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JUNE 2019



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THE FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

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A Bipartisan Solution for State: The Case for a 10 Percent Cap

BY BARBARA STEPHENSON

When discussing the role of the Foreign Service, I often turn to the soaring words of our founding legislation. The Foreign Service Act of 1980 (the current iteration of the 1924 law creating the U.S. Foreign Service) says the “career foreign service, characterized by excellence and professionalism, is essential in the national interest to assist the President and the Secretary of State in conducting the foreign affairs of the United States.”

I then add a reminder that we, the career Foreign Service, must operate above the partisan fray, always with an eye toward our country’s long-term national security interests.

In this, my next to last column as AFSA president, I return to first principles, to founding documents, to explore again the purpose of the Foreign Service, with the aim of making sure we collectively act as stewards of our beloved institution, keeping it strong and pointed north as we fulfill our vital role.

Throughout my presidency, I have sought to model this behavior, to avoid being drawn into divisive, sometimes partisan, debates and instead to identify common ground where a bipartisan majority can stand together in defense of America’s global leadership.



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

As attention has focused on the extraordinary number of high-level vacancies at State and the large number of American embassies with no ambassador, I have been asked to comment on where the fault lies. Is it the administration (for nominating unqualified candidates) or the Senate (for foot-dragging on confirmations) that is responsible for leaving American diplomacy diminished?

When I recently had the honor of speaking to a score of senators about the state of State, I was asked again. It’s a serious problem, I answered.

As senators, I told them, you very reasonably want a steady pipeline of highly qualified nominees coming before you for approval. While the power to nominate rests with the administration, there is a legislative fix Congress could make that would address this issue in a structural and lasting way.

Section 304(2) of the Foreign Service Act of 1980 currently states: “Positions as chief of mission should normally be accorded to career members of the Service, though circumstances will warrant appointments from time to time of qualified individuals who are not career members of the Service.”

I told the senators that AFSA proposes replacing “from time to time” with “not to exceed 10 percent of all ambassadorial appointments,” noting that this recommendation was put forth in the 2015 American Academy of Diplomacy report, *American Diplomacy at Risk*.

I referred lawmakers to the conclusions I cite in my May column, namely: “The United States is an extreme outlier in the number of political appointees who serve as ambassadors and senior leaders in the State Department.”

I asked them to reflect on the ambassadors sent to Washington by the United Kingdom, France, Russia—all are experienced career diplomats playing at the top of their games.

I noted that State has more political appointees than the vastly larger Department of Defense, more than any other cabinet department—which may well explain why it can be a struggle to operate above the partisan fray.

Did I expect this idea to immediately take flight and win approval? I did not. I hoped to start a conversation about the impact on American diplomacy of having such an extraordinary number of political appointees. That conversation has begun. And as I prepare to move on to my next assignment as deputy chief of mission in Baghdad, I ask you to carry it forward.

We must become articulate advocates for structural reforms that bring the operation of American diplomacy into line with established best practice around the world. Reducing the percentage of high-level positions filled by political appointees will help ensure that the Foreign Service can operate above the partisan fray—and always in the national interest. ■

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PROFESSIONAL POLICY ISSUES

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Millions on the Move

BY SHAWN DORMAN

Before introducing this month's focus, I want to thank everyone who came by the *FSJ* Centennial Exhibit in the U.S. Diplomacy Center. What a boost it has been to see the proud story of the U.S. Foreign Service on display for two months—to be reminded that American diplomacy has been around for more than a century, through numerous episodes of “will diplomacy survive?” and rounds of “reform or perish.”

Through it all, the essential bottom line—that our country and the international community needs U.S. diplomacy—means that it will almost certainly be with us in another 100 years.

The opening of the exhibit in March gave us a chance to introduce people to the new open-access digital archive of all 100 years of *Journals*, now searchable and discoverable.

On May 13, the exhibit was “de-installed” and awaits its next home, whether that be at a local university (Georgetown SFS, Elliott School, who's first?) or military institution, or on the Hill. We're fielding offers, so do be in touch if you have ideas.

This month we take on the seemingly impossible topic of migration, putting a diplomacy lens on it and offering food for thought from three retired diplomat experts on how to approach managing an unprecedented movement of people today.

FSO (ret.) Andrew Erickson starts us off with, “Migration Seizes

the Spotlight,” a look at how migration is testing national policy in many countries, while raising issues that go to the core of the international order.

Ambassador (ret.) Tim Carney shares his perspective having witnessed two major refugee flows during his career—from Indochina and from the Caribbean. He takes on the governance angle, pointing to the primary role the political environment in each country plays in managing or failing to manage migration.

Ambassador (ret.) David Robinson, formerly a deputy assistant secretary for the Bureau of Population, Refugees and Migration, describes the scope and context for the migration debate, concluding that the one viable option is to take a global approach and work through international agreements to address the reality of 65 million people on the move.

In *Speaking Out*, “Afghanistan—Rightsizing Expectations,” a recent acting deputy assistant secretary for Afghanistan shares her views on the way forward.

I'm delighted to share another story for the *Diplomacy Works* collection, “Avocado Diplomacy: Supporting Peace in Colombia,” from a senior FSO for USDA's Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service, Marc Gilkey.

The *Education Supplement* includes two practical articles: a guide for college applicants on how to write the “Why This College?” essay, and a look at the choices to make when considering AP and IB programs.

As always, we look forward to hearing from you. ■



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

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The Iraq Tax

I couldn't agree more with Ambassador Stephenson's April "President's Views" column on the need to refund the so-called "Iraq tax" and restore positions to many of our understaffed, overworked posts.

In Riga, where I have been deputy chief of mission (DCM) since 2017, we have seen a tenfold increase in congressional delegations (CODELs) since 2014, and a much larger increase in flag-rank Defense Department visitors. In just the past year, our small political-economic section delivered 152 demarches, 50 percent more than the previous year—we use the equivalent of one entire full-time equivalent (FTE) just delivering routine demarches.

We're lucky here in that when Mission Russia was forced to reduce positions, the European and Eurasian Affairs Bureau (EUR) moved some of the FTEs to Riga. Our neighboring Baltic posts and many others across Europe haven't been as fortunate in terms of new positions, although they have seen similar increases in workload as Riga.

At the recent EUR budget workshop, we heard that over the past decade the Bureau of Budget and Planning has approved exactly zero new overseas positions in EUR. This lack of new positions stands in sharp contrast to an enormous, bureauwide increase in workload, particularly since Russia's annexation of Crimea in 2014.

When I was in the DCM class in 2014, then Under Secretary for Management Pat Kennedy told us to forget about getting FTEs because they were too expensive. He urged us to request appointment eligible family member Expanded Professional Associates Program positions instead. We've done that in Riga, but about half our requests for EPAPs have been denied.

Nevertheless, we're thankful for the

EPAPs we do have—the positions are great for our many qualified family members, and our political-economic team would be even more overworked without their amazing EPAP.

But while EPAPs have an important place in many missions, they're not a long-term substitute for U.S. direct-hire positions. It's time we matched resources with policy goals and began restoring positions to our embassies.

Paul Poletes

FSO

U.S. Embassy Riga

Speaking of Father-Son Ambassadors

I missed the December *FSJ* interview with Ambassador Ronald Neumann that referenced father-son ambassador pairs (who had served in the same capitals) from the Neumann and Adams families, but saw Steve Muller's April letter regarding the Francis family father-son ambassadors.

That brought to mind another notable father-son duo: Selden Chapin and his son, Frederic. Selden served as chief of mission in Hungary (as "Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary"), Netherlands, Panama, Iran and Peru. However, his most notable achievement was assembling and herding the 1947 Foreign Service Act through Congress; he was also the first Director General of the FS.

Frederic Chapin served as ambassador in Ethiopia and Guatemala.

John Treacy

FSO, retired

Evanston, Illinois

The Briggs Father-Son Pair

Regarding Steve Muller's letter in the April *FSJ*, seven-time Ambassador Ellis O. Briggs (author of the classic mem-

oir *Farewell to Foggy Bottom*) and his son Everett E. Briggs (also ambassador multiple times, and responsible for helping bring Panamanian dictator Manuel Noriega to justice) are also an eminent father-son pair of ambassadors.

T. J. Morgan

FSO, retired

Keswick, Virginia

Multigenerational Ambassadors

I read the letters about the families that have produced father and son ambassadors, and I wanted to report that my family has had three generations of career ambassadors (four individuals).

My father, Sheldon Whitehouse, was in the Foreign Service for 30 years and served as our chief of mission to Guatemala (1930-1933) and to Colombia (1933-1934).

My husband, Robert Blake, was in the Foreign Service for more than 30 years and capped his career as ambassador to Mali from 1970 to 1973.

My son, Robert Blake Jr., enjoyed his 31-year diplomatic career, during which he served as ambassador to Sri Lanka and the Maldives (2006-2009), and ambassador to Indonesia (2013-2016). Between those two assignments he served as assistant secretary of State for South and Central Asia.

My brother, Charles Whitehouse, also had a very distinguished career in the Foreign Service, serving as ambassador to Laos (1973-1975) and to Thailand (1975-1978). He also served as president of AFSA (1981-1982).

His son, Sheldon Whitehouse, is the junior senator from Rhode Island and a great supporter of the Foreign Service.

I must add that each of them felt it had been a great honor to serve our country.

Sylvia Blake

FS Family Member

Washington, D.C. ■

“I Am a Champion...”

Secretary of State Mike Pompeo presented the new “Ethos” vision he described as operating principles for the State Department in a celebratory event held in the C Street lobby on April 26, the one-year anniversary of his swearing in.

The event got going with loudspeakers booming Pharrell’s “Happy” followed by Bruno Mars’ “Uptown Funk.” The Secretary’s address was punctuated by the unveiling of a large poster spelling out the new mandate (see photo), which he said was “inspirational, aspirational and [a] unifying statement that captures the attitude that I hope will become part of the State Department DNA.”

Sec. Pompeo reviewed the changes at State during his tenure, including lifting the hiring freeze on family members and rebooting entry-level hiring. He spoke about making good on his promise to “get the team back on the field.”

He also elaborated on one of his earlier commitments: “I promised ... I would communicate to you. [I] wouldn’t be somebody holed up on the seventh floor, who you never saw or heard from, that didn’t have any idea what the heck he was doing or what his team was doing.”

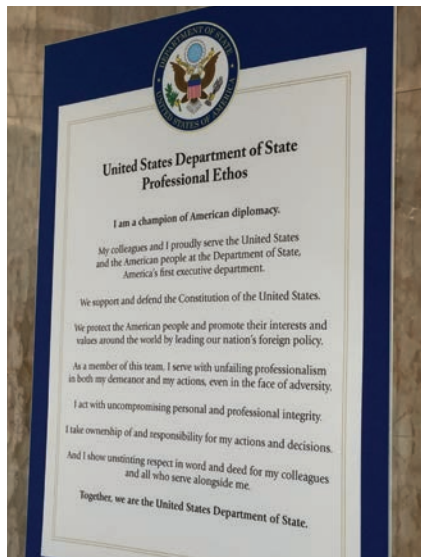
Pompeo spoke of a third promise, to bring the State Department team together. He said he’s welcomed debate and “engaged with multiple State Department leaders with whom there are disagreements. We don’t have a process that’s controlled by a handful of people here in the State Department.”

The ethos initiative will include a new common training program that brings State’s communities together: Foreign Service, Civil Service, non-career and political appointees. Foreign Service Institute Director Dan Smith provided details on the new integrated training, whose pilot will start in the summer.

Contemporary Quote

Foreign Service professionals are every bit as patriotic and service-oriented as members of our military, and often face similar challenges in far corners of the globe. We can’t forget that their family members serve our country too and, as a result, can find it difficult to secure employment opportunities of their own. On this Foreign Service Day, Senator Van Hollen and I have introduced the Foreign Service Families Act, legislation to bolster employment opportunities for Foreign Service families wherever they are called to serve.

—Senator Dan Sullivan (R-Alaska), in a May 3 Facebook video



“That course,” Smith said, “will introduce our new employees to the role and unique history of this proud institution, as well as to our principles and the behavior we expect of all of us with regard to one another and our professional conduct. The training will supplement, particularly in the case of the Foreign Service, but not supplant our existing training.

“But with regard to Civil Service and non-career staff,” he continued, “it will represent an important departure from the past insofar as many of our Civil Service and non-career colleagues receive no training upon entry into the State Department.”

Director General of the Foreign Service Ambassador Carol Perez gave brief remarks highlighting a new ethos award, which she said will be rolled out this summer. Everyone at State is eligible.

Lavender Legislation

On May 1, 19 Democratic senators reintroduced the Lavender Offense Victim Exoneration Act, or LOVE Act, which, if passed, would direct the State Department to search its archives and identify all employees who were fired or forced to resign based on their sexual orientation and formally correct their employment records.

The LOVE Act was first introduced in 2017, shortly after then-Secretary of State John Kerry formally apologized for the department’s past discrimination. The Act is named for the “Lavender Scare” of the 1950s and 60s, when government employees suspected of homosexuality were forced out of their jobs.

The legislation directs the department to create a formal reconciliation board under the Director General to contact all surviving employees or family members of those employees and offer them a chance to tell their story for the official record. It also calls on Congress to issue a formal apology for its role in the purge.

Additionally, it mandates a board to review issues facing current LGBTQ

diplomats and their family members, and it creates a permanent exhibit on the Lavender Scare at the U.S. Diplomacy Center.

Liz Lee, the president of GLIFAA (LGBT+ pride in foreign affairs agencies), told the *Journal* that the organization deeply appreciates and supports the LOVE Act.

“Over decades, thousands of LGBT+ patriots were purged from the State Department and other federal agencies on account of who they loved, or were suspected to love,” Lee said. “While many of those targeted by discrimination are no longer with us today, we should ensure that their stories are still heard and their official records corrected.”

A Charge to Keep Out

Most consular officers have probably had occasion to invoke Section 212 (a)(4) of the Immigration and Nationality Act, known as the public charge exclusion, in refusing an application for a nonimmigrant visa.

That provision reads, in part: “Any alien who, in the opinion of the consular officer at the time of application for a visa, or in the opinion of the attorney general at the time of application for admission or adjustment of status, is likely at any time to become a public charge is inadmissible.”

Until the Trump administration took office, that provision had rarely been invoked in processing immigrant visa (IV) applications. In Fiscal Year 2015, fewer than 900 IV applications were refused on that ground.

But, as Reuters reported on April 15, since the State Department revised the Foreign Affairs Manual in January 2018 to make it easier to apply that exclusion, the number of IV refusals shot up to nearly 13,500 by the end of the 2018 fiscal year—

quadruple the number in the previous fiscal year and the highest total since 2004.

Specifically, the FAM now empowers consular officers to take into account evidence that visa applicants—or their family members, including those who are U.S. citizens—have ever received non-cash benefits such as housing vouchers, subsidized school lunches, public health vaccinations and enrollment in Head Start.

Critics concede that the changes to the FAM are not the only reason for the increase in refusals. But applicants are being denied on public-charge grounds, lawyers say, even when they can document their financial independence.

On Nov. 28, 2018, the city of Baltimore filed a federal lawsuit, *Baltimore v. Trump*, seeking to overturn the more stringent public-charge criteria. On March 22, 2019, a coalition of 19 states, 16 cities and counties, 10 civil rights organizations and five Maryland immigrant advocates joined Baltimore in describing the many different harms caused by what they call an “unlawful and discriminatory change” to the definition of a public charge.

State has declined to comment, citing the litigation, which is ongoing. But the Federation for American Immigration Reform defends the tightening of the public-charge policy as “common sense.”

Bowing to Pressure, Foreign and Domestic

U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine Marie Yovanovitch, a highly respected career Foreign Service officer, is being recalled ahead of her scheduled departure following public political attacks by conservative media outlets and Donald Trump Jr.

An informal internal State Department management notice, according to columnist Josh Rogin’s May 7 *Washington Post* column, noted that Ambassador Yova-



On May 9 Ambassador Marie L. Yovanovitch was inducted into the National Defense University National Hall of Fame at a ceremony on the Fort McNair campus in Washington, D.C. From left, FSI Director Ambassador Dan Smith, Amb. Yovanovitch and NDU President Vice Admiral Fritz Roegge.

novitch will leave her post permanently on May 20, with no replacement in place and no nominations to fill the position.

Foreign Policy notes that Amb. Yovanovitch, who has been outspoken about the need to crack down on Ukrainian corruption throughout her nearly three years in Kyiv, was thrust into the spotlight in March when Ukrainian Prosecutor General Yuriy Lutsenko claimed, without evidence, that the ambassador had outlined a list of people he should not prosecute. *Newsweek* reports that Lutsenko is a contact of President Trump’s personal lawyer Rudy Giuliani.

The U.S. State Department called the claim by Lutsenko an “outright fabrication.” In April, Lutsenko walked back the statement in a separate interview, but the unfounded charge has continued to circulate.

Yovanovitch then faced a slew of criticism from right-wing media figures. The president’s son Donald Trump Jr. tweeted about unsubstantiated claims circulating on Fox News in late March.

“We need more @RichardGrenells

and less of these jokers as ambassadors,” Trump Jr. wrote, referring to the U.S. ambassador to Germany, who has been an outspoken political supporter of the president.

The wave of criticisms raised alarm bells for former U.S. ambassadors to Ukraine, who worried Lutsenko and other Ukrainian officials were exploiting political fissures in the United States to retaliate against Yovanovitch.

House Majority Leader Steny Hoyer (D-Md.) and Eliot Engel (D-N.Y.), chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, expressed strong concerns of their own in an April 12 letter to Sec. Pompeo.

When they received no response, Engel and Hoyer went public in a May 7 joint

statement: “The White House’s outrageous decision to recall Amb. Yovanovitch is a political hit job and the latest in this administration’s campaign against career State Department personnel. It’s clear that this decision was politically motivated, as allies of President Trump had joined foreign actors in lobbying for the ambassador’s dismissal.

“In what is an increasingly disturbing trend,” the congressmen continued, “we have seen foreign officials attack our own U.S. ambassadors and Foreign Service officers for performing their jobs and advancing U.S. interests.” They described the ambassador as “a dedicated public servant and diplomat of the highest caliber.”

When asked whether the ambassador

was being recalled early, a State Department spokesperson said Yovanovitch was “concluding her three-year diplomatic assignment in Kyiv in 2019 as planned.” The spokesperson did not comment on Engel and Hoyer’s statement.

Among her many assignments over a distinguished 33-year Foreign Service career, Amb. Yovanovitch previously served as ambassador to Armenia, ambassador to the Kyrgyz Republic and deputy chief of mission in Kyiv.

She is the recipient of the Presidential Distinguished Service Award and the Secretary’s Diplomacy in Human Rights Award. While ambassador to Armenia, she was profiled in AFSA’s bestselling book, *Inside a U.S. Embassy* (FS Books, 2011).

50 Years Ago

Henry of the Tower

On a crisp London day in the autumn of 1780 a thickset, firm-jawed South Carolinian stood unhappily beside the Thames River, looking upward at the stones of the ancient fortress known as the Tower of London.

The day was October 6, and the name was Henry Laurens of Charleston. A month earlier the English had encountered upon the high seas the brigantine *Mercury*, en route from Philadelphia to Europe, and had seized and sailed away with Laurens, the newly commissioned Minister to the Netherlands in the fledgling foreign service of the Continental Congress. It was a commission he had accepted reluctantly, for he was 56 and had spent many years in the public life, during which he had served the revolutionary government of South Carolina, and the Continental Congress as president.

Laurens, ailing and resentful over his consignment as a prisoner to the Tower, gazed with melancholy eyes upon the Thames, a puny stream, as he might well have reflected, compared to the wide sweeps of the Ashley and Cooper



back home. His guards stepped forward and the silent procession moved inside. They led him over a footing of slick stones to cramped prison quarters and left him, coughing and adjusting his cape against the Tower chill.

