Grossman is the vice chair of The Cohen Group in Washington, D.C. Amb. Grossman was a career Foreign Service officer from 1976 to 2005, serving as under secretary of State for political affairs, Director General, assistant secretary of State for European affairs and U.S. ambassador to Turkey.

John Limbert served for 34 years in the Foreign Service and was ambassador to Mauritania and deputy assistant secretary of State for Iran. He earned the State Department's Award for Valor after spending 14 months as a hostage in Iran. After retiring from State, he was professor of Middle Eastern studies at the U.S. Naval Academy until 2018.

(See p. 81 for a story on their AFSA Book Notes discussions.)



### **A Question of Time**

James Stejskal, Casemate, 2020, \$24.95/hardcover, 304 pages.

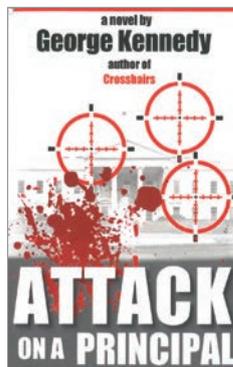
In Berlin, 1979, the CIA realizes its most valuable spy is compromised, but cannot safely extract him. Chaos and cascading consequences will ensue across the agency's operations worldwide if he cannot escape the savvy East German security service.

Master Sergeant Kim Becker survived the hell of the Vietnam War while serving with the elite Studies and Operations Group. But after losing one of his best men in a controversial operation, he began to harbor doubts. He is now serving with an even more clandestine special forces unit operating out of Berlin, and to get their man out the CIA turns to Becker's team.

As Becker's men devise a plan to extract the CIA spy by any means necessary, the agent must play for time. But one question remains: Is the man worth the risk?

This book, the first in the Snake Eater Chronicles, is the author's fiction debut. Says *Publisher's Weekly*: "Fans of realistic espionage fiction will look forward to the sequel."

James Stejskal, a military historian and conflict archaeologist who specializes in the research and investigation of irregular warfare, spent 35 years with the Central Intelligence Agency and U.S. Army Special Forces. He is the author of numerous articles and several previous books, including: *Masters of Mayhem: Lawrence of Arabia and the British Military Mission to the Hejaz* (2018) and *Special Forces Berlin: Clandestine Cold War Operations of the U.S. Army's Elite, 1956-1960* (2016). He is the husband of Ambassador Wanda Nesbitt, who served as dean of the Foreign Service Institute's School of Language Studies (2016-2019) and retired from the Foreign Service with the rank of Career Minister.



### **Attack on a Principal**

George Kennedy, SETAF Publishing, 2019, \$20/paperback, e-book available, 342 pages.

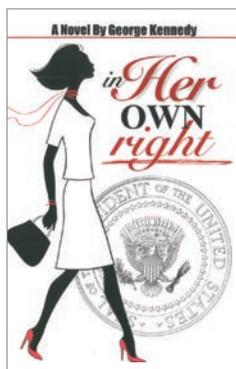
The second book in the author's Crosshairs series, *Attack on a Principal* takes us into the White House of President Annetta Nielsen, formerly vice president to the recently murdered President Reginald Branson—the first Black president. Branson's

best friend and former acting Secretary of State, Alfred Turner, is now Nielsen's veep.

As in the first volume (published in 2018), Turner relates the unique challenges confronting the nation's first female chief executive and describes the partnership he forges with Nielsen to deal with the deadly assaults on their administration by a segment of white men gripped by fear, victimhood and racial animus.

George Kennedy is a retired Senior Foreign Service officer whose diplomatic career took him to seven countries and culminated in his appointment as consul general in Toronto. He has kept busy after retirement as a political adviser to several elected officials, an adviser to small- to medium-sized enterprises on opportunities in overseas markets and an independent business owner.

He is also the author of a memoir, *Cotton Fields to Summits: The View from Contested Ground* (SETAF Publishing, 2018), in which he describes his 35-year journey to fulfill a lifelong dream to live life beyond his horizons, and *Crosshairs* (SETAF Publishing, 2018), the first in a series of alternative historical novels. See the next three entries for the latest installments in this series.



### In Her Own Right

George Kennedy, SETAF Publishing, 2019, \$20/paperback, e-book available, 276 pages.

In this third volume in the Crosshairs series, Vice President Alfred Turner reprises his role as the official biographer for President Annetta Nielsen, who has now secured a term in her own right. Alfred falls in love with Josephine Branson, widow of the slain

former president, who leaves her position of U.S. Attorney General to become Nielsen's new Secretary of State.

Conservatives and white male extremist groups, with political cover provided by their Republican allies on Capitol Hill, continue their attacks on the Nielsen administration. An early retirement creates a vacancy on the Supreme Court, and the president honors her commitment to nominate Josephine Branson.

The Republican Senate minority leader inadvertently reveals a GOP-backed conspiracy, played out on foreign soil, to topple the Nielsen presidency and derail the presidential ambitions of Vice President Turner. Nielsen, true to her character, confronts this latest challenge to her presidency and models an archetype of presidential leadership for future aspirants to the most powerful office in the world.



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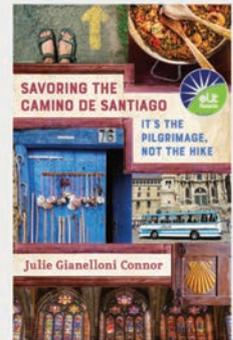
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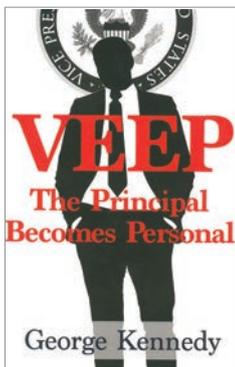
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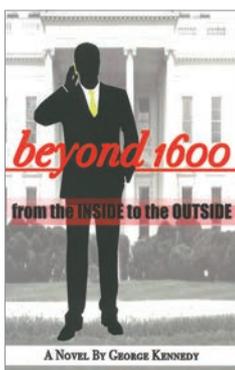


**Veep: The Principal Becomes Personal**

George Kennedy, SETAF Publishing, 2020, \$9.99/e-book, 266 pages.

All eyes are on Vice President Alfred Turner as the second term of the Nielsen administration comes to a close. In the second quarter of 2015, Vice President Alfred Turner stuns the political world with his announcement that, for family reasons, he will

not be a candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination in 2016. Turner is now a devoted family man with another plan for his future. He is also in the crosshairs of an extremist movement with a well-placed ally in the U.S. Secret Service who is fearful that Turner may yet seek to direct this country's future.



**Beyond 1600: From the Inside to the Outside**

George Kennedy, SETAF Publishing, 2020, \$20/paperback, e-book available, 330 pages.

Follow protagonist Vice President Alfred Turner through his next career and life transition, that of a private citizen, in *Beyond 1600*. The latest in George Kennedy's political thriller series, *Crosshairs*, keeps up the same

fast-paced rhythm of his previous books, including *Attack on a Principal* and *Veep*. This time, however, Turner is outside the White House, moving toward the launch of his foundation. Yet his deep commitment to building a viable institution is soon tested with the election of a new president whose policies are xenophobic and isolationist. Former colleagues, friends and family are now looking to Turner to challenge him.

Will he give up his private-sector aspirations, and throw his hat in the ring for the 2020 presidential election?



**Blue Country**

Mark Wentling, Page Publishing, 2019, \$16.95/paperback, e-book available, 204 pages.

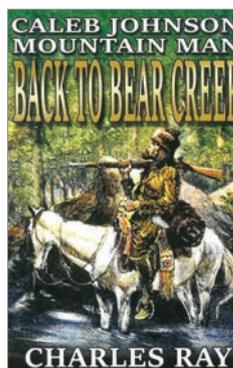
Set in the mid-20th century, *Blue Country* is the tale of Juan Eduardo de Mejia, a dying prisoner who shares his lifetime memories with a rat called "Savior" who lives in the walls of his jail cell. Juan regales Savior with tales about his father, Ernesto, a well-respected doctor

who saved a poor community from catastrophe when floodwaters invaded their homeland of Sinoteca decades earlier.

In a series of flashbacks to his childhood, Juan shares memories of Sinoteca's rich history and tells of Ernesto's marriage to Elena Portillo Del Campo, Juan's mother. Juan's birth led to the tragic death of Elena, a woman Juan "never knew but idolized." Ernesto was so traumatized by the death of his wife that he fell into a coma, but was nonetheless nominated to run for president of their home country, Catrasia.

Juan's jail sentence is left unexplained until the last third of the book. He shares how he was raised by a foster family in the mountains surrounding Sinoteca and was renamed as Antonio Gomez to protect him against his father's enemies. As an adult, Juan becomes a schoolteacher, relocating to Sinoteca Valley where he advocates for the poor in defiance of Sinoteca's new dictatorship.

A former USAID mission director, Mark Wentling has more than 50 years of experience in the development and humanitarian assistance fields. *Blue Country*, his fifth book, follows four novels detailing the African experience. See p. 41 for his *Africa Memoir: 50 Years and 54 Countries (Volume 1: Algeria-Liberia)*, also published this year.



**Caleb Johnson: Mountain Man: Back To Bear Creek: A Frontier Western Adventure**

Charles Ray, independently published, 2020, \$4.99/paperback, e-book available, 120 pages.

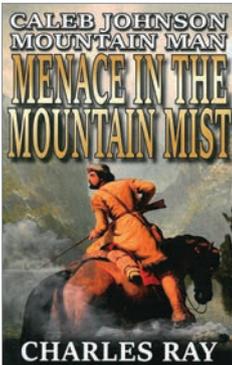
Caleb Johnson, a Black mountain man, saves former Confederate officer Ben Winthrop from a lynch mob. He then guides Ben from Colorado to Oregon and spends two years there helping him start a ranch. But Caleb wants to get back to his

little cabin near Bear Creek, Colorado, even though he'll miss Ben's wife, Wenona, a Shoshone princess, and her two sons.

Finally, it's time. Caleb saddles his horse, Horse, and calls his dog, Dog, and returns home. It's a journey that is neither routine nor peaceful. When he arrives in Wenona's tribal village in Utah, he finds his Shoshone friend threatened by a greedy rancher and land poacher who is moving to take over their traditional hunting ground.

While Caleb is a peace-loving man, he's not one to let his friends be threatened.

A prolific writer with more than 150 titles to his name, Charles Ray is a retired FSO and former ambassador to Cambodia and Zimbabwe. Before beginning his Foreign Service career, Ray was in the U.S. Army for 20 years and retired in 1982 as a major. This year, in addition to *Back to Bear Creek*, he published four more novels. They are described below.

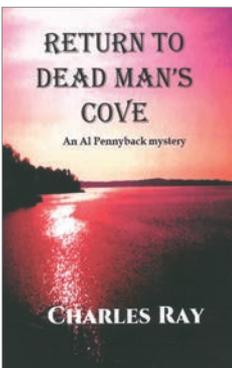


**Caleb Johnson:**  
**Mountain Man: Menace in the Mountain Mist: A Frontier Western Adventure (Book 2)**

Charles Ray, independently published, 2020, \$4.99/paperback, e-book available, 98 pages.

Caleb's wife calls herself by a new name, Flora, to better integrate into Bear Creek society. One day while shopping in Bear Creek, Flora is both-

ered by three ruffians until Caleb soundly beats them in an altercation. The incident fades into memory until months later. As the spring mist envelops their quiet mountain home, old grudges come calling, and a bloody confrontation looms.



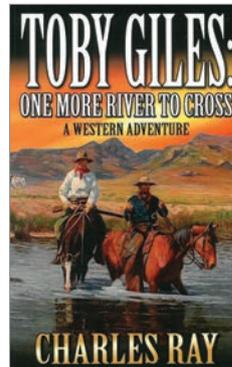
**Return to Dead Man's Cove:**  
**An Al Pennyback Mystery**

Charles Ray, independently published, 2020, \$6.95/paperback, e-book available, 154 pages.

In this installment of the Al Pennyback Mystery series, Al's best friend, Quincy Chang, invites him and his friends to come along on Quincy's new yacht for a weeklong cruise through the Chesapeake Bay. After

witnessing a drug smuggling operation, they are set upon by

smugglers who try to eliminate them. In their flight to elude certain death, Al and friends end up in Dead Man's Cove, a place that holds unpleasant memories for Al.

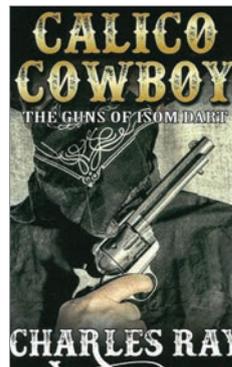


**Toby Giles:**  
**One More River to Cross:**  
**A Western Adventure**

Charles Ray, independently published, 2020, \$5.99/paperback, e-book available, 76 pages.

After helping the town of Jericho fight off a Confederate offensive, Toby Giles starts to settle down in his job as Jericho's sheriff. His friend, Cully Ransom, announces his engage-

ment to the daughter of Jericho's mayor. But Cully puts his wedding plans on hold after he and Toby learn that a slave patrol is lurking across the river and is on the hunt for Toby. Toby and Cully organize a force to thwart the raiders, and in the process, Toby learns the meaning of true friendship in this new installment in the Toby Giles: Lawman Western series.

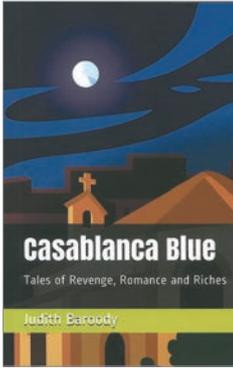


**Calico Cowboy:**  
**The Guns of Isom Dart:**  
**A Western Adventure**

Charles Ray, independently published, 2020, \$6.99/paperback, e-book available, 134 pages.

When Isom Dart was a 12-year-old slave, his master took him to war and taught him how to steal. Now the war is over, and Isom has gained his freedom. He has a thirst for adventure

and wanders the countryside, taking odd jobs from camp cook to rodeo clown. The lure of a life of crime draws him in, and he joins the notorious Tip Gault gang. After narrowly escaping death, Isom decides to become an honest horse rancher in Brown's Hole, Colorado. Unfortunately, Brown's Hole is the hangout of Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid and other gangs, and Isom is soon drawn back into a life of crime.



**Casablanca Blue:  
Tales of Revenge, Romance  
and Riches**

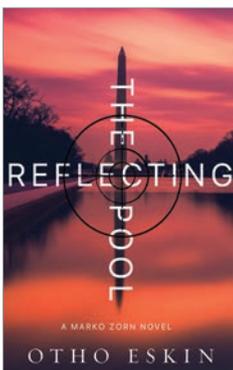
Judith Baroodly, independently published, 2020, \$9.99/paperback, e-book available, 221 pages.

In *Casablanca Blue*, Judith Baroodly offers 10 short stories set in different places and times around the world from a Mediterranean Island paradise to Baghdad's ravaged war zones. The

title story takes readers to World War II-era Casablanca, where the French Resistance did all it could to battle the Nazis. Evils committed during the North African Campaign have life-changing consequences decades later for a young man from Annapolis.

Other stories are, well, full of revenge, romance and riches. In one, the protagonist moves into a gorgeous mansion in Paris, looking for love and treasure, only to encounter ghosts looking to settle ancient scores. Another story takes readers to Hollywood, where a movie star is so desperate to land a role that she asks her best friend to do the unthinkable to help. Yet another features a visit to a mining city built by an American company on the side of a volcano in the Andes Mountains in Chile, where three young friends find that even the most idyllic settings can be deadly.

Judith Baroodly, who retired from the Senior Foreign Service in 2017 with the rank of Minister Counselor, was a professor of national security strategy at the National War College and a senior fellow at the German Marshall Fund of the U.S., among many other assignments. She is a former chair of the FSJ Editorial Board and the author of *Media Access and the Military: The Case of the Gulf War* (University Press of America, 1998).



**The Reflecting Pool**

Otho Eskin, Oceanview Publishing, 2020, \$26.95/hardcover, e-book available, 352 pages.

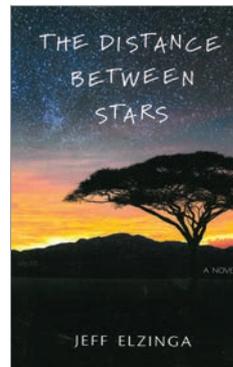
Washington, D.C., homicide detective Marko Zorn encounters the body of a deceased Secret Service agent in the Reflecting Pool. She is a supposed drowning victim, but Zorn suspects more is afoot, after learning the agent was assigned to the president's per-

sonal detail the night of her death. As Zorn digs into details and follows leads, he suspects he is on to something far larger than a murder case.

In this spellbinding story the author takes readers inside the hard-charging investigation of a determined detective. Undeterred by threats from increasingly powerful characters, Zorn pursues justice with a relentless focus even as he is poised to make more enemies.

Filled with witty personalities and shady power players, *The Reflecting Pool* is a fast-paced D.C. murder mystery where the stakes and suspense reach monumental heights. With cops like Marko Zorn on the case, not even the most powerful can hide from justice.

Otho Eskin is a lawyer and former member of the Foreign Service. Active in the Washington theater scene he is a playwright whose work has appeared in New York, Washington, D.C., and Europe. *The Reflecting Pool* is his debut novel.



**The Distance Between Stars**

Jeff Elzinga, Water's Edge Press, 2020, \$20/paperback, e-book available, 344 pages.

*The Distance Between Stars* takes place over 10 days in Umbika, a fictional East African country on the verge of civil war. Like many of its neighbors, Umbika replaced colonial repression with a dictator of its own selection. But now, after 15 years of limited social and economic

progress, peaceful protests are turning violent. The president accuses the U.S. government of secretly supporting his opponents; and tribal animosities, simmering for years, spill over.

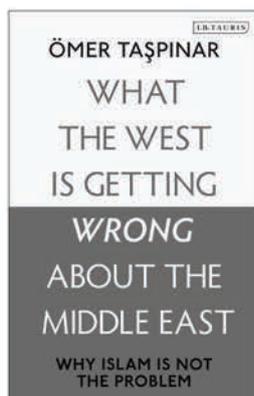
Joe Kellerman, an American diplomat, is among the State Department's best problem-solvers. He has spent his entire career engaged in tough assignments in sub-Saharan Africa. White, middle-aged and adrift in a solitary life, Joe's work is all that matters to him.

As Umbika begins to disintegrate, a controversial Black American journalist, Maurice Hightower, who has spent his career exposing injustice in the United States, arrives on a fact-finding trip. Joe is assigned to assist him, but the two men do not get along. When the journalist disappears in the highlands of the volatile country, Joe is sent to find him. What follows is an engaging story about duty, race and national identity.

Jeff Elzinga has lived two rewarding careers. As a Foreign Service officer for the State Department, he served in Tunisia and Malawi. Then, for more than 20 years, he was a college instructor, retiring in 2018 as Emeritus Professor of Writing at Lakeland University in Wisconsin.

