

THE **FOREIGN SERVICE** JOURNAL

PUBLISHED BY THE AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION

MARCH 2013



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AFSA 2012 **ANNUAL REPORT**

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THE MAGAZINE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS PROFESSIONALS

The Foreign Service Journal (ISSN 0146-3543), 2101 E Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20037-2990 is published monthly, with a combined July-August issue, by the American Foreign Service Association (AFSA), a private, nonprofit organization. Material appearing herein represents the opinions of the writers and does not necessarily represent the views of the Journal, the Editorial Board or AFSA. Writer queries and submissions are invited, preferably by e-mail. The Journal is not responsible for unsolicited manuscripts, photos or illustrations. Advertising inquiries are invited. The appearance of advertisements herein does not imply endorsement of the services or goods offered. Journal subscription: AFSA member—\$20, included in annual dues; student—\$30; institution—\$40; others—\$50. For foreign surface mail, add \$18 per year; foreign airmail, \$36 per year. Periodical postage paid at Washington, D.C., and at additional mailing offices. Indexed by the Public Affairs Information Services (PAIS).

E-mail: journal@afsa.org

Phone: (202) 338-4045

Fax: (202) 338-8244

Web: www.afsa.org/fsj

© American Foreign Service Association, 2013

PRINTED IN THE U.S.A.

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The U.S. Diplomacy Center and Museum: Celebrating Our Profession

BY SUSAN R. JOHNSON

On Jan. 25 Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton, joined by former Secretary of State James A. Baker, Deputy Secretary William Burns and Ambassador Elizabeth Bagley (chief fundraiser), hosted a reception in the Benjamin Franklin Room of the Department of State. Its purpose was to mark the official launch and start of the construction phase of the United States Diplomacy Center, which will be located at the 21st Street entrance of the department.

It was a significant day for American diplomacy and the diplomatic service, one worthy of celebration. The USDC, which will also house a Museum of American Diplomacy, has great potential to build public understanding of, and support for, diplomacy. Nothing like it has existed before, and we all need to support it strongly. Toward that end, AFSA is undertaking a campaign to build awareness and support among our membership.

In his remarks at the event, Secretary Baker made a compelling case for the Center's importance. Let me share some of his words here:

"Since the days of our founding, we have been very blessed here in this country by the practice of adroit diplomacy. It was successful diplomacy, after all, that allowed us to strike the Treaty of Paris, the picture of which is over there on the other side of this hall. It was diplomacy that made possible the Louisiana



Purchase. It was diplomacy that formulated and implemented the Marshall Plan. It was diplomacy that made sure—practiced under all presidents from Truman to George H.W. Bush—that the Cold War ended with a whimper and not a bang. Throughout our history, our nation has been strengthened and protected through strong, diplomatic alliances and agreements.

"Diplomats such as Ben Franklin, John Jay and Dean Acheson have all played roles that are every bit as important to our nation's security and well-being as the roles played by generals such as Winfield Scott, John Pershing and Norman Schwarzkopf. So I think it is very fitting that this Diplomacy Center is being built, because it will tell...the amazing stories of the brave men and women who have served on the front lines of American diplomacy. Although too often overlooked, their tales of heroism really are inspiring.

"But this center is going to do something else as well, something equally important. It's going to explain why diplomacy matters to every single citizen. Diplomats negotiate everything from peace treaties to international

Foreign policy can affect the air you breathe. Foreign policy can determine the future of American security, and it can determine the fate of American ideals.'

"The lessons that this center will teach are particularly important for all Americans to know and to understand. America's might cannot be properly exercised without the support of citizens who appreciate our nation's role in the world and its relationship with other countries, because that's simply how our democracy works."

AFSA has long endeavored to explain to the American people, whom we have the privilege to represent overseas, what diplomacy is, and why they should care about and support a premier, professional diplomatic service. The U.S. Diplomacy Center will serve as an important vehicle and force multiplier to this effort. It deserves and needs our concrete support.

Now is the time for every AFSA member who believes in the value of diplomacy to help us demonstrate our commitment by visiting www.afsa.org/usdc to make your contribution. Please watch for regular updates on our campaign to make the U.S. Diplomacy Center a reality.

Your support will help advance the USDC and, more importantly, ensure that the Foreign Service is at the table to contribute to its development. ■

Susan R. Johnson is the president of the American Foreign Service Association.



Embassy Tehran during the 1950s.

Henderson High

Jane Loeffler (December, “Beyond the Fortress Embassy”) has given us a very informative and timely review of considerations that must always be taken into account in constructing our diplomatic facilities, including the two that are most important: design and location. To the photographs she included to illustrate her points, I’d like to add another, of Embassy Tehran.

Built in the 1950s in a style I’d say resembles the U.S. suburban schools of those days, the building was nicknamed “Henderson High,” after Ambassador Loy Henderson. The offices were built in Tehran’s busiest and newest commercial district at the time.

Heavily fortified by the time of the 1979-1981 hostage crisis, the building became better known as “Fort Apache”—an ironic title for those who remember it best for its prison facilities.

Today, Henderson High is used by

Iran’s regime as a training facility for its Revolutionary Guards, and as a museum highlighting the alleged accomplishments of the revolution.

Those of us who knew it then are confident that the classic real estate considerations of design and location will be given better informed attention when, inshallah, there are once again American diplomatic facilities in Tehran.

Bruce Laingen
Ambassador, retired
Bethesda, Md.

Good Reason to Be Proud

Ben Barber’s article in your January issue, “The Millennium Challenge Corporation: Off to a Good Start,” is informative and balanced. Even so, it does not recognize the full extent of what the MCC has already achieved in a relatively short period of time.

The fact is that MCC partner countries, including the nine that have com-

pleted compacts as of the end of 2012, can boast of truly remarkable progress on delivering tangible benefits for their citizens through needed policy reforms, improved institutional capacity and the building of desperately needed infrastructure.

Examples of successful policy reforms include legislation that gives women in Lesotho full legal rights, improved property rights in a number of countries, and massive increases in financing for road maintenance in El Salvador, Nicaragua and Honduras. Not only do these reforms contribute to the sustainability of MCC investments, but they also create a better environment for long-term economic growth.

MCC programs vary according to each partner country’s priorities and what it needs to overcome specific constraints to economic growth. Programs completed so far have improved transportation in critical commercial corridors, increased access to electricity and clean water, expanded irrigated agriculture, and helped farmers transition to high-value agriculture.

Our partner countries are justifiably proud of what they have accomplished with U.S. support to help themselves break the cycle of aid dependency and create a future of greater economic opportunity. And so is the MCC.

Patrick Fine
Vice President for Compact Operations
Millennium Challenge Corporation
Washington, D.C.

Pros of International Schools

I read with interest the December article by Elizabeth Power on homeschooling (“No, Really, the World Is My Classroom! Homeschooling in the Foreign Service”). While I believe all

members of the Foreign Service should have the option of homeschooling their children and the expenses for doing so should be reimbursed, my own children would not have traded their experience in international schools for any other kind of education.

This is especially true of their time at the Franklin Delano Roosevelt School in Lima, where Ms. Power is now stationed. Both my daughters graduated from FDR and went on to successful college careers, as did the vast majority of their classmates.

The teachers and administrators there were well-trained, and the students were highly motivated. When my second daughter was a senior, we learned that students at FDR taking the SAT and ACT exams compared favorably to students from Montgomery County and Fairfax County schools in the Washington, D.C., area.

In addition to the academic excellence we encountered at international schools, our children had the opportunity to meet and befriend both American and host-country nationals in their age groups. Some of these associations endure to this day, more than 30 years later. Although Ms. Power did not comment on this aspect of her own children's lives, it would have been difficult for my children to have made such contacts any other way.

Having served on boards at two international schools, I extend my best wishes to the selfless educators and their supporters who make education a meaningful learning and socialization experience for the next generation. I am grateful to the State Department for its efforts on their behalf.

Vance C. Pace
FSO, retired
Kaysville, Utah

Remembering Surayia Rahman

My wife and I enjoyed the article about Nitun Kundu ("Nitun Kundu: A Success Story") in the December *Journal*. Michael Kristula does a good job of helping to explain why so many Americans are touched by people they meet while posted to Bangladesh.

Surayia Rahman, a contemporary of Kundu, is another Bangladeshi artist who also touched the lives of many Americans posted there. Although Surayia had no formal art training, and little formal education, she was one of the first Bangladeshi women artists whose work was sold abroad.

Her exquisitely embroidered tapestries, which drew on the ancient Bengali quilting tradition of nakshi kantha, were given for years as state gifts by the government of Bangladesh. She was also commissioned to do work for the opening of the current embassy building in 1989, where her art is displayed in the lobby.

Americans from State, USAID, USIA and the Public Health Service bought these works of art while in Bangladesh and brought them home. They cherish the memory of the modest, spiritual and hardworking woman who overcame numerous obstacles to support her family and hundreds of desperately poor women through art.

Nitun Kundu's art is justly celebrated. He is featured in *Bangladesh Art*, a 2003 book that helped to drive interest among Bangladeshis in the contemporary art of their compatriots. Surayia, unfortunately, is today little remembered in her own country, perhaps because of her lack of formal artistic credentials.

To help preserve the stories of Surayia, her art and the women she worked with, we are making a documentary film,

"Threads: The Art and Life of Surayia Rahman," which will be of interest to Americans and others who know of this remarkable woman and her art. You can find out more at kanthathreads.com.

Leonard Hill
FSO, retired
Lukebay, Wash.

Diversity and FS Children

Equal employment opportunity counselor Krishna Das appropriately noted the value of diversity promotion in his January letter ("Diversity at State"). As a parent, I see the discussion of how to bring up our children within the Foreign Service community as equal parts interesting, challenging and crucial.

I think we can all agree on how necessary it is for parents to serve as role models for their children from the very beginning, particularly in teaching the lesson that everyone, despite appearances or stereotypes, deserves respect. As Das noted, State Department children are exposed to diverse cultures, and we as parents should demonstrate why this is such an advantage to their own growth as human beings.

Building a culture of diversity starts at home, a literal reality for many State Department families. We speak different languages, come from distinct cultural backgrounds and practice different religions. And yet in most cases, our children are growing up in a culturally richer environment than we (parents) experienced.

Children in the Foreign Service live the concept of diversity and its social implications on a daily basis. That said, it is often necessary for us to ask: What is our role as parents in this process? How can we assist our children to appreciate the value of diversity?

There is no single answer, but we need to start by being as involved as possible

in our children's lives: listening to their stories, learning about their ventures and challenges adjusting to new countries, discussing their questions and social frustrations, establishing a healthy communication channel, and building positive identities and respect for differences.

Further, we should seek ways to insert these concepts into the routines of our children's everyday lives and help convince them through our actions that a society without discrimination is possible.

It is critical for all parents and caretakers to develop cultural sensitivity regarding our surroundings. Otherwise, without specific cultural information, we may inadvertently promote practices and approaches that could undercut other parents' efforts.

One great piece of advice I once received was this: "Encourage your child's friendships with others across race, ethnicity, class, religious practices, background and ability." The more personal experiences children have with members of other groups, the easier it will be to dismiss stereotypes and misperceptions.

Raquel L. Miranda

FS spouse

La Paz, Bolivia

No Experience Required

Congratulations to Ambassadors Jett and Peck for calling attention to our continuing, and iniquitous, practice of appointing political contributors as ambassadors ("Psst! Hey, Buddy, Wanna Buy an Ambassadorship?" by Dennis Jett, November 2012 Speaking Out; "Ambassadors for Sale" by Edward Peck, January 2013 Letters).

However, a recent article in the *New York Times*, focusing on *Vogue* editor Anna Wintour's apparently unsuccess-



ful effort to be appointed ambassador to the U.K., indicated that the Obama administration will continue to reward its financial backers in this fashion.

One point that could also be raised in arguing for a change in our practice is that in recent years only two major participants in international affairs—one of which, the USSR, no longer exists—have cared so little about the quality of their international representation as to appoint inexperienced people to key diplomatic posts.

Of course, in the Soviet case, appointment as an ambassador was a punishment for being on the losing side in a political struggle, as V.M. Molotov discovered in 1957 when Khrushchev shipped him off to Ulan Bator (now Ulaanbaatar) after the defeat of the "anti-Party Group."