The South Carolinian was one of a handful of notables dispatched abroad in the diplomatic service of the nascent American government. Among them were Benjamin Franklin in Paris, John Jay in Madrid, and John Adams at The Hague. It was an eminent little group whose resourcefulness would be commemorated in history books of the future. Whatever achievements and errors of judgment might be attributed to each in his turn, all were then engaged, with honor and sacrifice, in helping to lay the cornerstone of their country’s foreign service. It was Laurens alone, however, who was to have the rueful distinction of residence in the Tower of London.

—Retired FSO Ralph Hilton, excerpted from his article by the same title in the June 1969 Foreign Service Journal

Guilty Plea for Former State OMS

Candace Claiborne, a former State Department office management specialist, pleaded guilty April 24 to a charge of conspiracy to defraud the United States, by lying to law enforcement and background investigators, and hiding her extensive contacts with, and gifts from, agents of the People's Republic of China, in exchange for providing them with internal documents from the U.S. State Department.

The 63-year-old Claiborne began working as an OMS in 1999 and was posted in Baghdad, Khartoum, Sudan, Beijing and Shanghai. According to the

Department of Justice, Claiborne failed to report multiple contacts with PRC intelligence agents, who gave her and her family members "tens of thousands of dollars in gifts and benefits," including tuition at a Chinese fashion school for a family member, a furnished apartment and cash.

Sentencing in the case has been scheduled for July 9. The maximum statutory penalty is five years in prison.

Legislation to Defend U.S. Citizens and Diplomatic Staff in Turkey

On April 9 Senators Roger Wicker (R-Miss.) and Ben Cardin (D-Md.)

introduced the Defending United States Citizens and Diplomatic Staff from Political Prosecutions Act of 2019 to address the ongoing wrongful detentions of U.S. citizens and diplomatic staff by the Government of Turkey.

Senator Dick Durbin (D-Ill.), who has actively supported efforts to secure the release of political prisoners around the world, is an original co-sponsor of the legislation, along with Sen. Marco Rubio (R-Fla.), Sen. Thom Tillis (R-N.C.) and Sen. Chris Van Hollen (D-Md.).

The bill would require the U.S. administration to impose sanctions on all senior Turkish officials responsible for the wrongful detention of U.S. citizens

We Are Not Going to Approve This Budget Reduction

I don't know if I speak for every member of the committee, but I certainly speak for myself, for sure, and most of us. We are not going to approve this budget reduction. It's insane, it makes no sense, it makes us less safe. I don't know who writes these things over in the White House, but they clearly don't understand the value of soft power. If you're going to win this war, you better be on the ground, and you better have something to offer other than the terrorists, which is a hopeful life vs. a glorious death.

So I am confident this committee will restore the 23 percent cut below the 2019 enacted level. Again, to me, from the administration's point of view, this is a very short-sighted approach to the problems we have in the world. If you don't have some developmental aid available to you, you better really build a military a lot bigger than it is today because that is the only option left to you.

—*Sen. Lindsey Graham (R-S.C.), chairman of the State, Foreign Operations, and Related Programs Subcommittee of the Senate Appropriations Committee, in his opening statement at a SFOPS hearing on the FY20 Budget Request for USAID, on April 30.*

Heard on the Hill



Bipartisan Support for Soft Power

I believe in our strong power by ultimately believing in our soft power. I think General Mattis said it best when he testified before this committee and at least one other by saying that if you want to cut our foreign aid budget, buy me more bullets. It is not directed at you, Mr. Green. I've known you a long time. I know your feelings; you are here to represent the administration's budget, but I think we have a number of things we are going to want

to say about that budget as we go forward. One of the things Senator Graham and I have done, and before him Senator McConnell and I, is try to get this bill out with strong bipartisan support because USAID and our soft power should not be a partisan issue; it should be an American issue, and we are going to try to keep it that way.

—*Sen. Patrick Leahy (D-Vt.), ranking member of the Senate Appropriations Committee, in his opening statement at the State, Foreign Operations, and Related Programs Appropriations Subcommittee hearing on the FY20 Budget Request for USAID, on April 30.*

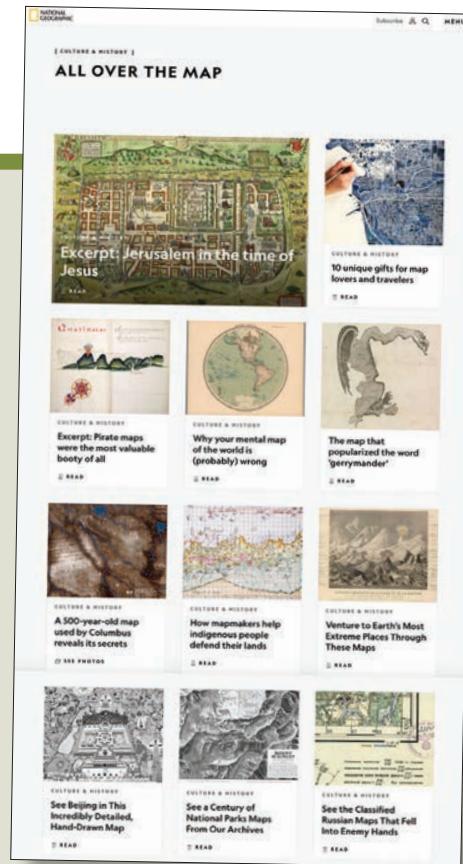
SITE OF THE MONTH: ALL OVER THE MAP

National Geographic has long been a treasure trove of images and stories about nature, faraway places and maps. “All Over the Map” is National Geographic’s blog, with maps of all kinds and their surprisingly intriguing histories. Since their debut post in May 2016 (“If You Love Maps, This Blog is for You”), coauthors Betsy Mason and Greg Miller have created nearly 100 more posts covering topics as varied as pirate maps and the history of the word “gerrymander.”

As they write in the first post: “Maps are time machines, too. They can take you into the past to see the world as people saw it centuries ago. Or they can show you a place you know intimately as it existed before you came along, or as it might look in the future. Always, they reveal something about the mind of the mapmaker. Every map has a story to tell.”

Each post includes a selection of maps tied together by an overarching theme, with in-depth explanations of the artistic, historical or cultural significance.

Cultural implications of how maps are drawn, era-specific assumptions of various peoples, now socially



The blog is updated with a new post several times a month, and at the end of each post there are links to more *National Geographic* webpages on maps and cartography. The blog’s coauthors have also published an illustrated book on the topic, *All Over the Map* (National Geographic, October 2018).

unacceptable and politically incorrect stereotypes, certain powers’ influence over maps and the future of mapmaking are all addressed on the blog.

Some maps fit the traditional textbook profile: political, physical, climatic and economic. Others, however, have a more sociohistoric framing, such as the history of charting New York City or the discovery of the Americas.

Map sources include the Library of Congress, public libraries, university and *National Geographic* archives, books of maps and personal map collections.

and staff, including barring the officials from travel to the United States and freezing any U.S. assets.

The move came after the plight of Metin Topuz, a longtime employee of the U.S. consulate in Istanbul and one of three consulate employees arrested by Turkish authorities, made the news once again on March 28, when a Turkish court ordered his continued detention and delayed his trial until May.

Turkey is also detaining NASA scientist Serkan Gölge, a dual U.S.-Turkish national, on charges of terrorism.

In a press release announcing the

new legislation, Sen. Wicker said: “More than two and a half years have passed since Serkan Gölge, an American citizen, was detained in Turkey. Since then, we have witnessed the sham convictions of two Americans, including Pastor Andrew Brunson, and one local employee of the U.S. government on baseless terrorism charges. At least two other local staff of our consulate in Istanbul continue to face similar politically motivated convictions without credible evidence of wrongdoing.

“Turkish authorities should immediately cease this harassment of our

citizens and personnel,” Wicker continued. “The bipartisan measure we are introducing today puts Turkey on notice that it can either quickly resolve these cases and free our citizens and local staff or face real consequences. Turkey is a valuable NATO ally—I expect it to start acting like one.” ■

This edition of Talking Points was compiled by Donna Gorman, Shawn Dorman, Dmitry Filipoff, Steven Alan Honley and Jacob Borst.

Afghanistan—Rightsizing Expectations

BY ANNIE PFORZHEIMER

Afghanistan is a country that I love. My friends there are men and women of great character and bravery, who make me laugh and make me think. The Afghan people's surmounted traumas are legendary. A 50-year-old Afghan has lived under six forms of government or political authority: a monarchy, a socialist republic, a communist dictatorship, anarchy and civil war, a theocracy and a democracy.

I have served twice in Kabul, as political counselor (2009-2010) under a new U.S. Democratic administration and as deputy chief of mission (2017-2018) under a new U.S. Republican administration—and both defined their policy in large degree by rejecting the policy they just inherited.

Looking ahead to 2020, there is no doubt that both political parties will campaign to end our “war.” But U.S. government career officials and some outside

experts who have focused on Afghanistan over the decades would argue that we need to maintain security support to fight an enduring terrorist threat and avoid predatory behavior by regional powers.

Afghans, for their part, use historical examples to bolster their unique blend of catastrophizing and optimism. What could break out, they caution us, is another civil war like the one they had in the 1990s, when Washington deserted Afghanistan after the Soviet withdrawal. That led to millions of refugees, hundreds of thousands killed, a flattened capital and, eventually, the Taliban takeover and the use of their territory by al-Qaida and the masterminds of 9/11.

This warning sounds like a weird suicide threat—holding a gun to the only victims in the conflict, themselves. That said, they are right to threaten and remind us, because we do stand to lose, as well. Our memory is famously poor, and Afghans do not assume we'll remem-

ber or care about the consequences of another power vacuum in their country. The optimism kicks in when they imagine a future free of war, albeit with our continued support, at a minimal level that keeps the predatory neighbors at bay.

Identifying Our Interests

The United States must let history inform the present and avoid acting in a way we are likely to regret in the not-too-distant future. We have, sadly, seen this movie before, when a U.S. decision to “move on” from our support to the anti-Soviet fighters gathered momentum, with dire consequences. The film “Charlie Wilson’s War” ends pointedly with a congressional rejection of funding in the early 1990s to rebuild Afghan schools. The vacuum unfilled by a government led to the rise of the Taliban who offered order.

I do support the current decision to downsize our embassy, military presence and civilian assistance over time. But it would be contrary to our interests to cut off assistance to the Afghan security forces before there is a genuine peace and a path toward regional buy-in to Afghan stability. We have the responsibility to finish at least some of what we started, and to do that we need a clear analysis on which to base a way forward.

One way to get clarity is to consider our interests as if we were looking at the region for the first time. If we did so, we'd value the fact that we have the makings of an important and well-located strategic ally. With a sustainable peace, that ally



Annie Pforzheimer, a recently retired career diplomat with the personal rank of Minister Counselor, was until March 2019 the acting deputy assistant secretary for Afghanistan. From 2017 to 2018, she was the deputy chief of mission in Kabul. Prior to that, she directed implementation of the Central America strategy at the National Security Council (2014-2015). She also

led the Office of Andean Affairs in the Bureau of Western Hemisphere Affairs during Colombia's peace process, and the Office for Peacekeeping, Sanctions and Counterterrorism in the Bureau of International Organizations. She was the director of the International Narcotics and Law Enforcement program in Mexico City, political counselor in El Salvador, and the human rights officer in Turkey and South Africa. Her first assignment was in Colombia. Ms. Pforzheimer received the State Department's 2001 award for human rights reporting. The opinions and characterizations in this piece are those of the author and do not necessarily represent those of the U.S. government.

would be able to take economic advantage of its mineral wealth, nearby energy resources and trade with important markets in the region.

There have been some very positive U.S. steps in the past two years, chief among them the appointment of a special representative who is highly and uniquely qualified, and whose “special” mandate is better defined than others have been in the past. He is on the job to catalyze a peace agreement, and unlike previous Special Representatives for Afghanistan and Pakistan (known as SRAP), he has focused on the intricate and interwoven negotiations with the Taliban and the government, and leaves other elements of U.S. policy to the South and Central Asian Affairs Bureau.

What Changes and What Stays the Same

In my two tours, there have been some constants from my Afghan hosts: tea at every meeting; manifold expressions of gratitude for what we have done, along with accusations that their enemies are corrupt; and those allusions to being deserted in the 1990s and the chaos that ensued.

Also constant in two tours, almost a decade apart: a newly minted U.S. strategy that combined, supposedly forever, the strands of what we wanted to achieve with what we thought was truly achievable, including a new framework for our civilian assistance and evolving military goals. The strategies—one called for a surge in civilian personnel and aid funding, and the other called for a refocusing from “nation-building” to counterterrorism—constituted only two of the multiple, contradictory, fully fledged strategies since 2002.

The turnover of U.S. diplomats and military officials, and our short political

It would be contrary to our interests to cut off assistance to the Afghan security forces before there is a genuine peace and a path toward regional buy-in to Afghan stability.

attention span at home, stand in contrast to the long-term nature of the problems we try to solve. We have had a succession of sometimes mutually exclusive goals and approaches. One example is our love-hate relationship with fighting corruption, which we pursue vigorously—except, unfortunately, when we don’t (in the name of security).

An example of this inconsistency is our support for regional strongman Atta Noor, a former governor of Balkh province. If we care about corruption, he should be reined in from his activities, including dominance over border and customs revenues. But for stability’s sake, we keep him on our side to head off even more Russian influence in Afghanistan’s north.

We may be fighting a series of “one-year wars,” but the Afghans have been watching us closely for 17 years. And they have learned a great deal about our inability to stick with a goal.

Distorted Mirror, Distorted Policies

In addition to our inconsistency, our policies suffer from a Pygmalion complex. We wanted a miracle—to transform a country economically, politically and culturally and to end bitter rivalries that tore it apart two decades ago.

We paid for this miracle, or so we thought. Several thousand U.S. and allied troops have died, as well as many thousands of Afghan military personnel and civilians. And less profoundly,

we put in exhausting amounts of effort: so many plans, proposals, grants, vision statements, exchanges, visits, cultural promotion, monitoring and evaluation reports, conferences, lessons-learned statements, technical assistance, environmental impact reports, engineering studies, community meetings, training, equipping, “key leader engagements” and, of course ... cups of tea.

From all this we wanted a beautiful reflection in the mirror. Instead we got ordinary, mixed results that might have been considered pretty impressive—if they were achieved somewhere else, with fewer illusions.

I would argue that whether our intervention “worked” or “failed” depends on one’s politics or confirmation bias. And how do you tell, really? No one agreed at the outset how we’d measure progress, and metrics changed constantly.

When I was at post in 2010, success was based on how much foreign assistance per month was “burned,” because that proved that the civilian effort was as serious as the military one. (That is a metric we now regret when faced with inspection reports showing how hastily designed some of our programs were, and how we should have watched our U.S. and local contractors more carefully.)

Are we there to promote women’s rights, or stop al-Qaida, or promote self-sufficiency, or change the culture of impunity? We can and did explain to visiting congressional delegations that progress had been far more good than

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What should our optimal presence be in the future, and how do we get there rationally, without creating opportunity costs or a chance for competitors to increase their influence?

bad, pointing to a huge jump in indicators for gross domestic product, life expectancy, education, maternal health, and access to electricity, TV and the rest of the world. We also acknowledged the other side: intractable poverty rates, violence and corruption.

A colleague once observed to me that we overidentified Afghan progress with our own self-worth. I sat in countless meetings with U.S. officials saying they were personally offended by failures of Afghan governance, whether or not it involved our funds. Our requirement for their military transformation has included well-meaning technological dependence that proves unworkable in practice (for example, aircraft that need higher-level maintenance than Afghans will be able to afford in the future).

Members of the Afghan political class—learning our ways better than we have been learning theirs—know that we want to hear pledges of reform; but they know equally well what the minimum will be to satisfy us.

Rightsizing Our Expectations, Presence and Timelines

We need an articulation of long-term U.S. goals for engagement in the country and the region, something equivalent to more consistent policies that have survived partisan changes over time, such as containment in Europe or trade promotion in Latin America. This requires putting Afghanistan in proper perspective,

taking a deep breath and admitting that it will remain a problem beyond short-term fixes. That is not the same as giving up, which would be a massive strategic blunder and a disservice to those who have worked and sacrificed so much on all sides.

“Why are we still there?” is the wrong policy question. I would counter: “Why wouldn’t we be there?” We have embassies all over the world. We have a military presence in dozens of locations worldwide that we consider to have geostrategic importance.

The right policy question is this: “What should our optimal presence be in the future, and how do we get there rationally, without creating opportunity costs (such as having to return after withdrawing too precipitously) or a chance for competitors to increase their influence?”

Seeing this country for what it is, and is not, would generate a more rational policy debate. Afghanistan is a mid-sized, poor country with an increasingly better-educated and more urban population, many of whom have lived as refugees abroad and speak English. It is landlocked, but near massive energy reserves, and possesses mineral wealth and agricultural riches. It is socially conservative. And it is situated near countries we want to keep an eye on.

Congressional and U.S. public opinion appears to blow hot and cold, which may have much to do with how they hear the issues framed during a talk or

in the media. And groups visiting the country see what they came to see.

What is currently at play are issues such as the size of our remaining forces; the mandate of those forces, which is also up to the Afghan government and NATO, with discussion in private with the Taliban; our payment for and enabling of the Afghan security forces, who are doing the bulk of the fighting; the size of the U.S. civilian assistance budget; and the size of our embassy.

The most vital of these is our support for the Afghan security forces, including both funding and training. We have to continue this support to meet the goals of the White House's 2017 South Asia Strategy, our most current stated policy—to achieve through political settlement a stable Afghanistan that will be a viable partner for regional security.

We need to consider this assistance in terms of the ongoing and abiding U.S. interest in supporting pro-democratic forces and denying safe haven to terrorists in Afghanistan, with a commitment of resources that would decrease in scope over a medium-term horizon.

A disciplined and depoliticized agreement by both U.S. political parties on this goal is essential before the 2020 election cycle introduces even more rhetoric, the inevitable twisting of facts and further policy reversals. We have an obligation to get the next stage and end game right, even if we stumbled along the way. ■

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Migration Seizes the Spotlight

Migration is testing national policy in many countries. The questions it raises go to the heart of the international order.

BY ANDREW ERICKSON

Tied to labor requirements in more advanced countries or asylum claims from refugees, migration has traditionally been an experts' issue, discreetly handled. This is changing rapidly. In 2016 migration exploded internationally as a major domestic political issue in many countries.

In the United States, how we deal with visitors, migrants and asylum-seekers is a political hot potato that repeatedly ends up in the courts. On our southern border, questions about who gets asylum and why play out against the backdrop of policy decisions on the fate of beneficiaries of the DREAM Act and unaccompanied minors. While Mexico grapples with addressing transit migration toward the United States, South America struggles with fleeing Venezuelans. In Africa refugee numbers soar as countries struggle to sustain millions fleeing conflict and crisis. Australia's approach to asylum-seekers is a major political issue there.

Conflicts and poverty in the Middle East boost migration. Turkey hosts nearly four million refugees and also generates economic migrants. Europe also hosts millions. In 2016, motivated in part by concerns over immigration, Britons voted to leave the European Union. The rise of far-right parties across Europe is also tied to the impact of immigration. An American president with strong views on migration was elected. Recent elections in Germany, Italy and Sweden further underscore the deep unease with which elements of our electorates view immigration.

Today the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees counts about 68.5 million forcibly displaced people worldwide, including 40 million internally displaced, 25.4 million refugees (among them 5.4 million Palestinians) and 3.1 million asylum-seekers.