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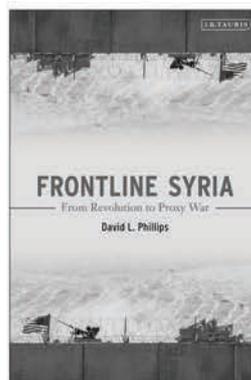
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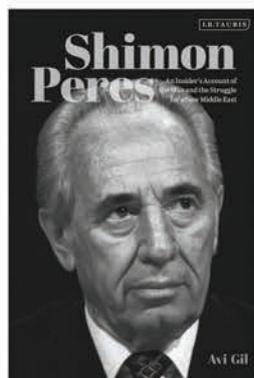
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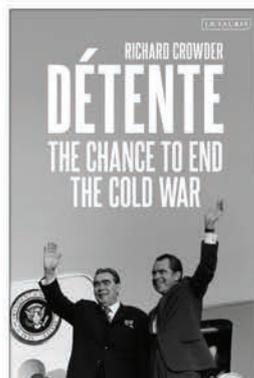
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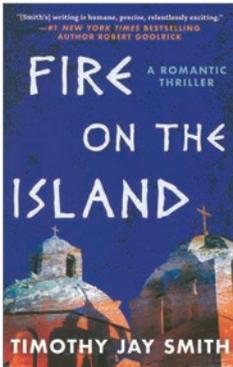
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**Fire on the Island:  
A Romantic Thriller**

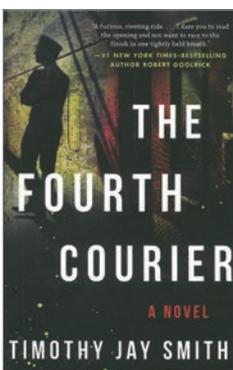
Timothy Jay Smith, Arcade CrimeWise, 2020, \$24.99/hardcover, e-book available, 288 pages.

This playful romantic thriller features a gay Greek American FBI agent who is undercover on a sun-drenched Greek island to investigate a series of mysterious fires. As the locals grapple with declining tourism, poverty, refugees, family feuds and a perilously damaged church, an arsonist invades their midst. Set against the very real refugee crisis currently taking place in Greece, the novel paints a loving portrait of a community in crisis.

Nick Damigos, the FBI agent, arrives on the island just in time to witness the latest fire and save a beloved truffle-sniffing dog. Hailed as a hero and embraced by the community, Nick finds himself drawn to Takis, a young bartender who becomes his primary suspect—which is a problem because they’re having an affair.

A longtime devotee of the Greek islands, the author paints the setting with gorgeous color and empathy, and delivers a romantic thriller with the charm of *Zorba the Greek* while shedding bright light on the very real challenges of life in contemporary Greece.

Timothy Jay Smith lives in Paris with his partner of 38 years, a former Foreign Service Reserve officer and retired Peace Corps chief financial officer. He has published several award-winning works, including *A Vision of Angels*, which won the Paris Prize for Fiction, and his first stage play, “How High the Moon,” which won the prestigious Stanley Drama Award. He is the founder of the Smith Prize for Political Theater. Smith published another novel, *The Fourth Courier: A Novel*, in 2019 (see next entry).



**The Fourth Courier: A Novel**

Timothy Jay Smith, Arcade Publishing, 2019, \$24.99/hardcover, e-book available, 320 pages.

The U.S. embassy in Warsaw invites FBI agent Jay Porter there in 1992 to help police with an investigation into a series of grisly murders, when police discover that the victims may have been couriers smuggling nuclear material out of the former Soviet Union.

During the investigation, Porter, who has family connections to the Manhattan Project, learns that a Russian physicist who designed a portable atomic bomb has disappeared. The authorities race to find him—and the bomb—before it ends up in the wrong hands. Smith creates a haunting atmosphere in post-Cold War Poland, a country undergoing massive change right after the fall of the Soviet Union.

The story brings together a straight FBI agent and a gay Black CIA officer, Kurt Crawford, who work together to solve a gruesome case involving radioactive contraband, corrupt government officials and unconscionable greed. The U.S. ambassador to Poland gives Porter and Crawford wide latitude to solve the case as they see fit, and even steps in at times to offer his assistance.



**The Last Rhino**

Robert Gribbin, iUniverse, 2020, \$13.99/paperback, e-book available, 218 pages.

Reformed hunter Philippe returns to Africa to help manage Garamba National Park and bolster conservation efforts. Replete with wildlife and big game, the park is a natural paradise, but is not without threats.

Beyond the wildlife, Philippe must contend with many of the violent actors that inhabit the park, including aggressive poachers, regional soldiers and the vicious Lord’s Resistance Army. Briefings from locals and United Nations peacekeepers make it clear that he has his work cut out for him.

Among his priorities is protecting the rare white rhinoceros, which has been hunted almost to extinction. After Philippe visits a small community sheltering some of the last white rhinos in Africa, he ponders how he can best protect this endangered species. If word gets out that this small community of Wayamba is protecting white rhinos, all sorts of actors may swoop in, from international conservationists to regional governments, and from sightseers to—perhaps worst of all—poachers.

When Philippe receives reports that poachers are killing off elephants and penetrating into the grounds of the park, he must arm himself to defend against the worst, and seek out more firepower to ensure the threat is stopped for good.

Ambassador (ret.) Robert Gribbin spent many years in

East and Central Africa, first as a Peace Corps volunteer and then as a Foreign Service officer. He is the author of *In the Aftermath of Genocide: The U.S. Role in Rwanda* (2005).



### **The Magician**

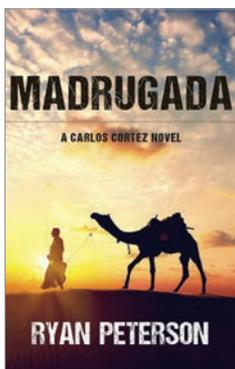
Alex Guissé, independently published, 2020, \$13.99/paperback, e-book available, 265 pages.

An amateur magician is summoned as part of a call by the great Xho'loman emperor who seeks all the magicians in his capital city. An invaluable heirloom ring has been stolen, and the emperor must recover it.

The magician embarks on an adventurous journey, traveling through cities, savannas, jungles and villages. Equipped with magical items whose use he doesn't fully understand, he narrowly escapes dangers and threats.

Can the magician find the lost ring? Or will he be trampled, ambushed or destroyed by magical forces? The answers are all to be found in this book, which the author describes as a "strange and unconventional fairy tale" drawn from all the people he's met, the places he's lived and folktales from his ancestral culture.

Alex Guissé is the pen name of a Foreign Service officer who joined USAID in 2016. He currently works with USAID/Senegal's Economic Growth Office and is the mission's authority on Dakar's fecal sludge value chain. He hopes publishing his first book will enable him to stop talking about sewage when invited to dinner parties.



### **Madrugada:**

#### **A Carlos Cortez Novel**

Ryan Peterson, independently published, 2019, \$12.99/paperback, e-book available, 298 pages.

It's 1961, and Carlos Cortez has traded the Belgian Congo for the comfortable life of a hotelier in downtown Cairo. But his peaceful life abruptly changes when his brother, Miguel, with whom Carlos hasn't spoken in nearly 15 years,

arrives in Egypt on an urgent matter.

Miguel, a trust and estate attorney from Houston, has discovered information that might reveal the final resting place of an eccentric Spanish oil magnate who disappeared years ago aboard his private jet. Cortez and Miguel take an expedition, along

with cartographer Alia Hassan, deep into the Sahara Desert to look for a massive fortune. Along the way they encounter Russian assassins, warring Bedouin tribes and Algerian freedom fighters.

*Madrugada*, Spanish for "daybreak," is the second adventure in the Carlos Cortez series, a sequel to *Conquistador* (2018).

Ryan Peterson is an American lawyer and diplomat. Originally from Mesa, Arizona, he worked as an attorney in public health care in Washington, D.C., prior to joining the Foreign Service. In the past few years, he has lived and worked in Ciudad Juarez, London and Bucharest.



### **Mango Rains**

Anne H. Oman, Galaxy Galloper Press, 2020, \$16/paperback, e-book available, 282 pages.

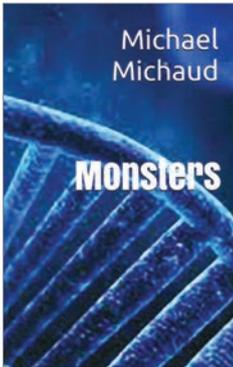
Newly minted Foreign Service Officer Julia Galbraith arrives in Cambodia just short of her 23rd birthday. Relatively sleepy and peaceful compared to the tumult of the war raging next door in Vietnam, Phnom Penh is swept by the fresh mango rains that precede the

monsoon season.

But as the rains give way to the turbulent monsoon, world events such as the assassinations of Presidents John F. Kennedy and Ngo Dinh Diem of South Vietnam precipitate a crisis. A major diplomatic breakup is in the making, and Julia is on the front lines of a tottering relationship between the United States and Cambodia.

Much of the drama in *Mango Rains* lies in the personal tragedies, ambitions and romantic liaisons among members of the diplomatic corps whom readers meet through Julia. Her own ill-fated love affair is one of many relationships nurtured, challenged and destroyed as the unforgiving monsoon breaks over wartorn Southeast Asia.

Anne H. Oman began her career as a Foreign Service officer for the U.S. Information Agency. She served in Cambodia and Indonesia and was expelled from both countries for political, not personal, reasons. Since then she has worked principally as a journalist, and her articles have appeared in *The Washington Post*, *The Washington Star*, *Baltimore Sun*, *National Geographic World* and many other publications. Currently, she is reporter-at-large for the *Fernandina Observer* in Fernandina Beach, Florida. She has also published four nonfiction books. *Mango Rains* is her first novel.



### Monsters

Michael Michaud, independently published, 2020, \$6.99/paperback, e-book available, 232 pages.

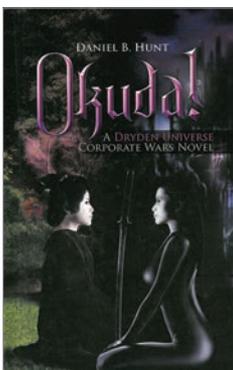
A female oceanographer and a charter yacht captain with a strained relationship lead a voyage with four younger scientists to observe whales in a Mexican lagoon. They discover a frightening reptilian mother and her child, apparently identical to a

seagoing reptile species that went extinct 60 million years ago. The animals escape into the Pacific Ocean, heading toward an unknown destination.

The voyagers begin a quest to prove that these creatures exist, at first meeting with ridicule. They begin to suspect that people with vast financial resources used powerful genetic engineering techniques to make new, enhanced versions of extinct plesiosaurs. New sightings show that those animals have multiplied and spread to other parts of the Pacific Ocean.

In *Monsters*, Michael Michaud explores the potentially threatening implications of genetic manipulation, and how the concentration of great wealth in a small elite may lead to the irresponsible use of that technology. The implications are vast: synthetic biology can be used to modify any form of life into a new species, potentially including human beings. Who are the monsters: the plesiosaurs, or the billionaires who made them?

The author of more than one hundred published works, Michael Michaud was a Foreign Service officer for 32 years before turning full time to writing. He served as acting deputy assistant secretary of State for science and technology and director of the State Department's Office of Advanced Technology. He also served as minister counselor for environment, science and technology in Tokyo.



### Okuda! A Dryden Universe Corporate Wars Novel

Daniel B. Hunt, iUniverse, 2018, \$20.99/paperback, e-book available, 396 pages.

This sci-fi thriller, set in the late 25th century, focuses on Lucy Okuda, a schizophrenic psychopath who has been bred to kill. After escaping her space station prison, Lucy is hunted by the Obsidian Order, her former captives

and tormentors. She lives a life on the edge as M-Prov Carnival Supply Company's top assassin.

Cloned in Synapse Biotech's space lab from the remains of Okuda Yoshiko, a female samurai warrior who died 13 centuries earlier, Lucy's mission for M-Prov could prevent an intergalactic war. M-Prov has assigned her to kill Jillian Caldwell, CEO of the Linn Corporation and "the most powerful women to ever have lived." Meanwhile, Lucy considers revenge against Synapse and its CEO, Takeshi Yamata, after she learns that the company's lab plans to make another clone from Yoshiko's mummy.

In a universe full of corporate deception and intrigue, all is not as it seems. Lucy Okuda finds herself, along with a recovering drug addict, a criminal syndicate's boss and an advanced robot, on a mission that might just end in intergalactic war. *Okuda!* is the fourth installment of Hunt's Dryden Universe series. Though it has some returning characters, it can be read as a standalone novel.

Daniel B. Hunt, a regional security officer in New Delhi, grew up in eastern Kansas. He graduated from the University of Kansas with a degree in creative writing. *Okuda!* is his seventh book.



### Parricide: The Second Volume of the Misdemeanours of Dr Felix Culpepper

Richard Major, Indiebooks, 2019, \$17.22/paperback, 376 pages.

Felix Culpepper is a tutor in classics at St. Wygfortis College in Cambridge, and also an assassin-at-large for the British establishment who moves smoothly from task to murderous task to save himself from, as the

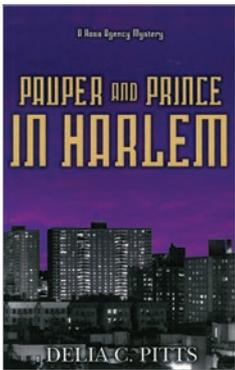
author puts it, "the monotony of stuffing Latin into the well-groomed yet empty heads of Britain's aristocracy." His only match is Margot Fontaines, his student, sidekick and soon-to-be nemesis.

In *Parricide*, the sequel to *Quintember* (2018), readers discover much, perhaps too much, about the reprobate Felix Culpepper, and he discovers more than he can digest about himself and his family origins in the wilds of 19th-century Spain and the gory lore of the bullfight.

Though the book conveys a commanding grasp of historical context, it is more than a historical novel. It is, as the author and reviewers have described it, a "Gothic fairy tale for adults."

Enlivened with period illustrations, the book is full of wit, word play and dark insights.

Richard Major is a teacher, academic and journalist, as well as a novelist. He was educated at Oxford as a Rhodes Scholar and has degrees in history, literature and theology. The spouse of FSO Kristen Fresonke, a political officer in the Palestinian Affairs Unit, he is currently posted in Jerusalem where he does public diplomacy work. The couple have two teenage children and have previously served in South Africa, Hungary, Slovenia and India.



### Pauper and Prince in Harlem

Delia C. Pitts, BookBaby, 2020, \$12.49/paperback, e-book available, 216 pages.

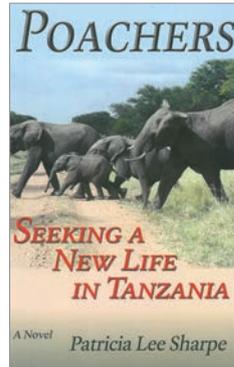
In this fourth book in the Ross Agency Mystery series, Rook confronts his toughest assignment yet. It's Harlem's hottest summer night, and drive-by assassins fire into a crowded playground, killing the 14-year-old friend of private eye SJ Rook. The teenager

was smart, friendly and full of potential, and his sudden death stabs Rook in the heart. Was the boy the victim of a cruel accident, or did the gang hitmen target him in a ruthless display of power?

Rook tries to enlist the help of another teen, Whip, in his effort to find the killers. A transgender boy living on the street, Whip has been drawn into the realm of a violent mob kingpin and doesn't want to be found. Rook's search becomes a dangerous journey through some of the toughest corners of Harlem, from desolate homeless camps to corrupt high-rise palaces.

"Rook is a modern, hard-boiled antihero; as the story carries on, he demonstrates ability, humility, decency and respect and concern for Harlem and its inhabitants," says Kirkus Reviews about the main character in the series. "Pitts lovingly illustrates what life is like in a vibrant Harlem. ... The neighborhood features prominently not only as a setting, but as a character all its own."

Delia C. Pitts, a former Foreign Service officer, university administrator and journalist, is the author of the Ross Agency Mystery series, featuring private investigator SJ Rook. The series includes *Lost and Found in Harlem* (2017), *Practice the Jealous Arts* (2018) and *Black and Blue in Harlem* (2019). She lives in central New Jersey with her husband.



### Poachers: Seeking a New Life in Tanzania

Patricia Lee Sharpe, Sunstone Press, 2018, \$19.95/paperback, e-book available, 192 pages.

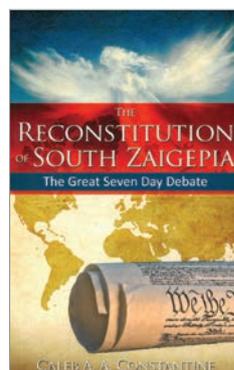
After leaving the U.S. Foreign Service to marry the wrong man, Diana Forrest is reinstated and sent to Tanzania during the Cold War to counter Soviet propaganda. She discovers that socialist ideals there are diminished by rampant

corruption, and that the country is a hot spot for poachers who slaughter elephants for their ivory tusks.

Diana develops a relationship with a Tanzanian subordinate who has a safari business on the side and spends her weekends in the bush. She wrestles with her conscience, troubled by safari companions involved in petty poaching. Worse, one of them may have been involved in the murder of a conservation-minded headman.

Meanwhile, Diana's excellent job performance will land her a great subsequent assignment, but she grapples with whether she's willing to leave her new life in Tanzania.

Patricia Lee Sharpe spent 23 years working for the U.S. Information Agency, where she was posted to Indonesia, India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Nigeria, Tanzania, Sierra Leone and the Dominican Republic. A former journalist, she also has a doctorate in American literature that led to a Fulbright lectureship in Pakistan. She has published four poetry collections and a collection of stories, *Driving Under the Influence* (Wayward Press, 2014).



### The Reconstitution of South Zaigepia: The Great Seven Day Debate

Caleb A.A. Constantine, independently published, 2020, \$19.99/paperback, e-book available, 345 pages.

Set in a fictional developing country, *The Reconstitution of South Zaigepia* is the simple story of how a country reconstituted itself, going from a near-failed state to a "First World" country

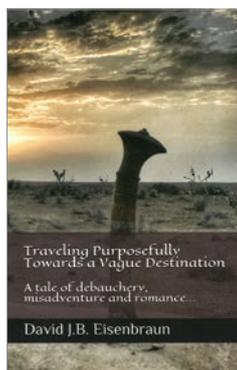
in a single generation.

The author details the high-level meeting that set this national transformation in motion, and uses stories from Latin America, Asia, the Middle East and Africa to propose a theory

on constitutional drafting and governance. He argues that this central theme is equally applicable to great debates in the West, such as that over the Second Amendment in the United States and the Brexit question in the United Kingdom.

At a deeper level, Constantine writes, the novel “is an account of the mysticism in the world, the religious awakening of man and his inevitable acceptance of the universal truth.”

Caleb A.A. Constantine is the pen name of a Foreign Service officer with the U.S. Agency for International Development.



### **Traveling Purposefully Towards a Vague Destination**

David J.B. Eisenbraun, independently published, 2020, \$15.99/paperback, e-book available, 388 pages.