When every other serious country in the world does something one way and we persist in doing it another, this might cause us to re-examine our procedures. But I jest.

Amb. Peck is also correct that we do not, fortunately, appoint generals to command aircraft carriers. But we have

appointed retired admirals as ambassadors. There is a great story in connection with one such appointment, told by one of our finest career ambassadors, the late Malcolm "Mac" Toon.

In 1971, Mac was serving as ambassador to Yugoslavia when the Sixth Fleet came to call at Split. Mac went to oversee the visit and took good care of the commander, Admiral Horatio Rivera, including a trip up to Brioni to call on President Josip Broz Tito.

As the Sixth Fleet prepared to sail back to Gaeta, Adm.

Rivera thanked Mac for organizing such a fine visit and opined that when he retired from the Navy, he would like to be an ambassador. Mac, never at a loss for a good response, allowed as how when he retired from the Foreign Service, he would like to become an admiral.

Apparently not seeing the irony in it all, Adm. Rivera replied that it would be impossible for Mac to become an admiral—even though he had spent four years in the Navy during World War II—because *years* of experience in the Navy are required to rise to that august status.

The story does not end there, however. The next year, Adm. Rivera retired from the Navy and was appointed ambassador to Spain by President Richard Nixon.

Thomas Niles

Ambassador, retired

Scarsdale, N.Y.

A One-State Solution Is Unlikely

I have only great respect and admiration for Kristen Loken, who certainly earned her knowledge and evaluation of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict the hard

way (“Reasons for Hope in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict,” December Speaking Out). I regret, however, having to demur when she says she sees a one-state solution as “the only viable one.”

My own perspective on the endless conflict is shaped by some five years on the Palestine desk at the outset of my career, as well as assignments to Beirut and Jerusalem. Though many years of tours elsewhere and retirement have since passed, one doesn’t lose the Middle East contagion once it is acquired.

It is inconceivable that Israel—and, more importantly, its vehement and influential supporters in the United States—would be willing even to consider any alteration to its status and identity as a Jewish state, a unique creature in the community of nations.

For that reason alone, while a *modus vivendi* may, at some point down the road, be achieved between Israel and the Palestinians, I don’t believe it will come via a one-state solution.

Robert L. Burns
FSO, retired
Santa Cruz, Calif.

Storage Companies: The Urge to Merge

Your January articles on transfers are timely and provide useful advice regarding issues that are vital to all members of the Foreign Service. I especially appreciate the comments about the Government Claims Act, whose limitations continue to surprise many people.

That makes it all the more important to distinguish between the concepts of original and replacement value in deciding whether to take out floater insurance.

The one omission from your

coverage pertains to storage of limited shipments of household effects. In the best of all worlds, moving companies who come to pack would come on different days—one day for shipment and one day for storage. The items for storage would then be placed in boxes and an inventory compiled.

In the real world, alas, storage and moving companies often merge with others, thus combining sets of effects belonging to different people. I still recall that at one point during my Foreign Service career, I had to deal with two moving and storage companies after each of them merged with another.

At the time, the Department of State was the contracting party, so the companies had no contractual obligation to contact me—even though I was the designated holder in due course. Both later declared bankruptcy and discarded all my belongings.

This not only saddled me with a large financial loss, but most of the items were irreplaceable. Worse, State continued to pay storage bills to both defunct companies.

AfSA did get this situation changed, and hopefully the safeguards negotiated remain in force today: Each owner of household effects is supposed to receive some communication once a year from the storage company delineating the

effects stored and the location of the storage.

But one still should not depend on State or any other foreign affairs agency to notify you of any changes in the status of your things.

Roy A. Harrell Jr.
FSO, retired
Ozona, Texas



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Feng Shui for Embassy Beijing?

I read with much interest Jane Loeffler's December article, "Beyond the Fortress Embassy." She reported that the architects of the new embassy in Beijing had introduced into the 10-acre site "American high-tech design with Chinese landscape tradition."

In my opinion, this was an oblique reference to feng shui (literally "wind and water"), the ancient Chinese art of placement to create harmony, health and prosperity.

In the photo accompanying Loeffler's article, lots of shui (water) surrounds the main chancery. Water equals money,



according to feng shui. Is this a metaphor for Beijing as America's No. 1 creditor?

The chancery appears to be protected against the harsh wind (feng) from the north by the 15-story chancery annex shown

in the background. It illustrates another theme in feng shui, building security—an obsession shared by past Chinese emperors and current American leaders.

This obsession with building security was the impetus for the manmade mountain erected directly behind Beijing's Forbidden City. French cartographers

in China called it literally Montagne de Charbon. Figuratively, it symbolizes the natural energy (chi) of the protective tortoise with its high-arched shell and long life.

This is a classic feng shui enhancement: the tortoise mountain in the rear gave the Ming emperor who built the Forbidden City a sense of security against attack, as well as real protection from the north winds (gentle wind is the ideal).

Finally, one might ask, is the new Beijing chancery bestowed with good feng shui? Perhaps a feng shui master (si fu) on the ground will answer this question definitively in the future.

*Jose Armilla
FSO, retired
Vienna, Va. ■*



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Quantifying “Pay to Play”

It’s no secret that if you want to land a plum diplomatic assignment representing the United States abroad, it helps to be generous with campaign contributions, cultivate the right political connections or both. Retired Ambassador Dennis Jett recently highlighted this perennial issue in these pages via a Speaking Out column (“Pssst! Hey, Buddy, Wanna Buy an Ambassadorship?” November 2012). But it has been difficult to find hard data about such “transactions”—until now.

In a recent study—“What Price the Court of St. James’s? Political Influences on Ambassadorial Postings of the United States of America”—Jett and Johannes W. Fedderke, both professors of international relations at Pennsylvania State University, computed theoretical prices for different diplomatic postings between January 2009 and January 2011.

Writing in the Jan. 31 *New York Times*, Nicholas Confessore reports that the researchers compared available information on donors’ direct political contributions and “bundling”—money raised on behalf of President Barack Obama by supporters—with data on the national income of host countries, their relative level of safety and the robustness of their tourist industries. This generated “implied prices” for a selection of highly sought positions.

Those whose political connections to Pres. Obama were measured in dollars, rather than administration service, had a better chance of representing the United States in Western Europe, and a markedly smaller chance of serving in, say, Central Asia or sub-Saharan Africa. Specifically, political ambassadors who had made campaign donations of \$550,000, or bundled contributions of \$750,000, had

“ But we are also heirs to those who won the peace and not just the war, who turned sworn enemies into the surest of friends; and we must carry those lessons into this time as well. We will defend our people and uphold our values through strength of arms and rule of law. We will show the courage to try and resolve our differences with other nations peacefully—not because we are naïve about the dangers we face, but because engagement can more durably lift suspicion and fear.

America will remain the anchor of strong alliances in every corner of the globe. And we will renew those institutions that extend our capacity to manage crisis abroad, for no one has a greater stake in a peaceful world than its most powerful nation. We will support democracy from Asia to Africa; from the Americas to the Middle East—because our interests and our conscience compel us to act on behalf of those who long for freedom.

We must be a source of hope to the poor, the sick, the marginalized, the victims of prejudice—not out of mere charity, but because peace in our time requires the constant advance of those principles that our common creed describes: tolerance and opportunity; human dignity and justice. ”

—From President Barack Obama’s Second Inaugural Address, Jan. 21.

a 90-percent chance of being posted to a European capital.

When isolating a country’s wealth over other factors, Luxembourg came in at the top of the chart, with a posting there valued at \$3.1 million in direct contributions, while an appointment to Portugal was predicted to have a value of \$602,686 in personal contributions. Interestingly, the model suggests that bundlers can get the same posts for less: Portugal was valued at about \$341,160 in bundled contributions, Luxembourg at \$1.8 million.

Brad Plumer’s report on the study in the Feb. 7 Wonkblog section of the *Washington Post* covers some of the same ground. But he highlights the authors’ finding that plenty of political appointees have “overpaid” for their postings, while

others have gotten ambassadorships at a relative bargain—perhaps because they had relevant skills or were closely connected to the president in other ways.

As an example, he cites *Vogue* editor Anna Wintour, who was briefly rumored to be in the running for London after raising \$40 million for Pres. Obama’s re-election campaign. Plumer observes that such a sum would have represented a steep overpayment, since Fedderke and Jett calculate that the Court of St. James’s is “only” worth between \$650,000 and \$2.3 million. (The point is moot now, since Wintour has reportedly withdrawn from consideration.)

Plumer also presents some of Fedderke and Jett’s data in a helpful bar graph showing the relative “price” of appointments to Austria, Belgium, Can-



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For more information on the issue of political appointees, visit the Ambassadorial Appointments page of AFSA's Web site. There you'll find AFSA's statistics on the relative numbers of career and political appointee chiefs of mission, organized by presidential administration, and other background material.

—Steven Alan Honley, Editor

Appy Days Are Here!

In the January edition of Talking Points, we announced the imminent release of a new app for *The Foreign Service Journal*. We're delighted to announce that it is now available as a benefit of membership.

Simply visit the Apple app store and search for "The Foreign Service Journal." Press the "install" button and the download will begin. The app will be updated automatically each month with the latest issue of the magazine, and will also include an archive of recent issues. The app's design has been optimized for tablet-sized devices, but it also works on smaller devices.

Developed by Taoti Creative, the firm that oversaw the redesign of the AFSA Web site two years ago, the app offers all the features you've become used to on the digital version of the magazine: active links to advertisers and additional content, beautiful resolution and color, and an enhanced page-flipping feature. As our readers become accustomed to the app version of the *FSJ*, we plan to add even further online-only content to enhance the reading experience. We are also exploring ways to add a share function.

For now, the app is only available for Apple devices, but versions for Android and Windows users are in the works, as well.

Please take advantage of this new feature and start enjoying the *FSJ* in a new way!

—Asgeir Sigfusson, Outreach and Marketing Director

The End of an Era

Although he was not a member of the Foreign Service and had no formal diplomatic training, Max M. Kampelman, who died at the age of 92 at his home in Washington, D.C., on Jan. 25, was a pillar of Cold War diplomacy during the 1980s. Former Secretary of State George P. Shultz praised him as "always steady, thoughtful and constructive."

President Ronald Reagan tapped Mr. Kampelman to lead two sets of international negotiations. First was the Madrid Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (1981-1983), which brought about the release of political and religious dissidents from the Soviet Union. In 1985, Mr. Kampelman headed to Geneva for bilateral arms control negotiations with Moscow, which led to the 1991 Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty.

Max M. Kampelman was born on Nov. 7, 1920, in New York City to Jewish immigrants from Romania. After earning bachelor's and law degrees from New York University in 1940 and 1945, he received master's and doctoral degrees from the University of Minnesota in 1946 and 1951, respectively.

As a registered conscientious objector during World War II, Mr. Kampelman participated in an experiment at the University of Minnesota examining the effects of extreme weight loss and recovery from starvation. The results proved useful in treating prisoners of war and survivors of concentration camps at the end of the war. He later renounced his pacifist beliefs, and in 1955 joined the Marine Corps as a reserve officer, serving until 1962.

In 1946, Mr. Kampelman became an aide to Hubert H. Humphrey, who was then mayor of Minneapolis. He came to Washington, D.C., in 1949 when the Democrat was elected to the Senate, and served as his legislative counsel until 1955, when he joined the law firm now known as Fried Frank. As head of the firm's D.C. office, Mr. Kampelman represented many high-profile companies and individuals, including Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir.

As *Washington Post* writer Matt Schudel notes in his Jan. 27 obituary, Mr. Kampelman enjoyed the trust of both Democrats and Republicans, and was considered an elder statesman of official Washington. Though he never sought political office himself, he advised many who did, on both sides of the aisle. In 1984, he was simultaneously a foreign policy adviser to Democratic presidential nominee Walter Mondale and a legal counsel to Edwin Meese II, who became President Ronald Reagan's attorney general a year later.

In a 1985 interview with the *Washington Post*, Mr. Kampelman described his approach to diplomacy: "If you want to negotiate with the Soviets, you have to be prepared to stay one day longer than they," he told the *Post*. "If you are impatient to end it, you're at a disadvantage."