When I was stationed in Geneva as a migration officer at the beginning of the 21st century, the discussion was largely focused on the need for more refugee slots in the developed world. Today a less one-sided dialogue is required. A comprehensive diplomatic approach should include revisiting the 1951 Refugee Convention to recast the rights and responsibilities therein. This



Andrew Erickson, a retired Senior Foreign Service officer, was refugee coordinator for the former Yugoslavia from 1996 to 1997, then liaison on migration issues to the Luxembourg Presidency of the European Union. At U.S. Mission Geneva from 1998 to 2002, he worked with the Intergovernmental Consultations on Migration, Asylum and Refugees; the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees; the International Organization for Migration; and other humanitarian agencies. He has served at the U.S. Mission to the European Union and worked in conflict zones including Bosnia, Afghanistan, Colombia and the Horn of Africa. He lives in Europe.



The Bosnia crisis demonstrated that mass refugee outflows on the fringes could have significant domestic political consequences in Europe. Here a UNHCR crew assesses refugee return prospects in a ruined Balkan village in 1996.

COURTESY OF ANDREW RICKSON. BACKGROUND: ISTOCKPHOTO.COM/ZEFERLI

will require State Department leadership if the basic principles of asylum are to be safeguarded.

Popular Attitudes, Demographic Decline and Policy Challenge

Popular concern about migration is soaring, while formerly welcoming rich countries' doors are closing. After German Chancellor Angela Merkel welcomed large numbers of Middle Eastern refugees to Germany in August 2015, voter angst rocked Europe. In the face of historically unprecedented levels of immigration, Europe is testing the frontiers of multiculturalism. According to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, in 2017 the share of foreign-born residents of Sweden was 18 percent; in Ireland, 17.1 percent; in Austria, 19 percent; in Spain, 13 percent; in the U.K., 14 percent; and in Germany, 15 percent. Sweden may have a non-ethnically Swedish-majority population by the end of the century.

As migrant populations grow, demographic decline among the native-born hollows out large European states. Spain has one of the lowest fertility rates in the world. Germany's present population is 87 million; by 2060, it could fall by 15 million. In 2014 fewer babies were born in Italy than in any year since 1861.

The situation in the United States is no better. According to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, the current U.S. birthrate of 1,766 per 10,000 is 16 percent below what is needed for population stability. We must accept a shrinking population

or welcome more immigrants. America also faces skill shortages and needs specific scientific, technical, engineering and mathematics (STEM) talents. Future innovators will and do come from all over the world. Today foreign-born residents constitute almost 14 percent of our population—the highest percentage since 1910. More of them will need to be skilled.

Elite or specific skills migration can be managed with points systems, special visa categories and other measures addressing critical labor shortfalls. What about unskilled workers? Is the pressing need for certain migrants an argument for more USAID programs to improve education in the developing world? How do we square skills-based migration with our country's tradition of mass immigration? Are visa lotteries the best way to identify immigrants?

Labor mobility is key to economic growth. As fertility rates in rich nations decline, migration will meet labor demand. With retirement systems facing unsustainable numbers of pensioners, governments can manage immigration to ensure systemic viability. Countries needing workers already welcome migrants. Just as political refugees leave oppression for freedom, so economic migrants can do the same in search of better lives. Rich and poor lands should equally benefit.

We are a land of immigrants. Yet in 2018 Americans told Gallup pollsters that the number-one problem America faces is immigration. Our president speaks of undocumented migrants and asylum-seekers as a national security threat. Elsewhere, French voters' long flirtation with the far right is grounded in unhappiness



Many Haitians fled their country after the 2010 earthquake left the country in ruins. How does a just migration policy treat people such as these?

with immigration. It's simplistic to deride voter disquiet as racism; in a democracy, citizens have a voice. Whatever people in Sweden decide about how immigration affects their future as a nation, they have a right to their national conversation.

While legitimate refugees have no option but flight and a quest for asylum, other migrants have no option but to try to work the system. Seeking asylum in Europe or remaining without permission in the United States are now the only alternatives for most non-elite would-be immigrants—whether they're refugees or not. The situation is unsustainable.

A Comprehensive Response Is Needed

Migration is about people and numbers. In 2004 the United Nations projected that Africa's population would level off by 2100, at around two billion. Today the U.N. projects Africa's population will reach 4.5 billion by century's end. With the pull of our economies combined with the push of migrant desperation, there is no sea wide enough nor wall high enough to deter would-be immigrants. Latin America and South Asia are also experiencing dramatic population growth.

Today's migration picture is one of musical chairs. Poor, dysfunctional and conflictive countries generate far more emigrants than rich countries can welcome as immigrants. Supply and demand are misaligned; emigrants who can't become immigrants have nowhere to go. Those who do succeed at immigration will be of different ethnicities, religions and cultures from their new homelands. British academics Roger Eatwell and Matthew Goodwin speak of "hyper ethnic change" to describe what is occurring. In *National Populism: The Revolt Against Liberal Democracy*

(Pelican, 2018), they note: "Public worries over immigration and ethnic change, and the concomitant intellectual debates, look set to intensify rather than fade. This is because hyper ethnic change will not only continue but accelerate."

The arrival of hundreds of thousands on our southern border and the plight of millions of asylum-seekers around the world require informed and coherent policymaking. If nothing else, the changing religious, cultural and ethnic mix of our nation invites reflection. How much dysfunction and injustice in migrant-producing countries can be assuaged by emigrant flight? How do we reduce migrant flows while assuring the skilled immigrants we require? How generously should we assess asylum claims—and on what grounds? How do we ensure our migration policies are not racist, even as voters express increasing concern about immigrant multiculturalism?

Migration today poses unprecedented transnational challenges. With so many people on the move, no responsible policymaker can deny that the 1951 Convention and its 1967 Protocol governing asylum-seekers might require revision. How do we continue to offer asylum to the most critical cases—and what are those cases? How do we distinguish between an asylum-seeker's flight from a dysfunctional homeland and a "well-founded fear of persecution?" The convention lays considerable responsibility to host refugees upon signatories, and it notably exempts refugees from reciprocity. (Granting a right to a refugee should not be subject to the granting of similar treatment by the refugee's country of nationality, because refugees do not enjoy the protection of their home state.)

What happens when voters endorse politicians rejecting national commitments to refugees under international law? How do we protect migrants fleeing genocide or simple oppression? Restrictive migration policies in place during the 1930s meant that even more people died in the Holocaust. Providing asylum is a moral responsibility. Developing countries in Africa, in particular, already host vast refugee populations. Is it fair for rich countries to close their doors, leaving refugees in countries already struggling with widespread poverty? These are core questions of the international order.

Varying Attitudes on Immigrants and Integration

While Europe has faced vast population shifts in its history, particularly after World War II, for the most part these involved ethnic co-nationals lining up with postwar border changes. Europe's new generation of immigrants is different. Muslim immigrants to Europe face obstacles to integration that previous migrants did not. Yet Muslim-majority lands are the most likely source of much immigration to Europe.

The 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees

Born in the shadow of the Holocaust, the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees was a quintessential Cold War treaty. Conceived when successful flight from totalitarian regimes was rare and refugees were often intellectuals who were easily integrated in the rich West, the refugee convention was part of a patchwork of efforts to universalize Western human rights standards. The 1967 Optional Protocol amended the 1951 Convention, giving it universal coverage. The convention has since been supplemented by refugee and subsidiary protection regimes in several regions, as well as by the progressive development of international human rights law.

To the extent that today's refugee numbers reflect the universalization of human rights worldwide, the exploding numbers of asylum-seekers represent policy success. As people everywhere internalize the idea of inalienable rights, the failure of their own societies to protect these rights is no longer simply an individual's destiny. It's a reason to seek asylum elsewhere.

This is where the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees comes into the picture. Based in Geneva, Switzerland, where it coordinates with member-states, UNHCR employs more than 16,000 humanitarian workers worldwide and is the guardian of the refugee convention.

The convention defines a refugee as a "person who is outside his or her country of nationality or habitual residence; has a well-founded fear of being persecuted because of his or her race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion; and is unable or unwilling to avail him- or herself of the protection of that country, or to return there, for fear of persecution."

As our understanding of human rights has evolved over the last 70 years, the treaty has evolved, as well. In recent decades a broad expansion of human rights norms has put significant pressure on UNHCR. Not only are more people interested in asserting their human rights, but the list of rights for which protection or asylum status is potentially available has grown (including, for example, gender equality and sexual orientation, among other things).

The central challenge for migration policy practitioners fighting to protect asylum as a core attainment of the development of international human rights law is maintaining the viability of the system in the face of the relentless growth of refugee numbers worldwide, without compromising protection for the vulnerable.

—Andrew Erickson

Countries manage integration differently. The United States tends to be *laissez-faire* in assimilating migrants, counting on economic and social pressure for integration. Turning newcomers into citizens has long been one of our greatest strengths. I spent 2018 with a varied group of refugees in an integration course in Germany and can attest that some recent migrants, many from historically non-Christian countries, speak of "integration without assimilation." They argue that beyond having access to economic and educational opportunities, they should be left alone to live as they please. Their argument is strong on religious liberty grounds, but it raises the risk of divided societies. Are there limits to immigrant multiculturalism, as some argue?

Most European countries define their identities culturally. Danes, for instance, see their society as a social contract with a very specific set of "Danish" rules and values developed over history. Fearing division, Denmark has set controversial new measures to compel, specifically, Muslim migrant assimilation. Copenhagen requires immigrant children in designated com-

munities to attend Danish early childhood education. In 2018 Denmark also banned the burqa and the niqab, two garments associated with conservative Islam. How should we address issues like this in our human rights reports?

Policymaking would be easier if one could chart a linear connection between higher immigration and voting patterns. But immigration numbers alone don't explain voter attitudes. Pew Research Center studies indicate that the relative size of immigrant communities does not always correlate with anti-immigration attitudes; it's the political lens through which immigration is viewed that defines whether it is seen as a threat. Says Pew: "A third or more in each [European] country surveyed say immigrants increase the risk of terrorism ... with Germans and Italians the most likely to express this view. Within each country, left-right ideology tends to influence these opinions more than populist views do. People on the right are at least 20 percentage points more likely than those on the left to say immigrants increase the risk of terrorism in their country."

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In the face of historically unprecedented levels of immigration, Europe is testing the frontiers of multiculturalism.

More Front Office Attention Is Required

Visa adjudication is migration's human face. Anyone who has worked a visa line knows about compelling ties, reciprocity, asylum-seeking and family unification. Migration policy, however, is the multilateral big picture. In Washington, we work an interagency process grounded in national interest and domestic politics but constrained by treaties and historical practice. Critical multilateral discussions on migration policy in Geneva all too often pass under the State Department's seventh-floor radar. This needs to change. Given the importance of migration to America, the Bureau of Population, Refugees and Migration needs more positive attention from the Secretary of State.

Foreign Service personnel need more migration policy training from A-100 through the Senior Executive Threshold Seminar. In 27 years as an FSO, I found migration policy training grossly inadequate. Migration should not remain just an expert's issue for a functional bureau, although that functional bureau's expertise is critical. That said, every FSO should recognize migration's centrality to what we diplomats do. Missions should elevate migration issues in reporting plans. We need to get more aggressive at promoting refugee resettlement in nontraditional destination countries. Programs should assist regional refugee integration.

We need robust dialogue in Geneva on all elements of migration and refugee policy. Nothing should be off the table as long as we remain committed to the principle that legitimate asylum-seekers fleeing state persecution shall not be turned away. This is a difficult challenge. As diplomats, we can keep the discussion disciplined by identifying and promoting responsible dissemination of best practices, while remaining sharply observant about systemic problems. This is a policy issue best informed by good data. Information matters.

As ever more people move from one place to another, it behooves us to monitor, manage and ameliorate the conditions of planetary migration. ■

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Managing the Migrant Surge

The present and looming migration crisis, with bad governance its main driver, requires all the tools of statecraft to resolve.

BY TIMOTHY CARNEY

Migrations have marked human activity since our early hominid period. With wanderlust and a search for greener pastures embedded in man's DNA, we have gone out of Africa; moved into Europe, absorbing the Neanderthals; merged with populations in what became the Egypt of the pharaohs; and peopled the Pacific islands. Africans pushed the San people aside as they moved to the southern tip of Africa; Europeans invaded the Western Hemisphere, conquering the indigenous people of South and North America.

Migrants have always faced the hardships and uncertainty of travel. They often fought to secure their place in new lands. But ultimately, relatively small populations found space. They conquered and intermarried, reaching accommodation with or forcing extinction (or nearly so) on their new neighbors. These historic movements, or migrations, contrast with *immigration*, the term for a modern type of population shift that I define as a structured process by which a nation-state accepts additions to its population from other nation-states.



Timothy Carney was a Foreign Service officer for 32 years, during which he served as U.S. ambassador to Sudan and then Haiti. He also served in three United Nations missions: Cambodia (UNTAC), Somalia (UNOSOM II) and South Africa (UNOMSA), among many other assignments.



TIMOTHY CARNEY

A Turkish baker gives a Syrian refugee child a round of bread in Istanbul in 2014.

The variety of words used today to describe migrants—“displaced,” “refugees,” “asylum-seekers” or “economic migrants” (who fail to meet the formal conditions for refugee status)—sows confusion. “Refugee” is perhaps the most common, if imprecise, term. During the 20th century, as the planet filled up, nations began formalizing this term, which originated in the late 17th century to describe those fleeing French religious persecution to a place of safety. Many migrants became refugees. In the 1950s the international community began establishing laws and an international bureaucracy to provide humanitarian assistance and to monitor how refugees are treated.

Today, millions of people are fleeing persecution, conflict and poverty brought on by poor governance, climate change and overpopulation. According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, by the end of 2017 some 68.5 million forcibly displaced people were sheltered in 65 countries: this includes 24.5 million recognized as refugees, 3.2 million awaiting a decision on their application for asylum, and another 40 million who are “internally displaced”—in effect, refugees within their own countries. As of 2018, 1.2 million refugees were still in need of resettlement, 43 percent of them sheltered in Turkey; of the 56,000 who were resettled in 2018, 17,000 found permanent homes in the United States.

But running away to a better life—whether it be for greater economic opportunity or for religious, cultural and political freedom—has become much more difficult in the 21st century. The United States, which has experienced both migration and immigration, is now challenged with the reality that hundreds of thousands, if not millions, seek to move here. Many do not care about legalities.

Managing Refugee Flows

During my 30-year Foreign Service career, I witnessed two major refugee flows, one from Indochina and the other from the Caribbean. In each case, the United States adopted different policies to manage people hoping to begin new lives in America.

In the 12 years following the 1975 fall of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, more than three million people fled Indochina by land or by boat. Camps in Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia funneled 1.3 million to the United States and almost as many elsewhere. Half a million opted either for repatriation or were forcibly sent back.

The destruction of the Khmer Rouge regime in Cambodia at the hands of the People’s Army of Vietnam (whose spearhead had a very thin plating of rebel Cambodians) sparked an enormous popular migration, as all levels of Khmer society sought to escape to Thailand and go farther abroad. In 1979, after forcing the first group of 40,000 Khmer back, the Thais ultimately accepted hundreds of thousands of Cambodian refugees under international care as part of a process to resettle the Khmer overseas. A negotiated peace process more than 10 years later permitted the repatriation of the remaining 360,000 Cambodians from Thai border camps.

This international effort elicited dedicated national and United Nations civil servants, as well as hard work and imaginative solutions from nongovernmental organizations in the United States and elsewhere. Fear of a major famine in post-Khmer Rouge Cambodia led to the creation of a “land bridge” at the Thai-Cambodian border, through which the international community poured grain and seed into western Cambodia, a traditional agricultural center of the country.

All this continued while Cambodia’s political environment remained sclerosed. The Vietnamese, suspected of trying to create an Indochinese Federation under their aegis, were building a client regime, with Soviet assistance. Thailand and other Southeast Asian states were supporting the remnant Khmer Rouge

In the 12 years following the 1975 fall of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, more than three million people fled Indochina by land or by boat, 1.3 million to the United States and almost as many elsewhere.

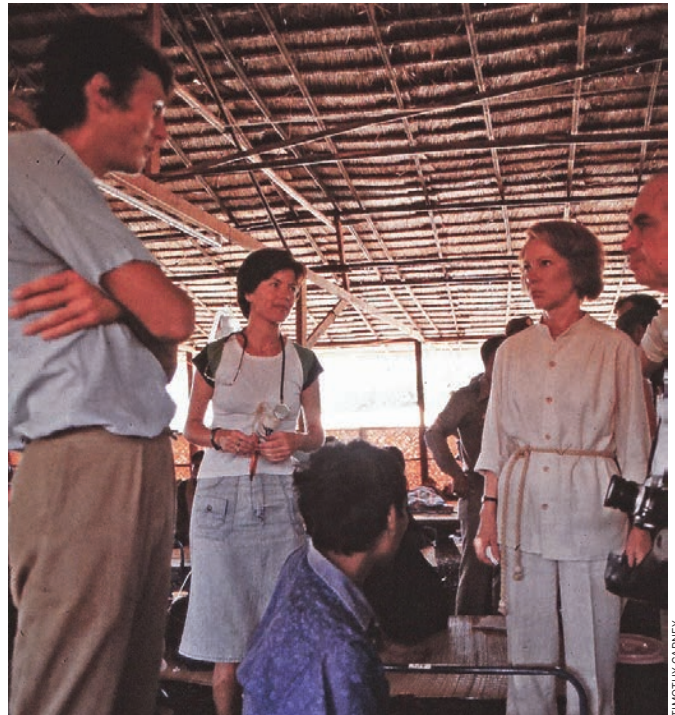
with important Chinese arms and funds. For its part, the United States provided “nonlethal” assistance to a nascent noncommunist resistance to the Vietnamese client in Phnom Penh. It took the unraveling of the Soviet Union to convince the Vietnamese to negotiate a deal that saw the U.N. conduct, rather than merely monitor, the first-ever election in Cambodia in 1993.

A different story unfolded in the Caribbean half a world away. The United States adopted two different policies toward refugees or migrants from Cuba and Haiti, respectively. U.S. domestic politics ensured that we accepted anyone who could escape the Cuban regime. In contrast, people from neighboring Hispaniola were not welcomed at all. A crisis in the early 1980s saw some 100,000 Cubans and 15,000 Haitians flee to the United States. Cubans were quickly paroled to the care of relatives. Haitians wound up targets of a Carter and then Reagan administration policy of detention that, in response to court decisions, expanded to include all illegal immigrants. This policy persists to this day.

During the period I served as ambassador to Haiti at the end of the 20th century, the United States adopted an aggressive policy to repel Haitian migrants. The United States regularly reconnoitered the west coast of Haiti to determine if new ships were under construction. When a vessel set forth toward Florida, a U.S. Coast Guard cutter would interdict it. Inspection of the vessel would find it unseaworthy. The passengers would be put aboard the cutter for transport back to a Haitian port while the Coast Guard sank the vessel.

Today’s Political Environment

More recently, the European Union has adopted a different, but equally unwelcoming, approach to limit migrants crossing the Mediterranean Sea from Africa. Since 2014 a major surge in migration to first asylum countries in Europe has come from the Middle East (with many Syrians fleeing conflict to Turkey)



TIMOTHY CARRNEY

First Lady Rosalynn Carter visits a hospital ward at Thailand’s Sa Kaeo refugee camp in November 1979 with UNHCR’s Mark Malloch Brown, at left, and American nurse Ann Rosenblatt, center.

and, more recently, from Africa, the latter as much a function of population growth as war and rebellion.

Since 2016 the European Union has invested considerable sums in Sudan, although not directly to the government in Khartoum, to stabilize refugee flows and effectively limit movement through Sudan to Libya and on to the Mediterranean. Ethiopians, Eritreans and others displaced within Sudan itself allege abuse by Sudanese police and security agents, as well as by smugglers.

The political environment, as David Frum accurately notes in the April 2019 *Atlantic*, has become increasingly unwelcoming to both immigrants and refugees. Countries see their resources taxed to the breaking point. As citizens in Europe and America face the prospect of an unlimited influx of foreigners in need of assistance, resentments grow and the most grudging elements of human nature come to the fore.