Jesse is a young American sailor stricken by the overwhelming urge to soul search after a tragic event during his perilous journey home. He detours to the colorful countries of Southeast Asia and South Asia but descends into

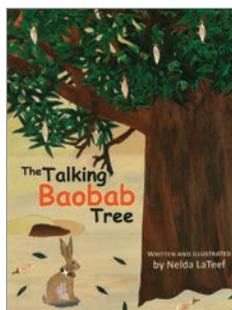
crippling alcoholism and other reckless behaviors.

Along the way, he bartends in the Gulf of Thailand, meets aborigines in the jungles of Malaysia, enjoys romances on Bali and other Indonesian islands, and goes on a dangerous motorcycle expedition through largely untrampled locations in the high Himalayas of Nepal.

*Traveling Purposefully Towards a Vague Destination* follows the unconventional life of this gritty vagabond as he travels to exotic locales, engaging in debauchery and romance as he tries to come to terms with his past.

David Eisenbraun is the son of retired Foreign Service Officer Stephen Eisenbraun.

## CHILDREN AND YOUNG ADULTS



### **The Talking Baobab Tree**

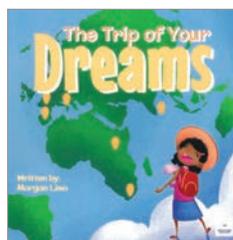
Nelda LaTeef, Sub-Saharan Publishers, 2020, \$18/hardcover, 40 pages.

The plot of this charming children’s book is derived from a story the author heard while visiting a Wolof village on the outskirts of Dakar, Senegal. The tale is in keeping with traditional tales that reveal a deep admiration for getting the better

of a stronger, more powerful opponent. Wolof proverbs are blended into the story, as are Wolof words such as *oubi* (open) and *jerry-jef* (thank you).

The Wolof people make up 40 percent of the population of Senegal, and are celebrated for their oral tradition, sense of style and hospitality. A favorite saying among the Wolof is “Eat whatever you like, but wear clothes that please others.” There are more than 10 million Wolof-speakers in Africa, many of whom live in Senegal, The Gambia and Mauritania.

The daughter of a U.S. Foreign Service family, Nelda LaTeef spent her first 18 years attending schools in Tunisia, Afghanistan, Italy, Niger, Nigeria, Lebanon and Senegal. She is an award-winning children’s author and illustrator. Her previous children’s picture books, *Animal Village* (2018) and *The Hunter and the Ebony Tree* (2003), both won awards and were translated into numerous languages, including Italian, Korean, Gaelic, French and Spanish. The Museum of American Illustration in New York showcased the latter book’s illustrations.



### **The Trip of Your Dreams**

Morgan Limo, independently published, 2020, \$9.99/paperback, e-book available, 30 pages.

In *The Trip of Your Dreams*, young readers (ages 6-12) will follow an inquisitive girl as she explores all corners of the globe. She travels from the comfort of her bed, as she dreams of her perfect trip. Using her vivid imagination, she visits many destinations and far-off places—Sri Lanka, Turks & Caicos, France, Kenya and more. As she details real sights and attractions, readers can plan their next trip or create a travel bucket list.

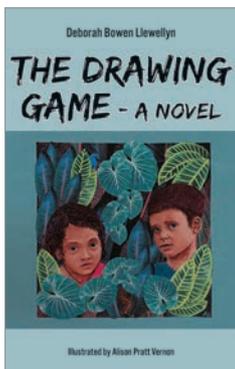
Morgan Limo is a Foreign Service officer with USAID, responsible for strategic planning, budgeting, and monitoring and evaluation of U.S. foreign assistance programs across the health, democracy and governance, education and economic growth sectors. She has worked in Guinea, Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Ghana and Nigeria. She is also the author of *Escape from the Baggage Claim* (see next entry).



### Escape from the Baggage Claim

Morgan Limo, independently published, 2020, \$2.99/e-book, 15 pages.

A traveling tot goes on a search for a missing bag, only to find that she is stuck inside the baggage claim. And there is only one way out: through the good graces of a troll who lives inside!



### The Drawing Game: A Novel

Deborah Bowen Llewellyn, independently published, 2020, \$7.99/paperback, e-book available, 212 pages.

A budding friendship between two 11-year-old Bangladeshi children, Nadiha and Fayaz, grows from a passion for drawing. Nadiha was sold into servitude, and Fayaz reached out to her despite his family's objections.

The two maintain a hidden friendship, and secretly meet to play their drawing game.

Fayaz is kidnapped and held in a remote coastal camp where he is made to clean seashells for tourist shops. But connected through their sketchpads and a magical bluebird, both children embark on endeavors that ultimately save others, and themselves.

Meanwhile, two American children, Beau and Ivy, move to Bangladesh with their families. And as they pursue their own interests in drawing, their paths intersect with beleaguered Nadiha and Fayaz. What can they do to help?

*The Drawing Game* is a story about how children can meet their own momentous challenges in their young lives. Through kindness, bravery and brilliance, children can solve challenges and improve the world for all.

Deborah Bowen Llewellyn is the wife of Charles Llewellyn, a retired USAID public health officer. From 1986 to 2010, she and her family lived in Peru, Bolivia, Ghana, Nepal, Bangladesh, Tanzania and Washington, D.C. She has worked as an early childhood development consultant in 29 countries, and developed a model for low-cost, high-quality, community-led parenting and early childhood education programs that is used in more than a dozen countries in Africa and Asia. She also worked with Save the Children, Plan International and UNICEF.



### Kingdom of Sea and Stone

Mara Rutherford, Inkyard Press, 2020, \$18.99/hardcover, e-book available, 368 pages.

Mara Rutherford's new book for young adult readers is a sequel to her *Crown of Coral and Pearl* (2019) that blends fantasy, politics and sisterhood.

Protagonist Nor is forced to travel to a nearby kingdom in place of her sister. But all she wants is to return to the place

and people she loves. When her wish finally comes true, she faces antagonism from both worlds. And a war looms on the horizon.

Nor tries to keep the kingdom from falling apart with the help of a prince and Nor's twin sister. They combat forces more mysterious than they could have imagined, and they'll have to stay alive long enough to conquer those elements.

After starting out as a journalist, Mara Rutherford discovered that she preferred fantasy to reality. Hailing from California, she has lived all over the world with her Marine-turned-diplomat husband.



### The Return

Camille Funk, independently published, 2019, \$17.99/paperback, e-book available, 445 pages.

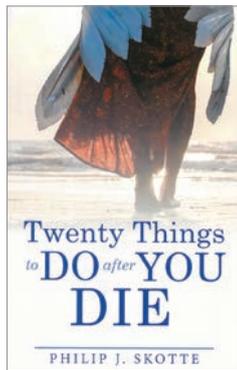
Eleanor Blackwell is turning 17 years old—for the *seventh* time. In each cycle, she knows that at 17, she will fall in love with the boy of her dreams, only to be murdered a year later, just before her 18th birthday.

Each time she is reborn, Ellie finds herself in a different era. Though the times may be different, she is surrounded by the same souls of her friends and enemies.

She realizes that she must figure out the secrets of the people close to her if she is to change her fate and escape the cycle of death and rebirth. The clues span two centuries. Will Ellie be able to prevent her death this time around? Or is she fated to make the same mistakes over and over again?

Camille Funk is the author of this paranormal romance. Her Return series (on Wattpad) has been downloaded more than two million times online. Funk—who writes under a pseudonym—was born in Singapore, grew up in Taiwan, earned a bachelor's degree in education and English at Simmons College, and then worked as a teacher in Myanmar, Gabon and Vietnam. Together with her husband, an RSO, she raises her two children all over the world. Currently, she's working on a romance novel, *Then & Now*, which will be available for purchase later this year.

## POTPOURRI



### **Twenty Things to Do after You Die**

Philip J. Skotte, WestBow Press, 2020, \$11.95/paperback, e-book available, 112 pages.

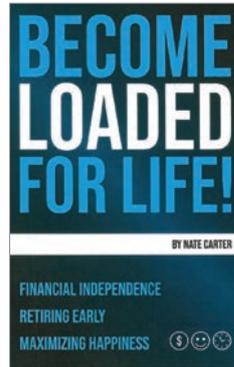
What happens after we die? Do we disappear? Or do we sit on a cloud?

In *Twenty Things to Do after You Die*, Philip Skotte takes readers on a journey of discovery. He tracks the progress of 20 pilgrims as they make

the trek across the water that separates our lives from the next level, toward the kingdom of God. As they move from a land of shadows to a higher reality, the pilgrims go from brokenness to healing. Each discovers fulfillment that they can't find here on Earth.

Skotte argues in this book that our present life is mere appetizer. The real feast, with the best flavors, begins after we die.

Philip Skotte, who has served as a U.S. diplomat in Europe and Asia for 27 years, is currently posted in Shanghai. Before joining the Foreign Service, he worked as a schoolteacher, ship's carpenter and commercial fisherman. He is also the author of *Why Jesus Won't Go Away: A Diplomat Reflects on Faith* (2014). He earned a master of divinity degree from Princeton Theological Seminary.



### **Become Loaded for Life! Financial Independence, Retiring Early, Maximizing Happiness**

Nate Carter, independently published, 2019, \$10.99/paperback, e-book available, 260 pages.

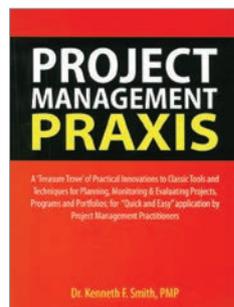
Author Nate Carter brings his extensive business experience to bear in this book that teaches people how to gain financial independence and

retire early.

Carter argues that the traditional plan to study hard and get a good job will rarely make people wealthy. This path often leads to people living paycheck to paycheck, with massive student loan debt, low saving rates and potential job layoffs. "The rules have changed, and you need a better plan combined with the right mindset to become loaded for life," he says.

Among the topics covered in *Become Loaded for Life* are: how Carter turned \$1,500 and a \$24,000 annual salary into financial freedom; how to write a plan to create lasting wealth and financial independence; how to cut expenses, increase savings and live below your means; how to create a durable exit strategy from your day job to retire early; and how to overcome rising health-care costs, higher taxes and cuts in public retirement benefits.

Nate Carter, a former Foreign Service officer and Peace Corps volunteer, has started small businesses, co-founded a real estate company and invested in early stage startups and crowdfunded ventures. He can be found at [loadedforlife.com](http://loadedforlife.com).



### **Project Management Praxis**

Kenneth F. Smith, independently published, 2018, \$65/paperback, 358 pages.

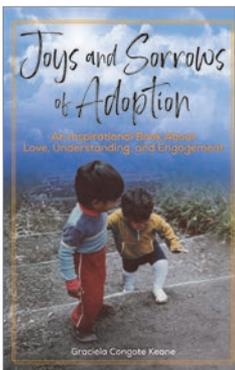
Written by a USAID alum, *Project Management Praxis* is a compilation of best practices for planning, managing, monitoring and evaluating programs and projects. In it, the

author focuses on classical project management tools and techniques from the early 20th century, as well as tools from the modern era.

The book's 10 chapters cover early project management tools such as the "critical path method" and "work breakdown

structure,” and more modern techniques such as “quality-at-entry assessment” of project proposals and the author’s own “Smith grid” for teambuilding.

Kenneth F. Smith is a former Senior Foreign Service officer with USAID. He also worked with the Defense Department and as a consultant to the World Bank, African Development Bank and the United Nations. A longtime member of the international Project Management Institute and IPMA-USA, he leads workshops in various aspects of project management, monitoring and evaluation.



**Joys and Sorrows of Adoption: An Inspirational Book About Love, Understanding, and Engagement**

Graciela Congote Keane, independently published, 2020, \$8.99/paperback, e-book available, 126 pages.

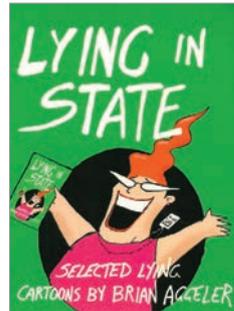
In *Joys and Sorrows of Adoption*, Graciela Congote Keane discusses the challenges of raising children born to

other people, and the burdens adopted children must overcome to thrive in society after being separated from their birth mothers.

Using anecdotes, vignettes and testimonials from adoptees, Keane shares parental approaches that help integrate adoptees into their new families and society. She draws from, among other sources, her own family’s 38 years of experience as an adopting family.

Keane discusses some of the differences between raising a biological child and an adopted child, as well as the challenges of adoption for mobile families. Keane developed the book as a family project with her husband and two sons, all of whom contributed to it.

Graciela Congote Keane, a professional artist and avid reader and gardener, earned a B.A. in developmental psychology from Indiana University and an M.A. in early childhood special education from The George Washington University. She is the wife of Ambassador (ret.) John F. Keane and accompanied her husband to nine countries during his 37-year career.



**Lying in State: Selected Lying**

Brian Aggeler, independently published, 2020, \$25/paperback, 145 pages.

If the State Department were ever to survey its personnel regarding their work-related reading, it’s a safe bet that their favorite page in *State* magazine would turn out to be FSO Brian Aggeler’s “Lying in State” cartoon. In

addition, he’s done dozens of cartoons for the *FSJ*.

For three decades, Aggeler has entertained his colleagues and helped them cope with the inherent absurdities of their profession. Now, for the first time, he has published a collection drawn from more than 30 years’ worth of “Lying in State.”

It is truly remarkable how many of his cartoons are still fresh, decades after their original publication in *State*. As a bonus, you’ll get to see the only “Lying in State” submission that the magazine ever turned down. Aggeler’s description of that episode is even funnier than the cartoon itself.

Brian Aggeler is currently deputy chief of mission at U.S. Embassy Paris, where he earlier served as minister counselor for political affairs. A career member of the U.S. Senior Foreign Service with the rank of Minister Counselor, he previously served as DCM in Skopje, among many other assignments.

Before joining the Foreign Service, Aggeler was a Peace Corps volunteer in the Central African Republic. He is married to Senior Foreign Service Officer Angela Aggeler; their daughter, Madeleine, is a writer in New York City. ■

## AMERICA'S OVERLOOKED DIPLOMATS AND CONSULS

# WHO DIED

*in the*

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# LINE OF DUTY

**A discovery in a cemetery in Hong Kong spurred a quest to find the names of U.S. diplomats whose ultimate sacrifice remained unacknowledged.**

BY JASON VORDERSTRASSE

In late September 2009, I took a two-hour ride on the Long Island Railroad to Southampton, New York, and then walked over to the North End Burying Ground. I took the lengthy trip to see the grave of Robert Sterry, one of the few 19th-century U.S. consuls who died in the line of duty whose grave is in the United States. The trip continued my long-standing interest in these overlooked diplomats, which began during my 2007-2008 assignment in Hong Kong (see "Russ and I," June 2009 *Foreign Service Journal*).



*Jason Vorderstrasse is a Foreign Service officer currently serving as the diplomat in residence for Southern California, Hawaii, Nevada, American Samoa, Guam and the Northern Mariana Islands. He previously served in Kingston, Hong Kong and Tijuana.*

*He received AFSA's 2020 Award for Achievement and Contributions to the Association for his work to preserve the memory of forgotten fellow diplomats. The views expressed in this article are the author's own and do not necessarily represent those of the State Department or the U.S. government.*

Sterry, who served as consul in La Rochelle, France, starting in 1816, perished in the wreck of the scow *Helen* off Long Island on Jan. 17, 1820. Sterry had joined the Consular Service after seven years in the U.S. Army, during which he fought in the War of 1812. His request to President James Madison for a consular appointment came with the endorsement of Brigadier General Alexander Macomb. Although records are sparse, Sterry seems to have had an adventurous spirit, having moved to the Louisiana Territory following his graduation from what would eventually become Brown University. Hailing from a well-connected Rhode Island family, he had made the move bearing a letter of introduction from President Thomas Jefferson.

While in Louisiana, Sterry wrote an article criticizing the territorial governor, William C.C. Claiborne. Claiborne's brother-in-law and private secretary, Micah Lewis, then challenged Sterry to a duel. Sterry killed Lewis in the duel, shooting him in the chest. Sterry's son-in-law, Ferdinand Du Fais, later served as consul at Le Havre. His grandson, John Du Fais, became a New York architect of some renown.

During my assignment in Hong Kong, I found three consuls who had died in the line of duty but were not recognized on the



The AFSA Memorial Plaques in the C Street lobby of the State Department, which were unveiled in 1933 and have been updated since, will be expanded to accommodate the names of diplomats, mostly from the 19th century, whose death in the line of duty was discovered recently.

AFSA Memorial Plaques in the C Street lobby of the Truman Building. I realized that there are likely many others, especially those from the 19th century. The plaques were unveiled in 1933, and I was surprised to learn that the names on them were the result of research conducted by AFSA; the Department of State kept no records of the diplomats or consuls who had died in the line of duty. In most cases, the only way to learn if someone died while employed by the State Department was to look at the Card Records of Appointments Made, which show the dates of service of consuls or diplomats, organized by geographic location. Though at the time of the plaques' creation AFSA had the advantage of closeness in time to the many diplomats and consuls

who had died during the 19th century, it did not benefit from modern research tools.

My own research has primarily relied on Google Books and the ProQuest Historical Newspapers database, using search terms like "U.S. Consul Dead" or "U.S. Consul Died." Unfortunately, a name often requires further research, as it was common for newspapers to misspell names or refer to people as consuls even if they never officially held that title. The Library of Congress' online resource *A Century of Lawmaking for a New Nation: U.S. Congressional Documents and*

*Debates* is particularly helpful in finding Senate nomination and confirmation dates, as well as for its frequent references to replacing "deceased" consuls. The State Department's consular cards have been retired to the National Archives; researchers can consult them there (see Card Record of Appointments Made, 1776-1960 [RG 59 Entry A1-798]). Walter Burges Smith's book, *America's Diplomats and Consuls of 1776-1865: A Geographic and Biographic Directory of the Foreign Service from the Declaration of Independence to the End of the Civil War*, also has a very useful list of consular posts for the early 19th century.

The Ralph Bunche Library at the Department of State has been particularly helpful to this research. In addition to the

## PARALLEL EFFORTS

**Others became involved in the search for overlooked diplomats, as well.**

**Consular Card Project.** FSOs Lindsay Henderson and Kelly Landry, while working in the Office of Policy Coordination and Public Affairs of the Bureau of Consular Affairs, conducted their own search for early colleagues who died in circumstances distinct to overseas service but are not honored on the AFSA Memorial Plaques.

Over many off-duty hours during 2019-2020, they reviewed each of the approximately 6,500 “consular cards” on which the State Department tracked overseas assignments of consular officers and diplomats from the 1790s to the mid-1960s. On those mostly handwritten index cards, they found 762 annotations of death at post. For each case, they queried a large online database of U.S. newspapers dating back to the 1700s to attempt to determine the cause of death (which is rarely noted on consular cards).

They found contemporary newspaper reporting on approximately half of the deaths. Those reports documented 11 colleagues who had died between 1826 and 1942 under circumstances qualifying for inscription on the plaques. The AFSA Governing Board approved adding them in June 2020.