Mr. Kampelman once calculated that he spent more than 400 hours of face-to-face meetings with Soviet negotiators, mostly over meals. In 1991, he held a meeting with diplomats and their families, interpreters and security staff members at the first McDonald's restaurant to open in Moscow, and hired a Russian band to play American music for the occasion.

"It was a great success," Mr. Kampelman wrote in the *Chicago Journal of*

International Law in 2003. "Diplomacy is, after all, a human event involving human beings."

—Susan Brady Maitra, *Senior Editor*

Some Unsolicited Advice for the Next Four Years

President Barack Obama's first term began amid widespread hope for comprehensive solutions to global problems. Four years later, that sense of expectation has largely dissipated, but experts from across the political and ideological spectrum have used the president's inauguration to take stock of his first term and issue recommendations on a plethora of

foreign policy topics.

While some scholars are urging Pres. Obama to tackle new challenges, more are calling on him to implement and advance the initiatives he began—or promised to begin—in his first term. A widespread belief that he will be more proactive and assertive in international relations, following in the path of other re-elected presidents, has fueled such calls.

As David Ignatius, an associate editor and columnist at the *Washington Post*, commented in Dec. 6 remarks at the Wilson Center, "Second-term presidents don't have to be as attentive to domestic

50 Years Ago

Once there was a young FSO who wanted to get ahead—rather badly. And he knew it's the little things that count. Little things like, upon arrival at a cocktail party, going directly to the principal officer's wife and saying, "Good evening, ma'am. I'm Harold Blank. May I get you another cocktail?"

As he scurried away on his altruistic errand, he was gratified to hear her say to her husband, "How thoughtful Mr. Blank is. I wish some other people here were equally thoughtful; I've been standing here 10 minutes, waiting for a refill."

Or, even better: "Frank, I don't know what you're thinking of—keeping that nice Mr. Blank in the economic section."

By dint of the cocktail gimmick, and study of Dale Carnegie, Niccolo Machiavelli, Norman Vincent Peale, Krafft-Ebbing, Horatio Alger and Lord Chesterfield (as well as a bilingual rating by FSI on his studies in an exotic Oriental language), he was freed from routine consular work and posted to an embassy—in the Balkans and for political work.

The very day of his arrival, he was bidden to the DCM's reception for an itinerant band of USDA agronomists. No sooner was he there than he went straight up to the ambassador's wife and said, "Good evening, ma'am. I am Harold Blank, political section. May I get you another cocktail?"

Whereupon Madame L'Ambassadrice exclaimed, "My dear young man, are you mad—utterly mad? I never drink; I am strictly teetotal. I do hope you haven't been overindulging!"

As the young FSO groped his way through his vaporized career, he heard her say to her spouse, "What a revolting young man. You must put him in the administrative section—it's all that he deserves."

MORAL: Before you pull the trigger, be sure it's surefire—not backfire.

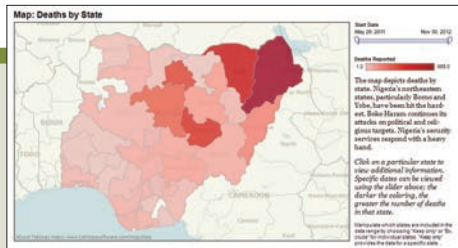
—"A Foreign Service Fable" by R.W.R.; *FSJ*, March 1963.

NOTEWORTHY: Nigeria Security Tracker

The Council on Foreign Relations has developed an interactive mapping tool called Nigeria Security Tracker to monitor outbreaks of political violence, many of which are motivated or exacerbated by clashes between Muslims and Christians. CFR updates the results weekly.

The goal of the project is to capture trends, in terms of both the prevalence of ethno-religious conflict within Nigeria and those provinces with the highest rates of conflict. The map's user-friendly interface allows users to select a specific timeframe to pull up results. The NST also utilizes graphs, which focus on the perpetrators of the violence.

Although the pervasive violence in Nigeria is also fed by



also catalogs deaths from general sectarian conflict, as well as state violence.

CFR has compiled almost two years' worth of data, dating back to Nigerian President Goodluck Jonathan's inauguration in May 2011. It should soon start to become clear whether the security situation there has bottomed out and is starting to improve—or if Nigeria is on the path to becoming a failed state.

—Jeff Richards, Editorial Intern

politics and interest groups, so it's easier to be more creative, more active in foreign policy."

In a Jan. 28 posting on the Web site of the Washington Institute for Near East Policy, Managing Director Michael Singh sets forth a series of policy recommendations for new Secretary of State John Kerry (and, by extension, Pres. Obama) on how to make U.S. foreign policy more efficient and effective. But Singh also cautions: "Avoiding the next diplomatic crisis—and, more importantly, seizing the tremendous opportunities in America's path—will require more than foreign policy virtuosity. It will require that the new Secretary invest time and effort in the less glamorous but equally essential task of leading and managing."

The Center for Strategic and International Studies offers a "Critical Questions 2013" compilation that draws on expert assessments of U.S. defense policy, regional flashpoints and global issues. Helpfully, the site doesn't just stop at posing the questions, but offers authoritative, well-sourced answers.

The National Security Network's

"Opportunities and Priorities for a Second Term" likewise addresses the spectrum of diplomatic and military challenges. But its main focus is on promoting steps to safeguard, reduce and, ultimately, eliminate America's stockpiles of nuclear weapons—as well as those belonging to other countries.

Iran and its nuclear program feature prominently in many of these discussions. As the Council of Foreign Relations' "World Outlook for 2013" notes: "For several years now, we've been talking about the push-comes-to-shove moment arriving in Iran, and that moment may come in 2013 since the Iranians seem to be creeping closer and closer to what are presumed to be the red lines on its nuclear weapons program." CFR then lists some of the opportunities and risks associated with various policies the Obama administration could take.

While the Iran standoff is arguably the most high-profile nuclear challenge Washington faces, Russian President Vladimir Putin's recent moves to loosen ties with the United States on a variety of fronts suggest that further progress on bilateral arms

reductions will be spotty, if it happens at all. In her contribution to the American Security Project's "State of the Union Prep: National Security Challenges," nuclear security policy analyst Mary Kaszynski observes: "The U.S. and Russia have made progress in downsizing the massive nuclear arsenals built during the Cold War, but more work lies ahead to reshape the arsenals for the 21st century."

Despite an overflowing in-box, at least some commentators assert that the Obama administration can make real progress by embracing its full leadership potential in the next four years. In their contribution to the Brookings Institution's "Presidential Briefing Book," for instance, Martin Indyk and Robert Kagan declare this: "For all the talk of American decline from certain quarters, the United States is actually well-positioned for a new era of global leadership...[Obama's] great challenge is to seize this plastic moment and apply [his] leadership to the preservation and extension of the liberal global order for future generations." ■

—Jeff Richards, Editorial Intern

The Foreign Service Needs a Cultural Shift

BY CHARLES RAY

The Foreign Service is in crisis; and the tragedy is that most of its members are completely unaware of it. Over the past four decades, the Foreign Service has gone from the premier foreign affairs agency, spawning innovative officers like George Kennan, to a backbencher in the nation's foreign policy formulation and implementation. Even as the number of senior-level positions in the Department of State has increased, the positions occupied by career FSOs have decreased both in actual number and percentage.

The reasons for the decline of the career Foreign Service's influence are not clear. One could, I suppose, argue that the increasing partisanship in American politics is a proximate cause. It is also true that the State Department's leadership wishes to have people in key decision-making positions who are in line with its thinking—whom it can trust to carry out its policies without question. It is an unfortunate fact that the department has had leaders of that stripe, but I would argue that identifying this as the main cause of the decline in career employee influence is far too simplistic a view of the situation.

What most political leaders want from career officers is answers and options.

In a democracy such as ours, it is to be expected that the policies of those elected by the American people will be the policies of the country, to be faithfully implemented by all within the institutions responsible for doing so.

After 50 years of public service (20 years in the U.S. Army and 30 years in the Foreign Service), which began during the administration of President John F. Kennedy, I have concluded that what most of our political leadership wants is answers and options from those who serve them. They want answers to questions they haven't asked, and options to deal with unknown future contingencies.

Sadly, the career Foreign Service seems incapable of providing that. This is not because it lacks intelligent or dedicated people, of course. You won't

find a more intelligent or dedicated group anywhere within the U.S. government, the defense establishment included.

No, the career Foreign Service is unable to provide answers to unasked questions, or develop options for unknown futures, because it is hampered by a cultural mindset that is reactive rather than innovative. Its members tend to be conflict-averse, pre-emptively capitulating in the face of imagined resistance. More often than not, Foreign Service officers resist change instead of promoting it.

Embracing Change

Change has always been inevitable, and we live in an era when it occurs at the speed of light. That which is current today will be obsolete tomorrow, and those who resist that truth risk being left behind. This is as true in international affairs as it is in technology.

Much of what happens on the international stage is driven by changes in information technology. Witness the youth-led uprisings in the Arab world that began two years ago, which were facilitated by increased access to, and the proliferation of, social media and citizen journalism in the affected countries. Despite this prime example of the importance of keeping up with technological change, and the aggressive promotion of social media by our current political leadership, only a handful of Senior Foreign Service officers actively leverage the power of information

Charles A. Ray retired from the Foreign Service in 2012 after a 30-year career that included ambassadorships to Cambodia and Zimbabwe. Ambassador Ray also served as deputy assistant secretary of Defense for prisoners of war/missing personnel affairs, deputy chief of mission in Freetown and consul general in Ho Chi Minh City, among many other assignments. Prior to joining the Foreign Service, Amb. Ray spent 20 years in the U.S. Army. He currently chairs AFSA's Professionalism and Ethics Committee, and does freelance writing and speaking.

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A critical weakness in the career Foreign Service is the reluctance to take risks by coming up with new ideas and advocating forcefully for them.

technology platforms to carry out their duties.

Admittedly, social media tools can damage careers if handled incorrectly. But for the career Foreign Service to take its rightful place at the policymaking table, this resistance to using them must change. This is true not just in terms of new technology, but our entire cultural mindset.

Resistance to career-long training—not just during orientation or to prepare for a specific assignment—significantly hampers the Foreign Service's ability to compete effectively with the rest of the interagency community. Moreover, although the Foreign Service Institute offers outstanding instruction in foreign languages, its other professional education offerings put us behind the employees of the other federal agencies competing for a share of the international relations pie.

Throughout my Foreign Service career, I made it a practice to take courses at the Foreign Service Institute after every overseas tour, and frequently while I served in Washington. Some of my colleagues warned that this would put me at a disadvantage for promotions and choice assignments by taking me out of the mainstream. They said I needed to be "out in the field," doing things that would be noticed.

I had a different view. After 20 years in the Army, where continuous training is not only expected, but often required for advancement, I knew that no train-

ing or educational opportunity was a waste of time. That class in dealing with the media might not have an immediate payoff, but at some point, the things learned in it will come in handy.

Taking on Risk

Another critical weakness in the career Foreign Service is the reluctance to take risks. By this, I don't mean a lack of physical courage. Foreign Service personnel have never shirked their duty to go into harm's way, as evidenced by the thousands who have volunteered for places like Iraq, Libya and Afghanistan.

One only need contemplate the hundreds of names on AFSA's memorial plaques in the main lobby of the State Department—and those that will be added on Foreign Affairs Day in May, including that of the late U.S. ambassador to Libya, Chris Stevens—to know that Foreign Service personnel have been as willing to make the ultimate sacrifice as their Defense Department colleagues. In fact, on a per capita basis, more of us have done so.

But when it comes to coming up with new ideas and advocating them to the political leadership, the Foreign Service falls short. The mere thought that a senior department leader or member of Congress might take umbrage at a proposal will often kill it.

When I was ambassador to Cambodia, for example, and proposed a change in the relationship with that nation's defense establishment, fear of pos-

sible pushback by those opposed to the government there caused many in the bureaucracy to recommend against even discussing the issue. This was despite the fact that the security situation at the time called for a review of our ability to provide adequate protection for mission personnel in the absence of better or closer relations with local security forces.