The fact that European and Japanese populations are aging does not seem to make many disposed to recognize the value of younger labor. In the United States, I have pointed out to older relatives that America has reinvented itself regularly with immigrants from Northern and Southern Europe, from Ireland, from Indochina and, most recently, South and Central America. While elements of preserving white privilege and place clearly

figure in their rejection of this view, a more fundamentally conservative animus to change seems to drive their logic.

What to Do?

The issue comes down to two questions: How do we deal with the migration crisis that is upon us now? And, what can we do to limit future mass migrations?

First, legal immigration to the United States must continue. Some 50 million immigrants were in the United States in 2017. In accepting more than one million legal immigrants—more than half of whom were already living here and changed their status—every year since 2000, the United States remains a welcoming country.

Dealing with illegal immigrants frustrates our politicians because while most subscribe to the view that illegal immigration is intolerable, they change their mind when a specific case is presented and earns broad popular sympathy. U.S. authorities should continue to be tough, but show flexibility depending on individual circumstances.

Some believe that Article 14 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which guarantees the right of asylum from persecution, effectively means that anyone can enter the United States. We must take a hard look at how we define the term “refugee” and how we, by law, distinguish refugees from those who try to enter the United States for “economic” reasons and therefore do not qualify for asylum.

The United States must continue to provide humanitarian assistance to those seeking to enter, regardless of their motives. Some may merit special attention to transform their status to become immigrants. Exactly who qualifies is a matter for serious national debate. At the same time, we must expand efforts to resettle migrants in countries that seek to grow their populations.

In the longer term, dealing with the migration crisis is a matter of improving governance in those countries from which people are fleeing. National leaders and elites can be so power-hungry and corrupt that they do not accept broad political and other human rights. The political elite in Haiti, for example, does not, in far too many cases, embrace the concept of a common-

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In the longer term, dealing with the migration crisis is a matter of improving governance in those countries from which people are fleeing.

weal. Rather, they seek to enrich themselves and their families, and have little concern for their fellow citizens. That has been the case for what is now more than 200 years, including a period of nearly 20 years of U.S. military occupation from 1915 to 1934.

Apart from the defects of political elites, dictators lead many nations today; few are benevolent. All eventually become power mad. Usually the world acts only when such leaders provoke their neighbors into a military response, as in the case of the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia or Idi Amin in Uganda. On the broad stage, concepts of sovereignty vie with concerns for political rights across the planet. Political repression, a driver of migration, usually has economic consequences flowing from the corruption that accompanies either dictatorship or, as in the Sudans today, one-party control.

Questions for Debate

Generally, the rest of the world only responds with words. Expressions of concern abound. Actions, however, remain limited to humanitarian assistance such as the United States provided on a massive scale to the suffering in the Republic of South Sudan. Failures of governance require a tougher response. This must start with a broad debate in many forums: universities, think-tanks, the United Nations General Assembly, parliaments and the press.

Key questions in such a debate include: What constitutes bad governance? How can the United States, working with allies, promote better governance? What inducements might work? What sanctions short of military intervention might help? Is bad governance, in fact, a threat to peace that might cause the U.N. Security Council to invoke Chapter 7 of the U.N. Charter and put an internationally supported armed force into action?

Thus far, most nations are reluctant to move in the direction of creating enforcement mechanisms against bad governance. However, the present and looming migration crisis is, in fact, a threat to peace. It requires all the tools of modern statecraft, from diplomacy and humanitarian and development assistance to, as a last resort, military action. ■



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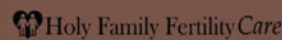
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The Immigration Debate

**Closing the distance
between legal requirements
and humanitarian instincts
is a global, rather than
national, enterprise.**


BY DAVID ROBINSON

Thirty-two years of diplomatic service taught me a number of things. One is that wherever politics and society seem irredeemably dysfunctional, it is not an accident. It is, at some level, intentional. Someone has a vested interest in continuing the chaos. Someone is getting rich, or powerful, or both; and even the most zealous reform efforts will likely fail unless those interests are mollified or neutralized.

The immigration debate follows that lesson. It is shrill, jumbled, disjointed, often illogical—and largely irrelevant to the reality it claims to address. A big, beautiful wall across our southern border may do little to stem the flow of drugs, criminals, terrorists and even unauthorized migrants into the United States—but its promise is pure gold. Like all the other sharp



David Robinson retired as a career member of the Senior Foreign Service in 2017, after a 32-year career. In addition to serving as ambassador to Guyana from 2006 to 2008, he served as assistant secretary for the Bureau of Conflict and Stabilization Operations and coordinator for reconstruction and stabilization from 2016 to 2017. Ambassador Robinson was also a deputy assistant secretary in the Bureau of Population, Refugees and Migration from 2009 to 2013, and special coordinator for Venezuela in the Bureau of Western Hemisphere Affairs from 2008 to 2009. He previously served as principal deputy high representative in Bosnia and Herzegovina, implementing the Dayton Peace Agreement; as assistant chief of mission in Kabul; and as deputy chief of mission in La Paz and Asunción. Currently he is associated with the Keough School of Global Affairs at the University of Notre Dame.



notes in this performance—including the travel ban, chain migration and anchor babies—the cacophony surrounding the wall helps both supporters and opponents puff out their chests and strut their virtue.

The only losers are those who have more than a partisan or emotional interest in resolving the conflict, including actual immigrants and the communities that receive them. They should not expect a resolution to their real and pressing concerns anytime soon.

Yet the scope of irregular migration today—with upward of 65 million people on the move—is such that it cannot be pushed aside. At the same time, no single country can respond adequately on its own. Diplomacy in the interest of fashioning international agreements to manage the problem is the only viable approach.

Legal Requirements vs. Humanitarian Instincts

Public talk about immigration reminds me of every discussion I ever heard in a Bosnian coffee shop during my 2014-2015 tenure as principal deputy high representative, and earlier as a refugee officer. It invariably begins and ends with an impassioned reference to some horrific event that obscures rather than illuminates the issue at hand. Both sides illustrate strongly held opinions with graphic examples excoriating the other point of view. Anti-immigrant zealots demonize immigrants as rapists and murderers; the other extreme sanctifies them as innocent victims of circumstance or malice. Both points of view are dehumanizing. They rely on stirring but distorted images to carry their arguments rather than on real people with complex motives and histories. Their aim is to capture the moral high ground, not to solve the problem.

But manipulating imagery does not change the facts. Immigration has no inherent moral value, and immigrants are neither more nor less virtuous than anyone else. They were pushed or pulled from their homes by a host of different reasons from personal ambition to cataclysmic disaster. Some are victims, some are opportunists; some should be welcomed, some rejected. What separates migrants and non-citizen immigrants from their citizen neighbors is vulnerability. Regardless of wealth, stature or origin, immigrants are at the mercy of authorities and systems over which they have little or no influence. Their voices and images may be emotionally affecting, but their future is beyond their control.

That dependency drives the conflict about immigration reform, setting the rule of law against humanitarian impulse. It also opens the door to diplomacy. National laws deciding who

Focusing on national immigration reform as a response to that wave is neither comprehensive nor realistic.

may and may not enter a country always produce inequities; they always leave on the outside someone who has a legitimate need for entry but lacks the appropriate legal category or political timing to gain it. Visa classifications, refugee protocols and asylum guidelines cannot keep pace with global trends—from criminal violence and global warming to new definitions of marriage and family composition. Immigration liberalizers point to the law's deficiencies and appeal to values over statutes, while build-the-wall advocates tout the law as the final, unyielding authority. The debate has turned into a name-calling melee as the number of migrants and intending immigrants continues to grow.

My own views on migration evolved in two parts. As a junior consular officer in the Dominican Republic, I scrupulously followed the rules and kept away from America's shores the "wretched refuse" desperate enough to believe our own mythology. Years later, as a refugee officer, I met humanity's outcasts in the makeshift places they sought shelter. The memory of a refugee child from Kosovo haunts me still. Who had the right to confine a 10-year-old boy behind a chain link fence? Legally, the government of Macedonia, whose border he had crossed; morally, nobody. It is shocking to me that I may now encounter that same scenario in the United States: legally permitted, morally repugnant.

Unproductive Approaches to Irregular Migration

Erasing that image and closing the distance between legal requirements and humanitarian instincts is a global, rather than national, enterprise. No single country has the political or social bandwidth to respond adequately to the growing demands and pressures of irregular migration. Sixty-five million people on the move do not fit into existing categories, either legal or humanitarian. Neither will they be deterred by piecemeal border controls. Focusing on national immigration reform as a response to that wave is neither comprehensive nor realistic. It is akin to promoting air conditioners as the answer to climate change. The problem will just continue to grow until it overwhelms efforts to avoid it.

The Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration, though nonbinding, marks the first comprehensive effort to address human mobility at the global level.

Equally unproductive is treating irregular migration as principally a development challenge. Initiatives to reduce poverty or end conflict may have merit in their own right, but they are a long-term gamble, at best, and seldom include migrants in their plans and programs. The Dadaab complex in Kenya, a “temporary” shelter to hundreds of thousands of refugees for three decades, is a case in point. By any rational measure, Dadaab is a development challenge rather than a humanitarian crisis, but that transition never happened. In the meantime, its occupants remain in limbo, deprived of relatively normal and productive lives. Those who are able will continue to migrate and seek their futures elsewhere, including in the United States.

Sidestepping the challenge of irregular migration leads nowhere. The only realistic starting point for effective, palatable reform is to accept shared responsibility for managing migration in the first place. We cannot eliminate the reasons large numbers of people move unexpectedly, nor can we isolate ourselves from their impact. We can, however, build agreements and networks across borders that establish the norms and rules for their treatment and that address the concerns of the communities that encounter them. We can, through diplomatic agreements, impose a semblance of order on what has become chaos.

There is precedent for this approach. The 1951 Refugee Convention and the subsequent regional agreements it prompted have created a durable framework for the protection of people fleeing persecution and seeking asylum in other countries. They make refugee protection a duty under international law and prohibit forcible return home. The agreements also establish common criteria for adjudicating refugee claims. The regime is imperfect and under stress, but it works. It measures progress, clarifies disputes and assigns responsibility. It is also the basis for a web of public and private, national and international agencies working to implement and improve it. Until

recently, the United States was its most generous and reliable supporter.

A Necessary First Step

Extending the principles of protection and due process beyond refugees to all vulnerable migrants seemed within reach as recently as the United Nations General Assembly in 2016. All 193 member-states approved the New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants that, among other actions, called for a Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration. The compact was approved in December 2018. Although nonbinding, it marks the first comprehensive effort to address human mobility at the global level. It extends human rights norms and development goals to previously disregarded people while reaffirming the prerogative of every country to enforce its own laws. While not a permanent solution to runaway migration, the compact is a necessary first step toward diplomatic problem-solving. It is a meeting place, not a traffic cop, and shifts the needle away from blame toward shared responsibility.

Predictably, however, storm clouds gathered early. The United States was the first to jump ship, citing the paper-thin excuse that the compact interfered with sovereign law enforcement even though it explicitly reaffirms state sovereignty on all immigration decisions. A transparently flimsy excuse made even before the document had been fully drafted, it nevertheless emboldened others to follow. By the time the compact came to a vote, 29 countries had abandoned the effort, leaving 164 to endorse it.

This backtracking is significant because it reflects pernicious nationalism as much as supposed flaws in the compact itself—such as signaling climate change as a trigger for migration and encouraging the use of detention only as a last resort. Politically manipulated fear of migrants from “shithole countries” (as our president has called them) and Muslim refugees from war zones had advanced a narrative that facts, no matter how twisted, simply did not support. Yet while the threat may be fake news, proclaiming it worked to the advantage of politicians and pundits who trade on isolationism, supremacy and ignorance.

It may not be unusual for countries to walk away from non-binding agreements, and often their absence goes unnoticed. The United States is an exception to that rule; its absence is always felt and its presence is almost always required for meaningful international agreements to take root. An ambassador from a Middle Eastern country sitting next to me in Geneva in December 2011 groaned and shook his head when Secretary of State Hillary Clinton declared to the packed audience that gay

rights are human rights. I asked him why he had come, knowing the direction of the speech in advance. He smiled, shrugged and said: “The American Secretary of State. Of course I’m here. But I don’t like it.” He didn’t have to like it, but he did have to deal with it—as long as the United States and its allies continued to press the point.


Diplomatic Leadership

While a Secretary of State’s moral and diplomatic authority may be less compelling today than it was then, it still matters. Influence is not optional for the United States. Washington’s position on almost any significant issue signals either permission or caution; and at best, when directed skillfully, it compels action. Not supporting the Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration is a missed opportunity to set a global agenda that is too complex and ambitious to thrive without U.S. diplomatic and financial support. There are signs of hope, mainly in Africa, in countries that have embraced the compact and are building the legal and humanitarian framework it pro-

Washington’s position on almost any significant issue signals either permission or caution; and at best, when directed skillfully, it compels action.

notes. They may have some regional success; but globally their influence is no match for the challenge they face.

So the question remains: Where will the global leadership come from? Humanitarian imperatives and rule of law requirements are still on a collision course. The administration apparently hopes the problem will go away if we hide behind a wall. It will not. The rational choice is to join ranks with those seeking a coordinated response to the challenge. That is the direction American diplomacy should take and American diplomats should endorse. ■



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Migration and Immigration Policy

From the *FSJ* Archive

The Stupendous Visa Task

American Consular Bulletin, January 1921

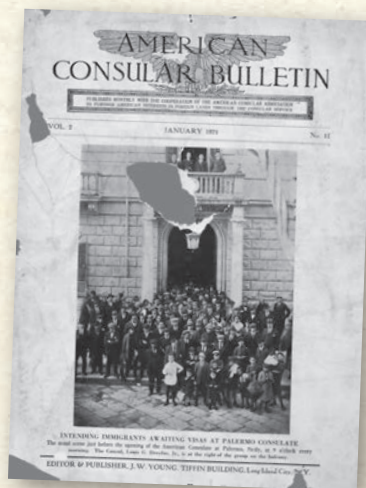
Consul Harry A. McBride, back from an inspection trip to Europe, tells how consuls are regulating, by visas, the stream of immigration now setting toward the United States. ...

Mr. McBride says that probably never in the history of Consular Service has such a tremendous task been placed upon the shoulders of our officers, as the work of the alien visa control. This work requires most of the time of the majority of our officers in Europe today.

“Up to the present,” McBride continues, “Naples has been the office handling the greatest number of visas, but Warsaw is now going ahead. ... There is a wide balcony around [the building housing the visa office] and in the front portion four office rooms. The applicants, sometimes to the number of 2,000 in one day, line up on the balcony. They then pass through the offices. In the first office there are ten desks, where the applications are made out with the assistance of consulate clerks. ...

“From very careful estimates prepared by each consular officers, it is found that 202,493 visas have been granted in Europe during the quarter ended Dec. 31, 1920; that 257,178 will be granted during the quarter ending March 31, 1921; and 297,484 during the quarter ending June 30, 1921, or the large total, for the present fiscal year, of 931,549 visas in Europe. To this must be added the following estimated figures: Africa 9,000; Asia 25,000; Mexico 100,000; West Indies 17,000; Australia 9,000; Canada 2,000; South America 12,000; Central America 8,000; a total of 182,000 in non-European countries, making a grand total of 1,113,549 visas for the present fiscal year. This means a revenue of some \$11,000,000! The rate of increase per quarter is also a figure which should be punctuated with an exclamation point.

“In addition to the visaing [sic] of all foreign passports there is another branch of this work which requires considerable time and attention on the part of the consular officers. This is the visaing of crew lists. All vessels bound from foreign countries for



ports of the United States and its insular possessions or the Canal Zone, must present a list of all alien members of the crew to the consulate abroad before sailing. These names must be checked and the list visaed [sic] if found to contain no suspected aliens.

“The work of visa control would be about all that the Service could handle if it ran smoothly, but recently the path has been found to contain treacherous windings and dangerous pitfalls. The number of passport frauds, forged visas and the like, that have to be combatted, is considerable—especially in Eastern Europe.”

National Origins Quota System at Issue

Foreign Service Journal, December 1955

On June 27, 1952, a well-known bill became law when the Congress passes Public Law 414 over the veto of President Truman. The Act [known as the Immigration and Nationality Act and the McCarran-Walter Act], which became effective on Dec. 24, 1952, can now be evaluated more accurately than was possible three years ago.

The purpose of codifying and integrating all immigration and nationality laws within the framework of one statute was accomplished. The purpose of revoking obsolete laws was achieved. The purposes of removing racial bars to naturalization and immigration and of elimination of discrimination between sexes with respect to immigration have been fulfilled. With these major accomplishments listed on the credit side one may well ask what more can be expected from one piece of legislation. And it is on this point alone—expectation—that the answer depends.

Defenders of the law point to these accomplishments and improvements, and state that the favorable results obtained exceed their original expectations. They concede that minor amendments are desirable to eliminate injustice and discrimination in certain individual cases, but they insist that the national origins quota system established in 1924 be perpetuated as a necessary foundation for American immigration policy. Critics, however, claim that the expectations, as well as the hopes and

prayers of millions of people all over the world, have been sadly crushed by the McCarran Act, principally because it had perpetuated this quota system, which they consider to be antiquated, unrealistic, and cruelly discriminatory against certain races, religions and countries.

—Fred M. Wren, FSO, from his *“The McCarran-Walter Act”*

Reform Depends on Compromise

Foreign Service Journal, October 1983

Whether Simpson/Mazzoli [the Simpson-Mazzoli Act, or Immigration Reform and Control Act] passes in this session—or any session—ultimately will depend on reaching a compromise among the various interest groups that have helped stymie it and their congressional supporters. These are the domestic groups that have played a leading role in the debate over immigration laws:

- **Hispanics.** The national leadership of organizations like the League of United Latin American Citizens opposes the fines for employers of undocumented aliens out of fear that they will lead to employment discrimination against all Hispanics. At the least, they would like to see the creation of a separate commission to hear complaints of discrimination based on alienage.

- **Growers.** As the segment of the U.S. economy most dependent on undocumented workers, agricultural growers have fought hard for concessions that would preserve their labor force. This year, Mazzoli accepted a three-year transitional program that would allow the Southwest farmers to phase out the use of undocumented labor. The bill also would expand an existing program that allows the importation of foreign workers under controlled conditions.

- **Organized labor.** Unions favor the employer fines as a means of opening up more jobs to U.S. citizens. But they are opposed to the bill's proposed expansion of the Labor Department's foreign worker program unless the interests of American workers are thoroughly protected. Lane Kirkland, president of the AFL-CIO, has said he cannot support a bill that does not have both a generous amnesty and the amendments to protect the U.S. labor market that were passed by the House



Immigration reform bill sponsors Senator Simpson (R-Wyo.), at left, and Representative Mazzoli (D-Ky.), center, with Attorney General William French Smith.

FS/OCTOBER1983

Education and Labor Committee. Mazzoli has opposed such proposals in the past.

- **Civil liberties groups.** The American Civil Liberties Union is worried by the provision in both House and Senate bills calling for the administration to develop “a more secure identification system.” This concept is implicit in employer sanctions since companies will need to check reliable documentation before hiring new workers. The Senate bill now requires all Americans hired after its enactment to present two forms of identification. Civil libertarians fear this could lead to a national identification card, a goal denied by Simpson.

—Stephen P. Engelberg, *Washington correspondent covering immigration issues for the Dallas Mornings News, from his “Consular Affairs and Domestic Politics”*

A Surge of Job-Seekers Is Inevitable

Foreign Service Journal, December 1994

In 1972, after two years of studies and hearing, a presidentially appointed commission, headed by John D. Rockefeller III, delivered its report, “Population and the American Future.” The Rockefeller Commission recommended, among other things, that the government cap immigration at 400,000 people a year.