**Foreign Service Specialists.** Consular cards rarely record assignments of employees who today are categorized as Foreign Service specialists. But AFSA Governing Board member John Naland discovered that the Bureau of Diplomatic Security had posted documentation on its website about Foreign Service diplomatic couriers who died overseas in accidents during official travel. One, Seth Foti, who died in 2000, was already on the AFSA Memorial Plaque. But four others, with dates of death between 1945 and 1963, were not. The AFSA Governing Board approved their inscription in May 2020.

Researching further, Naland discovered that Foreign Service secretary Nicole Boucher also died in a 1963 crash. She was 28 years old and was returning to the United States after completing her first assignment when the airliner that she and diplomatic courier Joseph P. Capozzi were flying in crashed into Mount Cameroon, near Douala, Cameroon. The AFSA Governing Board approved her inscription in June 2020.

—J.V.

I was surprised to learn that ...  
the Department of State kept  
no records of the diplomats  
or consuls who had died  
in the line of duty.

ProQuest Historical Newspapers database, it has a great collection of books on diplomats. To my surprise, its collection includes at least three books on diplomats who have been overlooked on the plaques: Samuel Shaw, Henricus Heusken and Edward Ely. Shaw is described in some detail in Peter Eicher’s recent book *Raising the Flag: America’s First Envoys in Faraway Lands* (2018), and his published diaries are in the library. Ely’s diaries, published as *The Wanderings of Edward Ely* (1954), include a postscript explaining how he died of dysentery in Bombay (Mumbai) in 1858. Heusken, secretary at American outposts in Japan—both Shimoda and Edo (Tokyo)—died at the hands of anti-foreigner samurai; his activities in Japan are described in amazing detail in Oliver Statler’s *Shimoda Story* (1969).

### Violence, Accidents and Changing Criteria

Other overlooked consuls I discovered include Henry Sawyer, who served as consul in Paramaribo, Suriname, for 23 years. A sailor killed Sawyer on May 7, 1877, after Sawyer attempted to take him into custody. During the Civil War, Sawyer played a role in the near capture of the Confederate privateer *Sumter*, captained by Raphael Semmes. Semmes, who captured several ships off the coast of South America in late 1861, stopped in Paramaribo to obtain coal. Sawyer attempted to purchase all the coal in the port. Although he failed in this endeavor, he did manage to rent or buy almost all available small ships, making it very difficult for Semmes to load the coal he purchased. As such, Semmes was delayed in port for more than a week as opposed to the expected few hours. Sawyer used this time to contact the U.S. Navy, which had a steamer in nearby Cayenne; but because of what the *Chicago Tribune* called “cowardice or treachery,” the ship did not respond, and Semmes escaped. In the meantime, Sawyer successfully rescued Semmes’ personal slave.

Violence also claimed the lives of William Baker and William Stuart. Baker served as consul in Guaymas, Mexico, but died in Mazatlán on Dec. 20, 1862, after being attacked by what the contemporary press called “Apaches.” Stuart, who served as vice consul in Batumi, Russia (now Batumi, Georgia), died after being

shot by an unknown assailant on May 20, 1906. Like many consuls in the 19th century, Stuart represented multiple countries' interests simultaneously, in this case Great Britain in an acting capacity. Local authorities arrested two men for the murder, but the reason for the killing was never conclusively determined.

Accidents also killed several overlooked consuls. Allen Francis, consul to St. Thomas and Port Stanley in Ontario, Canada, was present in the former city on Aug. 4, 1887, the date of the largest train disaster in the history of the southwest region of that province. Two trains collided, killing 13 people. Francis, who was apparently investigating the crash, died after being struck by fire department equipment.

In the post-World War II era, AFSA criteria for inclusion on the plaques did not include airplane or automobile crashes, but the criteria were changed periodically (see John Naland, "The Foreign Service Honor Roll," May 2020 *FSJ*), and in recent years several diplomats who died in such disasters have been added. Of those previously overlooked, George Atcheson Jr. is the most prominent. At the time of his death in 1947, Atcheson served as an adviser to General Douglas MacArthur in occupied Japan and was on his way to Washington, D.C., when his plane crashed 110 miles west of Oahu. Apparently, the pilots had mistakenly set the throttle in the wrong position, and the aircraft ran out of fuel.

According to *Time* magazine, his last words before the crash were, "Well, it can't be helped." Atcheson had previously served as chargé in China during the war and its immediate aftermath, where he was viewed as an ally of John Service and other Foreign Service officers who questioned the staying power of Chiang Kai-shek. After his death, Atcheson's son, also named George, participated in one of the first underwater demolition attacks in the Korean War as part of a team of swimmers that attacked a train bridge near Yeosu.

Others who died in airplane crashes included Carlin Treat, who died in Morocco on Oct. 10, 1946, on his way to his first post, Casablanca, and George Henderson, consul in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia, who died in Shannon, Ireland, on April 15, 1948, while en route back to Washington, D.C., for consultations. The most prominent overlooked victim of an automobile crash is probably Henry H. Ford, consul general in Frankfurt, who died in an accident on the autobahn in 1965 while traveling back to his post from Bonn.

## Disease Took the Biggest Toll

Of course, like most of those commemorated on the plaques in the 19th century, the vast majority of the overlooked consuls and diplomats died of disease. Most famously, yellow fever



U.S. NAVAL ACADEMY MUSEUM COLLECTION

A portrait of Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry, the "Hero of Lake Erie" during the War of 1812, who died of yellow fever in 1819. Appointed Special Diplomatic Agent, he had been in Venezuela to negotiate anti-piracy agreements with President Simon Bolivar. On the return trip, he contracted the disease and died shortly before reaching Port of Spain.

claimed the life of Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry, hero of the War of 1812, who had status as a Special Diplomatic Agent. Perry met with Simon Bolivar, then president of the Third Republic of Venezuela who became the first president of Gran Colombia, during the Congress of Angostura. That eventually led to the proclamation of an independent Gran Colombia, which went on to become the independent states of Colombia, Ecuador, Panama and Venezuela. Perry convinced Bolivar to reduce the number of privateer commissions being issued by the republic of Venezuela; some unscrupulous individuals used these commissions to engage in piracy against U.S. shipping. Five of Perry's crew died in Angostura (now Ciudad Bolivar, Venezuela), but Perry himself only came down with the disease while traveling to Port of Spain. The disease moved quickly, killing him six days after he first showed symptoms.

Yellow fever also claimed the lives of John Howden, consul



## MOSES A. HOPKINS

### Tropical Fever – Liberia 1886

Moses Aaron Hopkins was born into slavery in Virginia on Dec. 25, 1846. During the Civil War he worked as a cook in Union Army camps. After learning to read at age 20, he graduated from Lincoln University near Oxford, Pennsylvania, and went on to become the first Black graduate of Auburn Theological Seminary in Auburn, New York. He later settled in Franklinton, North Carolina, where he established a church and a school.

Hopkins was appointed U.S. minister (ambassador) to Liberia in 1885. He died there of “African fever” on or about Aug. 3, 1886. He was one of four U.S. ministers to Liberia who died of tropical disease between 1882 and 1893.

Moses Hopkins was one of the most recent discoveries of an overlooked diplomat, but this brief biographical note is exemplary of the compelling stories behind the new names for the Memorial Plaques.

—John K. Naland

Like most of those commemorated on the AFSA plaques in the 19th century, the vast majority of the overlooked consuls and diplomats died of disease.

in Bermuda, who died on Sept. 11, 1853; James Tobut, consul at St. Thomas, then part of the Danish Virgin Islands, who died on Dec. 26, 1858; William Little, consul in Panama City, who died on Jan. 29, 1867; Louis Prevost, consul in Guayaquil, who died on May 23, 1867; and Elphus Rogers, consul in Veracruz, Mexico, who died on Aug. 1, 1881. In Brazil, both William Stapp, who passed away on April 13, 1860, and William R. Williams, consul in Pará, who died on Sept. 25, 1862, were felled by the disease.

Ailments referred to as “tropical disease,” “tropical fever” or merely “fever” also claimed the lives of several consuls and diplomats. As mentioned previously, Consul to Canton (Guangzhou) Samuel Shaw died at sea on May 30, 1794, near the Cape of Good Hope. William Tudor, chargé d’affaires in Rio de Janeiro, died of “fever” on March 9, 1830. Richard Belt, consul in Matamoros, died of “epidemic fever” on Oct. 11, 1844. Hector Ames, consul in Acapulco, Mexico, died of “fever of the country” on May 16, 1853. Samuel Collings, consul in Tangier, at the time one of the most important posts in the world, died on June 15, 1855, from “African fever.” Consul to La Unión, El Salvador, William McCracken died from “congestive fever” on July 7, 1857. Frank Frye, consul in Ruatán (now Roatán), Honduras, died of “fever” on Feb. 10, 1879. Seth Ledyard Phelps, minister to Peru, died of Oroya fever on June 24, 1885. Moses Hopkins, minister to Liberia, died of “African fever” on Aug. 3, 1886.

One of the pioneering African American diplomats, Alexander Clark, also died of fever, while representing the United States as minister in Monrovia on May 31, 1891. A native of Pennsylvania, Clark had settled in what became Muscatine, Iowa, where he worked as a barber and operated a lumberyard. At the outset of the Civil War, Clark, as a sergeant major, helped organize the 1st Iowa Volunteers of African Descent. Clark and his son both graduated from the University of Iowa law school, the first African Americans to do so. Clark also operated the *Chicago Conservator* newspaper, speaking out on civil rights

issues. President Benjamin Harrison nominated him for the overseas diplomatic position on Aug. 16, 1890, but Clark died in Liberia less than a year later.

In addition to Edward Ely, dysentery claimed the lives of James Thornton, chargé d'affaires in Callao, Peru, on Jan. 25, 1838; Alexander McKee, consul in Panama, on Sept. 3, 1865; Edward Conner, consul in Guaymas, Mexico, on July 16, 1867; Hiram Lott, consul in Managua, on June 15, 1895; and John Carter Ingersoll, consul in Colón, Panama, on June 6, 1903. Cholera felled William Venable, minister to Guatemala, on Aug. 27, 1857; vice consul John Amory in Calcutta (Kolkata) on July 1, 1860; consul William Irvin in Amoy (now Xiamen), China, on Sept. 9, 1865; and vice consul Jose Casagemas in Barcelona in early November 1865. Typhoid fever killed Daniel Brent, consul in Paris, on Jan. 31, 1841. And smallpox ended the lives of John T. Miller, vice consul in Rio de Janeiro, on July 28, 1887; Thomas Gibson, consul in Beirut, on Sept. 20, 1896; and Thomas Newson, consul in Málaga, Spain, on March 30, 1893.

Turning to those who met a watery demise, we find that,

unfortunately, Robert Sterry is not the only overlooked consul to die in a shipwreck. James Holden, commercial agent at Aux Cayes (now Les Cayes), Haiti, was lost at sea in 1827. John Miercken, consul in Martinique, boarded the *Lafayette* in September 1832, but the ship never arrived at its destination and was presumed sunk. Isaiah Thomas III, appointed as consul to Algiers, departed New York on the *Milwaukee* on Feb. 21, 1862, after being nominated by President Lincoln. Thomas, who had previously edited the *Cincinnati American*, and three of his children were lost at sea.

AFSA has undertaken a project to recognize these individuals and other diplomats whose death in the line of duty has not been acknowledged. In August 2020, the AFSA Governing Board approved funding to inscribe the names of the early diplomats and consular officers on new plaques in the C Street lobby, hopefully in time for the association's annual memorial ceremony in May 2021. With that, their service to their country will finally be recognized, and we will no longer have to refer to them as "overlooked." ■

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# Slaughter South of the Sahara No Scope for “Business as Usual”



COURTESY OF UNHCR/SYLVAIN CHERKAOU

In Kaya, Burkina Faso, on Feb. 4, 2020, displaced women and children of the Sawadoga family stand with everything they could carry from their home in Bokoum. They had been forced to flee just a few days prior to this photo being taken.



he deteriorating security situation in West Africa's vast Sahel region defies any simple description. Its complexity is exacerbated by numerous extremist groups, which seek through violent means to achieve their selfish and inscrutable objectives. Recent acts of violence by members of these groups serve as an urgent call to national gov-

ernments and the international community to take additional steps to counter the groups, and protect vulnerable communities from the worst consequences of the increased instability brought about by mounting violence across the Sahel.

Of special concern are three Sahelian countries: Burkina Faso, Mali and Niger (Central Sahel). Since the military's overthrow of an elected government in Mali in 2012 and the substantial outflow of arms and extremist fighters following the downfall of Muammar Gaddafi in Libya 2011, the level of instability and violence in the Sahel—and the number of incidents in these countries, in particular—has skyrocketed.

The military coup in Mali on Aug. 18 further destabilized a country that was once viewed as a model of democracy. There are also reports that the COVID-19 pandemic is playing into the hands of extremist groups, which are willing to take higher risks. It is feared that following historic seasonal rainfall in 2020 in the region these groups will become more aggressive.

Recent armed attacks on national military forces by extremist groups in these countries have resulted in extrajudicial killings of nearly 200 people this year by host-country militaries, and retaliatory attacks on the part of local militia have added to this number. These attacks have fomented intercommunal resentments and led to violence between ethnic groups. One example is the



*Mark Wentling retired in 1996 from the Senior Foreign Service after serving as USAID's principal officer in six African countries. He has worked in Africa for the Peace Corps, nongovernmental organizations and as a contract employee for USAID. He has published five books, and the first of his three-volume Africa Memoir was released in August (see p. 41). Much of this article is based on that memoir, which covers all 54 African countries.*

## **Comprehensive strategies—and contingency plans if they fail—are needed urgently to deal with the complex and rapidly deteriorating situation in the Sahel.**

BY MARK WENTLING

extrajudicial killing of 43 members of the Peulh ethnic group in Burkina Faso in March reported by Amnesty International. Also, corrupt activities by national military forces are not helpful. In this regard, the \$100 million military procurement scandal revealed by an official audit in Niger in 2020 is lamentable.

The growing waves of violent extremism have introduced drug trafficking, corruption and criminality; collapsed local economies; undermined local and regional institutions and governance; exacerbated ethnic divisions; and prompted extensive displacement and migration. Without renewed engagement

by the international community and a reasoned strategy to take on and defeat extremist violence, this scourge threatens to shatter the centuries-old traditions and social fabric of Sahelian society and could spread to envelop the entirety of West Africa.

### **On the Ground**

UNHCR reports that the number of people internally displaced in Burkina Faso, Mali and Niger increased from

nearly 300,000 in 2018 to almost two million by mid-2020. Burkina Faso has especially been hammered by the upsurge in violent extremist activity in 2019 and 2020; the number of people fleeing their homes doubled from nearly 500,000 to a million in less than a year. Large swaths of this country have almost ceased functioning, including the closing of hundreds of schools. All signs indicate that the number of homeless people will continue to grow, a somber indicator of the depth and extent of the conflict in the Central Sahel.

In Niger's case, the prolonged upheaval in the Lake Chad Basin in the southeast corner of the country has been caused by Boko Haram, which has its base in northeast Nigeria. This group is reported to have caused more deaths than any other terrorist group in the world. The Council on Foreign Relations' Global Conflict Tracker reports that Boko Haram is responsible for nearly 40,000 deaths since 2011, and the killing continues.

The conflict in this area has been exacerbated by the decline in livelihoods caused by the drying up of Lake Chad. Cross-border incursions of Boko Haram insurgents from their bases inside Nigeria have also obliged tens of thousands of local people to flee their homes. According to the Council on Foreign Relations, more than 2.5 million people have been displaced by the violence instigated by Boko Haram, and more than 240,000 people have taken refuge in neighboring countries (mostly Niger).

## The growth and spread of extremists are aided by decades of weak governance and development failures.

Perhaps the saddest case in the Central Sahel is Mali because formerly it was so full of promise. Of all the countries in the region, it has the most potential to achieve a higher level of prosperity for its people. Tapping this potential has been thrown off track for more than eight years, and with the recent military coup, it is now unlikely that Mali will ever achieve its full status as a democratic and economically prosperous country. In many ways, violent extremist groups have nixed Mali's hopes for a better future, and the overthrow of a democratically elected president adds to Mali's woes.

Simultaneously, the bloody acts of extremist groups have unleashed an unprecedented level of criminality and deepened traditional ethnic and communal cleavages. The growth and spread of extremists are aided by decades of weak governance and development failures. The groups thrive in the vast open geographic spaces of the Sahel, which have always been poorly governed or never had any governance at all. The failure of national governments to provide security and social services underlies the multiple grievances of the local population, and these can easily be exploited by extremists.

Also in this chaotic mix is the steady stream of thousands of migrants and asylum seekers from other African countries seeking refuge in Niger or a way farther north to desired destinations in Europe. The trafficking of migrants, drugs, arms and commercial merchandise continues to make northern Niger a crossroads for lucrative but illegal trade deals. Lately, the level of lawlessness in far northern Niger has been complicated by the discovery of gold in the remote Djado Plateau. The ensuing gold rush, fueled by the rise in international gold prices, has resulted in the influx of thousands of artisanal miners.

Most people in the Sahel wish to escape the clutches of absolute poverty, but the prospects of doing so are less than before. Living on the edge of survival has always been a challenge in the Sahel. Now, economic decline caused by increased insecurity and the spread of the COVID-19 pandemic is making the survival of even the most resilient inhabitants more difficult. And there is little, if any, hope in sight for any improvement in their precarious condition.

### Factors to Consider

There are several important factors to be considered when analyzing the origin and growth of violent extremism in the Sahel and developing a strategy to stop it. For instance, the recession of Lake Chad is a reminder of how climate change, recurrent droughts and exceptional flooding can have profound effects. Most people living in the Sahel depend on agriculture or livestock-raising for their livelihoods, which are threatened by climate change, particularly increasingly variable seasonal rainfall. Climate change thus contributes to increased joblessness, which is a destabilizing factor of deep concern.

Further, a rapid population growth rate and a youthful population structure (on the average, one-half of the population is about 15 years old or younger) complicate a progressive erosion of livelihoods. Fast urbanization is also a demographic feature that sets off some alarm bells. Underlying the worrisome demographics of the Sahel is a relatively high and unsustainable total fertility rate. The current and projected demographic landscape contributes heavily to the deep poverty of the region and its fragility.

One commonly voiced fear is that a large number of disaffected and unemployed youth will be attracted to violent extremist groups, thus becoming tomorrow's foot soldiers for these groups. Large portions of the population who have never benefited from their respective national governments and those who view their government officials as corrupt elitists might also be easily swayed by what the extremists have to offer.

In some areas of the Central Sahel, rising population densities on less fertile land and overgrazed pastures are causing an increasing number of clashes between farmers and herders. The increase in the numbers of people and animals on the land force people to farm or graze more marginal lands, thus accelerating the negative effects of desertification and deforestation. Growing competition over increasingly scarce natural and water resources inevitably leads to conflicts.

Often, these conflicts are split along contrasting ethnic lines, making it easier for exploitation by violent extremist groups. These kinds of conflict can result in the creation of new armed groups that espouse ideologies designed to stimulate greater intercommunal conflict. And sometimes, extremist groups fight among themselves for supremacy, adding to the multiple layers of mistrust and mayhem.