Recovering the Edge

On the carousel of life, the Foreign Service too often prefers to ride the inner horses instead of getting on the outside, where the ride is faster and the brass rings are there to reach for.

The Foreign Service doesn't have to become like the Pentagon to recover its edge. But there's nothing wrong with drawing on the best practices of other institutions to improve effectiveness. And the only way for us to regain our pre-eminence within the foreign policy establishment is to come out of the bunker and promote innovation, managed risk-taking and innovation.

Risk-takers and innovators, as well as those willing to challenge the system, shouldn't just receive AFSA's constructive dissent awards, important as those are. They should be recognized by the foreign affairs agencies where they work.

Promotion precepts should include managed risk-taking as one of the benchmarks for advancement. In addition, there should be courses, in residence at FSI or distance learning, on innovative leadership in a Foreign Service context. This won't change the culture overnight, but it will start the process. A journey of a thousand miles begins with a single step. ■

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THE DIPLOMACY OF **POPULATION DISPLACEMENT**



Muhammed Ramadan and family members outside their tent in the refugee camp at Qatmah (Atimah), Syria, after fleeing violence in their hometown in Idlib province.

In addressing large-scale human mobility, the goal should be to promote human development and stability—not just respond to crises.

BY WILLIAM LACY SWING

Fifty years ago, when I began my diplomatic career, migration (also known as large-scale human mobility), including refugees and internally displaced persons, was not a prominent issue for many of us in the Foreign Service.

Today, however, frequent intrastate armed conflicts, persistent natural and human disasters, and the effects of climate change compel virtually all governments and international organizations to pay close attention to the large-scale movement of persons, whether forced or voluntary.

This evolution in diplomatic thinking and foreign policy priorities reflects a new foreign policy reality: namely, that we live in an era of unprecedented human mobility. Consider this statistic: A billion people—one in every seven persons currently alive—are migrants.

The drivers of human mobility are such that large-scale migration will continue to be a “mega-trend” in the 21st century. Indeed, a U.S. National Intelligence Council report, “Global Trends 2030” (published last December) predicts that “international migration is set to grow even faster than it did in the past quarter-century.” It will therefore become increasingly important for diplomats to address the crises that accompany large-scale population movements.

This development is in large part a function of population growth. The 20th century marked the first time in recorded history that the global population quadrupled within a human lifetime, a phenomenon unlikely to occur again. Within this overall picture of growth, however, there are areas of demographic decline. The European Union, for instance, is likely to require 40 million more workers by mid-century than its population will be able to supply.

Other drivers of migration include labor shortages and demands; growing North-South economic and social disparities; the digital revolution; distance-shrinking technologies; persistent disasters; and personal dreams and ambitions, whether these are induced by wars or natural disasters.

Most of the 100-plus armed conflicts that have broken out across the globe since World War II were intrastate affairs—conflicts within the boundaries of a single state—or at least

began as such. Many of these have involved, at least in part, an ethnic element, which tends to keep the fighting going for long periods. That reality also complicates national reconciliation efforts after the formal conflict ends.

Because mass migrations, particularly those associated with conflicts, are often seen as potential security threats, they tend to receive a lot of media attention, at least initially. This is particularly true when large numbers of forcibly displaced people flee into neighboring countries. We are seeing this in the current influx of Syrian refugees into Turkey, Jordan, Lebanon and Iraq, and the flight of Malian refugees to Mauritania, Burkina Faso, Niger and Algeria.

A Holistic Approach

Given the need to conduct peacebuilding and address the developmental impact of large-scale population displacements, a holistic approach is required to return stability to a country or region engulfed in conflict, create the conditions for peace, and prevent the recurrence or spread of hostilities. The international response must also balance the individual right to flee danger and desire to seek a better life against each nation’s sovereign right to determine who enters and remains within its borders.

For that reason, a multilateral, multifaceted approach is usually more useful than traditional bilateral diplomacy. This

William Lacy Swing has been director general of the International Organization for Migration since 2008 and was the 2012 winner of AFSA’s Lifetime Contributions to American Diplomacy Award. A member of the Foreign Service for 38 years, he served as ambassador to the Republic of the Congo (1979-1981), Liberia (1981-1985), South Africa (1989-1992), Nigeria (1992-1993), Haiti (1993-1998) and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (1998-2001).

After retiring from the Foreign Service in 2001, Ambassador Swing served the United Nations as Special Representative to the Secretary-General for Western Sahara and Chief of Mission for the U.N. Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara (2001-2003), and Special Representative of the Secretary-General for the Democratic Republic of the Congo (2003-2008).

A billion people—one in every seven persons currently alive—are migrants.

is not only more cost-effective than jumping from crisis to crisis, but promotes human development and stability.

With that in mind, I will first discuss the initial response to such situations: getting people to safety and to new lives and livelihoods. In many cases, it is not safe for forcibly displaced people to return home, so they must be resettled humanely elsewhere—either in a country of first asylum or in a third country with favorable integration prospects.

Examples from the work of the International Organization for Migration illustrate the success of such efforts in addressing vulnerabilities and making migration a force for stability and peace, including accurately assessing vulnerabilities and providing appropriate assistance throughout, as well as the strength of the reintegration or integration projects. I use those examples not just because I have the pleasure of leading that organization, but because IOM is the pre-eminent international migration agency. It is also the only one with a dedicated mandate, a global footprint and 60 years of experience working with all aspects of the phenomenon.

I then describe returns to a country or place of residence under non-hostile (i.e., improved) conditions. Then I turn to the question of resettlement, whether in a country of first asylum or a third country in which there are favorable integration prospects.

Finally, I analyze the various vulnerabilities that forced migrants may experience, such as trafficking, exploitation and other forms of abuse. Fighting trafficking and exploitation not only benefits all those who suffer, but is in the interest of countries that oppose organized crime and seek durable solutions to the crises that displace people.

As I hope will become clear, the success of both returns and resettlement programs depends on (re)integration efforts to turn migration into a force for stability and peace.

Returning Displaced Populations

Mass forced displacement highlights the central balance migration management must strike: between countries' sovereign right to determine who enters their borders, on one hand, and, on the other, people's desire to seek a better life and

their right to flee danger. Because such mass movements are often transnational and have a strong impact on neighboring countries, multilateral diplomacy is indispensable in addressing these crises.

Clearly, the most desirable and durable scenario for forced migrants, security permitting, is to assist them to return and re-establish themselves in the location from whence they fled, often with some financial support for reintegration. Many, if not most, forced migrants, including those fleeing ethnic conflicts, would rather not leave home permanently, preferring instead to return as soon as they find the risks are acceptable.

For example, at present, IOM's resettlement program in Malaysia for Myanmar refugees—9,000 a year—could evolve into a large-scale return program, should an estimated three million Myanmar nationals in neighboring Thailand, and large numbers elsewhere, begin to regard the Burmese government's reforms as credible enough to warrant returning home.

It is also important to recognize how heavily crises weigh on migrants who are far from home. They are more vulnerable to local conditions than is the resident population, and generally require assistance in moving to safety—usually their countries of origin. Many migrant workers in Syria are in this plight today.

During the Libyan crisis in 2011, IOM, along with the United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees, evacuated some 229,000 migrant workers trapped by the conflict and repatriated them to 54 countries at a cost of \$125 million. This involved delicate, difficult negotiations with unlikely parties—the remains of the Gaddafi regime, the rebel National Transitional Council and NATO—to arrange a thousand charter flights and 18 sea evacuations from Benghazi, Misrata and Tripoli under very dangerous conditions.

The example of the migrants from many countries who were stranded in Libya during the overthrow of Gaddafi demonstrates the necessity of making provisions for the evacuation of large numbers of people when a crisis strikes. IOM is working on the whole range of issues related to ethical recruitment and employment of migrant labor, with private-sector partners as well as governments. Our goal is to reduce migrants' vulnerability to dangers, including to exploitation and human trafficking, whether during crises or not.

The success of returns in contributing to stability depends on the effectiveness of reintegration. Unfortunately, the Libyan evacuation was not accompanied by any funding for reintegration. Thus, 177,000 sub-Saharan Africans returned without any support to find the same jobless conditions, overstretched



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The tent-homes of an IDP camp in Haiti following the 2010 earthquake there.

hospitals and inadequate schools that drove them to Libya in the first place.

The fortunate exceptions among those who returned from Libya are the 36,000-plus Bangladeshis who benefited from World Bank funding for reintegration assistance, and the approximately 12,000 Chadians who benefited from Swiss- and German-funded capacity building and psychosocial support.

A more holistic policy to the crisis, one that included funds for reintegration and training of returnees or livelihood programs, could have contributed to stability and development. Instead, the repatriation of most of these workers merely imposed greater burdens on governments which already had limited capacities to care for their citizens.

In most years, IOM returns around 70,000 persons from outside their countries of origin, as well as much larger numbers of internally displaced persons. The extensive scope for work reinforces the importance of durable solutions: The U.N. Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs estimates that up to 50 million people are displaced each year by natural disasters, while the Norwegian Refugee Council put the number of conflict-displaced IDPs at 26.4 million in 2011.

Reintegration for returnees in a post-conflict environment is an integral part of peacebuilding. It often requires not just livelihood and shelter assistance, but the settlement of land and property claims, and the reconciliation of groups previously in conflict.

 The advertisement features a photograph of a smiling male doctor in a white lab coat and blue hairnet, wearing glasses and a stethoscope, interacting with a young child. The child is being held by a smiling man. The background shows a clinical setting with bookshelves.

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Somali children in the Dadaab refugee camp, the world's largest, just across the Somali border in northeast Kenya.

IOM is one of the few international organizations operating a specialized land, property and reparations unit, which helps returnees clarify their rights and resolve disputes that could otherwise foment conflict and impede sustainable returns. IOM's work in Colombia offers excellent examples of U.S.-funded reintegration projects for the internally displaced. Unfortunately, the recent return of some 37,000 Burundians (originally displaced by ethnic conflict) from Tanzania was not supported with enough reintegration funding to help resolve the land issues of families who have been away from their homes for many years.

To better develop this area and share best practices, IOM experts, in partnership with the U.S. Agency for International Development and the World Bank, teach the semiannual "Land, Property and Conflict" course run by the U.S. Institute for Peace.

Facilitating Resettlement

When forced migrants cannot return home or relocate to another part of the country, at least in the near future, the best alternative is likely to be resettlement in the first safe country in which a migrant arrives after fleeing—known as the country of first asylum. However, this often leads to the establishment of large camps for long-term refugees or internally displaced persons, which poses problems for both the dislocated population and the host communities. These sites create high levels of dependency within the displaced community, and resentment among members of the host population, who worry that the new arrivals are taking away resources that are often scarce to begin with.

Unfortunately, effective resettlement and reintegration options are, more often than not, altogether lacking in the context of ethnic conflicts. This vacuum can, and often does, spread the conflict to other countries, as we have seen in the Horn of Africa (Somalia-Kenya). Key elements in avoiding or resolving such conflicts involve sustainable livelihoods for the displaced (and host) populations; restoration of basic services; appropriate reconciliation projects; and measures to reintegrate former combatants into civilian life.

Resettlement in a third country is a last option—a recourse only when neither return nor temporary or long-term resettlement in neighboring countries is feasible. Under a longstanding partnership, IOM assists the Department of State's Bureau of Population, Refugees and Migration in implementing the U.S. Refugee Admissions Program, whose annual quota in recent years has averaged between 60,000 and 75,000.

IOM provides assistance through this and similar programs in a variety of ways: rendering logistics support for selection and screening; conducting about 250,000 pre-departure health assessments a year in close cooperation with the Centers for Disease Control in Atlanta; providing cultural orientation and language courses; organizing transportation to the resettlement destination; and linking pre-departure and post-arrival activities through skills-building and psychosocial support.

As part of this support, IOM has staff stationed at most major international airports and spends about \$120 million a year on one-way air tickets to transport about a quarter of a million people to new lives, away from places where they are highly vulnerable to local conditions.

These reintegration measures are particularly helpful in minimizing xenophobic sentiment within the host population, promoting acceptance and averting new conflicts.