In terms of migration to the United States, what has happened since 1972?

- Annual levels of legal immigration to the United States have just about doubled, from 500,000 in 1972 to 1 million in 1994.

- Annual levels of illegal immigration have at least doubled to an estimated 300,000 permanent settlers, mostly from or through Mexico.

- Meanwhile in 1980, 1986 and 1990, three major bills on immigration were passed by Congress, all of which helped raise legal immigration levels. The 1986 bill automatically provided legal resident status to more than 3 million people who had entered the United States illegally before 1982.

The prospect of increasing pressures on U.S. borders is downright alarming, since the world's population is growing by 100 million a year, with the economic gap ever widening between the richer, industrialized nations and the poorer, developing nations, where virtually all population increases are occurring. Meanwhile, the poorer countries face increasing levels of unemployment as work forces grow every year by 50 million, while the mechanization of agriculture and the automation of labor-intensive industries like textiles have eliminated many jobs. A surge of job-seekers to the United States is inevitable, whether through legal or illegal channels.

So what can be done? The United States' first and most immediate

diate task is to enforce existing immigration laws and regulations more effectively.

—Marshall Green, retired FSO and former ambassador, from his “Stop, All Ye Who Enter Here”

Immigration Run Amok

Foreign Service Journal, June 2001

We should stop conferring immigration benefits on aliens illegally residing in the United States. This means an end to amnesties, temporary protected status and adjustment of status. Unless those who enter the country illegally or who violate the terms of their visas are made to pay a penalty, the immigration law is nothing more than an easily bypassed obstacle for all but law-abiding people. In FY97 less than half of the immigrant admissions were new arrivals. The majority adjusted their status in the United States. The INS doesn't say how many of those who adjusted status were in legal nonimmigrant status, but it is a small share.

—Jack Martin, an FSO from 1961 to 1989, from his “Immigration Run Amok: Why We Need Reform”

America's Split Personality on Immigration Policy

Foreign Service Journal, June 2001

Our immigration policies are imperfect in part because we seek to balance our competing interests in maintaining both openness and control. But the United States makes at least two avoidable errors in its immigration system. First, we pursue the problem of illegal entry with excessive emphasis on a border defense strategy. A much more effective way to prevent illegal entries would be to prevent illegal aliens from working. Second, we fail to allocate the resources for prompt and careful adjudications of immigrants' claims.

Border control can only do so much: When we fail to control who is allowed to work in this country, it becomes difficult for the Department of State and the INS to regulate the massive flows of immigrants who enter the country, no matter how many resources are put at their disposal. ■

—Bruce Morrison, former member of the House of Representatives (1983-1991) and chair of the House Subcommittee on Immigration (1989-1991)



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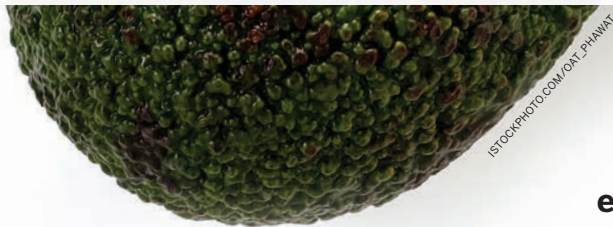
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Avocado Diplomacy

Supporting Peace in Colombia



**Helping the country
get its avocados into the
export market is a win-win for
Colombia and the United States.**

BY MARC GILKEY

At each of my postings, one central agricultural issue seems to rise above the rest. Whether it is Ya pears in China, guavas in Mexico, mangoes in both Pakistan and India, or pomegranates in Afghanistan, one commodity will always come to the fore and define that tour.

When I arrived in Bogotá in the fall of 2016, I quickly realized this tour would be no different. Avocado market access was at the core of all issues. It was a talking point in nearly every speech by Colombia's President Juan Manuel Santos. Clearly, exporting that crop to the United States was a top priority.



Marc Gilkey is a Senior Foreign Service officer who has served for 25 years with the U.S. Department of Agriculture's Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service. He is currently posted to Bogotá, where he is the regional manager for Latin America and the Caribbean.

He served previously in Afghanistan, Mexico, India, Belgium and Colombia, in addition to assignments in San Francisco, California, and Washington, D.C. He is a U.S. Navy veteran.

Although the Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service is at the heart of most agricultural trade issues, it tends to have a light footprint overseas—typically a Foreign Service officer and two locally employed staff members, one technical and one administrative, at some 20 posts around the world, each covering a large geographic area. APHIS International Services helps resolve sanitary/phytosanitary issues on the global stage through its cadre of FSOs and local employees. We collaborate with foreign counterparts at diplomatic, technical and policy levels to promote science-based regulatory transparency that leads to safe agricultural trade.

Opening a New Market: The Process

In Colombia I was fortunate to have Dr. Roberto Guzman, a locally employed technical expert, on the ground. He is a veterinarian, but in our jobs we have to do everything; I'm an entomologist but work on animal health issues, for example, in addition to insects. Dr. Guzman had already been laying the groundwork for getting Colombian avocados into the U.S. market. This involved disseminating information to growers about the potential requirements for export, such as conducting surveillance for insects, registering production areas, establishing buffer zones and safeguarding the product (from insects) in packhouses.



COURTESY OF MARC GILKEY

Roberto Guzman of APHIS, at left, and Emilio Arevalo Peñaranda of ICA and their team look out over avocado farms in Colombia's mountainous terrain.

The process to get agricultural products into the U.S. market is managed by the U.S. Department of Agriculture and APHIS. First, APHIS conducts a Pest Risk Assessment of the production area, which identifies and evaluates all insect pests associated with the commodity. A risk management document follows that explains how the pests can be mitigated or eliminated. Next, a proposed rule is published that invites public comment. After the comments are fully addressed, USDA-APHIS finalizes the rule in consultation with the Office of Management and Budget, and it is codified in the Code of Federal Regulations and has the force of law. At that point the commodity (in this case, avocados) can be exported to the United States. Sounds simple, right?

Not quite. The main problem with avocado production here is the terrain. If you look at the topography of Colombia, you will see that the greatest challenge in traveling to production areas and transporting avocados is the Andes Mountain range, which branches out into three separate chains, or *cordilleras*. Avocados are grown on its hillsides for good drainage, which allows them to thrive. I had never before seen commercial production in such steep and remote locations.

What's more, in 2016, the country's 50-year-long armed conflict was finally being brought to an end, and land previously unreachable because of the conflict was now available for farming and development. Roads and packhouses were being built to connect the fruit with avenues for export. Because land was made available at different times, however, there was no single, consolidated region for avocado production, and this increased the difficulty of pest identification and detection and complicated the process of getting the product cleared for export. If certain insects are found in the *fincas* (farms) producing avocados for export, that area is disqualified from shipping them until the pest issue is resolved.

Getting Down to Work

The hardest part was not the travel to the various regions; it was explaining these difficulties to Washington. Since the rulemaking process in Washington was not something we could control, Dr. Guzman and I simply got to work in Colombia. We set out for the fields, mindful that they had been inacces-

We visited farms and packhouses to sensitize the managers on what exactly would be needed to export.

sible for more than 50 years because of the conflict, and that no well-meaning entomologist or veterinarian had been allowed or would have dared to go there during that time.

Our primary concern was supporting our colleagues in the Institute of Colombian Agriculture. Our Colombian counterparts at ICA were our hosts and were responsible for the surveillance and trapping of plant pests and, ultimately, certification of the phytosanitary integrity of shipments exported to the United States. With ICA colleague Emilio Arevalo Peñaranda, we embarked on a yearlong journey, meeting with producers across the many regions of Colombia.

We visited farms and packhouses to sensitize the managers on what exactly would be needed to export. At each place we visited, we could see the foundations for commerce and agriculture being cultivated. Avocado trees that shouldn't have been there were growing on slopes; and while I had difficulty fathoming how they were planted or harvested, the signs of "green gold" were evident, bringing prosperity to regions that had suffered for so very long.

Everywhere we traveled, we heard stories of the conflict and of years of struggle. I'm not saying that avocados have solved these problems; but from my vantage point, this emerging market and all those growing, harvesting, packing and moving avocados are making a bold statement about Colombia.

When the final rule establishing the legal basis for granting market access was published on Aug. 15, 2017, it was greeted with tremendous excitement and coincided with the visit of Vice President Mike Pence to Colombia. There were many handshakes, and many photos were taken and plaques given. And I imagine that a number of employee evaluation reports (EERs) were filled in with mentions of avocado access.

COURTESY OF MARC GILKEY



Roberto Guzman, at right, with SFSO Marc Gilkey at the port of Cartagena where the avocados leave Colombia.

More Than Just Exports

Economic diplomacy is so much more than U.S. exports. It is about trade—bilateral trade—and in the agricultural realm, it is essential to have healthy, safe movement of products both ways. Further, in countries like Colombia and, for instance, Afghanistan, finding alternative livelihoods to illicit drug production is a key to stability and economic freedom. This, in turn, provides a platform for U.S. businesses to thrive. We have seen that in Colombia—the more avocados they export, the more rice (from the United States) they can import.

I know for certain that this would never have happened without APHIS or ICA—or, more importantly, without the people of these organizations. The relationships formed by years of working together—the common bond of working professionally as a regulatory official where political science is often the common denominator—are worth nurturing. If not for Roberto Guzman of APHIS and Emilio Arevalo Peñaranda of ICA working together, we would still just be talking about avocado access, not watching the growth of a new market.

Years ago, when I started working as a plant protection and quarantine officer, I received my USDA badge, with the following inscription on the seal: “Agriculture Is the Foundation of Manufacture and Commerce.” It has taken me more than 20 years to truly understand that statement. ■

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Members in good standing as of March 28 can visit the secure online ballot site www.directvote.net/AFSA and request that an email containing unique login credentials be sent to them or call (952) 974-2339. Visit www.afsa.org/elections for more information.

Voting deadline:

8 a.m. EDT, Wednesday, June 12



AFSA Honors Fallen Colleagues

On May 3, the American Foreign Service Association again hosted its annual memorial ceremony to honor those diplomats and development professionals who have given their lives in service abroad. AFSA President Ambassador Barbara Stephenson presided, and Secretary of State Mike Pompeo delivered remarks at the event.

The tradition of gathering at AFSA's memorial plaques to honor fallen colleagues dates back more than 80 years.

This year, no new names were added to the memorial plaques. But as Amb. Stephenson noted in her remarks, the 250 names etched into the marble plaques are evidence of the risks of the profession.

"We should not expect this to become the norm," Amb. Stephenson said. "AFSA has had the honor of presiding over this ceremony for eight decades. We intend to continue to do so in the years to come, as we carry on with our mission to deploy abroad to protect and serve America's people, interests and values. Inevitably, our service carries risks, but we accept those risks because we are in no doubt about the importance of our mission to our security and prosperity here at home."

AFSA was honored to have Ambassador Carol Perez, Director General of the



Secretary of State Mike Pompeo listens as AFSA President Ambassador Barbara Stephenson addresses the audience.



Foreign Service members and their families attend the AFSA Memorial Ceremony May 3.

Foreign Service; FSI Director Ambassador Daniel B. Smith; and USAID Counselor Chris Milligan in the audience. In addition, many senior Foreign Service colleagues attended, including Ambassador David Satterfield (NEA), Ambassador Marcia Bernicat (OES)

and Patrick Murphy (EAP).

Numerous respected Foreign Service retirees also joined us for the occasion, including Ambassadors Ruth Davis, Ronald E. Neumann,

Continued on page 43

CALENDAR

June 12
AFSA Governing Board Election – Ballots Due/ Ballots Counted

June 13
Next Stage: Careers in the Private Sector

June 19
12-1:30 p.m.
AFSA Governing Board Meeting

June 27
4:30-6:30 p.m.
AFSA Summer Happy Hour

July 4
Independence Day – AFSA Offices Closed

July 15
2019-2021
AFSA Governing Board Takes Office

July 17
12-1:30 p.m.
AFSA Governing Board Meeting

August 21
12-1:30 p.m.
AFSA Governing Board Meeting

August 30
Job Search Program Graduation Reception at FSI

September 2
Labor Day – AFSA Offices Closed

September 13
7:05 p.m.
Fourth Annual Foreign Service Night at Nationals Park

Rolling Moment of Silence Across the Globe

In honor of Foreign Service Day, which, according to a 1996 Senate resolution, falls on the first Friday in May, embassies and consulates around the world paused to offer a moment of silence in memory of fallen Foreign Service colleagues.

Members of the Foreign Service joined AFSA in observ-

ing a moment of silence at more than 60 U.S. missions, including Amsterdam, Athens, Baku, Bandar Seri Begawan, Belmopan, Bratislava, Brussels, Canberra, Dublin, Dushanbe, Hanoi, Hyderabad, Kuala Lumpur, Lima, Montevideo, New Delhi, Paris, Rangoon, Reykjavik, San Jose, Santiago, Santo Domingo, The Hague, Vienna and Windhoek. View all of the photos on our Facebook and Twitter pages. ■



Asmara



Jerusalem



Kabul



Bujumbura



Manila



Algiers

AFSA Holds Election Town Hall



AFSA/VASGER SIGLJUSSON

On April 2 AFSA invited its members to a town hall meeting to hear from candidates for the upcoming Governing Board election.

Candidates gave brief statements about their reasons for running for election. The statements were followed by a Q&A session moderated by members of

the AFSA Committee on Elections.

Pictured above are moderators Nan Fife, chair of the Committee on Elections, and committee member Mort Dworken.

The event can be viewed at www.afsa.org/video.

Don't forget to vote by 8 a.m. EDT on June 12! ■

*Memorial
Continued from page 41*

William C. Harrop, Lino Gutiérrez, Marcie Ries, Peter Romero and others.

During the ceremony, USAID FSO Dr. Felicia Renee Wilson Young led those assembled in a moving rendition of "The Star-Spangled Banner."

At the conclusion of the ceremony, a U.S. color guard placed a wreath at the memorial plaque, as a moment of silence was observed.

As has become custom, AFSA organized a rolling moment of silence around

the world in honor of Foreign Service Day. This year, more than 60 posts participated, including Ashgabat, Athens, Bogotá, Casablanca, Frankfurt, Jerusalem and Kabul (see photos).

Following the memorial event, AFSA hosted a reception at the United States Diplomacy Center for its members. Over 200 attendees packed the USDC space, taking the opportunity to view AFSA's engaging *FSJ* centennial exhibit, *The Foreign Service Journal – Defining Diplomacy for 100 Years*. ■



Frankfurt



Juba



Rabat



Erbil



Podgorica



Prague



Adana



Views and opinions expressed in this column are solely those of the AFSA State VP.
Contact: KeroMentzKA@state.gov | (202) 647-8160

The Terrible Twos

When I joined the State Department nearly 20 years ago, there was a widely held belief discussed at length during A-100 that a “normal career span” would be about 20 years, and that during that time FSOs would progress from FS-5 or -6 to FS-1. Of course, the best and brightest would rise to the ranks of the Senior Foreign Service, but the baseline for a solid career to which we all aspired was to reach FS-1.

A funny thing has happened over the ensuing two decades, however. Slowly but surely, more and more of our colleagues are not reaching FS-1 within 20 years, despite putting in consistently strong performances year after year. Indeed, a recent review of the classes now reaching 20 years showed that roughly a quarter are still stuck in the terrible twos.

For most of us, this is a blow to our ego, and we search for reasons why we languish. But the fact is, promotion rates have slowed. And the A-100 class size has increased as a result of hiring surges under Secretaries of State Colin Powell and Hillary Clinton.

Furthermore, the position base at the top hasn't kept up with the growth in the midlevel ranks, making promotions even harder. And the lower promotion rates under Secretary Tillerson, coupled with the fact that more and more senior positions are

going to political appointees, make it tougher still.

The system is stacked against us at levels unforeseen when we joined, and that means many will hit 20 years as an FS-2. In the end, we are told, we should still be proud of our service to the American people, and it's not that big a deal.

Except when it is. In the early 1970s, if an officer reached their Time in Class without being promoted, they were shown the door. And if they had yet to hit 20 years or age 50, they lost their pension, health insurance and other retirement benefits.

In 1971, FSO Charles Thomas was “TIC-ed” out before reaching the age of 50 or 20 years of service. Unable to care for his wife and children, he committed suicide. It was later revealed that the department had “inadvertently” lost parts of his personnel file, so his final review wasn't even complete. Back then, there was no grievance process, and AFSA was not yet recognized as the exclusive representative of the Foreign Service.

Mr. Thomas' widow, Cynthia, met with members of Congress, who passed Private Law 93-108 a few years later reinstating his salary, pension and benefits. In addition, President Gerald Ford wrote a personal note to Mrs. Thomas stating that he hoped “that the measures which came about as a result

AFSA will continue to insist that the department do the right thing by those who have served this country so well and faithfully.

of this tragedy will prevent reoccurrences of this kind in the future.”

Among those measures (as demonstrated in documents maintained by the Ford Presidential Library at www.bit.ly/FordLibraryDoc) was the creation of our grievance system and establishment of the so-called “annuity exception.” The latter allows members of the Foreign Service at the FS-2 level or below who are TIC-ed out but have yet to reach age 50 to remain in the Service, without further promotion, until reaching that required milestone, at which point they retire with their pension and health insurance.

Shockingly, the department began questioning the annuity exception over the past six months, even telling some members that they would be dismissed prior to reaching age 50 despite the fact that poor performance was not an issue.

But AFSA fought back and was recently informed that—as in the U.S. military—

for the present, at least, “the department will apply the annuity exception ... to those employees who are not eligible for an immediate annuity.” With the so-called “pig in the python” at its fullest and promotions lagging, now is not the time to challenge the annuity exception. We've seen where that can lead, and it's tragic.

AFSA has been pushing the department to put more midlevel positions overseas, to rebuild and reinvigorate the economic cone and to return promotion levels to the department's own projections according to its Five-Year Plan. When so many talented officers face an early end to their careers for structural reasons not of their making, we will continue to insist that the department do the right thing by those who have served this country so well and faithfully. ■



Looking Forward to the *FSJ*'s Bicentennial: FAS in 2119

As *The Foreign Service Journal* celebrates 100 years, it is intriguing to reflect on the history of USDA and the Foreign Agricultural Service and how they have evolved over the decades.

For a detailed view of FAS history, check out Ambassador Allan Mustard's May 2003 *Foreign Service Journal* article, "An Unauthorized History of FAS." However, anniversary dates always make me equally curious about the future. What will FAS look like in 2119, when *The Foreign Service Journal* commemorates its bicentennial?

The names of our programs and even our agency may change, our functions may morph and fluctuate, and our funding will ebb and flow, but I am confident that much of our core mission will remain intact.

No doubt there are many naysayers who believe that modern technology and the rapidly changing world will render our agency's work extinct, but I believe that history suggests otherwise. Diplomacy and agriculture are almost as old as civilization, and it is impossible to imagine that either will cease to exist over the next century.

How we perform our work will undoubtedly change in ways we cannot envision, but that does not mean that our function will change completely. Imagine telling USDA's first employee assigned overseas in 1882

that his successors would eventually fly to London in seven hours and send their reports back to headquarters instantaneously. At that point, Thomas Edison's light bulb was only three years old, and the Wright brothers' first flight was still decades in future.

What hasn't changed since then? Our critical function of collecting, analyzing and publishing time-sensitive global market information on agricultural commodities.

Agricultural trade disputes have been around for far longer than our nation; they were even a key catalyst for the American Revolution (Boston Tea Party, anyone?). FAS' trade policy and negotiation role came much later, but it highlights our crucial governmental function of removing trade barriers, negotiating free trade agreements and working to establish international standards. We may not always be able to avoid trade wars in the future, but our work may prevent agricultural conflicts from sparking actual wars.