### Developing a Strategy

All-encompassing short-term and long-term strategies—and contingency plans if they fail—are needed urgently to

deal with this situation. Yet any strategy must take account of certain realities.

First is the capacity of the host government to play the role necessary to stem the rising tide of violent extremism. Unlike extremist groups in the Middle East, extremist organizations in the Sahel do not appear to aim to overthrow national governments, but instead seek to undermine them by corrupting or killing individual officials who put their own interests ahead of what is best for their country. We need to understand: What do the extremists have to offer, and what is their ultimate purpose? What do they want?

If the host government is unwilling or unable in any way to take the necessary steps, activities designed to shore it up in a durable fashion need to be undertaken, and external support needs to be provided until host-country institutions are certified fully capable of executing key tasks independently.

Second, any strategy must include achieving peace and stability in Libya. The United States and its European allies need to flesh out a shared policy that solidly supports the United Nations' effort to end Libya's long civil war and stop the interference of foreign powers so that Libya can develop a strong unified government. Peace in Libya is essential to achieving lasting stability in the Sahel.

Libya became the trigger for increased violence south of the Sahara with the sudden demise of Muammar Gaddafi in 2011, which opened the floodgates for widespread extremist mayhem farther south. It appears that no thought was given to the havoc his removal would cause in this fragile part of Africa. Today, the porosity of Libya's southern borders make stopping the illicit flow of arms and fighters into the Sahel impossible. Moreover, powerful vested interests in the lucrative cross-border trade will work to maintain the present chaotic situation.

Third, though the various extremist groups claim to be motivated by a religious zeal generated by their interpretation of Islam, this is in my view more a cover for their criminal acts than any true religious conviction. Therefore, I refrain from calling violent extremist actors "jihadists" because I do not see them acting from any deep-seated religious conviction. Their main interests appear to be in the domain of plunder and power. The United States, other members of the international community and regional bodies need to encourage and protect religious Islamic leaders who speak out against the destructive acts of extremist groups. Any radical Islamic preaching that promotes violence should be prohibited by the highest and most respected Islamic authorities.

It remains to be seen whether the international community will care enough during these challenging times about the troubles facing the Sahel to do as much as it can to obliterate the extremists and the conditions of poverty and weak gover-

nance they prey on. If not, the continued destructive impact of violent extremism will permanently change the face of the Sahel and, perhaps, West Africa as a whole. The Sahel region may very well be yet another casualty of the resource shortages caused by the COVID-19 pandemic.

### **Commitment Needed to Reverse the Trend**

Centuries-old traditions and the social fabric that previously held Sahelian society together are bound to disintegrate. The longer the Sahelian conflict continues, the more likely that a younger generation will have never known a different life. A protracted conflict may cause a permanent cultural shift of unanticipated proportions. Certainly, the large gap between the outlooks of younger and older people will grow much wider.

The recent upsurge in bloody interethnic conflicts indicates that the trend in the Sahel will be difficult to reverse in the short term and will likely spread to other West African countries. Even with a viable strategy and committed resources, it could take a generation or more to stop the spread of violent extremism in the region. Meanwhile, the killing, destruction and displacement of tens of thousands more people will continue, aggravating the fragile conditions of these impoverished countries on the southern edge of the Sahara Desert.

Moreover, the upheaval in Central Sahel may well spill over into countries located farther south. It is logical to think that once extremists have gained a solid foothold in the Sahelian countries, they will expand their negative presence in coastal West African countries. What is there to stop their movement into Benin, Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Guinea and Togo?

While the crisis in the Central Sahel has been consuming large amounts of humanitarian funding from national and international relief organizations, there is no doubt that more aid is needed. Past assistance has not been wasted, but future assistance should be provided as part of an overarching strategy that includes all elements—humanitarian, economic, diplomatic and military—necessary for the stabilization of the Sahel.

The costs of caring for the more than one million refugees and displaced persons and the cost of foreign military assistance to combat extremist groups are substantial. Yet more will be needed, along with an unflinching long-term commitment by all concerned, if there is to be any hope of halting and repairing the damage done by the spread of violent extremism in the Sahel. There is no room for "business as usual" when dealing with such a protracted, multifaceted and rapidly deepening crisis. ■

# CONGRATULATIONS

to this year's AFSA award recipients



## Amb. Edward Perkins

The 2020 Recipient of AFSA's Award for  
**Lifetime Contributions to American Diplomacy**

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**Lindsay Dana**  
W. Averell Harriman Award



**David Heddleston**  
F. Allen 'Tex' Harris Award



**Monica Smith**  
Christian A. Herter Award



**Julie M. Stufft**  
Christian A. Herter Award



**Jason Smith**  
William R. Rivkin Award

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THIS YEAR'S  
RUNNER-UP



More information on AFSA's awards program  
is available at [www.afsa.org/awards](http://www.afsa.org/awards).

*Bringing Americans Home*

# AFSA, Diplomacy Museum Team Up for Virtual Presentation

The American Foreign Service Association teamed up with the National Museum of American Diplomacy on Sept. 22 for a special Diplomacy Classroom virtual discussion.

The program, "Foreign Service on the Front Lines: Bringing Americans Home," explored the firsthand experiences of America's diplomats who mounted a massive response to the COVID-19 pandemic and helped bring more than 100,000 Americans safely home from overseas when borders and airports were closing and airlines were shutting down commercial operations.

Among the audience were AFSA members, educators and students.

Alan Eaton, a consular officer who served on the Wuhan evacuation team, and Kathryn Stevens, direc-

tor of USAID's Office of Strategic and Program Planning, shared their stories.

Ambassador (ret.) Jimmy Kolker, former deputy global AIDS coordinator in the Office of U.S. Global AIDS Coordinator and Health Diplomacy, moderated the panel.

The event marked the formal launch of AFSA's public outreach campaign, "The U.S. Foreign Service: Our First Line of Defense," highlighting the crucial role the Foreign Service plays in our national security.

The campaign aims to broaden the domestic constituency for the Foreign Service by seeking out new audiences that are not familiar with the work of U.S. diplomats.

AFSA President Eric Rubin made brief remarks about the role of the Foreign Service in responding to

threats such as this latest global health crisis.

"Mobilizing our people overseas in the face of dangers and crises is part and parcel of what the Foreign Service does around the world to help keep Americans safe every day," he said.

"We're all very proud of our colleagues, our diplomats and our development experts, who worked day and night to bring home more than 100,000 Americans. After country after country closed their borders, airports shut down, we found a way to get them home.

"Carrying out these duties, our colleagues risked their health, their safety, and very often that of their families," Amb. Rubin added. "They worked long hours under incredible pressure, in very challenging conditions. They were dedicated, they were tireless, they were resilient.

"And that's why we call the Foreign Service America's first line of defense," he continued. "Whether it's pandemics, civil wars, terrorism or natural disasters, Americans can count on our diplomats around the world to go to work every day to keep Americans safe."

Eaton, a management-coned officer then assigned

*Continued on page 84*

## CALENDAR

Please check [www.afsa.org](http://www.afsa.org) for the most up-to-date information. All events are subject to cancellation and/or rescheduling.

Nov. 9–Dec. 14  
**Federal Benefits Open Season**

November 11  
**Veterans Day: AFSA Offices Closed**

November 13  
12 p.m.  
**2021 Federal Employee Health Benefits (FEHB) Insurance Program and Benefits**

November 18  
12–2 p.m.  
**AFSA Governing Board Meeting**

November 26–27  
**Thanksgiving Holiday: AFSA Offices Closed**

November 30  
**AFSA Scholarship Applications available**

December 16  
12–2 p.m.  
**AFSA Governing Board Meeting**

December 25–January 3  
**AFSA Holiday Closure**



AFSA and the National Museum of American Diplomacy hosted a Sept. 22 online forum, "Foreign Service on the Front Lines: Bringing Americans Home," featuring five panelists as shown above, clockwise from top left: Kathryn Stevens, Jimmy Kolker, Lauren Fischer, Alan Eaton and Eric Rubin.



## Time for an Office of Conflict Resolution

We all have experienced difficult bosses in our Foreign Service careers. You know the type, those who explode at the drop of a hat and who appear all too comfortable shouting at and intimidating their staff, ostensibly to get better results—as if we are not a highly motivated workforce to begin with.

I remember one former supervisor, a very senior Foreign Service officer, who would get so worked up that items within reach (pencils, usually) were thrown at hapless subordinates.

Another highly successful senior FSO focused on making staff feel uninformed (and less motivated over time) by gratuitously asking irrelevant questions at daily briefings until he found questions for which there were no answers.

When, at one of my counseling sessions, I asked him what he hoped to achieve by acting in this way, he just smiled and said he had been told that before—and nothing changed.

At times, despite such behavior, these supervisors manage to produce results for higher management. And so we have a culture at State that largely gives a pass to managers to behave in an unacceptable, bullying manner.

But couldn't they achieve the same results without resorting to bullying? And what can be done to mitigate this problem?

**The System Now.** The department has well-defined processes, based on law and regulation, in place for dealing with Equal Employment Opportunity, discipline and grievance matters. If you want to bring an EEO complaint, discipline an employee, contest a discipline proposal or file a grievance, it's clear what you have to do.

One of our grievance counselors in the AFSA Labor Management office has told me, however, that many of the issues AFSA sees are workplace conflict issues, not grievances.

Unfortunately, when people bring them forward, there is no clear path to resolution. AFSA can only make suggestions: try this or try that.

The problem is that workplace conflict issues cover a broad spectrum, and many of them don't fall neatly into any of the official conflict resolution categories listed above. Thus, there is no clearly defined path to elevate and resolve them.

There is an informal grievance process spelled out in 3 FAM 4430, but very few people know of it. Moreover, it is not a mandatory means of conflict resolution and is seldom followed.

People experiencing workplace conflict issues can attempt to talk with their supervisors, get GTM involved or raise the issue with the ombudsman.

But participation by the supervisors in informal workplace conflict resolution is largely voluntary. If they don't want to meet with the employee or with the ombudsman, they are not obliged to. And human resource officers, management officers and executive directors differ in their ability and willingness to address such conflicts.

**Establish the Office in GTM.** The department needs a standardized mechanism for addressing and resolving workplace conflict that is distinct from EEO, discipline or grievances and that is administered at the Washington level.

Unlike the ombudsman's office, which can only issue recommendations, this new mechanism would issue decisions that are binding on both parties.

Participation would be strongly encouraged or even made mandatory; neither employees nor supervisors would be able to refuse to participate once one party invokes the process.

The goal would be to benefit both supervisors and employees by resolving conflicts before they escalate. Employees would have a clear path for elevating complaints about supervisors. Supervisors would also be able to use the process to deliver a reality check to employees who are making baseless complaints.

The department would need to decide on the consequences for failure to abide by a decision.

In 2019 the department stated its intent to establish such a process by expanding the duties of the ombudsman's office. While the decision on this is up to the department, AFSA recommends that a separate "Office of Conflict Resolution" within the GTM bureau, perhaps in Employee Relations, be established instead.

State's Office of the Ombudsman has worked hard to establish itself as distinct from GTM and not involved in any way in discipline. Placing this function in that office might create confusion about the mission of the ombudsman.

With a huge pent-up demand for such a conflict-resolution mechanism, AFSA will engage the department to move ahead with this idea and staff the new office with enough people, including support staff, to ensure that cases can be handled swiftly.

If a complainant needs to wait weeks or months to start the process, the purpose of establishing the office is undermined.

Please let us know what you think at [member@afsa.org](mailto:member@afsa.org). ■



# The More Things Change...

The Presidential Transition Act of 1963 establishes a framework for transition planning, including preparation of transition briefing materials. This made me remember USAID’s 2016 Review Team Transition Binder ([bit.ly/usaid-binder](http://bit.ly/usaid-binder)). This document is one of the best reports I have read on critical USAID issues; and, no, I did not help prepare it! Or leak it!

I’d like to reflect on a few of the key issues from 2016 and where things now stand.

**Operating Expense (OE) Funds.** 2016: “Since OE is more limited than program funds, the Agency also uses program funds for operational costs and to hire staff through numerous different mechanisms. This approach helps USAID to meet its responsibilities flexibly, but it leads to a complex and inefficient system to fund, manage and control.”

2020: With apologies to Led Zeppelin, the OE song remains the same. In fact, the 2016 paragraph could be cut and pasted into the 2020 Transition Binder.

I would add that the agency now disregards its own policy when using program funds for Foreign Service Limited (FSL) appointments, and that the funding of hiring mechanisms at USAID has only become more complex.

**Workforce Planning.** 2016: “The entire Agency

is impacted by HCTM [the Office of Human Capital and Talent Management] and will benefit greatly from a sustained focus on Human Resource Transformation that produces noticeable results.” Further: “USAID is in the first year of a major Human Resource Transformation process. Establishing the capability for comprehensive workforce planning—which the Agency currently lacks—is a vital part of this transformation.”

2020: Again, not much has changed. In fact, the agency has taken a couple steps backward. For some reason—still unclear to me—the agency stopped its HR transformation while con-

currently starting the largest reorganization of USAID in more than 30 years. And it is undertaking the reorganization with no comprehensive workforce planning. Don’t just take my word for this.

The September 2019 GAO report, “USAID Reform” (<http://bit.ly/gao-usaid-report>), had two key recommendations: “USAID should (1) establish outcome oriented performance measures to assess the effectiveness of its reform efforts and (2) complete a strategic workforce plan necessary to support its reform efforts.” So far, neither has been done.

(I do want to be clear: our HCTM colleagues are

hardworking, diligent professionals. The challenges stem primarily from a lack of sustained political will and leadership decisions on allocation of both human and financial resources.)

**Staffing Profile.** One thing that *really* hasn’t changed since 2016 is the impossibility of finding current, public and easily digestible data related to USAID staffing. Below, I’ve cobbled together a completely unofficial rough comparison of the major hiring categories—read this with a large grain of salt.

I believe the current numbers are probably higher across all categories,

*Continued on page 83*

USAID Workforce	2016*	2019**	% Change
Foreign Service Officers (FS)	1,850	1,666	-9.9
Civil Service Officers (CS)	1,698	1,229	-27.6
Foreign Service Nationals (FSNs) & Third Country Nationals (TCNs)	5,072	4,700	-7.3
Personal Service Contractors (PSCs)	759	1,015	33.7
Institutional Support Contractors (ISC)	1,605	1,681	4.7
Foreign Service Limited (FSL)	305	234	-23.3
Administratively Determined (AD)	110	75	-31.8
Total	11,399	10,600	-7.0

\* Source: 2016 Agency Review Team Transition Binder, from June 2016 Congressional Staffing Report.

\*\* Source: For FS, CS, FSN/TCN and FSL—USAID Interim Strategic Workforce Plan, 02/20/20 (data from 12/21/19); For PSC, ISC and AD—USAID Staffing Report to Congress, 09/30/18.



## The Advocacy Center: A Win for American Jobs

As Fiscal Year 2020 comes to a close (shortly after writing this column in September), it's time to see if we have met our stated goals and justified our cost to the taxpayer.

This year's results ought to be particularly interesting given the challenges (and opportunities) surrounding the COVID-19 pandemic and its substantial impact on the world economy.

One program I'd like to highlight that is crucial to the Commerce Department's trade promotion efforts is the Advocacy Center. The center helps U.S. companies win foreign government contracts around the globe.

It works with companies to pursue opportunities in countries that directly involve foreign government decision-makers—especially

when those companies are competing against foreign firms. Advocacy assistance is provided to U.S. businesses of all types and sizes that apply, and companies are screened to ensure that the majority of their export content is American.

The Advocacy Center team, located in Washington, D.C., works closely with our network of domestic Export Assistance Centers and our commercial offices within U.S. diplomatic missions overseas. Foreign Commercial Service officers are also assigned to the Advocacy Center, usually early in their careers, reflecting its importance to the overall mission of the Commercial Service.

Of course, in the good old days before the creation of the Global Markets Bureau, the Commercial Service

was a stand-alone business unit within the International Trade Administration. It included both the domestic and foreign components of the U.S. and Foreign Commercial Service, as well as the Advocacy Center and Select USA (formerly Invest in America).

The Commercial Service functioned then as a tightly integrated unit with a complete focus on the needs of U.S. businesses. Trade promotion, government-to-government advocacy and investment promotion were the three pillars that U.S. businesses relied on to win in foreign markets.

The business community still relies on those pillars, though some have argued that with the creation of Global Markets in 2013, and the addition of a sizeable policy shop welded onto

the Commercial Service, competing priorities have entered into the mix.

That view presents some interesting points to explore, and perhaps we'll do that in a future column. Judging by my email inbox, there's certainly some curiosity about these issues.

But, how did we do this year on our advocacy work despite COVID and everything else? Are we sufficiently justifying the \$333 million taxpayer investment for those three pillars?

Well, for FY 2020, the Advocacy Center has reported 102 WINS (or what used to be called Export Successes) for U.S. companies, with an estimated total project value of \$29.4 billion. This translates into support for 130,575 U.S. jobs. Stellar results! ■

### NEWS BRIEF

#### NEW MEMBERS JOIN AFSA COMMITTEE ON ELECTIONS

Five new members have been appointed to AFSA's Committee on Elections to oversee the biannual election cycle for the next AFSA Governing Board. The committee took office on July 15.

USAID Foreign Service Officer Erin Nicholson is chairing the committee during its two-year term. The other members are Mort Dworken (retiree), Marcia Friedman (State), Dao M. Le (FCS) and Rodney LeGrand (State). The committee is charged with ensuring the integrity of the election and its results.

A call for nominations will be issued in early

January 2021 and the new Governing Board will take office on July 15, 2021. Important dates and deadlines will be detailed in the call.

We encourage those who might be interested in serving their colleagues as AFSA board members during the 2021-2023 term to consider stepping forward. All information on the upcoming election will be posted on the AFSA website at [afsa.org/election](https://afsa.org/election).

AFSA welcomes the new committee members and thanks them for volunteering to serve in these important roles. ■

## Book Notes

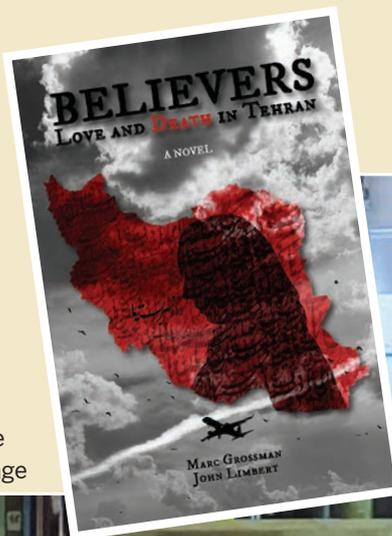
**Believers: Love and Death in Tehran**

AFSA welcomed Foreign Service luminaries Marc Grossman and John Limbert, both retired ambassadors, on Aug. 20 for a Book Notes Zoom presentation of their new historical novel, *Believers: Love and Death in Tehran* (Mazda Publishers, 2020).

Ambassador Grossman said that several years ago, he had an idea: What would have happened if, on Nov. 4, 1979, there had been one

planted the idea, and over the next several years the two worked together to bring it to fruition.