The Issue of Legal Standing

Migrants, particularly those displaced by conflict or other rapid-onset disasters, are often more vulnerable than their host population due to a lack of legal standing. Forced migrants, whether internal or international, tend to have less access to public services, which leaves them subject to exploitation and trafficking in their efforts to secure their livelihood. Reducing this vulnerability requires local livelihood programs, as well as regular, temporary labor migration projects, not to mention training border guards in countertrafficking and in assisting victims of trafficking.

In brief, solutions for those forced to migrate need to be constructed in a manner that helps to build stable societies. As a regional and global issue, migration requires a holistic approach that transcends the traditional humanitarian reac-

tive approach and features risk reduction and durable recovery measures, as well.

Just as close partnerships with airlines and other transportation companies help furnish cost-effective and safe travel, good working relationships with governmental agencies and civil society organizations in resettlement destinations help these migrants begin new lives.

Whether resettlement is seen as temporary or permanent, integration is vital. But it is also important to facilitate returns to countries of origin, should migrants so desire. Migrants who have found a sanctuary may be uneasy about conditions in their country of origin. And even when conditions there clearly are acceptable, migrants may still be unwilling to leave their newfound haven for the unknown. Providing them with the legal status to travel back and forth gives them the flexibility and security to explore their options fully, and empowers them to make impressive contributions to the reconstruction of their countries of origin.

IOM's Return of Qualified Nationals Program offers a good



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The drivers of human mobility are such that large-scale migration will continue to be a “mega-trend” in the 21st century.

example of this in Somalia, one of 14 countries where IOM operates such programs. Designed as a “reverse brain-drain” mechanism, RQN mirrors circular migration programs in more stable areas. These programs acknowledge people’s desire to work and live in countries facing labor shortages, but also acknowledge their desire to return, either permanently or temporarily, to their countries of origin in order to contribute to progress and development there. In Somalia, for example, IOM has already assisted 125 Somalis in returning from abroad to support the government by building local capacity.

In other words, migration is not just about moving from Point A to Point B and remaining there. It is about human mobility.

Taking this into account, circular migration promotes orderly migration, stability and prosperity by reducing the number of visa overstayers who stay put out of fear of not being able to renew their visa at a later date. These individuals would otherwise return to their own countries, where their savings would give them a higher standard of living or their new skills would afford them better job opportunities and social standing. Such measures make migration more acceptable to host populations who fear cultural and political change, and also make migration more conducive to sustainable development in countries of origin.

Addressing Migrants’ Vulnerabilities

Migrants, whether forced or voluntary, national or international, experience distinctive vulnerabilities that must be carefully assessed for assistance to be effective. These include trafficking, exploitation and other forms of abuse, ill health, and lack of access to public services and human rights protections. These vulnerabilities are specific to migrants’ legal standing (or lack thereof), but are especially prevalent among women and children.

During crises, already weak governments are often unable to provide basic services, much less manage their borders to

prevent human trafficking, protect victims of abuse and prosecute perpetrators. Yet fighting trafficking and exploitation is not just in the interests of all countries that oppose organized crime; it is to the benefit of all countries that seek durable solutions to crises that displace people.

Reducing this vulnerability not only requires local livelihood projects, but comprehensive migration management projects. These include border-guard capacity-building, assistance to migrants and victims of trafficking, and the facilitation of regular temporary labor migration. Labor migration push-and-pull factors do not cease to exist following a natural disaster or conflict, so orderly labor migration can reduce competitive pressure on local resources while avoiding an increase in mobility-related vulnerability.

Identifying and addressing vulnerabilities effectively in crises or in situations of chronic insecurity depend, therefore, on understanding specific migration dynamics, not simply applying a one-size-fits-all humanitarian approach.

The Value of Collaboration

I have tried to show that managing migration, whether in zones of conflict-induced crises or in more peaceful areas, requires a holistic approach to assessing vulnerabilities and addressing them in the context of global migration trends. To promote this approach, IOM has developed a Migration Crisis Operational Framework in close consultation with member states and partner organizations. (Although that designation emphasizes crisis response, it does so to illustrate how all the elements of migration management can be put together effectively under the most trying circumstances.)

In the growing Mali crisis, for example, IOM is applying this framework to analyze how the varied mobility patterns predating the crisis are affecting the ways in which different Malians seek refuge from the fighting within the country and in neighboring countries. The framework approach also assesses the implications for assistance design and delivery to those fleeing the fighting, given IOM’s role as a shelter cluster coordinator, and for providing support to Mali and other countries in the region in border management and countertrafficking.

For example, the nomadic Tuareg from the north prefer to seek refuge in neighboring countries, following pre-crisis migration patterns, due to ethnic affinities and the general fear of being persecuted in the south as a party to the conflict. This movement is facilitated by the protocols of the Economic Community of West African States on free movement, residence and establishment for its nationals. The exception to

this pattern was some southward migration to join family members who had previously migrated there for work. Those seeking refuge largely do so with host families, something facilitated by government authorities.

Because of these mobility patterns, IOM focuses on assisting local authorities to make this host system sustainable through, among other measures, efforts to strengthen host-family resilience and keep them from becoming more vulnerable because of the resources they use for their guests. This approach is quite different from a typical shelter response involving tents and tarpaulins.

The conflict also disrupts migration-linked livelihoods and food supplies, an analysis that shapes IOM planning for reintegration and recovery projects. As in crises in many other countries, the fighting in Mali has curtailed countertrafficking efforts in this major route for irregular migration toward Europe. This means that there is a need to strengthen border management in the region, focusing particularly on disrupting human trafficking.



Flags flutter above a refugee camp in Uganda.

Wendy Henning



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The crisis in Mali is a perfect example of the need for national and regional dialogue on migration.

The goal is to do this in a way that does not create further complications by disrupting patterns of seeking refuge outside Mali, while supporting neighboring countries in humanely managing the additional influx. Extensive data-gathering and repeated analysis are both indispensable in identifying and addressing current needs, keeping in mind longer-term implications and solutions that make the immediate assistance conducive to recovery. This is particularly true for the less-visible needs, risks and vulnerabilities of mobile populations that are frequently neglected in typical humanitarian responses.

Promoting Dialogue on Migration

The Mali example also highlights the absolute necessity of developing sustainable solutions through national and regional dialogue on migration.

As an integral part of a holistic approach to human mobility (including forced displacement) IOM remains committed to supporting dialogue on migration through the Regional Consultative Processes, the Global Forum on Migration and Development, the Global Migration Group, and other groups currently preparing for the 2013 United Nations High-Level Dialogue on Migration and Development. We hope that these efforts will ensure the integration of migration and the well-being of migrants into the post-2015 U.N. development agenda. We also continue to promote a general recognition that well-managed migration can actually be a driver for global stability and development.

It is through these integrated approaches that IOM supports individual governments' diplomatic efforts to address the challenges of the ever-growing migration phenomenon, ranging from the strategically important area of labor migration to the multiple, simultaneous and complex humanitarian emergencies that result in large-scale forced displacement. IOM renders this support not only through dialogue and policy recommendations, but through pragmatic, concrete activities that respect national sovereignty, as well as the rights of migrants and host populations. ■



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Photo courtesy of Mark Wentling

Assisting Refugees: **LESSONS LEARNED, LIVES CHANGED**

Editor's Note: We invited AFSA members who have assisted refugees and internally displaced persons during their Foreign Service careers to share personal and professional reflections on those experiences. Our thanks to all who responded.

—Steven Alan Honley, Editor

An Ounce of Prevention...

BY MARK G. WENTLING

Over the past year, while working as Plan International's country director for Burkina Faso, I traveled to several Malian refugee camps in northern Burkina Faso. Ten of thousands of people have fled there from Mali to escape a brutal armed insurgency that is nearing its first anniversary, with no resolution in sight. Already overcrowded, these sites continue to draw desperate people, most arriving without any belongings to ease the transition to life in a desolate region of the host country.

Is there really no way to help the occupants of these refugee camps return home safely—and reduce the chances others will take their places?



Photo courtesy of Mark Wentling

Mark Wentling, at right here and on p. 29 in the blue striped shirt, talks with leaders of the Mentaou Refugee Camp in Burkina Faso in October 2012. He listens to their stories about leaving Mali and their views on conditions in the camp, which is located 200 kilometers north of Ouagadougou.

When I returned to my office in Ouagadougou, it was with the same heavy heart I've felt many times before in such situations. I first experienced it as USAID mission director in Dar es Salaam from 1993 to 1994, when I visited dozens of similar sites set up for Somalis. Then, as USAID mission director in Tanzania from 1994 to 1996, I observed hundreds of thousands of Rwandans who were packed into some of the biggest refugee camps in history.

Speaking as someone who has spent more than 40 years living and working in Africa—first as a Peace Corps Volunteer, then a Foreign Service officer, and now a retiree—I admire the fortitude of all refugees and internally displaced persons who have made these exhausting and traumatizing treks. I certainly could not be that strong were a similar disaster to befall me.

What I find most heartbreaking is the suffering of the children caught up in these situations. I've heard far too many young people cry at night, not only out of fear and loneliness,

but because they are sick and hungry. Yet most relief operations still go underfunded, as donors become increasingly fatigued with the growing number of crises in the world.

Over the years, the international community has learned many painful lessons about dealing with humanitarian crises. But it does not apply those lessons nearly as well as it should. In particular, although donors generally respond generously to an initial emergency, they fall short in terms of funding the care and maintenance of the displaced and refugees over the long run. And their record is even worse when it comes to crisis preparedness and disaster prevention.

As I look across Africa, I see more refugees and internally displaced populations than ever. Some of these camps have already existed for more than a decade. Is there really no way to help their occupants return home safely and reduce the

chances others will take their places?

In Burkina Faso and elsewhere, USAID and other relief agencies have been making a valiant effort to care for tens of thousands of Malian refugees, despite chronic underfunding. Their caseload of Malian refugees is increasing rapidly, as an international military intervention to oust the radical Islamists now in control of northern Mali advances.

To paraphrase the old cliché, an ounce of prevention is truly worth a pound of emergency response. Now is the time to prepare for the humanitarian consequences of a full-scale military intervention in northern Mali—and future upheavals elsewhere in Africa.

Mark G. Wentling, a retired USAID Senior Foreign Service officer currently working in Burkina Faso, is completing Africa's Embrace, a novel about the practical and mysterious challenges of living in Africa during the early 1970s.

A Bad Winter

BY WILLIAM SCHOFIELD

The news reports back in January 2005 about Afghanistan's coldest winter in 12 years were heart-wrenching. People were starving because trucks carrying food couldn't make it through snow-clogged roads in the mountains, and helicopters were socked in by the weather. Wolves were attacking people in remote areas.

In Kabul, a community of about 200 returnees from refugee camps in Pakistan had sprung up in an open field on a main road not too far from the largest mosque and the presidential palace. Everyone was sick, with most suffering from respiratory ailments.

Parvez and Khalil, my Afghan colleagues at the embassy, and I drove to this field one gray morning in January 2005 to assess how we could help. The ground was icy and bare. Shelters cobbled together from plastic tarps, cardboard boxes, pieces of wood and tin cans beaten flat were scattered about.

Smoke curled from a few fires, over which several women were cooking. Their worn faces and battered hands and fingers made

them look 60, but they were probably much younger, judging by the ages of their children. A few latrines were dug into the icy ground, into which children could easily slip.

Back at the embassy, I called the reporters whose stories had appeared that day. I explained that the Afghan government, the United States and other donors, and the World Food Program and United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees were all providing nationwide assistance. But to emphasize that the Afghans themselves were leading the effort, I noted that the ministers of refugee affairs and rural development were energetically coordinating the aid.

The reporter thanked me for the information, but seemed skeptical. I can't blame her for feeling that way: I recognized how hard it was to claim our efforts were effective when people were freezing to death down the street from President Hamid Karzai's office.

Later that morning I attended a meeting chaired by the refugee affairs minister. The Red Crescent had found buildings into which to move the people squatting in the field, but needed some support. After the meeting, I called the Bureau of Population, Refugees and Migration back in Washington. A quick conversation secured agreement to transfer \$25,000 to the Red Crescent office in



Afghan refugee children warm themselves up around a fire at a refugee camp in an abandoned office building in Kabul in February 2005, during one of the coldest winters on record.