In the 1950s, FAS began its highly successful approach to market development through unique public-private partnerships with cooperator groups that represent a cross-section of the U.S. food and agricultural industry. Our specific programs and other elements will undoubtedly change—perhaps we'll begin

We may not recognize the world in 2119, but I am confident that people around the world will still enjoy U.S. agricultural products 100 years from now, and the U.S. Department of Agriculture will still have a role in making that happen.

creating "sci-fi style" virtual food shows? However, even if what we do changes, collaborating to develop markets will endure, as partnership makes us all far stronger than if we work alone.

If history is a guide, FAS' food security mission is most likely to morph and move in the future. USDA's international development function has bounced around between various agencies over the decades, and it currently weaves together many dissimilar programs.

USDA played a key role in the Marshall Plan and in some other reconstruction efforts over the decades, but there has never been consistency in plan, scope or action. Congress passed Public Law 480 in 1954, which became the backbone of FAS' food aid and market development efforts, but this and other food aid programs have been scaled back over the years.

Many of FAS' technical assistance programs have a relatively short history,

and their existence has often depended on outside or inconsistent funding. Although FAS will likely remain involved in international development in the future, this mission area will undoubtedly transform.

We may not recognize the world in 2119, but I am confident that people around the world will still enjoy U.S. agricultural products 100 years from now, and the U.S. Department of Agriculture will still have a role in making that happen. If you doubt it, feel free to have your great-grandchildren prove mine wrong during the *FSJ* bicentennial. ■

The BUILD Act: AFSA Hosts Discussion on New Economic Diplomacy Tool

AFSA President Ambassador Barbara Stephenson welcomed Representative Ted Yoho (R-Fla.) and development finance experts from the Foreign Commercial Service, the State Department and USAID to AFSA headquarters on April 3 for a discussion of the Better Utilization of Investments Leading to Development (BUILD) Act.

Signed into law by the president on Oct. 5, 2018, the BUILD Act will modernize U.S. foreign assistance programs, replace the Overseas Private Investment Corporation with the U.S. Development Finance Corporation and put U.S. private-sector dollars to work in developing countries.

The newly structured USDFC is expected to come on line by Oct. 1, making loans, grants and other guarantees available and reducing risks to U.S. businesses financing overseas projects.

Amb. Stephenson called the BUILD Act “one of the most exciting new tools to

come around in a while.” Underscoring AFSA’s initiative to rebuild U.S. economic diplomacy capacity in the field, she noted that the current era of great power competition, with China in particular, has created a new geostrategic environment for U.S. diplomats, most of whom came of age during the post-Cold War period when the United States exercised preeminence as the sole superpower.

Rep. Yoho, a principal author of the legislation, emphasized that BUILD has received strong bipartisan, bicameral support on Capitol Hill. It significantly reforms U.S. development assistance, offering alternatives to competing development finance models.

Rep. Yoho said the legislation grew out of his conviction that the United States needed a way to “compete with China in their Belt and Road Initiative,” in particular a positive way to counter their “predatory lending.”



Representative Ted Yoho and Ambassador Barbara Stephenson talk about their Florida roots.

Senior FCS FSO and AFSA Vice President Dan Crocker recounted that in September 2018 alone, China announced \$60 billion in projects in Africa. He called the asymmetry between Chinese and U.S. engagement and diplomatic staffing in Africa “striking.”

The Foreign Commercial Service has a presence in only 11 of the 54 countries in Africa, and U.S. diplomats there are outnumbered by China, which has in some cases nine or 10 officers to every one U.S. officer.

Laird Treiber, a senior State Department economic officer currently advising the president of the Corporate Council on Africa, warned that while U.S. companies have not been looking strategically at Africa, our competitors have.

In coming decades, Treiber said, two-thirds of the world’s net population growth will be in sub-Saharan Africa. Enthusiasm about the BUILD Act among members of the Corporate Council on Africa, he noted, is “sky high.”

Karl Fickenscher, USAID’s deputy assistant administrator for economic growth, education and environment, acknowledged criticisms about “stovepipes of excellence”—where foreign affairs agencies pursue related policy objectives without coordinating—but said the BUILD Act will establish cross-training for U.S. government personnel from across agencies and better integrate them into foreign policy and development.

Taking advantage of the new BUILD Act provisions will require the continued and even expanded presence of American diplomats in Africa. Citing a hypothetical project in Africa, Dan Crocker noted that with the new USDFC, we will need “boots on the ground” throughout the process of getting American companies to launch projects in developing countries.

Amb. Stephenson focused on another element of U.S. global leadership in addition to the benefits to U.S.

Continued on page 47



Panelists listen as Rep. Ted Yoho discusses an article he wrote for a recent issue of *The Foreign Service Journal*.



Framing the Case for Diplomacy

When AFSA discusses funding for core diplomatic capability with members of Congress, most initially find it hard to define, its relatively small money streams overshadowed by billions of dollars in foreign aid and policy programs in the State, Foreign Operations, and Related Programs Appropriations bill.

When they receive the administration's budget request, members of Congress see a wish list. Though equipped with the "power of the purse" to authorize, conduct oversight and appropriate, and to freely support or reject specific federal funding initiatives, lawmakers are often hamstrung by the sheer volume of funding priorities.

As a result, many on the Hill have come to rely on AFSA to explain what diplomats do and why it matters—to help them understand and justify the need for core diplomatic capability funding.

While it feels like we have just wrapped up Fiscal Year 2019 appropriations discussions on the Hill, Congress is already in the thick of its work on the next fiscal year's

funding. The administration's FY2020 budget request called for a 24 percent cut to the international affairs budget, including an 8 percent cut to the State Department's ongoing operations and a 7 percent cut to USAID's ongoing operations.

For the past few years Congress has been a firewall in preventing similar large cuts from becoming law, and AFSA continues to advocate against such proposed cuts with our staunchest Capitol Hill defenders and those on the committees of jurisdiction. While the cut proposals haven't changed much, neither has our robust, bipartisan congressional support for strong funding for diplomacy.

When we take a closer look at the FY2020 budget request, it is clear the main proposed State/USAID cuts stem largely from the elimination of non-defense Overseas Contingency Operations funding, which has historically made up about one-fifth of the international affairs budget. Remember that OCO funds are undefined but intended for American operations overseas and have

largely replaced supplemental funds since the 9/11 attacks.

With non-defense OCO funding at \$8 billion in FY2019, the proposed elimination of this funding category in FY2020 would be the single sharpest blow in years to the international affairs budget, likely trickling down directly to cuts in core diplomatic capability funding. Thus, AFSA's budgetary advocacy work has centered around the need to maintain non-defense OCO funding or replace the amount cut in non-defense OCO with enduring funds (base) for State/USAID.

AFSA has incorporated two bipartisan themes on what diplomats do into its advocacy work to defend core diplomatic capability spending: (1) keeping Americans safe at home; and, (2) keeping America prosperous by enabling our businesses to compete and thrive overseas.

To address the first theme, we have shared stories of U.S. diplomats using our embassies as platforms for servicing agreements that enable counterterrorism cooperation, such as passenger name

record sharing for air travel. To address the second, we've discussed the ways in which diplomats help American businesses compete on a level playing field, molding the local environment for the better and reminding businesspeople at our posts overseas why they prefer to do business with the United States.

Thanks to *The Foreign Service Journal's* January-February 2019 edition on economic diplomacy, AFSA has plenty of firsthand stories that exemplify these themes.

As AFSA ties the work of our diplomats back to its effect on an individual congressional district or state, members of Congress are willing to add spending for diplomacy to their district-specific agendas, as well as their Washington priorities.

Framing diplomacy in relation to congressional members' agendas while centering our arguments on the bipartisan themes of safety and prosperity has successfully helped ward off cuts in recent years. We aim to do it again in FY2020. ■

The BUILD Act
Continued from page 46

economic prosperity and job creation at home. "The presence of American companies overseas, their example of working without paying

bribes, of hiring and promoting based on merit, of solving some of the most complex problems imaginable," she stated, "is a key component of America's soft power."

Rep. Yoho echoed this message, using the ASEAN

countries as an example: "What has made ASEAN so successful? They said American involvement brought in the rule of law, brought in a code of ethics, the honoring of contracts. That's what you guys [FSOs] represent."

Exhorting Foreign Service officers to utilize the new BUILD Act tools, Rep. Yoho promised, "We're going to stand behind this; we're going to make sure that the appropriations are there." ■

Book Notes: *The Back Channel* with Ambassador Bill Burns

Before a packed house on April 10, Ambassador (ret.) Bill Burns spoke about the value of diplomacy, the state of State and his new best-selling book, *The Back Channel: A Memoir of American Diplomacy and the Case for Its Renewal* (Random House, 2019). Now president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Amb. Burns is a former Deputy Secretary of State, only the second career diplomat to hold that position.

The 90-minute session started with FSJ Editor-in-Chief Shawn Dorman asking Amb. Burns questions about both the book and his 33-year career as a diplomat. The wide-ranging discussion covered Burns' thoughts on Russian President Vladimir Putin, the collapse of the nuclear agreement with Iran, the future of the State Department and the U.S. role in a more "disordered" world order increasingly dominated by China. He described his experiences meeting Vlad-



Ambassador Burns on stage with FSJ Editor-in-Chief Shawn Dorman.

mir Putin as well as Muammar Gaddafi.

Amb. Burns explained that the United States leads best by the "power of our example," despite the fact that it's been "tarnished badly in recent years." He also talked about the changing face of the State Department, saying that we need to "look like the society we represent."

"When I entered the Foreign Service in the beginning of 1982, most American diplomats looked like me," said Burns. "We've made painfully slow progress toward becoming more representative. By the end of my time four years ago, the gender balance at entry, junior and middle levels

ing process, the department needs to "encourage an atmosphere where people feel they can disagree with policy." He criticized what he called the "particularly pernicious practice" over the last couple years of going after individual career officers because they worked on controversial policies in



A capacity crowd gathered at AFSA on April 10 to hear Amb. Burns discuss his book.

was close to 50-50 ... and [was] still far too inadequate at senior levels." Today, though, he said "that progress has been reversed, and it's going to take a lot longer to fix than it's taken to break."

During the Q&A portion of the event, Amb. Burns answered queries about how to fix our troubled personnel system, and what today's Foreign Service members can do to help make the department more agile.

He explained why he decided to write this specific book at this time in history, and what steps he took to ensure he'd have access to the cables and notes he would need to put the book together.

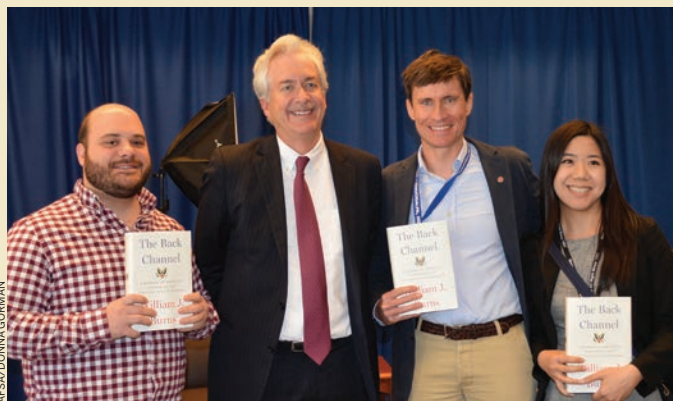
Burns said that to stay relevant in the policymak-

the previous administration: "That debases an institution over time. You have to try to create an atmosphere in which people are going to challenge conventional wisdom sometimes."

He also lamented the disappearance of regular noon press briefings: "If you can't explain publicly your policy, you generate a problem with your policy. If you can't explain what you're about effectively, your policy and your diplomacy are going to suffer."

Following the discussion, Amb. Burns signed books for the dozens of people who lined up to say hello.

A recording of the event is available on AFSA's YouTube channel (AFSATube) and at www.afsa.org/video. ■



Amb. Burns poses with State Operations Center officers.

AFSA Honors 2018 Sinclair Language Award Recipients

Proficiency in foreign languages is a vital skill in the work of the U.S. Foreign Service, not only for professional development but also for personal security and success at post. Each year since 1982, the American Foreign Service Association has recognized the outstanding accomplishments of members of the Foreign Service in the study and utilization of difficult languages through the Matilda W. Sinclair Language Awards program. AFSA established this program as a result of a bequest from former Foreign Service Officer Matilda W. Sinclair, who sought “to promote and reward superior achievement by career officers of the Foreign Service while studying one of the Category III or IV languages under the auspices of the Foreign Service Institute.”

Any career or career-conditional member of the Foreign Service from the Department of State, U.S. Agency for International Development, Foreign Commercial Service, Foreign Agricultural Service, U.S. Agency for Global Media or Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service is eligible for the award.

Recipients are selected by a committee comprising the dean of the FSI School of Language studies (or their designee) and the AFSA Awards and Plaques Committee. Each winner receives

\$1,000 and a certificate of recognition.

AFSA received a record 38 nominations for 2018, the largest number in the program’s history. The nominee pool was evenly divided by gender.

This year’s recipients demonstrated a dedication to their chosen language and extraordinary skills by engaging in a wide variety of in-language activities, including participating in a Hungarian Christmas bazaar, visiting Jaipur and Varanasi to interact with Hindi-speaking people, immersing themselves in Chinese local cuisine, giving presentations to Road Scholars program



participants, and putting in extra effort both in and out of the classroom to improve their language skills.

The 2018 Sinclair Award recipients are:

Shawn C. Bush: Greek

Jenny Curatola-Wozniak: Turkish

Jenna Covucci: Mandarin

Peter N. D’Amico: Hungarian

Vivian O. Ekey: Amharic

Joshua Johnson: Hindi

Ethan Lynch: Urdu

Jason Rubin: Mandarin

Frederick Stokes: Turkish

Vera Zdravkova: Mandarin

This year, three honorable mentions were also selected:

Carly Cohen: Russian

Sarah Grebowski: Burmese

Holly Miles: Russian

For more information on the Sinclair Awards, please contact AFSA Awards Coordinator Perri Green at green@afsa.org or (202) 719-9700, or visit www.afsa.org/sinclair. Nominations for the 2019 Sinclair Awards are now being accepted; the deadline is Aug. 30. ■

The Foreign Service Journal Welcomes New Managing Editor

AFSA is pleased to welcome to Kathryn Owens to *The Foreign Service Journal* and the AFSA publications team as managing editor.

Kathryn began her career as an acquisitions assistant at Potomac Books, then a Virginia-based publisher specializing in such areas as military history and international affairs (and AFSA’s partner on distribution for the *Inside a U.S. Embassy* book).

Soon finding her niche in editorial, design and production, she climbed the ranks

to managing production editor before the company was acquired by University of Nebraska Press in 2013. Joining UNP as a project editor, she continued shepherding book projects through the production process.

In late 2014, Kathryn returned to the Washington, D.C., area as editorial and production coordinator at Georgetown University Press. There, she broadened her publishing experience through deeper exposure to design and production, and

honed her editorial craft by preparing projects for copyeditors and revamping the GUP style guide.

Kathryn holds a B.A. in English from The George Washington University and an M.A. in humanities from the University of Chicago, where she also earned an editing certificate.

Kathryn lives in Washington, D.C., and enjoys making pottery. She can be reached at owens@afsa.org. ■



AFSA President in Sarasota

AFSA President Ambassador Barbara Stephenson and U.S. Marine Corps Major General (ret.) Martin Steele addressed members of the Sarasota business community, World Affairs Council, retired military officers, academics and local community and faith leaders in Sarasota, Fla., April 23 at an event sponsored by the U.S. Global Leadership Coalition.

Sarasota Mayor Liz Alper and World Affairs Council President Nat Colletta intro-

duced Amb. Stephenson and Gen. Steele, who engaged community leaders in a discussion about why American global leadership matters locally. They focused on the importance of U.S. diplomacy in promoting national security and economic prosperity at home and strengthening democratic and humanitarian values worldwide.

Gesturing to a banner with the words of former Defense Secretary James Mattis—

“If you don’t fund the State Department fully, then I need to buy more ammunition”— Gen. Steele emphasized the value to American leadership of fully funding U.S. diplomacy.

While in Florida, Amb. Stephenson also spoke at Sarasota’s New College to a diverse group of students, faculty and Sarasota World Affairs Council members and met with members of the Florida Foreign Service Retirees Association in a reception at the home of FSO (ret.) Judy Carson. ■



USG/LIZ CASSIN

A full house turns out in Sarasota, Fla., to hear AFSA President Ambassador Barbara Stephenson and U.S. Marine Corps Major General (ret.) Martin Steele.

Boosting Community-Owned Businesses

AFSA is pleased to announce a two-part initiative that aims to boost the visibility of businesses owned by members of the Foreign Service and their eligible family members.

(1) Big Discounts on FSJ Ads: *The Foreign Service Journal* will reserve up to four 4-color quarter-page ads per issue solely for FS- and EFM-owned small and medium enterprises. The regular rate for such a placement is \$1,530. However, qualified advertisers will be offered the highly reduced rate of \$250 for a one-time placement. These ads will be accepted on a first-come, first-served basis. For more information about this opportunity, please contact Communications and Marketing Manager Allan Saunders at saunders@afsa.org or (202) 719-9712. (Note: The business owner or

spouse/parent of the owner must be an AFSA member; the company must also be a new advertiser in the magazine.)

(2) A New Resource on the AFSA Website for FS- and EFM-Owned Businesses: AFSA has launched a new section on its website that lists any business owned by a member of the Foreign Service (active-duty or retired) or their eligible family member. See examples at www.afsa.org/fsbusiness. Please send the following information to lau@afsa.org to get your business listed:

1. Name of business
2. Website
3. A high-res version of the company’s logo (if any)
4. Email/telephone/other contact information
5. Physical address (if any)
6. One-paragraph descrip-

tion of the services/products offered.

7. Category into which the business falls, e.g., education, counseling, real estate, financial.

We hope these opportunities will help FS- and EFM-owned businesses reach a larger audience and new potential customers. ■

Retirement Planning: 5 to 10 Years Out

On April 11, AFSA Retiree VP John Naland returned to AFSA for an encore of his popular seminar, “Retirement Planning: 5 to 10 Years Out.”

Mr. Naland, a former director of the Office of Retirement at the State Department, took active-duty members through the steps they need to take now to ensure they are ready

for retirement. He provided a detailed checklist outlining the things prospective retirees need to do and the websites they need to visit to prepare for a successful transition.

More than 80 members attended the event. A recording of the talk is available at www.afsa.org/video. Handouts are at <http://bit.ly/retire-checklist>. ■



AFSA Governing Board Meeting, April 17, 2019

Foreign Service Grievance Board:

It was moved that the Governing Board authorize the AFSA Retiree VP to support the re-appointment of all nine current FSGB members: Bernadette Allen (retired FS), Barbara Cummings (retired FS), John Limbert (retired FS), Greg Loose (retired FS), Lawrence Mandel (retired FS), Wendy Moore (retired FS), Luis Moreno (retired FS), Rosemary Pye (non-FS arbitrator) and Susan Winfield (non-FS arbitrator). The motion was adopted.

It was moved that the Governing Board authorize the Retiree VP to support the appointment of whatever new non-FS arbitrator the Retiree VP and AFSA State VP (in conjunction with the AFSA General Counsel) find best

suited. The motion was adopted.

It was moved that the Governing Board authorize the Retiree VP to support the appointment of one of the following FS annuitants: Leslie Bassett, Gail Lecce, Thomas Miller, Joseph Mussomeli. The motion was adopted.

Awards and Plaques Committee:

On behalf of the Awards and Plaques Committee, it was moved that 10 individuals receive a Matilda W. Sinclair Language Award for their achievements in the study and utilization of difficult languages in 2018 and three individuals receive honorable mentions. The motion was adopted. [Note: For a complete list of names, see p. 49.] ■

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The “Why This College?” Essay

This requirement for college applications is more important—and easier to write—than you may think.