The co-authors set a series of goals, Amb. Grossman said. First, they wanted to tell a good story that would make people want to turn the page



Ambassador (ret.) Marc Grossman, below, and Ambassador (ret.) John Limbert, left, discuss their new book with AFSA members via Zoom at the Aug. 20 Book Notes event.



AFSA/CAMERON WOODWORTH

**They wanted to pay tribute to the Foreign Service, the military, their intelligence colleagues and also the Iranians who have struggled for so many years for a better life.**

more U.S. Foreign Service officer in Tehran, who was not taken hostage? And what if that person had been able to survive outside of the embassy, and had been inserted into the various historical comings and goings of American-Iranian relations?

Amb. Grossman said that though he had thought about writing the book for a long time, he realized he didn't have the ability to do it himself, and that he didn't know nearly enough about Iran. One day at lunch with Ambassador Limbert, he

and see what happens next. Second, noting that the pair have a combined 65 years experience of writing for the bureaucracy, they wanted to write something that *didn't* sound like a State Department memo.

Third, they wanted to pay tribute to the Foreign Service, the military, their intelligence colleagues and also the Iranians who have struggled for so many years for a better life.

Amb. Limbert, who was among those taken hostage in Iran in 1979, shared that

his connections to Iran go back more than 50 years. He had been there as a student, a teacher and a Peace Corps volunteer.

But his deepest connection, he said, was as a member of a proud Iranian-American family (his wife is a naturalized American citizen of Iranian descent). He enthusiastically said "yes" to working on the project.

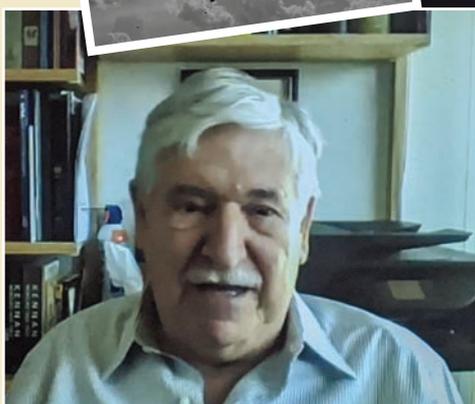
Amb. Grossman said writing the book was a great experience, adding that one of the questions people ask most often is whether the

co-authors have remained friends. "I'm glad to say that the answer to that question is absolutely yes," he said.

Marc Grossman served as ambassador to Turkey, assistant secretary of State for European affairs and under secretary of State for political affairs, among many other assignments during a 31-year Foreign Service career. He was also the U.S. Special Representative for Afghanistan and Pakistan.

John Limbert is a former deputy assistant secretary of State for Iran in the State Department's Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs. During his 34-year Foreign Service career, he also served as ambassador to the Islamic Republic of Mauritania.

(See more about the book on p. 52 in the *Journal's* In Their Own Write feature.) ■



AFSA/CAMERON WOODWORTH

## AFSA Welcomes Three New Governing Board Members

With the departure of State Representatives Matthew Dolbow and Holly Kirking Loomis, and APHIS Representative Jeffrey Austin for overseas assignments, AFSA welcomes three new Governing Board members for the remainder of the 2019-2021 term. Their profiles are below.



Maria I. Hart



Jason Snyder



Russell Duncan

### Maria I. Hart

Maria I. Hart is a Foreign Service specialist, currently serving as a staff assistant in the Bureau of Legislative Affairs. She joined the Foreign Service in 2005.

Prior to returning to Washington, D.C., for her current assignment, Ms. Hart served overseas as an office management specialist at U.S. Embassies Accra, Tel Aviv, Baghdad, Tashkent, Wellington, Madagascar and, most recently, a two-year stint at U.S. Embassy Kabul.

Before joining the Foreign Service, Ms. Hart served as a citizen services specialist in the State Department's Office of Children's Issues, where she successfully facilitated the return of more than 50 children wrongfully removed from the United States under the Hague Convention on the Civil Aspects of International Child Abduction.

She later transferred to the Office of the Inspector General as a management analyst, where she conducted research and inspections of U.S. broadcasting facilities, drafted reports and developed best

practices to reduce waste, fraud and mismanagement.

Maria earned a bachelor's degree in communications (film and television studies) from Queens College in Flushing, New York, and a master's degree in news and print journalism from Regent University in Virginia Beach, Virginia. She did postgraduate work in African studies at Howard University in Washington, D.C.

### Jason Snyder

With more than 10 years as a Diplomatic Security special agent, Jason Snyder is currently supporting Marine Security Guard operations as a desk officer in Diplomatic Security's Office of Overseas Protection Operations.

His prior DS assignments include assistant regional security officer in Baku and Maputo, and watch officer at the Diplomatic Security Command Center and at the DS Washington Field Office.

Before joining the State Department, Mr. Snyder was a captain in the Marine Corps, serving as a platoon and company commander with the 2nd Combat Engi-

neer Battalion, as assessments officer with II MEF (FWD) and as executive officer of Marine Corps Security Force Company Guantanamo Bay. He participated in combat operations in Ramadi in 2004 and Fallujah in 2007.

He also worked previously at the Joint IED Defeat Organization (JIEDDO), where he helped the organization determine funding for irregular and unconventional warfare programs in support of the global war on terrorism.

Jason is a tandem officer, married to Foreign Service Officer Caroline Savage. They have two young children, who have been a joyful part of two overseas tandem assignments.

### Russell Duncan

Russell Duncan is a 15-year member of the U.S. Department of Agriculture's Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service, International Services division.

Mr. Duncan began his Foreign Service career in 2005 as safeguarding officer for APHIS in the Dominican Republic, covering the Carib-

bean and Central America. He then served in Brussels as APHIS attaché to the U.S. Mission to the European Union followed by a tour in Pretoria with coverage of APHIS' Southern, West and Central Africa areas.

Most recently, Mr. Duncan was posted in Lima as area director for the Andean countries.

Currently he is on domestic assignment with APHIS' Biotechnology Regulatory Services, where he serves as an adviser on international engagements. He also co-hosts a biweekly call for APHIS FSOs to promote inclusion, employee engagement and professional development within the Foreign Service.

As an agriculture science officer, Mr. Duncan holds a bachelor's degree in general biology from Howard University in Washington, D.C., and a master's degree in plant biology from Rutgers University.

He is a recipient of the APHIS Administrator's Award for his work building regional animal health capacity in West Africa, and USDA's Abraham Lincoln Honor Award for his role in opening new markets for U.S. agriculture products to South Africa.

Mr. Duncan was born in Jamaica and grew up in the state of Maryland, where he now resides with his wife and two children. ■

## State Offers New Remote Work Flexibility

The State Department has announced a new domestic Remote Work Arrangements policy that will give employees more flexibility to work remotely in the United States.

The Bureau of Global Talent Management announced the new policy in late August.

RWAs permit direct-hire employees in domestic positions to work full-time from a remote worksite in the United States, provided the employee garners supervisor and bureau approvals.

The new policy is outlined in the State Department Foreign Affairs Manual, in 3 FAM 2380.

GTM says that RWAs are necessary only for

employees working from an alternate worksite that is outside the locality pay area of their regular worksite. For example, an employee in a Washington, D.C.-based position does not need an RWA to work full-time from home in Alexandria, Va.

Certain employees are not eligible for RWAs, including people assigned to posts abroad; employees with a rating of less than “fully successful” in the most recent rating period; employees in job shares or other part-time arrangements; and untenured Foreign Service employees.

Employees working under RWAs are required to

cover any relocation costs associated with moving to the remote worksite, but bureaus are responsible for any subsequent travel costs associated with work.

Some Foreign Service employees have noted that the new policy can help families not only during the COVID-19 pandemic, but also in situations where employees need to be closer to elderly family members.

The State Department has viewed teleworking more positively since the start of the pandemic. In July, Director General Carol Perez sent a message to State Department employees outlining best practices for teleworking.

“Our colleagues’ accomplishments in a virtual environment over the past three months have affirmed the value of teleworking for the department and our workforce,” she wrote.

“While some of us have been using telework as a workplace flexibility for years, for many, myself included, this was our first time teleworking for significant periods of time. And although it took some getting used to, employees continue to show that advancing department and mission goals happens beyond the traditional office,” Perez concluded. ■

*USAID VP Voice  
Continued from p. 79*

but focusing on the Foreign Service, the fact is that we are still rebuilding our cadre; kudos to HCTM for slowly but surely onboarding new FSOs even in the midst of the pandemic.

Of concern is the dramatic fall in Civil Service colleagues and a sharp increase in PSCs and ISCs; USAID needs more, not fewer, dedicated and skilled career public servants, not temporary contractors. In building resilience in partner countries elsewhere, we need to start at home! Also concerning is the drop in

FSN and TCN colleagues. They are vital professionals and partners.

**Looking Ahead.** The 2016 transition materials astutely noted: “Today USAID is a programming Agency that also shapes U.S. foreign policy, but to more fully deliver on its leadership and policy roles, it will have to continue to develop capacity to translate field based and technical expertise in development into timely, compelling, evidence based policy inputs.”

This remains true. And yet the role and respect for

FSO field experience and perspectives at USAID has declined. The reasons for this are manifold, complex and nonpartisan, but the end result is a less field-centric agency and a relatively underrecognized FSO cadre.

While all colleagues play valuable roles in achieving our mission, USAID is a foreign affairs agency first and foremost. And as the world’s leading development institution, FSOs are the frontline leaders. Yet USAID is not actively cultivating, training or positioning the Foreign Service cadre necessary to

sustain its leadership on behalf of the United States.

I am hopeful that USAID’s 2020 Review Team Transition Binder, and the agency itself, will recognize and rectify this critical problem. Now that would be a meaningful transition. ■

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## Financial Analysis

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## AFSA NEWS

AFSA, Diplomacy Museum  
Team Up  
Continued from p. 77

to Chengdu, shared how he and his husband were part of a team that helped repatriate more than 800 people from Wuhan.

They flew from Chengdu to Seoul to meet the evacuation team and plane, and then, in a 96-hour period, flew across the Pacific Ocean three times: from Seoul to Wuhan and then to Travis Air Force Base in California, back to Seoul and Wuhan, and on to Vancouver and Miramar Joint Base in San Diego, repatriating stranded Americans.

Stevens, who served on the USAID Coronavirus Task Force, discussed USAID's overall mission of development and how its coronavirus response fits into the agency's bigger picture.

"USAID's mission is all about helping our partner countries around the world progress on their own development journeys to self-reliance," she said, adding that USAID's development efforts come in the form of short-term humanitarian assistance and longer-term development aid.

"We have placed renewed emphasis, including in the COVID response, on ensuring that we're helping our partners build resilience, so that when the next event happens, whether it's a man-made disaster or a pandemic, or a development challenge of any kind,

our country's systems and their capacity, their commitment, are strengthened and they're better able to withstand the next challenge."

*The Foreign Service Journal's* July/August issue features multiple recollections from diplomats who took part in the Bringing Americans Home campaign, including Eaton's. The issue also features an article by Amb. Kolker, "COVID-19 and Global Health Governance."

Additionally, the National Museum of America Diplomacy website ([diplomacy.state.gov](http://diplomacy.state.gov)) features an online exhibit: [Bringing#AmericansHome](https://www.diplomacy.state.gov/latest-programs/virtual-programs).

You can view the Sept. 22 video at [diplomacy.state.gov/latest-programs/virtual-programs](http://diplomacy.state.gov/latest-programs/virtual-programs). ■

## FS Retirees Visit Vineyards



AFSA Retiree Vice President John Naland led 55 masked and socially distancing Foreign Service retirees on a Sept. 17 visit to the Muse Vineyards in Virginia's Shenandoah Valley.

The vineyards are owned by Ambassador (ret.) Sally Grooms Cowal and her husband, Robert Muse.

Amb. Cowal (pictured on right in white shirt) explained the grape-growing and wine-making processes and then led a tour of the grounds and the processing building. Participants then spread out at tables on the large patio to sample the award-winning wines and enjoy lunch.

The event was organized by the Foreign Affairs Retirees of Northern Virginia. Joining them were several members of the Foreign Affairs Retirees of Maryland and the District of Columbia. ■



### AFSA Governing Board Meeting, Sept. 16, 2020

Because of the COVID-19 pandemic, the AFSA Governing Board met via Zoom conference on Sept. 16.

The board made the following decisions, which will need to be ratified at the next in-person Governing Board meeting, according to AFSA bylaws.

**Legal Defense Fund:** The board approved disbursement of \$11,439 from the Legal Defense Fund in connection with a USAID gender discrimination pay equity case. The board also approved disbursement of \$24,070 from the Legal Defense Fund for the legal fees of a member who testified before a Senate Committee on events in Ukraine.

**Memorial Plaques:** The board approved placing the name of a Foreign Service officer on the AFSA memorial plaques.

**Associate Members:** The board approved the admission of four people as associate members of the association. ■

## 2021 FEHB Insurance and Benefits Presentation

AFSA welcomes Paula Jakub, CEO and Executive Vice President of the American Foreign Service Protective Association, for a Zoom presentation on Friday, November 13. She will speak about the 2021 Federal Employee Health Benefits (FEHB) Insurance Program and Benefits. Open Season for the FEHB runs from Monday, November 9 to Monday, December 14, 2020. (Note that AFSPA is not connected to AFSA.) Visit [bit.ly/afsa-openseason](https://bit.ly/afsa-openseason) to register.

Ms. Jakub is a repeat and valued participant in AFSA's Federal Benefits Speakers Series. She has 37 years of experience in the insurance

field, and received her underwriting certification from American College. She is formally recognized as a subject matter expert in federal health benefits by the Foreign Service Institute, where she serves on the adjunct faculty. She also serves on the board of the Association of Federal Health Organizations. ■

■ **Martin (Marty) Phillip Adams**, 72, a retired Foreign Service officer, died on July 9 of complications from pancreatic cancer.

Mr. Adams was born in 1948 in Lansing, Mich. After pursuing a doctorate in European history and briefly working at the Social Security Administration, he joined the Foreign Service in 1977.

His first posting was Afghanistan, where with the kidnapping and killing of U.S. Ambassador Adolph “Spike” Dubs and the subsequent Soviet invasion, he confronted some of the toughest challenges of a true hardship post.

After language training, he was posted to Turkey from 1981 to 1987, first at U.S. Embassy Ankara and then at the consulate in Izmir.

Then, after a short tour in Washington, D.C., he was posted to Burma where he served as a political officer, discreetly interacting with government opposition figures despite the repressive military junta.

Returning to Washington in 1991, Mr. Adams first served in the State Department’s Office of Defense Relations and Security Assistance, and then transferred to the Turkish desk in the European/Southeastern Europe office. Following Georgian language training, he was posted as deputy chief of mission in Tbilisi from 1997 to 1999.

On his return to Washington, Mr. Adams was deputy director of the Office of International Security Operations in the Bureau of Political-Military Affairs until late August 2001.

On Sept. 11, 2001, he was in the Cairo airport on the way to his next (and last) Foreign Service tour, in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia. Arriving in the aftermath of 9/11, Mr. Adams helped facilitate U.S. military operations in the region.

As he prepared to retire from the For-

eign Service in 2003, the U.S. Navy invited him to begin a new Civil Service career as political adviser to the commander of the Fifth Fleet in Manama, Bahrain.

There, from 2003 to 2014, Mr. Adams drew on his Foreign Service experience, and his large circle of friends and colleagues, to ensure that peaceful naval operations in the Persian Gulf did not accidentally trigger conflict with Iran.

In 2014 Mr. Adams retired from government service. He spent the rest of his life educating and informing friends and others of developments in Turkey, the Middle East and Afghanistan, as well as guest lecturing at universities.

He split his time between the United States and Australia, where he lived in the Snowy Mountains with his extended family and beloved local fauna. His ashes will be interred in a spot he chose in Australia.

Mr. Adams is survived by his godchildren, Fiona and Pélagie, and a diverse family acquired during his Foreign Service career.

■ **Pierce Kendall Bullen**, 85, a retired Foreign Service officer, died peacefully, surrounded by his family, on May 4 in the Springmoor Life Care Retirement Community in Raleigh, N.C.

Pierce Bullen was, above all, a devoted husband who gave his wife, Helene, 65 years of the greatest happiness. He was a most loving and involved father who led by example and became his children’s close adult friend. He met his final three years, when he was seriously ill, with the patience and grace he showed all his life.

Mr. Bullen was born in 1935 to Ripley and Adelaide Bullen. After attending Phillips Academy (Andover), he earned his bachelor’s, with high honors, and master’s degrees in political science at the University of Florida. He was a member of Phi Beta Kappa. He later studied in Swit-

zerland and took the advanced economics course in the State Department.

After joining the Foreign Service in 1958, Mr. Bullen served in Beirut, at the Foreign Service Institute; Dhahran; Cairo; Rabat; Ouagadougou, where he was deputy chief of mission; Caracas, where he was also the school board president of an American school; and Madrid. In Caracas and Madrid, he served as economic counselor.

In Washington, D.C., Mr. Bullen served as director of Arabic-language broadcasts at the Voice of America. He was a member of two bilateral negotiations on natural gas imports (Mexico and France) and U.S. representative to the international meetings on issues of energy-consuming countries.

He served as lead economics professor at the National War College (Fort McNair), where he also taught international relations and U.S. political and governmental systems. Through NWC, he especially enjoyed accompanying a group of students to Eastern Europe each year.

After a 37-year diplomatic career, Mr. Bullen retired in 1995. He went on to teach economics at Georgetown University’s Continuing Education Department, run his real estate business and travel. Other interests included current events, music, bridge and reading about all aspects of the world.

He was known for his calm, reasoned approach to his work, his extensive knowledge, his ability to explain complex economic concepts, and his dry wit.

Mr. Bullen is survived by wife, Helene; children Grace, Peter, Philip and Kendall, and their spouses Margie Sved, Aingeal O’Donoghue, Mary Jane Bullen and Jack Frost; and grandchildren Sara, Eliana, Zachary, Fionnuala and Elyse. He was predeceased by his brother and sister-in-law, Dana and Joyce Bullen.

In lieu of flowers, donations may be made to the Senior Living Foundation, or to the Michael J. Fox Foundation for Parkinson's Research.

■ **Edwin Monroe Cronk**, 102, a retired Foreign Service officer and ambassador, died on Sept. 1 at the Buckingham's Choice senior living community in Frederick, Md.

Mr. Cronk was born to William F. Cronk and Edith Hanson on May 20, 1918, in Minneapolis, where he grew up and graduated from Central High School. He attended Deep Springs College in Deep Springs, Calif. (class of 1936), and then Cornell University (class of 1941). He married Dorothy Montgomery in 1943.

Mr. Cronk served in the Air Force from 1942 to 1946 in the Pacific theater. As part of the rebuilding of Japan after World War II, he became chief of Japanese financial trade affairs at the State Department from 1951 to 1956 and subsequently joined the Foreign Service.

His overseas postings included Korea, Germany and Australia, with a final assignment as U.S. ambassador to the Republic of Singapore from 1972 to 1975.