I recognized how hard it was to claim our efforts were effective when people were freezing to death down the street from President Hamid Karzai's office.

Afghanistan. USAID soon donated an equal amount.

A couple of days later, Parvez, Khalil and I drove to the complex of three-story, gray, rectangular office buildings that the Soviet Army had once occupied, which the Red Crescent would now use to house the returnees until spring. Every window and door was gone, along with all of the fixtures. On the entry level, boys ran around us, yelling and tugging at our coats. The girls smiled but kept their distance.

A few people from the Refugee Ministry sat at small tables registering people and handing out plastic bags of food and sundries. Men had started putting plastic sheets on the windows, and outside others were digging latrines and repairing a water pump. On the upper levels, families from the camp we had visited and others had already moved into each room, their belongings piled in corners. Women cooked on charcoal braziers on the landings.

As we walked down a hall, a stocky man with a wooden leg waved to us and offered us tea, pointing to a metal pot sitting on a small stove in the middle of the floor. Bits of sleet came through the open window in his room. He had covered the floor with dark-red wool rugs and stacked duffel bags, blankets, boxes and more rugs in the corners.

His wife handed each of us a small, steaming glass cup of tea, then retreated to just outside the room. The four of us sat on the rugs and sipped the warm beverage for a few minutes as the man told us he had fought in the jihad against the Soviets. That was how he lost his leg. He had been with the Taliban early on, but didn't like them once they took over. Now, he worked where he could.

As we left the building, I felt hopeful that this small success could serve as a model for deeper cooperation among the Afghan government, the Red Crescent and the United States in the overall relief effort that winter. Yes, it was clear that the Red Crescent and Afghan government expected no letup in the demands from an endless line of displaced people. But like the man who had invited us to drink tea with him at the shelter, Afghans had already seen many foreign armies and officials come and go.

While this was a bad winter, spring would come.

William Schofield, a retired State Department Foreign Service officer, served as refugee coordinator in Kabul from 2004 to 2005, among many other assignments.

Making a Difference

BY MAHA ANGELINA ARMUSH

As a refugee resettlement officer in the Bureau of Population, Refugees and Migration, I sympathize deeply with the plight of all individuals fleeing persecution for a better life in America. It is tremendously rewarding to work with our overseas resettlement support centers to help refugees navigate the process, so that they can finally get on an airplane and come here.

Let me share the stories of two brave individuals I've recently assisted. After the parents of an Afghan homosexual were killed, he fled the country to escape threats on his own life. First in Iran, then in Pakistan and Turkey, he was trafficked by militias and armed groups for not conforming to social norms of gender identity, and was forced to commit demeaning sexual acts for his captors. Undaunted, he continued to put his trust in people, yet the abuse continued. Even in the country where he first received asylum and was protected by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the social discrimination against him was severe.

Fortunately, the joint efforts of PRM's resettlement support center, the Department of Homeland Security (which interviews refugee applicants), and the International Organization for Migration eventually helped him overcome multiple administrative hurdles to arrive in America this past December. I am delighted he is finally free from persecution and able to live as a truly free man.

Then there is the Iranian woman who fled persecution and potential execution for having sex out of wedlock. After fleeing her home country for Turkey, she registered with UNHCR and awaited processing to come to the United States. Then one day, a passing train plowed into her, tore off one of her limbs, fractured her ribs and crushed her skull. Her doctors doubted she would survive, but sheer willpower pulled her through after several weeks in the hospital.

Embassy Ankara expedited a visa appointment for her mother, collaborating with several agencies and offices, so that she could accompany her injured daughter to the United States.

In PRM, we give refugees concrete assistance, facilitating their resettlement to the United States in very practical ways.



Visiting Embassy Ankara, Assistant Secretary for Population, Refugees and Migration Anne Richard, left, sits in on a cultural orientation class for refugees who are about to depart Turkey for the United States.

(Afterward, the mother plans to return to her other children in Iran.) When the young woman finally arrived in the United States in January, some friends whom she had met along the way were there to welcome her at the airport. Despite her physical limitations, her spirit remains strong and she is ecstatic to be here.

In PRM, we have the opportunity to help refugees like these by providing concrete assistance, facilitating their resettlement to the United States in very practical ways. As a Foreign Service officer, it brings me great joy to know that I am helping refugees get out of harm's way and pursue a better life, and I am grateful for the collaborative efforts of multiple agencies in that endeavor. Our work truly makes a difference.

Maha Angelina Armush, a State Department Foreign Service officer since 2006, is the program officer for refugee admissions from Europe, Central Asia, Turkey and Lebanon in the Bureau of Population, Refugees and Migration.

The Next Chapter

BY RACHEL O'HARA

Back in 2000, while working with a refugee resettlement agency in sub-Saharan Africa, I spent several months in Kakuma, a refugee camp in desolate northern Kenya. While walking in the outskirts of the camp, I met two young Sudanese brothers who were among more than 63,000 refugees there.

During our brief conversation, the teenagers recounted how they had lost their parents, fled their villages and made their way to a refugee camp in Ethiopia. After crossing into Kenya, they eked out a tenuous existence,

subsisting on one or two meals a day. Their shining ray of hope was the possibility of resettling in the United States some day.

Over the years, I've met many refugees who have achieved that dream. While they are grateful they no longer have to dodge bombs or witness the deaths of loved ones, they have struggled to master a new language, adapt to an alien culture, and succeed in a difficult job market.

Some of them were orphans who ran from hails of bullets back in Africa. But in America they have graduated from elite universities and landed good jobs. Their ranks include Somali agriculturalists now engaged in organic farming, and Iraqi physicians making their way through the recertification process to practice in the United States.

A decade of working with refugees has filled me with great pride in my country, for giving so many of the world's vulnerable the opportunity to resettle in America and rebuild their lives from scratch. I admire the dedication of Foreign Service colleagues like Ambassador William Lacy Swing, director gen-

Working with Vietnamese, Cambodian and Lao evacuees and refugees was the most gratifying part of my 31-year Foreign Service career.

eral of the International Organization for Migration, and everyone who has worked in State's Bureau for Population, Refugees and Migration, or the refugee affairs offices at USAID.

Finally, I salute all refugee service organizations and the volunteers who work tirelessly, often under harsh, dangerous conditions, to support refugees and empower them to prepare for the next chapter in their lives.

Rachel O'Hara, a State Department Foreign Service officer since 2011, currently serves in Chennai.

Vietnam Memories

BY BRUCE BEARDSLEY

Though I didn't begin my diplomatic career with an interest in refugee affairs, I soon developed one. Looking back, I would say that was truly the most important aspect of my career.

My military service in Vietnam from 1965 to 1966 sparked

a lifelong appreciation for the country and its people. That fondness only grew when I returned there as an FSO in 1970 to live and work in a rural district. So you can imagine the anxiety I felt as I followed the news of the North Vietnamese Army's advance on Saigon in the spring of 1975. I was called to help out in the evacuation of Vietnam that April, ending up as a civil coordinator on Wake Island—where I lived with 12,000 evacuees!

A few years later, as the plight of those fleeing Vietnam by boat turned into a humanitarian crisis, I again left my assigned post to work at refugee camps in Malaysia. Inspired by that experience, in the mid-1980s I chose a full-time, four-year assignment in Bangkok with the Refugee and Orderly Departure Program.

There, in addition to running what was then the State Department's largest refugee resettlement and protection operation, I was able to revise the way in which goals were set and achieved. I visited hundreds of refugees in various states of distress, and even traveled to Hanoi (despite the lack of formal diplomatic relations) to negotiate agreements governing our work. Those advances enhanced the efficiency and focus of the ODP process.

Working with Vietnamese, Cambodian and Lao evacuees and refugees was the most gratifying part of my 31-year Foreign Service career. Seeing the refugee population on Pulau Bidong shrink due to my efforts, or hearing people's expressions of appreciation as they were reunited with their families, was always an inspiration to me. This wasn't just true in Southeast Asia, either. The energy radiating from Kosovars in 1999 when I was assisting their return to rebuild their lives was equally gratifying.

I enjoyed the adrenaline rush that came after each successful bureaucratic battle, whether with the interagency process or host governments. But more important, I came to see my own prob-



Vietnamese "boat refugees" crowd around the interview area at Pulau Bidong, Malaysia. This island off the coast of Trengganu peaked with about 45,000 refugees in the fall of 1979.

lems as insignificant compared to the suffering of so many people. Thoughts of advancing one's career become much less important than helping people who have lost everything, and are starting all over in a foreign land.

Acting on that conviction led me to challenge official guidance when I saw a better way to proceed. That independence did not enhance my popularity in Washington (where I chose never to serve), but I believe it generally improved procedures and yielded real results.

During his 31-year Foreign Service career, Bruce Beardsley served in Vietnam, Lebanon, Afghanistan, Denmark, Malaysia, South Korea, Thailand, the Philippines, Mexico and Kosovo.



A Sudanese family stands in front of their hut in Mundri, South Sudan. These people were refugees and came back to their village to start a new life.

A Hopeful Homecoming

BY LAUREEN REAGAN

Throughout my career, I've had many opportunities to work with people displaced by violence, wars and natural disasters in Haiti, India, Indonesia, Kenya, Pakistan, Sudan and Thailand. Yet none of those experiences has left as indelible an impression as working with migrants returning to what would shortly

become South Sudan.

Following the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement that ended half a century of successive civil wars in Sudan, some of the estimated four million people displaced within Sudan—the largest internally displaced population in the world—gradually



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began returning home. Initially, the pace was slow and steady. However, returns spiked just before the January 2011 referendum, which granted residents of Sudan's 10 southern states the opportunity to choose autonomy.

As the world focused on the implementation of a successful, violence-free referendum, hundreds of thousands of people began traveling south via road, rail, barge and plane. It was against this backdrop that I arrived in Juba with USAID's Office of U.S. Foreign Disaster Assistance to facilitate U.S. assistance for the influx of returnees.

We immediately increased monitoring at transit and destination sites, and coordinated with partners to ensure that the incoming returnees received adequate assistance. We traveled to the port in Juba to interact with the shiploads of people who transited the port almost daily.

Most had been delayed at bottlenecked transit points in the north for days, and all had been trapped on barges for the slow, two-week journey down the Nile. Yet they arrived in a state of celebration, with families singing and dancing and women joyously ululating. They had been displaced for generations and shared with me the joy of a long-awaited return.

The returnees represented all walks of life, from the relatively wealthy to the very poor, and from the elderly to the very young. On one ship, I spoke with a mother who had given birth just before her ship docked. Without any thought for her recent hardships, she exclaimed, "My baby has been born in the place of my parents' birth; my family is finally home!"

Tens of thousands of returnees flowed into stadiums and schools, or ended up underneath trees with their belongings: beds, sofas, chairs, tables, cooking utensils, corrugated iron sheets, radio and TV sets; sometimes even fridges and small generators. In many cases their material goods had made them rich by comparison to the southern Sudanese who welcomed them home.

As they shared their concerns and hopes with us, some returnees expressed fear of the unknown regarding their legal status in the north following the referendum. But none reported being forced to leave the north. Many came back expecting to participate in the voting, only to discover that they had missed their chance to register. Yet this setback did little to deflate their excitement at returning home.

We visited local authorities in areas where returnees were congregating to determine the extent to which they had planned for, and were able to absorb, the thousands of families on their doorsteps. Some officials designated plots of land for

returnees to build homes, while others coordinated homestay programs until they could provide them with transport to rural areas. Absorptive capacity was a significant concern due to limited resources.

Despite these constraints, numerous transit sites that had been intended to be small and temporary turned into villages and towns with significant economic activity and semi-permanent infrastructure, thanks to the industrious returnees. Sadly, though, many of the considerable technical skills they brought with them from their vocations in the north were of little use in their new homes.

Language skills were another problem. One young Arabic-speaking woman, who had been a housekeeper for an elite family in the north, admitted that she didn't know how she would survive in the south. But with her small child resting on her hip, she said she was determined to learn a new language, take up a new vocation and start over.