BY FRANCESCA H. KELLY

Somewhere in the middle of the college application process, just when you’ve patted yourself on the back for finishing your main Common Application essay, you realize that many of your chosen colleges request at least one more piece of writing. Often, it’s what I like to call the “Why This College?” essay. The prompt for this supplement can be worded several ways, but the



Francesca Huemer Kelly, the spouse of a retired Foreign Service officer and former ambassador, has worked as a freelance writer and an

editor, and is currently coaching high school students on their college application essays. She is a co-founder of Tales from a Small Planet and a former FSJ AFSA News editor.



inherent question is clear: Why do you want to attend *this particular college*?

Far more important than you might think, this essay is your golden opportunity to *demonstrate interest*—a phrase admissions folks frequently bandy about. That’s because after they consider your transcript and standardized test scores, they start looking for “fit”: Do your interests and even your sense of purpose line up with the university’s? What will you add to the campus community?

Inside College Admissions

Colleges want students who want them. Demonstrating interest is important even if it’s because the college wants a higher yield (i.e., percentage of admitted students who choose to enroll). Because yield is both a financial and a rankings concern, it can be a determining factor in admission. When it comes down to two equally qualified students, the college will accept the student more likely to enroll.

Finally, will you not only enroll, but will you be happy during your years on campus? Satisfied students are, in the end, what make a college successful—both in reputation and in a generous alumni base.

These are some of the things going through admissions officers’ minds as they read your application, particularly the Why This College? essay. The truth is, while rankings and enrollment are sig-



College Questions?



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- Scholarships
- Choosing a school
- Testing
- Applications



state.gov/flo/education

Colleges want students who want them.

nificant, admissions officers will tell you that they mostly just want students who will flourish at their school. So, you need to show them why you and Wonderful College are a perfect match.

How do you do that, exactly? First, let me reassure you about your writing demands here. Lest you despair because you are applying to 10 colleges, eight of which request the Why This College? essay, here's good news: you can use the first part of the essay for all eight colleges, and tailor the second half to each college. That will dramatically reduce your workload.

But before starting your draft, you will need to ...

Research, Research, Research

You'd be surprised how many applicants think it's enough to like the campus tour guide or know that the college has a prestigious name. But you need to dig a lot deeper to find the best college for you.

So, do your homework. Peruse the college website, the academic majors, the actual classes. Read the school newspaper, follow the sports teams, scan student blogs and view student art projects.

Listen to the college radio station. Google the professors. Look for the college on YouTube and Facebook.

Visit if you can. (And if you're lucky enough to meet a college representative visiting your school or at a college fair, engage in conversation and follow up with an appreciative email afterward—another great way to demonstrate interest.)

Once you have several pages of notes on each individual college, it's time to write. But ...

Don't Rewrite the College Brochure

Alas, many applicants knock off a quick, not-very-well-researched essay that says, "I really want to go to Whatever University because the campus is so beautiful and there are so many fun activities and I'm excited to take a lot of different classes and there's diversity, too! Go Mascots!"

Trust me, college admissions officers already know how great their college is. Their impression will be that the applicant hasn't taken the trouble to get to know Wonderful College and, therefore, isn't particularly interested.

With a little effort, however, you can ace this supplement. After researching each college, you will write an essay that accomplishes two vital missions: illuminating who you are and demonstrating your interest—or enthusiasm.

To do that effectively, the key is using *highly specific language*. Just as in letters of recommendation or cover letters for job applications, specific language is believable. Generalities are the opposite. Compare these two sentences:

General: History is my life, and because Whatever College has not only a great history department but also a stellar reputation, I know I'll be happy there on its beautiful campus.

Specific: My independent research into the Revolutionary War led me to read Professor Gabe McCormick's book, *The Jockey Hollow Encampment*, and I'm eager to register for his freshman seminar class, "Thomas Paine and *Common Sense*."

Now that you're getting the idea, let's move on to ...

Structuring Your Essay

Make the first half of the essay about you and your passions. If you start with an anecdote that shows them in action (rather than writing, “I love history”), you will draw the reader in. You can relay a recent experience or a typical slice of your life. This first half can be used for all your “Why This College?” essays.


Now, transition into the second half of the essay: why you and your passions will blossom at Wonderful College. This half will be written uniquely for each college, but since many of these essays are limited to 250–300 words, you usually won’t need to write more than a few sentences—just enough to enumerate some of the relevant attractions that can only be found at Wonderful College.

Some colleges ask a variant of the question: “Why This Major?” They want to know why you’re interested in the subject you intend to major in. Again, start out with an anecdote or story that demonstrates your passion for the subject, and then go into all this college offers you in that major (e.g., courses, professors, clubs). It’s pretty much the same formula.

What if you are undecided about your major? You can still use this formula, telling a story about one or more passions, and allowing enough space in the second half to discuss classes, curriculum and professors in more than one department.

Consider keeping your interests to two, or your essay may get too cluttered. (That said, there are exceptions to every rule—if you’re an excellent writer. If you have three or more interests and can tie them together in a clever way, go for it.)

Even if you have yet to decide on a major, colleges will appreciate knowing that you have varied and keen interests—and that you have done your homework about their school.



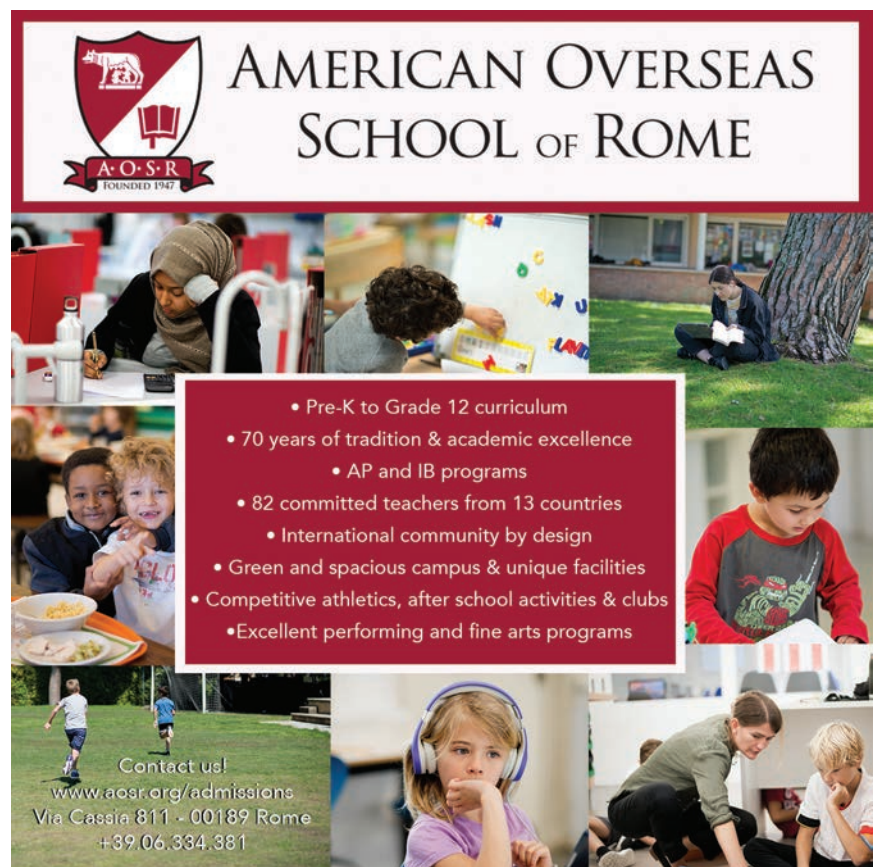
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Some Guidelines to Remember While You Write

- *Be enthusiastic.* You want to convey the sense that you've gone as far as you can go with your talents in high school, and you're excited that this college offers so many ways for you to take your passions to a new level.

- *Be specific.* Remember that enthusiasm expressed in generalities can sound insincere.

- *Follow the old writer's rule: show, don't tell.* In other words, a story from your life will show them how creative you are much better than stating, "I am a creative person." Which would you believe more?

- *And please, please, please: triple-check the name of the college in your essay*

Be specific. Remember that enthusiasm expressed in generalities can sound insincere.

before uploading it to your application. If you're tweaking the same basic essay for many schools, it's easy to make this mistake. Sounds silly, but colleges get essays naming the wrong school every single admissions cycle.

Your Personal Stamp

The two-section system—showing your passions, followed by how those passions will blossom at college—is tried

and true. But there are other approaches. One of the most effective essays I read recently was written by a student who fell in love with her first-choice college's library, and then wrote about all the libraries she has loved in her life and what she hoped to accomplish in that college library were she to be accepted. Another student homed in on the university motto and made that the focus of his

Continued on page 60

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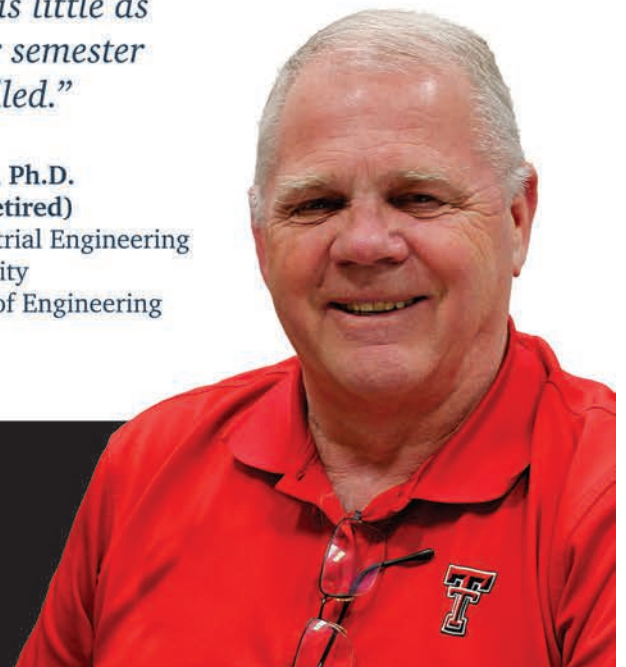
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Stephen Peterson, Ph.D.
(USAF Colonel, Retired)
Instructor of Industrial Engineering
Texas Tech University
Whitacre College of Engineering



Demonstrating the Formula: Sample Essays

You now get the idea: start with your passions, then transition to how those passions will blossom at college. Yes, it's a formula. But it's one you can tweak with each college to make the essay personal. And you may just find, as others have before you, that having it will be a godsend when the college application process seems overwhelming.

The following two sample essays adhere to this formula in under 250 words. Neither starts with "I love Wonderful College because..." Instead, each draws the reader in by telling a story that can be used for all Why This College? essays. All the student needs to do is to plug in the correct college name, and the names of the courses, clubs and/or professors specific to that college.

Why This College?

It was down to the last question in the finals of the "It's Academic" televised tournament. Our family members sat sweating in the studio audience. When the announcer read, "Name the only two landlocked countries in South America," I immediately pressed the button, even though I was sure of only one of the answers. "Bolivia, right?" I whispered to my teammates, and they nodded. "And Paraguay, for sure," said my teammate Lauren, just as I knew she would. "Bolivia and Paraguay!" our team captain, Aaron, sang out. We won the championship.

I love the adrenaline rush that comes with tapping into knowledge under pressure, and I love it even more when it's part of working with a team. One day I hope to put these skills and passions to use as a courtroom lawyer or an international negotiator. That is why I'm so enthusiastic about Wonderful College, which puts a premium on history, law and international relations. I'll register for the freshman seminar, "The International Criminal Court: History and Effectiveness." I'll take a history course from Professor John Doe, who is the author of one of my favorite books, Trivia-Lover's Trivia. I'm also thrilled that you offer both mock trial and debate team: my biggest challenge will be deciding if I can juggle both!

I am convinced that there is no better place for me to expand my knowledge of politics and law, develop my rhetorical skills and build deep friendships while working side by side with fellow students.

Why This College?

I did everything I was supposed to do. I planted long, sinewy aquarium plants. I obsessively checked the temperature and the pH of the water. I created small refuges by piling rocks in the corner of the tank so that crevices formed. Yet, for three years, I was left disappointed. Now, just this week, my hard work paid off: my pair of firemouth cichlids produced fry, filling my aquarium with dozens of tiny slivers darting here and there. This, my first successful attempt at creating the conditions necessary for spawning, marks the highlight of my years as a tropical fish hobbyist.

When I read that Wonderful College's marine biology program includes an aquarium management minor, I jumped up from my desk with excitement. My interest in ichthyology extends from the theoretical and research components to the practical: I love maintaining aquariums. I will enthusiastically register for Wonderful College's classes "Brackish Water Species" and "Rescuing Our Coral Reefs." I have already read Professor Anthony Pescatore's book, The Fish Hobbyist's Bible, and I look forward to taking part in his aquarium club. I'm also excited about field trips to the John D. Pickering Aquarium downtown.

In addition, I hope to take advantage of the marine biology study abroad program to Sumatra where I can observe unique species found nowhere else. For these reasons and many others, I'm certain Wonderful College is the optimal place to continue expanding my knowledge in the field of marine biology and ichthyology.

—Francesca Kelly

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You now get the idea: start with your passions, then transition to how those passions will blossom at college.

Continued from page 56

essay, because it closely aligned with his own moral code.

Bottom line: If you have your own personal style and approach, use it—as long as your essay (1) shows your passion for learning and shows the college who you are, usually through anecdote, and (2) demonstrates your interest in this college using specifics, not generalities.

I can't resist giving you this last bit of advice: write your essays this summer, before senior year starts. You will not

believe the difference in your stress levels—and your control over the process—if you start early and work a little each day over the summer. Once classes start, you will be ready to submit those applications and get on with your already very full life.

So, use your summer wisely, researching your colleges, getting excited about all the experiences you will have in college, and then expressing that enthusiasm in your essay: "Why this college? I can't wait to show you!" ■

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AP vs. IB

A Practical Comparison

Making high school curriculum choices can be daunting for Foreign Service families. Here is some insight into the AP and IB programs.

BY MARYBETH HUNTER WITH
KRISTEN A. MARIOTTI

It is great to have freedom of choice. However, with choice lies the responsibility of researching and evaluating options to select the best one available at any given time. When choosing schools, this may mean evaluating factors such as setting, curriculum and overall teaching methodology to enrich the education of a child at a certain grade level.

The task of choosing between schools offering different educational objectives with long-term impact can present a challenge for Foreign Service families. This is the case when families are presented with the choice of Advanced Placement or International Baccalaureate coursework.

What is the “right” choice? The U.S. Department of State Bureau of Human

Resources’ Family Liaison Office in Washington, D.C., and the Community Liaison Office coordinators at post are often asked to explain the difference between AP and IB programs so parents can make the best choices for their families as they transition from post to post.

FLO reached out to Kristen Mariotti, a featured speaker at conferences in the United States and abroad on college preparation and the respective advantages of the two programs, to answer the questions we most often receive.

As you will see in the following, both programs offer strong preparation for higher university education—with differing approaches. Note that the Department of State and the Family Liaison Office do not endorse either program and strongly



Marybeth Hunter, at left, is the education and youth officer in the State Department’s Family Liaison Office. She traveled overseas with her Foreign Service family for more than 21 years, and has worked as a teacher and a Community Liaison Office coordinator abroad.

Kristen A. Mariotti, at right, is director of admissions and enrollment management at Stoneleigh-Burnham School in Greenfield, Massachusetts. With nearly 20 years of experience in both secondary and post-secondary schools, she has led the recruitment and enrollment programs at U.S. colleges and universities, as well as U.S. boarding schools with both IB and AP programs. Having traveled and recruited students from more than 36 countries over the years, she has a deep understanding and appreciation for secondary and post-secondary institutions around the globe. She is a member of the International Education Board for The Association of Boarding Schools.

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School	Page Number	Enrollment	Gender Distribution M/F	Percent Boarding	Percent Int'l.	Levels Offered	AP/IB*	TABS common application	Accept ADD/LD	Miles to Int'l. Airport	International Students Orientation	Holiday Break Coverage**	Annual Tuition, Room & Board (US \$)
■ ELEMENTARY/JUNIOR HIGH													
Hampshire Country School	65	25	All boys	100	5	3-9	N/N	N	Y	65	N	N	58,500
■ JUNIOR HIGH/SENIOR HIGH													
Admiral Farragut Academy	55	300	60/40	50	30	8-12	Y/N	N	Limited	22	Y	N	50,000
Grier School	59	300	All girls	85	40	7-12	Y/N	Y	Y	120	Y	N	54,500
■ SENIOR HIGH													
EF Academy New York	69	700	55/45	97	95	9-12	N/Y	N	Limited	38	Y	N	41,985-47,770 ^a
Kimball Union Academy	65	340	55/45	70	20	9-12,PG	Y/N	Y	Y	125	Y	Y	56,000
Salem Academy	61	165	All Girls	57	24	9-12	Y/N	Y	Limited	25	Y	Y	49,500
Wilbraham & Monson Academy	63	354	55/45	50	33	8-12	Y/N	Y		21	Y	Y	60,800
■ OVERSEAS													
American Overseas School of Rome	55	591	50/50	NA	65	PK-12	Y/Y	N	Y	21	Y	N	13,933-30,334 ^c
Berlin Brandenburg International School	56	700	50/50	20	65	K-12	N/Y	N	Y	15	Y	N	42,000 ^c
EF Academy Oxford	69	160	50/50	100	100	11-12	N/Y	N	N	43	Y	N	46,425 ^{ac}
EF Academy Torbay	69	300	55/45	100	100	9-12	N/Y	N	N	26	Y	N	46,425 ^{ac}
John F. Kennedy School Berlin	70	1,617	50/50	NA	47	K-12	Y/N	N	Limited	15	Y	N	None
St. Stephen's School	63	294	47/53	15	64	9-12,PG	Y/Y	N	Y	12	Y	N	44,380 ^c
■ SPECIAL NEEDS													
The Gow School	60	150	87/13	87	33	6-12, PG	NA	N	Y	20	Y	N	65,800
■ DISTANCE LEARNING													
BYU Independent Study	52	Over 400 paper, online and teacher-led courses; middle school, high school and university accreditation.											
Texas Tech University	61	Texas Tech University Independent School District offers Kindergarten-12th grade and accredited HS diploma; K-12; K12.ttu.edu/fsj											
Texas Tech University Worldwide eLearning	57	Texas Tech University Worldwide eLearning offers online bachelor's through graduate programs. elearning.ttu.edu/fsj											
■ OTHER													
AAFSW	61	Associates of the American F.S. Worldwide; Publisher of <i>Raising Kids in the Foreign Service</i> . A volunteer organization that supports Foreign Service employees, spouses, partners and members of household. www.aafsw.org . See FSHub.org .											
FLO	54	Family Liaison Office: Information and resources for Foreign Service families. Contact FLOAskEducation@state.gov , or go to www.state.gov/m/dghr/flo/c1958.htm .											
FSYF	-	Foreign Service Youth Foundation: A support network for U.S. Foreign Service youth worldwide. Go to www.fsyf.org .											

*Advanced Placement/International Baccalaureate **Dec. 25-Jan. 1 NA, Not applicable NP, Information not provided ^aSibling discount ^bFinancial aid available ^cDollar value subject to exchange rate ^dAid for federal employees ^eGap year ^fNeed-blind admission; will meet full financial need ^gHost families

advise families to independently research education options for their children.

Parents are most familiar with their Foreign Service students' learning mode preferences. It may be helpful to think carefully about these preferences and which system, be it AP or IB, is most aligned with the student's learning styles for the best long-term outcomes.



FLO: *What are the advantages of taking classes in AP or IB? How can a student evaluate whether the extra effort and work will be worth it?*

Kristen Mariotti: The Advanced Placement and International Baccalaureate programs are both considered the

highest level of courses a student can take in high school in the United States.