After his retirement from government service, Mr. Cronk became dean of Deep Springs College, his alma mater, where he served from 1976 to 1980. He continued as a trustee of the college and was chair of the board for three years.

He and his wife, Dorothy, called Washington, D.C., home for many years until moving to a retirement community in Frederick, Md.

Friends say that Mr. Cronk lived a long and fulfilling life; he worked hard and played hard, laughed easily, was a terrific father and a friend to everyone.

Mr. Cronk was preceded in death in

2008 by Dorothy, his wife of 66 years. He is survived by two daughters, MaryEd Hartnell (and her husband, Anthony) of Sydney, Australia, and Nan Cronk-Walker (and her husband, Kenneth) of Frederick, Md.; son James of Surprise, Ariz. (and wife Sally); eight grandchildren; and 12 great-grandchildren.

■ **Claudine Pearson Luppi**, 92, the former spouse of a retired Foreign Service officer, died on Aug. 4 in Sherman Oaks, Calif., due to complications from COVID-19.

The eldest of eight children, Ms. Pearson was born in Lewiston, Idaho, on March 30, 1928, to Anna Lucile (Sanderlin) and Wilbur Leander Pearson. Family and friends considered her a shining light—smart, funny, talented, beautiful and intent on making her way in the world.

After graduating Lewiston High School, she worked as a reporter for the *Lewiston Morning Tribune* and began undergraduate studies in journalism.

In 1950 she married Hobart Luppi, who subsequently became a career diplomat with the State Department. The couple lived in Egypt, India and Pakistan for the next three decades.

In India, Mrs. Luppi was an important part of the American community, serving as president of the American Women's Club, while also raising four children. During Jacqueline Kennedy's visit to New Delhi in 1962, Mrs. Luppi was a member of the "Banquet Committee," which organized all aspects of the official dinner for the First Lady.

That special dinner included guests Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, Ambassador John Kenneth Galbraith and other dignitaries (a copy of her personal account of the event, "A Dinner for the First Lady," was donated to the

John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum in Boston).

In the mid-1960s, Mrs. Luppi completed her undergraduate degree in education and taught fifth and sixth grades for several years in Loudoun County, Va. In 1970 the family returned overseas, living in Karachi and Islamabad, where she was a renowned hostess, a leading member of the American community and a journalism teacher/faculty adviser at Karachi American School.

During the Indo-Pakistan War of 1971, American nationals were evacuated from Karachi to Tehran, and Mrs. Luppi played a key role as one of the leaders in charge of organizing and assisting evacuees during their month-long stay, including publishing a daily newsletter for them.

After her divorce in 1977, Mrs. Luppi joined ARAMCO as an elementary school teacher in Saudi Arabia before relocating to Las Vegas, where she was part of the editorial staff for *What's On In Las Vegas*.

Over the next 30 years she continued to seek out new adventures, living in Virginia, California, Florida, Texas and Washington state, while focusing on her personal writing projects, including an extensive family history/cookbook co-authored with her cousin Glory Ellen Pearson Peel.

Friends say Mrs. Luppi loved her family, teaching, writing and being a friend and mentor to anyone who needed a helping hand.

Mrs. Luppi's son Brian predeceased her in 1973.

She is survived by three of her children, Mark (and his wife, Eveline), Mary Basich (and her husband, Anthony), and Ann Von Mehren (former FSJ editor in chief), as well as six grandchildren: Elizabeth "Tika," Edward and Colin Von Mehren; and Chase, Arielle and Connor.

She is also survived by a sister, Blanche Freeland; a brother, Steven Pearson (and his wife, Maryan); and a large extended family.

In lieu of flowers, donations may be made to a charity of your choice.

■ **Mel F. McBeth**, 86, a former Foreign Service officer with USAID and the State Department, died of prostate cancer on June 11 at his home in Concord, Calif.

Mr. McBeth was born on Feb. 21, 1934, and grew up in Oakland, Calif. After graduating from Oakland High School in 1952, he worked for a while and then enlisted in the U.S. Army. He trained at Fort Ord, Calif., and in 1954 was assigned to Okinawa as an army ordnance specialist. There, he developed a keen interest in Japan and Asia. He was discharged in 1956.

On returning to San Francisco, he attended San Francisco State University under the GI Bill, majoring in Asian studies, world geography and history. In college he met Cecelia, a student who had emigrated from Japan. They married and had a daughter, Rachel. Later, the marriage ended.

Mr. McBeth began a career in banking in San Francisco. In 1963, he met and married Georgiana. They lived in San Francisco where their son, Erik, was born.

Later, he was hired by USAID; and in 1967, he and his family moved to Seoul, where he was assigned as an investment promotion adviser. A highlight of his service there was being chosen as a delegate to the 1968 Colombo Plan Conference. In 1970, while the family was still in Seoul, his second daughter, Melinda, was born.

After a short-term posting in Jakarta in USAID's supply management division, Mr. McBeth was assigned to Da

Nang, Vietnam, in June 1971. It was his last overseas posting. A few months after arriving, his assignment was canceled because the post lacked sufficient wartime security.

Back in the United States, Mr. McBeth worked at the State Department as a geographer. He produced notes on geographical changes for borders, provinces and city names, which were sent to various government agencies. In 1975, he was let go along with other personnel in a reduction in force. He also separated from his wife and moved to the San Francisco Bay Area.

In 1978, Mr. McBeth married Barbara. While in San Francisco, he worked for Safeco Title and Commonwealth Title until his office was closed. He took computer courses, and then went to work for a medical company in Oakland, retiring in 2000.

Friends note Mr. McBeth's lifelong thirst for knowledge and spirit of adventure. He traveled to 88 countries. Mostly by road, he also traveled nationwide to every state and their capitals, as well as every county in California.

He was equally passionate about genealogy, taking courses and becoming a certified genealogist. He planned trips visiting small villages in the United States, and in England and Ireland, visiting graves of his ancestors, occasionally contacting and meeting with distant cousins. He recorded 500 years of family history dating back to the 1500s.

Mr. McBeth was also an avid walker. He walked more than 80 percent of San Francisco's streets between 1982 and 1999, and challenged himself with multiday walks. For example, he once took the train to San Jose and walked for three days back to Concord.

During Mr. and Mrs. McBeth's retirement, they traveled frequently, flying

to Europe, going on cruises or driving across the United States.

Mr. McBeth was a member of AFSA, the Society of California Pioneers, San Francisco State University Lifetime Alumni and the Del Norte County Historical Society.

In 2010 he was diagnosed with prostate cancer, which he was treated for and then lived with comfortably for nearly a decade until his symptoms began to intensify.

Mr. McBeth is survived by his blended family, including wife Barbara; two daughters, Rachel McBeth and Melinda Bauman (Jon); a son, Erik McBeth (Wendy); one grandson, Tyler Lopez; four granddaughters, Sarah McBeth, Amy Andrews (Richard), Karina Long (Andrew) and Emily McBeth; stepdaughters Michelle Lynch (Sean), Kathleen Duryee and Jacquelyn Morris (Josh); and step-grandsons, Theo Bauman and Andrei Lynch.

Memorial donations may be made to Bruns House, Hospice East Bay, a cancer research organization of your choice or a favorite charity.

■ **Martin (Marty) Thomas Ronan**, 81, a retired Foreign Service officer with the U.S. Information Agency, died on July 30 in Washington, D.C., due to complications from Parkinson's disease.

Mr. Ronan was born in Chicago on July 27, 1939, the fourth child of Margaret and James Ronan. He attended St. Philip Neri grade school and St. Ignatius High School in Chicago and graduated from the University of Notre Dame in 1961.

When President John F. Kennedy started the Peace Corps in 1961, Mr. Ronan enthusiastically joined the first group. He served for two years in Chile and remained a faithful Peace Corps alumnus.

He earned a master's degree in communications at Syracuse University and then began his 28-year career with the U.S. Information Agency.

Mr. Ronan's first overseas assignment was to Caracas, Venezuela. There he met the love of his life, Clemencia, and they married in 1979. Together they completed assignments in Guatemala and in India before returning to the United States.

After retiring from USIA, he continued audiovisual work on smaller government contracts in Moldova, Puerto Rico and in various American cities.

Mr. Ronan fought a quiet and courageous battle against Parkinson's disease for about 10 years but kept the cheerful, positive attitude and the ready smile and wit that endeared him to so many.

He was proud of his Irish heritage, loved his family and friends and maintained interest in their lives and those of his many nieces and nephews, family members recall. He believed in the goodness of the United States and was proud to have served in the federal government to promote its message to others abroad.

A high point in Mr. Ronan's life, only one year ago, was an 80th birthday celebration held in his beloved Chicago at the Chicago Highlands Club and attended by about 80 friends and relatives, many of whom had traveled long distances to be with him.

Mr. Ronan was preceded in death by his parents; a sister, Margaret Healy; a brother, John; and nephews John D. Ronan and James Ronan IV.

He is survived by his wife, Clemencia, with whom he shared 40 happy years; his brother, James (and his wife, Lucy); sister-in-law Martha Sud (and her spouse, Krishen); Amalia Kerr (and her husband, Gary); brother-in-law

Manuel Santaella (and his wife, Karen); and nieces and nephews: Thomas Healy; Vikran and Sivan Sud; Mary Ronan Hills; Catherine Ronan Karrels; Grace Ronan; Susan Lynch; Patricia Corry; Stephen, Michael and James Healy; Timothy, Christopher, Kevin and Terry Ronan; Haakon, Karsten and Thoren Santaella; and Kristian Kerr.

In lieu of flowers, memorial contributions may be made to Sibley Memorial Hospital Foundation, 5525 Loughboro Road NW, Washington DC 20016.

■ **Gilbert H. Sheinbaum**, 91, a retired Foreign Service officer, died on Aug. 22 in Vienna, Va.

Mr. Sheinbaum was born and raised in New York City, and was a 1950 graduate of New York University in history and political science. He first worked on Wall Street but then served in the Army during the Korean War. He then entered the Foreign Service in 1957.

Mr. Sheinbaum began his diplomatic career of 30 years in Asia, with an assignment as finance officer in Vientiane, Laos. He next went to Paris from 1959 to 1961 as civil air attaché. He reported in detail on French progress and problems in building a supersonic airliner, a report that persuaded President John F. Kennedy not to go ahead with funding an American counterpart.

In Washington, he worked on European regional economic issues for two years until he was sent to Vietnam, where he was first an adviser to the U.S. Marines in his area. This was followed by a move to Saigon as staff assistant to Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker from 1967 to 1968.

In 1968, while political affairs officer in Copenhagen, he suffered an accident requiring hospitalization, during which he was cared for by a Danish nurse,

Inger Thomsen, who would become his wife in 1971.

Subsequent Foreign Service assignments together included Washington, D.C., where he dealt with Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg; an assignment as chargé d'affaires in Madagascar; and posting as deputy chief of mission in Malawi.

From 1979 to 1983, he served as the American consul in Cebu, the Philippines. The consular district spanned the central and southern Philippines, including Muslim-dominated Mindanao, where an insurgency was smoldering.

In Cebu, a classified report Mr. Sheinbaum wrote on the economic issues in Mindanao that were exacerbated by poor government policies and exploitation by cronies of President Ferdinand Marcos was somehow leaked to the press, causing an outcry.

An angry Marcos tried to have him removed, but the pressure was eased by First Lady Imelda Marcos, whose family home was in the central Philippines. She had come to know the Sheinbaums well and persuaded her husband to drop the issue.

Mr. Sheinbaum rounded out his career with an assignment as political counselor in Geneva before retiring from the Foreign Service in 1986.

After retirement, Mr. Sheinbaum continued to work on matters for the U.S. government, including five years of traveling to Asia as U.S. director of the multilateral Colombo Plan. In Washington, D.C., he assisted the Pentagon to establish the National Security Education Program.

He became a consultant to the State Department on a new initiative promoting cooperation among the then unstable Balkan countries. In the later years of his retirement, he worked part time for

14 years on the declassification of State Department archives to facilitate access by scholars and the media.

Apart from government, Mr. Sheinbaum maintained an active interest in the theater and moonlighted as stage manager for the American Light Opera Company for two years.

In retirement he lectured on many cruise ships and air tours around the world. He served as treasurer of DACOR from 1994 until 2000 and as a member of AFSA's Governing Board from 2003 to 2007.

Mr. Sheinbaum is survived by his wife of 49 years, Inger F. Thomsen Sheinbaum of Vienna, Va.; two sons, Neil Sheinbaum of Oakton, Va., and Vincent Doisy of Lyon, France; daughter Britt Sheinbaum Carter of Wilmington, N.C.; and five grandchildren.

■ **Joseph Aaron Silberstein**, 101, a retired Foreign Service officer, died peacefully on July 11 in Greenwich, Conn.

Mr. Silberstein was born in New York City in 1918 to Charles and Dora (née Dombrow) Silberstein. Following the death of his father, he lived with his mother and maternal grandparents in the Bronx for most of his early years.

At 15, he graduated from Morris High School, and at 19 from the City College of New York.

When Mr. Silberstein was 17, he met Sheila Wright, and it was a love affair to the end. They married in 1941 and celebrated their 79th wedding anniversary on June 22.

They were partners in everything: through his World War II military service as a first lieutenant in the Army, over decades in the U.S. Foreign Service, and in retirement, first in Bethesda, Md., and, finally, at the Osborn's Sterling Park in Rye, N.Y. Into his

102nd year, he and Sheila walked arm-in-arm wherever they went.

Mr. Silberstein's Foreign Service career included tours in Colombia, El Salvador, Chile, Austria and Argentina. His last posting, in 1970, was as chief of the Division of Aviation Programs and Policies in the Bureau of Economic Affairs.

In retirement, he volunteered for decades helping seniors prepare their tax returns and with the Washington Ear radio service, recording a weekly financial program. He and Sheila traveled the world and made lifelong friends wherever they went.

Foremost, though, Mr. Silberstein was a family man. He will be terribly missed by his three children, Ellen S. Friedell, Judith A. Silberstein and Charles A. Silberstein; two sons-in-law, Steven F. Friedell and Fred (Ned) W. Benton; five grandchildren, Fred (Nicky) W. Benton, Deborah K. Friedell, Elizabeth L. Benton, David J. Friedell and Jonathan C. Benton; three in-law grandchildren, Rachel A. Hudelson, William E. Dornbos and Christine H. Monahan; and five great-grandchildren, Jonah P. Benton, Talia M. Dornbos, Micah J. Benton, Sanna Q. Dornbos and Elise C. Benton.

■ **Hans N. "Tom" Tuch**, 95, a retired Foreign Service officer, died on Sept. 7 at his residence in Bethesda, Md., from complications following a recent fall. He was a distinguished, longtime advocate of public diplomacy.

Mr. Tuch was born to a prominent Jewish family in Berlin, Germany, on Oct. 15, 1924, and immigrated to the United States in 1938. He graduated from Southwest High School in Kansas City in 1942. He received his bachelor's degree from the University of Kansas City in 1947, and a master's degree from

the School of Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins University in 1948. He was awarded an honorary Doctor of Laws degree from the University of Missouri in 1986.

During World War II, Mr. Tuch was a paratrooper in the 101st Airborne Division in Europe, jumping on D-Day in Normandy and at Eindhoven, Holland, during Operation Market Garden. He was awarded a Bronze Star and a Combat Infantry Badge.

After graduate school, Mr. Tuch went to work for Chase Bank, where he was trained and sent to Germany. He married Ruth "Mimi" Lord in Wiesbaden in 1949; the two had met while students at SAIS.

He joined the Foreign Service in 1949. During his first post as a Foreign Service officer, in Frankfurt, Mr. Tuch became interested in public diplomacy. He served as director of the America House (U.S. Information and Cultural Center), where he contributed to U.S. efforts to foster democracy in postwar Germany.

From 1958 to 1961, he was the first postwar press and cultural attaché at U.S. Embassy Moscow, and he participated in implementation of the first U.S.-Soviet cultural agreement, fostering exchanges of students and academics, as well as the promotion of American exhibitions, publications and the performing arts in the Soviet Union.

He witnessed the Kitchen Debate between Vice President Richard Nixon and Soviet First Secretary Nikita Khrushchev, and subsequently became part of Vice President Nixon's "Kitchen Cabinet."

In 1961 Mr. Tuch became assistant director for the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe at the U.S. Information Agency, under Edward R. Murrow's

directorship. He persuaded Mr. Murrow to order all Voice of America transmitters to condemn the Soviet Union after the Soviets violated the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty in 1963.

From 1965 to 1967, he was deputy chief of mission and chargé d'affaires in Sofia. He then served as a public affairs officer for three years in Berlin.

In 1975 Mr. Tuch was the Edward R. Murrow Fellow at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy.

From 1976 to 1981, he was the deputy and acting director of the Voice of America. When American diplomats were taken hostage in Tehran in 1979, he ordered the creation of a VOA Farsi language service, which went on the air within 10 days.

His last post, from 1981 to 1985, was as minister counselor for public affairs in Bonn. There, he helped create the U.S. Congress–German Bundestag Youth Exchange Program, which is still active today.

Mr. Tuch retired from the Foreign Service as a Career Minister in 1985.

“When ‘Tom’ Tuch retired recently, a whole generation retired with him,” *Christian Science Monitor* journalist Elizabeth Pond wrote at the time. “He is one of the last of those Europeans who fled to America as refugees from Hitler—then paid back their debt with a lifetime of service to their adopted country.”

In retirement, Mr. Tuch taught public diplomacy and intercultural communication as an adjunct professor at Georgetown University and at the University of Missouri in Kansas City.

His groundbreaking book, *Communicating with the World: U.S. Public Diplomacy Overseas* (Palgrave Macmillan, 1990), explains the development of U.S. public diplomacy since World War II.

Mr. Tuch received the Presidential

Distinguished Service Award, USIA's Distinguished Honor Award and the Edward R. Murrow Award for Excellence in Public Diplomacy. He was president of the USIA Alumni Association, and a founding and emeritus member of the board of the Public Diplomacy Council.

He served as a member of the Board of Trustees of Youth for Understanding from 1985 to 1991, and was on the FSJ Editorial Board from 1991 to 1994. He contributed more than 15 articles and letters to the *Journal*. His articles also appeared in *The New York Times*, *Chicago Tribune* and *Philadelphia Inquirer*.

Mr. Tuch was predeceased by his wife, Ruth “Mimi” Lord Tuch. He is survived by his son, David, and daughter-in law, Helena, of Sao Paulo, Brazil; his daughter, Andrea, and son-in-law, Patrick Lannan, of Santa Fe, N.M.; and his companion Sylvia Weiss of Bethesda, Md.

In lieu of flowers, contributions may be made to the Wolf Trap Opera, 1645 Trap Road, Vienna VA 22182.

■ **Cheryl Lynn Young**, 69, spouse of retired Senior Foreign Service officer Thomas Young, died unexpectedly on May 7 of a heart attack. The couple had been married for nearly 48 years.

Ms. Young was born on May 21, 1950, in Wauwatosa, Wis., and adopted by Rozella and Larry Bylander when she was a toddler. She grew up in Fairmont, Minn.