Most of the returnees had spent their whole lives as displaced persons. A few shared stories of residing for years in refugee camps in bordering countries, and many reported receiving U.S. and international support at some stage. No one could predict the outcome of the referendum, of course, but there was an overwhelming sense that with 50 years of war behind them, they would now be able to offer their children a better future.

One woman, after surveying a plot of barren land she had received near the village of her ancestors, told me, "I don't know how we will live here. My children don't know this place, and they don't even speak the local language. But this is their home, so we will find a way."

In the presence of such courage, it was sobering to reflect that the road ahead for the returnees would be even steeper than the road behind them. Those of us who are aid practitioners in such settings may become frustrated by exceptionally poor conditions and insufficient resources that make lasting progress seem far out of reach. To counter these realities, I remind myself that I have witnessed the great impact that U.S. programs continue to have on the lives of the displaced.

I also carry with me memories of the Southern Sudanese returnees who, despite significant hardship, maintained that one crucial ingredient for positive and permanent change: tremendous, unrelenting hope.

Laureen Reagan, a Foreign Service officer, is currently assigned to USAID/Zimbabwe's Humanitarian Assistance Office in Harare. ■

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IS ADEQUATE DISABILITY INCOME INSURANCE **AVAILABLE TO FS FAMILIES?**

BY WILLIAM CARRINGTON

Many Foreign Service members mistakenly believe they have more disability income insurance than is actually the case.

As a financial adviser and a Foreign Service spouse, I know firsthand just how important it is for Foreign Service families to develop a financial plan to enable them to achieve their goals and manage risks. One common tool for mitigating financial risks is insurance, whereby you pay someone to assume a risk for you that you are unwilling or unable to assume for yourself.

High on that list is loss of income due to a long-term or permanent physical disability.

According to the Council for Disability Awareness, most disabilities are caused by illness rather than accidental injury. And since the chances of developing a serious illness increase with age, one could assume that the need for disability insurance would also increase for older employees.

In fact, while younger employees may be at a lower statistical risk of a disabling illness, they have a lower financial capacity to absorb the risk. Older employees who have paid off a mortgage, accrued many years toward a pension, gotten kids

William Carrington is the founder and principal of Carrington Financial Planning, LLC of Arlington, Va., which specializes in financial planning for Foreign Service employees. He is the spouse of FSO Margot Carrington. The views expressed here are those of the author only.

The coverage available to Foreign Service employees is very limited, precisely because they work overseas.

through college, and built up retirement savings may be better able to self-insure.

Protection from this kind of financial risk is best provided by disability income insurance, also known as income replacement insurance. The good news is that all Foreign Service employees automatically have some employer-sponsored DI coverage in the form of the Foreign Service Disability Retirement Pension. However, this pension replaces only a small part of an employee's salary.

After working with a number of Foreign Service clients, I have come to realize that many of them mistakenly believe they have more DI coverage than is actually the case. As a result, they unwittingly carry more financial risk than is advisable.

While I want to stress the importance of supplemental disability income insurance for filling the gap between support from a Foreign Service Disability Retirement Pension and the individual or family's living expenses, it should be noted that there is a notable lack of options available to members of the Foreign Service, for the very reason that they work overseas.

Insurance: The Right Mix

While gathering data to prepare a financial plan for Foreign Service clients, I routinely review their earnings and leave statements. In so doing, I'm often struck by the number of insurance premiums deducted from employees' salaries. A typical E&L statement will have deductions for Social Security; Medicare; basic life insurance; Federal Employees Group Life Insurance; and a group health plan, dental plan, vision plan, long-term care insurance and an immediate benefits plan; among others.

What is not usually on that list of deductions is supplemental disability coverage. Yet the permanent disability of a breadwinner can be more financially damaging to the family than his or her death.

Most U.S.-based employees, whether in the public or pri-

vate sector, have either purchased enough life insurance coverage to offset the loss of the employee's income in the event of premature death, or have access to such coverage. But fewer than one-third of those employees carry sufficient *long-term* disability insurance.

This gap in coverage is due both to a lack of understanding of the real risk of suffering a physical disability, and the mistaken belief that employees are already covered through their employer, by Social Security or a by combination of the two. It is also taking an unnecessary risk, since DI is quite affordable for most people—though adequate DI coverage does not appear to be currently available to Foreign Service employees, as I explain further below.

Many in the Foreign Service are generally aware of the need for long-term care insurance, partly because it has been in the news so much in recent years. As the name suggests, LTCI pays for specialized care provided during an employee's recuperation from an illness or injury, but does not replace income lost during that period. In addition, there is an assumption that the employee will eventually return to work.

When that is not possible, many Foreign Service employees assume they have adequate employer-provided disability income protection that will automatically kick in once they are unable to work. But that is not the case.

If a federal employee becomes disabled and cannot continue to work, he or she only has the following employer-provided resources to draw on: accrued sick leave, accrued vacation time, borrowed or donated sick leave, and the 12 weeks of unpaid sick leave mandated by the Family and Medical Leave Act. Once these resources are exhausted, the employee would normally be terminated if unable to return to work. (The State Department's Office of Employee Relations does everything it can to assist such individuals, but obviously cannot keep them on the payroll indefinitely.)

When Disability Becomes Permanent

At that point, the disabled employee must depend on his or her Foreign Service Disability Retirement Pension (and Social Security, if eligible). And this is where massive confusion arises. Many employees assume that their disability retirement pension will approximate their pre-retirement salary, but this is not usually the case.

The Foreign Service Pension System rules regarding disability retirement state that for individuals who are under 62, but not yet eligible for regular retirement (i.e., at least 50 years old, with at least 20 years of federal service), the FSPS disability

Many Foreign Service employees assume that their disability retirement pension will approximate their pre-retirement salary, but this is not usually the case.

annuity during the first year is just 60 percent of their high-three average salary—minus 100 percent of Social Security benefits. During the second year and until age 62, the annuity falls to 40 percent of their high-three average salary, minus 60 percent of Social Security benefits.

Employees can perform a rough calculation of potential disability income for themselves by looking up their potential

Social Security disability benefits. But that is where the second obstacle comes in: Due to the narrow definitions of disability that the Social Security Administration uses to discourage fraudulent claims, disabled employees cannot count on receiving those payments.

Left in the Lurch: The Foreign Service

Another reason disability coverage is so important for the families of Foreign Service employees is the fact that they often cannot count on a second income from the non-FS spouse or partner, given the difficulty of maintaining a career as they move from country to country. Whereas dual-income families in the United States have the additional safety net of a second income, Foreign Service families have usually sacrificed this for the sake of the career and the privilege of serving their country overseas.

Ironically, the coverage available to Foreign Service employees is very limited, precisely because they work overseas. In fact, according to Ryan Insurance Strategy Consul-

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tants, Lloyd's of London is the only insurance underwriter offering it, and even that is limited coverage through a number of resellers.

The American Foreign Service Protective Association offers a policy underwritten by Lloyd's that offers two years of benefits of up to \$3,000 per month and an optional \$250,000 lump sum payment. While this coverage is far less than that which is available to U.S.-resident employees, it could go a long way toward paying off a mortgage, funding college savings plans, or helping a spouse or partner launch a new career.

Alternatively, Low Load Insurance Services of Tampa, Fla., provides limited coverage, also underwritten by Lloyd's, to federal employees who are posted overseas for no more than three years in a row. But that would obviously not be suitable for the many Foreign Service personnel who routinely work overseas for much longer periods.

Many public-sector and private-sector employees residing in the United States have employer-sponsored DI coverage that will replace about 60 percent of gross income to age 65 or

While younger employees may be at a lower statistical risk of a disabling illness, they also generally have a lower financial capacity to absorb that risk.

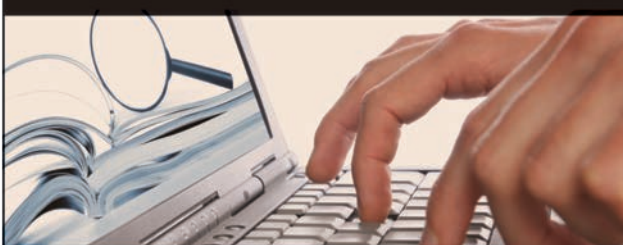
beyond. They are also eligible to purchase affordable DI-gap insurance that will replace most of their lost income. The lack of any comparable program for members of the Foreign Service leaves them at a distinct disadvantage in this area.

Until better coverage becomes available for Foreign Service members, they should explore with a financial adviser possible strategies to protect themselves financially. ■

AFSA Resource Marketplace

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1. FSI's Transition Center
2. U.S. Department of State Overseas Briefing Center (OBC)
3. Security Overseas Seminars: PSOS, ASOS, SAA, SOS, SOS
4. Transition Center Training home page for eligible family members and members of household (MOH)
5. International Jobs - Working Overseas
6. Country Information (Bidding Resources)
7. Transition Center Courses
8. Preparing to Go Overseas
9. Pets and International Travel
10. Foreign Service Assignment Notebook: What Do I Do Now?
11. U.S. Department of State Career Transition Center (CTC)
12. Personal Post Insights
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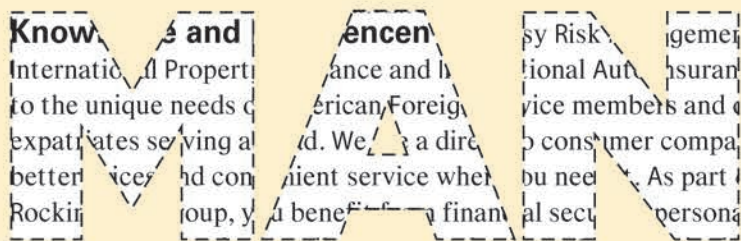
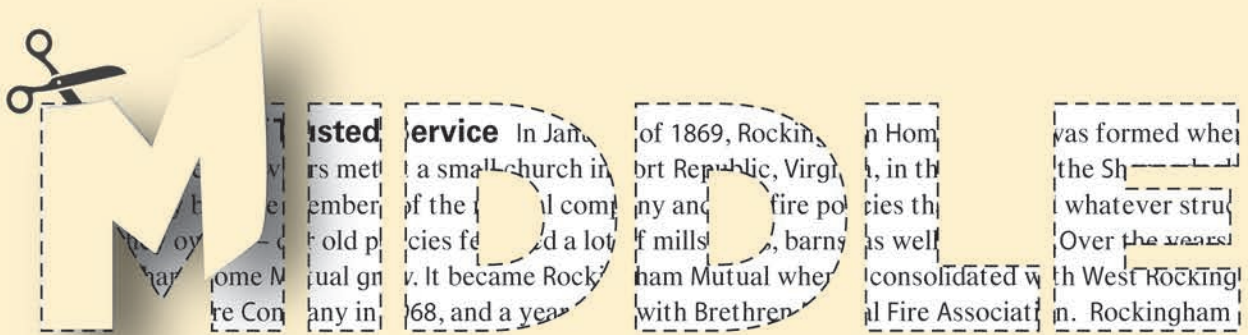
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Raising the Profile of AFSA and the Foreign Service

BY AFSA PRESIDENT SUSAN R. JOHNSON

Dear AFSA members,
During 2012, AFSA addressed broad concerns and conducted wide-ranging activities to raise the profile of diplomacy, the Foreign Service and AFSA itself.

Key Priorities and Concerns

The transition from Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton to Secretary of State John Kerry provided an opportunity to share our key priorities and areas of concerns: security/diplomacy and effective risk management that does not overly constrain the ability to engage in the field; strengthening Foreign Service capacity through an increase in substantial education and training opportunities for the profession of diplomacy; tangible recognition and fair compensation for diplomats; and institutional reform and restructuring to strengthen the Foreign Service, the Department of State and USAID.

The issues relevant to risks and dangers inherent in the conduct of diplomacy were brought under sharper focus by the tragic events of Sept. 11 in Benghazi. Other themes summarized in the AFSA letter to Secretary-Designate Kerry were prompted by the growing realization of the need to strengthen the

Foreign Service and the State Department as professional institutions. The global environment and its challenges have increased professional demands on the Foreign Service—as well as on diplomacy and development—to make the right choices on goals, priorities and strategies.



AFSA President Susan R. Johnson.