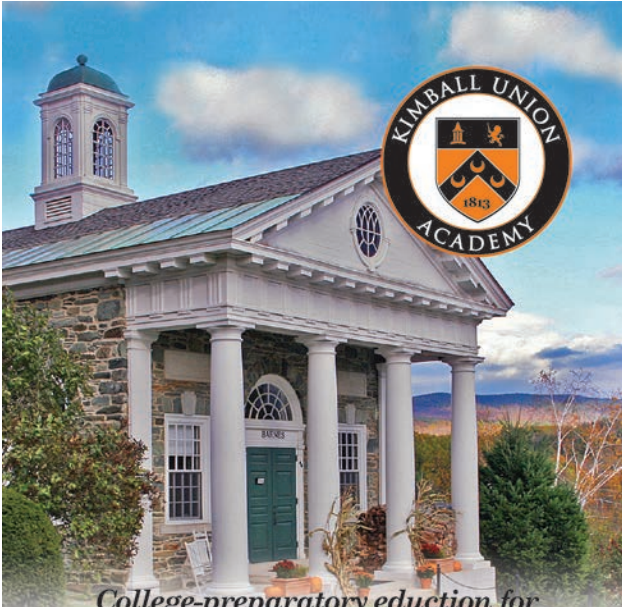
Both programs are revered by colleges and universities, and in recent years, as the understanding of the IB program has grown in the United States, it has become a preferred curriculum for many post-secondary institutions because of its similarity to university-level learning and teaching methodologies. AP is still accepted at most colleges and universities, as well.

Both programs offer opportunities for students to receive post-secondary credits once enrolled at a college or university. The IB program is more widely accepted in countries outside the United States, especially in Europe.

Advantages of IB. The IB program is not solely about academics; it also

challenges students to enhance their personal growth. IB aspires to help schools develop well-rounded students with strong character and a global mindset. IB students often indicate that they have gained excellent time-management skills and other critical attitudes needed for academic and personal success.

The IB program increases understanding of languages and cultures and explores globally significant ideas and issues in each subject area. Subjects are not taught in isolation. IB classes are interdisciplinary and connect learning across the curriculum. The IB program is a liberal arts approach to education. Students must study two languages, math, science, individuals and societies, and the arts. There is both depth and breadth.




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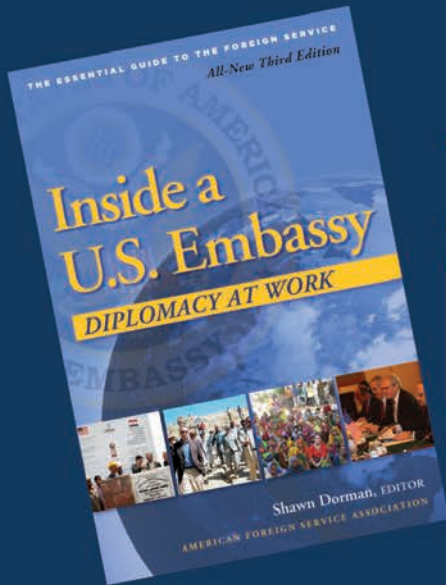


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American University Emmanuel College Arizona State University



A unique part of the IB program is the requirement of three core courses for full diploma status: the theory of knowledge (TOK) course, the extended essay (EE) research project, and the creativity, action and service (CAS) component.

Through the TOK course on critical thinking, students make connections across traditional disciplines and explore the nature of knowledge. They inquire into the nature of knowing and deepen their understanding of knowledge as a human construction.

In the EE, students undertake in-depth research into an area of interest through the lens of one or more academic disciplines. And through CAS, students enhance their personal and interpersonal development. Creativity encourages students to engage in the arts and creative thinking. Action seeks to develop a healthy lifestyle through physical activity. The service aspect offers an avenue for new learning that supports academic development.

Finally, in terms of assessment, students have multiple opportunities in each course to “show what they know” using various modes of communication and formats. The IB program is not about memorizing and guessing from a list of answers, but about truly understanding the material at a deeper level.

Advantages of AP. The College Board states: “The purpose of these classes and tests is for students to earn college credit while in high school. Advanced Placement exams began in the 1950s as a way for students to stand out on their college applications, and they are still growing strong as kids prepare for a competitive market. The tests are offered in 34 subjects, which range from biology, statistics and psychology to art history and studio art drawing.”

Many AP classes in high school are given extra “weight” and thus increase a student’s GPA if she or he performs well. Taking AP courses not only offers a high level of academic learning, but it can also save families money for college

and university. At most colleges, students receive some sort of class credit for AP exam scores of 3 and higher (exams are scored from 1 to 5). This credit often goes toward introductory-level college courses in the same subject.

With the option to skip some introductory classes, AP students can choose to graduate early. Further, AP students often find more flexibility in their scheduling at college because they can jump right into many courses that speak to their interests and career objectives.

Because of the accelerated speed of an AP class and the higher-level learning that occurs, many college admissions counselors find AP students well prepared for college-level learning. These students have shown that they can handle a fast-paced, academically challenging program, and that will serve them well in their post-secondary educational pursuits.

How does a student evaluate whether the extra effort and work will be worth it? If a student is self-motivated and committed to her or his studies, any higher-level academic program will be worth it in terms of college and university placement and overall preparation for the next academic step.

Both IB and AP are very rigorous courses that colleges like to see on high school transcripts. If the goal of a student is to get into a top college, both programs will give the student an advantage and possible credit for work completed.

FLO: Can you contrast the examination methods?

KM: For most courses in the IB program, written examinations are a major component of the assessment. There are also in-house assessments, labs, performances and oral exams.

Externally assessed coursework,

Resources

Advanced Placement (AP)

<https://apstudent.collegeboard.org/home>

International Baccalaureate (IB)

<http://www.ibo.org/>

For more information on both programs:

- **Advanced Placement (AP) and International Baccalaureate (IB) programs in Schools Assisted by the Office of Overseas Schools**
<https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/211957.pdf>
- **The FLO web page titled “Choices for High School: IB and AP”**
<https://www.state.gov/m/dghr/flo/c21984.htm>
- **The Fairfax County Public Schools (FCPS) web page titled “Description of IB Diploma Program and AP Program”**
<https://www.fcps.edu/node/32512>

completed by students over an extended period under authenticated teacher supervision, forms part of the assessment for all IB courses and several program areas, including the TOK and the EE essays. In most subjects, students also complete in-school assessment tasks. These are either externally assessed or marked by teachers and then moderated by the IB.

For AP, the exams are given at the end of the year as the culmination of a yearlong course. All AP exams (with a few exceptions) combine multiple-choice questions with a free response section in either essay or problem-solving format. For students skilled at standardized testing, the AP might be a better program in terms of assessment.

FLO: *Can you contrast the grading systems?*

KM: The main contrast in the scoring of AP and IB is the people doing the scoring. AP is scored by a U.S. organization, while the IB scoring team is made up of a global group of educators.

Because the IB is a global program, the scores for these exams are more widely accepted in universities and colleges all over the world. Because there are more score ranges in the IB, the highest-ranked students are truly the top in their class, while in AP there is a wider range in each level.

AP tests are accepted by most U.S. colleges and universities (some international universities will consider them, as well), while IB is accepted worldwide at most universities and colleges.

FLO: *How can students successfully transition from AP to IB and vice versa?*

KM: Because the two programs are taught in very different ways, transitioning from one to the other can be difficult

IB classes are interdisciplinary and connect learning across the curriculum.

for some students. IB focuses on learning subjects deeply within the context of an interdisciplinary curriculum, while AP is more fast-paced and encourages students to learn as much as possible in a subject in a short amount of time.

Although students from either program should be academically prepared to move from one program to another, connecting with the teaching methods may be a challenge. In my opinion, if a student enjoys writing and reading, IB might be a more suitable program; while students who enjoy studying material at a fast pace and taking standardized-style tests will likely find AP more appealing.

FLO: *How does the AP Capstone compare to the IB Diploma program?*

KM: The AP Capstone program was introduced in 2014 in an effort to create a program that is more interdisciplinary, along the lines of the IB Diploma.

AP Capstone is a diploma program based on two years of additional courses: AP Seminar and AP Research. These courses are designed to complement other AP courses that the AP Capstone student may take. Instead of teaching specific subject knowledge, AP Seminar and AP Research use an interdisciplinary approach to develop the critical thinking, research, collaboration, time-management and presentation skills needed for college-level work.

These components are comparable to the IB program's two-year course sequence and the additional components of TOK, CAS and EE, which are compulsory to receive a full IB diploma. The AP Capstone and IB Diploma are both optional programs, and students at most

schools may still choose to take only AP courses or IB courses one at a time, without completing this component.

FLO: *What are the advantages of an IB certificate versus an IB diploma? Likewise, what are the advantages of simply taking AP courses versus completing the AP Capstone?*

KM: In my opinion, completion of the IB Diploma program will offer students more opportunities for college credit and a much more comprehensive high school program overall. With the requirement of TOK, CAS and the EE, in conjunction with IB courses, students will connect their learning between all academic disciplines and be well prepared for college and university teaching methods.

Although both the full diploma and the certificate options are advantageous, students who complete the full diploma will have stronger high school transcripts and will be better prepared for college with critical thinking skills, advanced research and writing skills, and public speaking confidence. The certificate, however, is a great option if a student does not feel able to dedicate as much time to studies because of other obligations.

When taking individual AP courses, the student has more control over which subjects she or he feels most comfortable taking and doing well in. With the Capstone, there are more requirements (similar to the IB) to access the overall learning of the student in a variety of subject areas. In taking AP classes alone, students can still receive credit for courses, and most colleges and universities in the United States still appreciate any higher-level course in which



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FLO: *Some schools offer both AP and IB courses. When (if at all) might it be appropriate for a student to take some of each?*

KM: If a student is not interested in completing a full IB Diploma or an AP Capstone program, mixing IB and AP classes is fine; and because the teaching methods are different, taking classes in both may shed light on how the student learns best. Ultimately, any high-level class in either program will give the student an advantage when applying to college or university.

FLO: *Are you aware of any data on whether college admissions teams prefer one over the other?*

KM: In general, U.S. colleges and universities equally appreciate the AP and IB programs, because they show that a student has the dedication and determination needed to succeed academically.

Because the IB is taught much more like a college or university class, some schools believe that the IB offers a more seamless transition to higher education. Further, an IB diploma stands out because a student has had in-depth study in all types of subjects, not just the ones in which a student is “strong.” That said, the AP Capstone program, because of its similarities to the IB Diploma program,

definitely gives students an advantage in the college process, as well.

“When a college or university is familiar with the IB, and the admissions representative is willing to be candid, I often hear that they find IB students to be better prepared for college,” says Lauren Cuniffe, college counselor at Stoneleigh-Burnham School in Massachusetts. “However, colleges tend to aim toward neutrality on this and don’t state preference simply because few students have a choice in programs. If they want rigor, students will have to do whatever their high school offers.”

If students do not have the opportunity to take IB, they should definitely consider the AP or the highest level of courses available at their high school to enhance their college acceptance chances. ■

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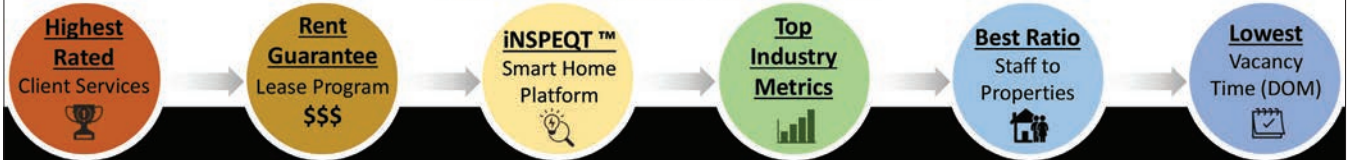
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Home Alone: Why Repatriation Is So Darn Hard

BY JESSICA POWLEY HAYDEN

When we stepped off the plane in Dulles last July, three kids in tow, we were technically coming “home.” After five years in Turkey and Iraq, we were returning to U.S. soil—to our parents, family, friends and our American way of life. We knew the transition would be difficult: everything would be more expensive, there would be new schools and friends for the kids, and no facilities staff to hang pictures and fix toilets. (Dear GSO: I love you and miss you terribly.)

But as it turns out, those practical challenges are not the ones that have mattered most. What we have been missing, deeply, is our sense of belonging and community. Despite the outward appearance of fitting in here in Northern Virginia, we don’t. Our kids haven’t gone to school with the neighbors since age 3. We haven’t trick or treated the same streets every year. We are newcomers at soccer and basketball and Boy Scouts. And when our 8-year-old son starts talking about the devaluation of the Turkish lira, he gets looks of confusion.

But worst of all, there is no center. There is no core. And there is no time.



Jessica Powley Hayden, an FS spouse, is a lawyer and a writer. Her family has served in Almaty, Baku, Ankara and Washington, D.C. They are currently “back home” in Falls Church, Virginia.

It isn’t just about building a peaceful, trusting society. It is about how we feel about ourselves in relation to those around us.

After school, the neighborhood kids are engaged in different activities across the city. Each little house on our street is busy in its own world. Weekends are overscheduled. And there is very little chance that I’ll bump into a neighbor at the post office, the way I often would at the embassy mailroom. Those small interactions matter. They are woven into the fabric of a relationship. They keep us tethered to those around us.

In his famous work, *Bowling Alone* (Simon & Schuster, 2000), Robert Putnam makes the argument that American society has seen a drastic decrease in social capital. Instead of participating in bowling leagues, people bowl with their friends or family. This is important, he argues, because in a bowling league you build “bridging capital”—i.e., you become acquainted with people who do not necessarily think like you.

Your teammates may be older, root for a different football team and hold different political or religious views. But you come to know them as people, not a representation of a single point of view. Peaceful societies, Putnam argues, depend on high levels of bridging capital because it builds trust among the many disparate groups in our multicultural society.

An embassy community builds these bridges. We work and live among fellow Americans and local staff who were raised in different communities, hold different political views and have vastly different life experiences. In each embassy in which we served, I made friends who were significantly older than me, who had faced different challenges and who certainly had different political views. I came to love and respect them ... and trust them.

But it isn’t just about building a peaceful, trusting society. It is about how we feel about ourselves in relation to those around us. This past year I read Brené Brown’s *Braving the Wilderness* (Random House, 2017). The University of Houston professor studies topics like courage and shame; and in this book, she delves into the topic of belonging. How do we find true belonging in an age of increased polarization?

Her research has shown that fighting disconnection “requires us to believe in and belong to ourselves so fully that we can find sacredness both in being a part of something and in standing alone when necessary.”

“But,” Brown continues, “in a culture that’s rife with perfectionism and pleasing, and with the erosion of civility, it’s

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We never give ourselves time to get to truly know our neighbors and colleagues. We are too busy, and we miss out on what matters most: deep connection.

easy to stay quiet, hide in our ideological bunkers, or fit in rather than showing up as our true selves and brave the wilderness of uncertainty and criticism.”

Her recommended daily practices for finding true belonging include such things as, “People Are Hard to Hate Close Up. Move In” and “Hold Hands. With Strangers.”

Certain friends I’ve met along the way in this embassy journey stand out as those strangers I would not have become close with in Northern Virginia. And I often disagree, deeply, with their political and religious views. But I am so grateful that this community has afforded me the opportunity to get close, to know them as people.

We had a deeply rooted and strong community in Ankara. I know every embassy has a culture of its own, but we were incredibly blessed to have one that, in many ways, managed to emulate much of what makes college such a special time: close friendships, a wealth of shared experiences during a time of exploration and deep support during difficult times.

Last week, while we were driving home from school, my 8-year-old told me, “I don’t have any friends in America, and I miss my Turkey friends.”

“What makes someone a friend?” I asked. Every time I was at school he seemed to be playing nicely with a bunch of kids.

“Well, a friend is someone who really knows you, and you really know them. Like Korab and Ben in Turkey.”

I let that sink in. To be truly known. To belong. That is what I have been missing in America. We never give ourselves time to get to truly know our neighbors and colleagues. We are too busy, and we miss out on what matters most: deep connection.

I’m sure if we stayed here in Northern Virginia longer, that sense of community would come. We could join a bowling league, a church or a club, and start to slowly build those connections. But two years is not long enough here in the States. So we bide our time, waiting for our next assignment, where we will once again feel at home in a foreign land. ■

Betty Friedan in Budapest

BY BEATRICE CAMP

The opportunity to host feminist icon Betty Friedan in Budapest was one I couldn't pass up, even when a colleague from the U.S.

Information Agency speaker's bureau called to warn me that "she's very difficult."

By 1998 Betty Friedan was in her late 70s, her seminal book *The Feminine Mystique* written 45 years earlier. It wasn't a given that young people would recognize her name, especially those born behind the Iron Curtain. But her history of human rights activism and writing fit well with our programs in the areas of human rights and training for Roma journalists.

My enthusiasm wavered as our one-day speaker program at the Central European University's Center for Independent Journalism turned into four days of exasperating hand-holding. It was all too obvious from her first step on Hungarian soil that Betty Friedan was indeed difficult. To quote her own memoir: "The truth is that I've always been a bad-tempered bitch."

In addition to living up to her reputation as an abrasive and egocentric iconoclast, Friedan's surprising frailty meant she needed to be helped with the smallest tasks and escorted everywhere. Sometimes this was fun. I did enjoy discovering, when she needed help accessing a Hungarian ATM, that her passcode related to 19th-century suffragette Susan B. Anthony.

My attempt to brief her on the speak-

It turned out all she needed was an audience, and her famous feistiness took hold.

ing engagements was derailed by her insistence on visiting the town where her mother's family originated. She was very interested in her Jewish roots, repeatedly asking about a town in Czechoslovakia, a country that no longer existed, although we couldn't convince her of that.

Even though her version of the town's name was indecipherable, we figured out it must be Sátoraljaújhely, on the Hungarian-Slovak border. It helped that we were aware that Estée Lauder's family hailed from that town, even if it was startling to think that the makeup mogul and the rabble-rouser were practically kin.

Friedan's other demand was easier to accommodate. Her friend George Lang, the Hungarian-born mastermind behind New York's Café des Artistes (closed in 2009), had directed her to eat at Gundel, the historic Budapest restaurant that he had bought and restored to old-world elegance. Friedan relayed that Lang had instructed her to try a particular menu item with apricots, although she couldn't remember what dish specifically. Goose pâté with apricots, duck à la apricot sauce, apricot cottage cheese mousse, apricot liqueur—we tried it all.

When I arrived at the hotel on the

morning of the program to take her to the Central European University, Friedan was still in her room. Sitting on her bed rifling through a bag of jewelry, she told me she (1) wasn't going until she found matching earrings, (2) didn't "give a shit" whether she was late, and (3) felt so "crappy" she was ready to cancel the whole thing.

Despite this unpromising start, it turned out all she needed was an audience, and her famous feistiness took hold. In seven hours that day Friedan plowed through three major speeches plus two TV, one radio and several newspaper interviews. In contrast to her sleepy confusion only days earlier, the woman who had mobilized to found the National Organization for Women and the National Women's Political Caucus showed she still had the power to stir and inspire.

The young university students seemed especially captivated—something about this wizened grandmother describing how she got fired for being pregnant 50 years earlier resonated with them. She even made the TV news that night, speaking out against a recent Hungarian court decision restricting abortion rights.

Perhaps those students were able to share in the sentiment Friedan expressed at the conclusion of her memoir, *My Life So Far*: "I think how lucky I am that my life should have converged on history the way it did. The adventure of being able to use my life to transform society in a way none of us then would have ever dreamed possible is gratifying beyond measure." ■



Beatrice Camp retired in 2015 from a Foreign Service career that took her to China, Thailand, Sweden and Hungary, in addition to assignments at the State Department and at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C. She is editor of American Diplomacy, an online journal. The opinions and characterizations in this piece are those of the author and do not necessarily represent official positions of the U.S. government.



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William Follmer is the environment, science and technology officer at U.S. Embassy Kuala Lumpur. He took this photo in April with a Nikon D610.

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