She attended college in Yankton, S.D., for a year before moving to the Binghamton, N.Y., area where she met her future husband, Tom, in 1970. They were married on Oct. 1, 1972, in Huntsville, Ala., and were living there when Mr. Young received an offer to join the Foreign Service.

Their first overseas assignment was to

Tunis, where their son, Travis, was born. That assignment was followed by nine others, taking them to South America, North Africa, the Caribbean, Australia, the Middle East and Europe.

Ms. Young took to the Foreign Service lifestyle enthusiastically, and the couple spent 35 wonderful years traveling the world together.

During their Foreign Service years, Ms. Young worked in a variety of family member positions, primarily in the management sections of the embassies to which they were assigned.

In the late 1990s, however, she applied and was accepted for a consular associate position at U.S. Embassy Nicosia. In preparation for that assignment, she took the FSI consular course and served as a de facto consular officer during her three years at that post and as a consular associate in their onward assignment to Amman.

During Washington, D.C., assignments, Ms. Young worked in the private sector, including two years in the early 1980s when she was the breadwinner for the family while Mr. Young was on an educational leave of absence from the Foreign Service.

In 2007 the couple retired to San Diego, where their son and other family members were living. Ms. Young quickly developed many friendships in the area.

She was an expert in several crafts including knitting, sewing, crocheting and needlepoint, and she enjoyed teaching others those skills as much as she enjoyed completing her own projects. She knitted caps for newborns and taught herself how to make quilts, which she took great pleasure in gifting to family and friends.

An excellent bridge player, Ms. Young participated in three to four games a week with her friends in the area. When she was not physically sitting at a bridge table, she

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(signed) Kathryn Owens, Managing Editor

often was seated at her computer playing bridge online with people from around the world. Ms. Young was greatly looking forward to son Travis and daughter-in-law Liz Chen's upcoming move back to San Diego.

A great lover and supporter of animals of all kinds, Ms. Young doted on her two dogs, Bonzer and Dori. Over the years, whether in the United States or abroad, she rescued many cats and dogs and, more recently, a large turtle that she spotted crossing a busy road. She also gave generously to many animal support charities.

Ms. Young is survived by her husband, Tom, and their son, Travis (and his wife, Liz); a sister, Debbie Fritz, of Red Wing, Minn., and a brother, Randy Bylander, of Yankton, S.D.; and by Tom's siblings, Sally Ditto and David Young of San Diego, Diane Schifflin of Las Vegas and Susan Koerwer of Philadelphia, to all of whom she was more sister than sister-in-law for nearly 50 years.

Friends and colleagues wishing to honor Ms. Young may donate in her memory to any of the charities she regularly supported: the Audubon Society, Guiding Eyes for the Blind, the Ocean Conservancy, the San Diego Humane Society and Defenders of Wildlife. ■



If you would like us to include an obituary in In Memory, please send text to [journal@afsa.org](mailto:journal@afsa.org).

Be sure to include the date, place and cause of death, as well as details of the individual's Foreign Service career. Please place the name of the AFSA member to be memorialized in the subject line of your email.

## Hope Springs Eternal

### The Arab Winter: A Tragedy

Noah Feldman, Princeton University Press, 2020, \$22.95/hardcover, e-book available, 216 pages.

REVIEWED BY GORDON GRAY

January 2021 will mark the tenth anniversary of the massive demonstrations in Tunisia that forced Zine El Abidine Ben Ali into exile. Those demonstrations started a chain of events that shook the Arab world and came to be known as the Arab Spring. I had the privilege of serving as the U.S. ambassador to Tunisia at the time; many of us at U.S. Embassy Tunis had also served previously in Cairo.

Egyptians like to refer to their country as *Um al-Dunya*, or “Mother of the World,” so it came as a surprise to all of us when Egypt (home to roughly a quarter of the Arabic-speaking world) followed in the footsteps of Tunisia (whose entire population was barely more than half that of Cairo) and ousted Hosni Mubarak the following month. Soon after, many other nations in the region began to follow suit.

The political transition to democracy in Tunisia has been relatively successful, with peaceful transitions of power following fair and free national elections. (The faltering economy is another story.) But this political progress contrasts sharply with the military coup d'état in Egypt that replaced Mohamed Morsi, the nation's deeply flawed but only freely elected leader, in 2013.

And elsewhere, civil wars ravage Libya, Syria and Yemen.

In *The Arab Winter*, Harvard Law professor Noah Feldman explores why the hopes and expectations bred on the streets of Tunisia in 2011 turned to dust—and far worse—in Egypt, Syria and other

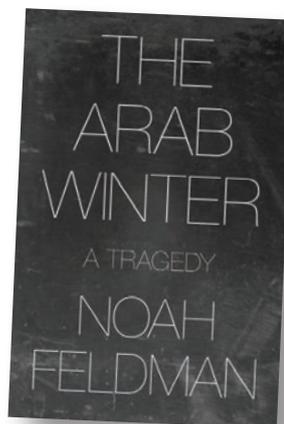
Arabic-speaking countries. At the same time, he also explores why, despite those setbacks, the seeds planted by the Arab Spring provide a basis for at least some optimism in the long run.

The chant “the people demand the fall of the regime” first surfaced during the demonstrations in Tunisia and could be heard at protests in Egypt before spreading to other Arab countries. (It even crossed the Atlantic, as “Occupy Wall Street” activists chanted it.) But as Feldman notes, the slogan revealed a fundamental weakness of the Arab Spring. While the overriding goal of the demonstrations was crystal clear and served as a unifying factor, there was no consensus on what should replace the existing regimes.

## The political agency that Arab Spring participants exercised also transformed the two dominant political ideas in the region, Arab nationalism and political Islam.

Nor did the people speak with a single voice. Feldman observes that in Egypt they had one message in early 2011, when protestors demanded Mubarak step down, and another message in the summer of 2013 when they took to the streets seeking the end of Morsi's presidency. This sharp internal division, Feldman explains, was also a cause of the tragedy that befell Syria. The winner-take-all mentality that prevailed in Egypt (as well as in Syria) suffocated any potential compromise.

The political agency that Arab Spring participants exercised also transformed



the two dominant political ideas in the region, Arab nationalism and political Islam. While demands for *karama* (dignity) and *huriya* (freedom) resonated across borders in 2011—just as they had during Gamal Nasser's speeches in support of pan-Arab nationalism during the 1950s and 1960s—Feldman correctly

notes that pan-Arab ideology did not play a compelling role during the Arab Spring.

He argues that the Arab Spring, and specifically the events in Egypt between 2011 and 2013, had a transformative effect on political Islam. Following Morsi's ineffectual time in office and the 2013 protests that led to the military coup that removed him from office and then imprisoned him, Feldman concludes, the

Muslim Brotherhood's concept of Islamic democracy no longer resonated beyond Egypt.

Notwithstanding his sober analysis of what happened in Egypt and Syria (including the rise of the Islamic State), Feldman expresses cautious optimism about possible future developments in the region.

For the first time in nearly a century, Arabic-speaking citizens acted to take control of their political future. Moreover, their doing so marked a dramatic change from the centuries-long history of outside powers (Ottomans, Europeans, then

Americans) shaping the course of Arab politics and events.

What made the outcome in Tunisia different? Feldman posits two interrelated reasons for the political success there. First, Tunisian culture values consensus. Second, Tunisians exercised political responsibility, not just political agency. Therefore, he believes, the relatively successful Tunisian transition could be replicated elsewhere in the Arab world.

Feldman's reasoning in reaching this conclusion, however, is less convincing. He gives short shrift to the factors that make Tunisia an "Arab anomaly," as Safwan Masri titled his 2017 examination of why the Arab Spring succeeded there (at least to a considerable degree) while failing elsewhere. By contrast with Feldman, Masri is highly skeptical that Tunisia can serve as a model, because the factors that produced relative success there take generations to produce.

Of those factors, the four most important for Masri are education, women's rights, the role of religion and the strength of civil society. There are other significant factors as well: for example, the homogeneous nature of society, the large middle class, the well-developed sense of national identity and an outward-looking political culture. All have contributed to Tunisia's political progress since the revolution.

Feldman offers an erudite treatment of the Arab Spring, taking a thematic approach focused on moral questions and political meaning rather than providing a "first draft of history," as he freely acknowledges. (Nonetheless, I should note a couple of small but relevant factual errors: Mohamed Ghannouchi was the long-standing prime minister when Ben Ali fled, not the vice president, a position that did not and does not exist in Tunisia; and Ali Laarayedh had served as minister of interior, not justice.)

Those familiar with the momentous events of the last decade will profit by reading this book and may draw solace, and even hope, from Feldman's concluding thought: "But after the winter—and from its depths—always comes another spring." ■

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*Gordon Gray is chief operating officer at the Center for American Progress. A retired Foreign Service officer, he served as U.S. ambassador to Tunisia at the start of the Arab Spring and as deputy assistant secretary of State for Near Eastern affairs.*

## Politics vs. Principle in Foreign Policy

### The Dissent Channel: American Diplomacy in a Dishonest Age

*Elizabeth Shackelford, PublicAffairs, 2020, \$29/hardcover, e-book available, 304 pages.*

REVIEWED BY EDMUND MCWILLIAMS

Elizabeth Shackelford left the Foreign Service in 2017 with a succinct resignation letter condemning the Trump administration. The letter noted that over its first 10 months the administration had "failed to demonstrate a commitment to promoting and defending human rights and democracy."

Shackelford thus joined many fellow FSOs who found it impossible to serve the Trump administration and at the same time honor the oath sworn by all FSOs to defend the Constitution. She describes how, early on, "direction

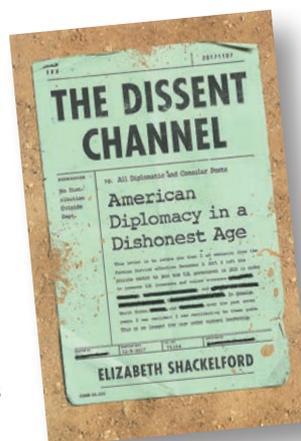
from Washington, which had always been minimal, dissipated entirely, as dozens of State Department leadership positions went unfilled." Shackelford explains that she struggled with the choice to remain and "try to change things from the inside," deciding in the end that it was futile.

But *The Dissent Channel* is much more than a cri de coeur targeting the Trump administration. In the book Shackelford reveals the full tragedy of South Sudan, born in July 2011 in great hope after years of struggle against a ruthless Sudanese government—only to succumb two years later to the vicious authoritarian rule of President Salva Kiir. In July 2013 Kiir dismissed his entire cabinet, most significantly Vice President Riek Machar, bringing on the civil war that engulfed the country.

The internal strife she describes, and in which she and the staff of the tiny U.S. embassy in Juba lived and worked, posed horrendous dangers for civilians caught up in the mayhem. The five-year struggle is estimated to have led to the death of 400,000 people, or 3 percent of the population. The Kiir regime conducted ethnic cleansing in the capital and elsewhere in South Sudan as it sought to eliminate challenges posed by Machar, the second-most-powerful figure in the new country.

The countrywide civil war strained the small embassy staff, which sought to provide basic services to imperiled American citizens and others. Shack-

elford presents a minute-by-minute account of embassy efforts to evacuate American citizens and others—efforts that she, as the embassy's only consular



officer, led at constant personal risk.

Most compelling, and the center of this timely book, is her account of the evolving U.S. policy as Washington struggled to end the fighting and at the same time preserve the position of the Kiir government.

Senior foreign policy leaders in Washington, notably including former National Security Adviser and U.N. Ambassador Susan Rice, were determined not to preside over, much less allow, the dissolution of South Sudan, whose creation was seen as a great achievement for Washington and the international community.

As a consequence, the Obama administration was unwilling to apply pressure on the Kiir government notwithstanding the atrocities it committed against its own people and even against international personnel. Shackelford makes clear that the reluctance to challenge Kiir was in evidence prior to the beginning of hostilities.

The administration consistently avoided confronting Kiir over widespread corruption and self-dealing, and in so doing, failed to use leverage it clearly possessed to press for real reform and peaceful resolution of growing political tensions.

Ultimately, Shackelford was driven to write a formal dissent message in May 2015. The State Department's Foreign Affairs Manual describes the "dissent channel" as a means by which dissenting or alternative views on substantive policy issues "can be expressed in a manner which ensures high-level review and response." She details how her message was eventually swallowed by the State Department bureaucracy.

The dissent channel is a risky step for FSOs that is used, as Shackelford explains, as a last resort by officers

## Shackelford provides a thoughtful, and at times devastating, critique of American foreign policy across many administrations.

who perceive fundamental flaws in U.S. policy. The risk, she points out, is to an officer's "corridor reputation"—a dissenting officer might be branded a "problem child."

In her detailed description of U.S. policy in South Sudan, Shackelford provides a thoughtful, and at times devastating, critique of American foreign policy across many administrations that have been unwilling to exert pressure on allies or more often client regimes. As she observes, the first casualty of such faintheartedness is usually human rights and democratic values.

Ultimately, she concludes that "our human rights stance was all talk." She cites the State Department's mission statement: "To shape and sustain a peaceful, prosperous, just and democratic world and foster conditions for stability and progress for the benefit of the American people and people everywhere," but notes that early in the Trump administration that mission statement had changed, deleting the reference to "people everywhere," along with "just" and "democratic."

Shackelford is not naive. In her final resignation letter, she notes: "I understand ... that we must balance competing interests, but human rights and democracy are fundamental elements of a safer world for our people."

And in the end, she strikes a hopeful note: "For all the mistakes we've made, and there are many, the world still recognizes something unique in the promise of America. It is still ours,

if we choose it. I believe we can recover, but not simply by returning to a pre-Trump world. It will require a deliberate national discourse on what are the values that set us apart? ... How must we put them into practice?"

*The Dissent Channel* is a remarkable book by a principled but realistic former Foreign Service officer. It should be required reading for foreign policy hands who hope to rebuild American diplomacy in a post-Trump era. It is especially important that State Department leaders recognize, as revealed in this book, the decades-old tendency to prioritize political convenience over allegiance to America's fundamental values of human rights, democracy and honest governance.

This book is recommended for families and friends of FSOs and for the American public more broadly, who seek to understand the life and work of America's diplomats. Elizabeth Shackelford is an outstanding example of the U.S. Foreign Service at its best. ■

---

*Edmund McWilliams, a retired Senior Foreign Service officer, was political counselor in Jakarta from 1996 to 1999. Between 1975 and 2001, he opened and served in U.S. embassies in Bishkek and Dushanbe, and also served in Vientiane, Bangkok, Moscow, Kabul, Islamabad, Managua and Washington, D.C. Since retiring from the Service, he has volunteered with U.S. and foreign human rights nongovernmental organizations. He is the recipient of AFSA's 1998 Herter Award for constructive dissent.*



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# The Fastest Car in All Bolivia

BY GEORGE S. HERRMANN

**O**n my first tour in security operations, in 1981, the fully armored vehicle (FAV) program was still part of the Division of Technical Services in the Office of Security (SY/T). But the Office of Security (now Diplomatic Security) had decided it needed a special agent in charge of armored car distribution, so we had Irving Bridgewater embedded in our office space, in charge of the FAV program.

## When the ambassador's limo needed replacement in La Paz, Bolivia, it was time for some extra engineering.

By 1981 the State Department was no longer armoring only Cadillacs. SY had discovered that a Chevrolet Caprice Classic—when equipped with a luxury interior, an upgraded suspension system and a powerful V8 engine—produced a very statesmanlike vehicle. SY found that it could buy and equip almost two Caprice Classics for the cost of every Cadillac they turned out. The cars were still armored at Hess and Eisenstadt, a manufacturer of custom automobile bodies, but we were saving money by working with a less expensive vehicle.

There were some problems, however.



*George S. Herrmann is a retired security engineering officer from the Bureau of Diplomatic Security. When this event took place, he was operations branch chief for SY/T and then officer-in-charge of the engineering services center in Panama.*

The suspensions on all FAVs were carrying much more weight than they were designed to support, and bumpy roads could cause suspension parts to wear out, bend or even break. To solve this, we had traveling Seabee (construction battalion) teams of car mechanics who were trained to service the armored cars, and we tried to keep extra suspension parts in stock.

We also had a good support system in place with the Chevrolet dealer near

State's Springfield, Virginia, warehouse; they could usually get parts for us quickly. The FAVs were fuel-injected, but deploying an armored car to a high-altitude post like Quito (over 8,000 feet) caused the car's performance to drag noticeably.

When the ambassador's limo needed replacement in La Paz, Bolivia, it was time for some extra engineering. The altitude at post (12,000 feet) meant that a normal FAV would gasp for air everywhere it traveled. Irv Bridgewater and Hess and Eisenstadt consulted Chevrolet. Chevrolet suggested we work with a speed shop to bring the car up to specs.

After a little design work, the speed shop recommended putting a supercharger on the new car. The normal approach would be to mount it on top of the engine, cut a hole in the hood and weld a big scoop over the hole to provide access for the blower and to channel air to its intake.

We decided that such a car would draw attention to itself, so a special mount was designed to hold the supercharger next to the engine at a lower point on the block where it could be connected to the motor by a toothed drive belt.

I transferred to Panama at about this point in the FAV's design. The car was procured, armored and sent to the speed shop, which installed the blower and expressed satisfaction with the car's performance. Arrangements were made to ship the car to Bolivia's only port on the Pacific coast; the two Seabees from Panama were to meet the car and drive it up the mountain roads to La Paz.

As arrangements were being finalized, the speed shop asked: Did we want the car shipped with low-altitude fuel jets, which would require a stop about halfway up to insert the high-altitude jets? Or did we want the car to be shipped with the high-altitude jets in place, which would result in a race-car-like ride? I asked the Seabees, who both smiled a little and told me that the high-altitude jets would be the way to go.

Our Seabees met the car, brought it through customs with assistance from the embassy, and took turns driving it to La Paz. They said later that it was possible to burn rubber off the tires at any speed allowed by the mountain roads, so they discreetly replaced all four tires when it reached its destination.

The ambassador discovered quickly that he could easily lose his Bolivian motorcycle escort whenever he wanted to, for he now had the fastest car in all Bolivia. ■



**W**e came upon this tarn about an hour up the trail from

Nuuk. The temperature was right at the freezing mark so it was partly covered by a thin skin of ice. I was led to this spot by Sung Choi, our new American consul in Nuuk. The consulate opened in June and is tied to U.S. Embassy Copenhagen. The United States previously had a consulate in Nuuk from 1940 to 1953. ■

---

*FSO and former chair of the FSJ Editorial Board James P. DeHart became the U.S. Coordinator for the Arctic Region in July. He took this photo with his State Department-issued iPhone X during a visit to Greenland in October.*

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Members can consult with a doctor virtually, 24/7 through our telehealth services and participate in individual and group behavioral counseling with a professional to assess dietary habits and health needs through our virtual health coaching program.



**Look out for our Open Season virtual events at [afspa.org/events](https://afspa.org/events)**

To learn more, visit our website or give us a call.  
**[afspa.org/fsbp](https://afspa.org/fsbp) | 202-833-4910**