Professionalism in Decline

At the same time, there is evidence that meritocracy and professionalism as concepts governing our diplomatic and development institutions are in decline. Political patronage and partisanship have grown steadily in the last four decades. Nowhere is this more obvious than in the senior leadership and management ranks of our agencies, where, despite steady expansion, the role of the career Foreign Service has diminished and questions

are raised about its capacity to grow the senior leadership bench that is needed to craft and implement effective American diplomacy—political, commercial, developmental and humanitarian.

Strengthening and Modernizing AFSA

Against this backdrop, our 2012 Annual Report reflects AFSA's continuing focus on: (1) building capacity for more effective advocacy with management and Congress by getting the right staff in place, the data we need for serious and credible analysis, and broader and deeper relationships with key decision-makers; (2) renewing our commitment to professional excellence and advocating for a rethink of requirements for today's diplomats and what professional education and training is needed, when and how and from whom; (3) improving communications with members and developing more substantial and sustained dialogue between AFSA leadership and our members in the field; (4) reaching out to policymakers and the media for improved and effective advocacy; and (5) clarifying governance and professionalizing and streamlining internal AFSA operations to better define the role and responsibility of the Governing Board

and its individual members, the executive director and the professional staff, to better align programs and resources with strategic priorities.

The annual report that follows provides highlights from all sections of AFSA summarizing key accomplishments and ongoing programs that move us toward our five strategic goals: strengthening governance and internal operations, core advocacy, image and outreach, growing membership and development and supporting professionalism and ethics in the Foreign Service.

As a professional association and union, AFSA's mission

2012 Highlights

- We draw satisfaction that our membership continued to grow, although at a slower rate reflecting the slowdown in hiring.
- The budget grew modestly to \$4.66 million with revenue principally from dues.
- Our advocacy on Capitol Hill continues to intensify as we strengthen relationships and build new ones with the 113th Congress.
- We have approved a new study of congressional attitudes toward the Foreign Service to update the one done a decade ago.
- AFSA programming continued to draw sustained participation and contributed to raising the profile of the Foreign Service and AFSA.
- Successful member mobilization on behalf of Foreign Service animal companions and their owners against United Airline's pet transportation and fee policies.
- The AFSA High School Essay Contest is now recognized as one of the leading contests of its kind, with a generous cash award, meeting with the Secretary of State and a Semester at Sea educational voyage for the winner.
- The first redesign of *The Foreign Service Journal* in 18 years was a resounding success, drawing kudos from members and non-members alike.
- The FS book program is growing, supplementing the highly successful *Inside a U.S. Embassy* with a new book project on the history of AFSA and, implicitly, of the Foreign Service itself.
- AFSA's labor management team remains stretched thin with an ever-growing caseload of both grievances and requests for advice and assistance in resolving a wide array of problems, reflecting, at least in part, a diminished capacity of management to deal with employee issues and the influx of new employees at State and USAID, in particular.
- We established a new standing committee on professionalism and ethics.
- The Governing Board governance committee developed written descriptions of the role of the GB and individual board positions, and initiated discussion on how to optimize relationships between and among board members, the executive director and professional staff.
- For the first time ever, AFSA has retained the services of management consultants to undertake a staffing review to better align staff and organization with mission and goals, and of development experts to advise us on expanding our professional fundraising and communications objectives.
- We initiated an ongoing campaign to promote Foreign Service support for and engagement with the new United States Diplomacy Center and Museum of American Diplomacy project, officially launched by Secretary Clinton at the end of her tenure.

In the efforts described above, we have drawn on the views and concerns of our elected board representatives and officers and on those conveyed to us by members. We look forward to hearing more from you throughout 2013. Sincerely, Susan R. Johnson ■

is to promote a strong professional career Foreign Service as the institutional backbone of American diplomacy, protect the professional interests and rights of our members, promote high professional standards for all American diplomats, and promote broader understanding of the critical role of diplomacy and development in promoting America's national security, economic prosperity and values. This is, however, a continuing endeavor that calls for perspective, experience, insight, fresh ideas, courage and patient persistence to achieve success.



AFSA Board of Governors



PHOTOS BY DONNA AYERST

Front row, left to right: Keith Curtis, Meg Gilroy, Daniel Hirsch, Susan Johnson, E. Alex Copher, Francisco Zamora, Joyce Namde, Ken Kero-Mentz. Middle row: Andre De Nesnera, Robert Houdek, Matthew Asada, David Zwach, Andrew Levin. Back row, left to right: Edward Marks, Hugh Neighbor, William Bent, Elise Mellinger, Lillian Wahl-Tuco, Ted Osius, David Mergen, Jason Singer, Stephen Morrison. (Not pictured: Andrew Winter, Tim Corso, Molly Williamson.)

The Foreign Service Journal Editorial Board



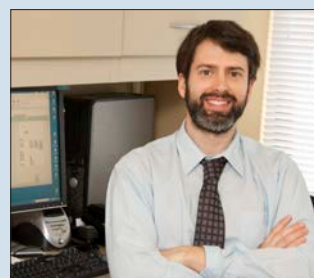
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Front row, left to right: Richard McKee, Judith Barody, James P. Seevers, Stephen W. Buck, Jed Meline.
Back row, left to right: Ruth M. Hall, William D. Bent, Gordon Brown, Gregory L. Naarden, Beth Payne, Clayton Bond.

AFSA Executive Staff



Executive Director Ian Houston



Executive Assistant to the President Patrick Bradley



USAID Staff Assistant Chioma Dike

IAN HOUSTON



State Department: A Year of Public Victories

BY STATE VP DANIEL HIRSCH

Another busy year began with the annual battle in Congress over budget and salary issues (including Overseas Comparability Pay) and ended with a report on the Sept. 11 attack in Benghazi which resulted in the tragic loss of four colleagues and friends. AFSA weighed in on changes in staffing of posts in Iraq, Afghanistan and Pakistan; training and benefits offered to those serving in those posts; and the extended departure of family members from some other posts in the region.

Personnel Issues

We consulted on the implementation of new limited non-career appointment programs in the bureaus of Diplomatic Security and Consular Affairs, and a new program creating limited short-term overseas developmental opportunities for Civil Service employees. And we urged a review of Foreign Service recruitment practices, re-evaluation of Career Development Plans and monitored the redistribution of positions reserved for entry-level Foreign Service members.

Throughout the year, we defended the Service against attacks on our individual rights to privacy, such as the Stop Trading on Congress-

sional Knowledge Act, as well as repeated attacks on our salaries and benefits. We also investigated State's compliance with the Uniformed Services Employment and Reemployment Rights Act, which protects the rights of employees who serve on military reserve duty, and collaborated in the ongoing development of an alternative dispute resolution program.

For years, State used a few limited non-career appointments to fill very-short-term needs. Such programs expanded in 2011 and, even more dramatically, last year. As U.S. troops left Iraq, State informed us of a plan to hire LNA personnel security specialists with skills different from those of other DS employees. Soon after, State proposed to hire LNA visa adjudicators for Brazil, Russia, India and China, since filling these jobs with career candidates was impractical.

We discussed a range of questions: the role of these employees at posts; the impact on training entry-level officers and the hiring of Eligible Family Members; whether AFSA would represent them; and the mechanics of ending their appointments. We helped develop standard criteria for LNA hiring, evaluation, retention

and termination, including an "LNA handbook" and a modified Employee Evaluation Report form, and ensured AFSA participation in their entry-on-duty training. Thanks to our advocacy, EFM hiring will not be reduced and LNAs will not compete with entry-level officers for developmental positions. In addition, no LNA program will bypass the exam as an entry method into the Foreign Service, and all LNAs will be represented by AFSA.

High-Stress Posts

Assignments to high-stress and unaccompanied posts carry many risks, many of which can be mitigated by better training. Extending training to Eligible Family Members can also help address the psychological stresses on both the employee and the loved ones left behind. Discussions with the Foreign Service Institute, the Office of Medical Services and the Family Liaison Office influenced a number of improvements in this regard.

As the military moved out of Iraq, we discussed with MED and others the steps that would be taken to protect the health and safety of FS members, including expansion of a Psychiatric Social Worker staff (another LNA category).

On an individual level, we have assisted several AFSA members who have returned from high-stress posts with Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder or other stress-related problems.

FS Pets

In April, United Airlines adopted a worldwide pet-shipping policy, ending the shipment of pets as accompanied baggage and requiring that they be shipped as cargo. This led to a drastic increase in both price and inconvenience to FS members. United waived the policy for the military. Through AFSA's efforts, more than 3,000 first-person e-mails were sent to United. Concurrently, we worked with State to catalyze Foreign Affairs Manual changes countering United's near monopoly on certain routes.

The result: a waiver similar to what was offered to the military was instated for the Foreign Service. The waiver itself is far from perfect, however, and its implementation by United's staff has been uneven. More broadly, AFSA has been working with State to develop emergency evacuation standard operating procedures for pets.

QDDR

As part of the Quadrennial



And Behind the Scenes Progress

Defense and Development Review, State initiated a program to provide overseas opportunities for Civil Service employees to develop knowledge that would improve their understanding of our realities when they returned to positions in Washington. This high QDDR priority, still in its pilot phase, has obvious potential benefits for State's mission. AFSA negotiated clear definitions of purpose and scope (limiting the number of encumbered positions to 20 at any time), and a reciprocal element that would enable Foreign Service members to fill selected Civil Service positions for state-side assignments.

Following Rules

One of AFSA's most important functions is to ensure that the department follows its own rules with regard to due process in disciplinary and security clearance cases. AFSA won a significant victory for an FS author and blogger whose work was distasteful to many, but who had complied with regulations in clearing his book and argued that regulations on blogging were unclear. The case led to a comprehensive review of relevant Foreign Affairs Manual regulations, and provided AFSA with the opportunity to use the process to clarify the

rights of FS bloggers, writers and users of social media. This is an ongoing effort.

Less visibly, we weighed in on the case of an FS member accused of inappropriate conduct under disputed circumstances while traveling. The Department of Justice had sought to extend U.S. jurisdiction to this case by improperly applying a law that should apply only to active-duty military personnel. Concerned about the precedential implications of expanding a military law to Foreign Service civilians, AFSA supported the efforts of the private attorney involved, and DOJ backed off.

STOCK Act

The STOCK Act imposed a requirement that personal information be published online, threatening both the personal security of FS employees and the national security of the United States. Working with the Senior Executive Association and other affected groups, we have, thus far, achieved delays in implementation while these issues can be addressed.

In addition, members brought to our attention a number of forms and other efforts to collect information, which did not comply with rules intended to protect

privacy and reduce the risk of information breaches. We were successful in getting a number of improper forms recalled, changed or more properly issued, and worked with the bureaus involved to increase awareness of the issues.

Taping Interviews

When a DS office in Washington sought to introduce audio- and videotaping of interviews during its investigations, AFSA questioned the initiative, and asked whether interviews that occurred overseas or contained classified information would be taped as well. We asked that DS furnish employees with a copy of the tape immediately after the interview.

DS stated that, at present, it did not plan to record interviews conducted overseas or containing classified information. It agreed to initiate the use of a standardized form to obtain informed consent before audio and video recording of any interview takes place, but stated that the employee would not be able to obtain a copy of the recordings until the investigation is completed, and the entire report of investigation is forwarded to the employee. AFSA continues to have concerns about this practice and

has updated its guidance to employees under investigation to address it.

Security Clearances

On the security clearance front, we engaged in constructive discussions which appear to have influenced a number of promising trends. Significantly, while we sometimes disagreed with DS over other aspects of cases, in we did not see any new suspension or revocation cases initiated that did not have an understandable nexus to the government-wide standards.

In 2012, HR and DS initiated a more regular and fuller exchange of information regarding the status of individual cases, which we hope will reduce processing times. Our suggestions for stronger quality control are being considered, and we are hopeful the department will implement at least those measures used by other agencies with large security clearance workloads.

Benghazi

AFSA attorneys advised and represented employees before the Benghazi Accountability Review Board. We are monitoring implementation of the board's recommendations. ■



USAID VP: Helping Even More Members

BY USAID VP FRANCISCO ZAMORA

The recently completed Development Leadership Initiative brought in more than 800 new Foreign Service officers, most of whom joined AFSA. As a result, our office has seen a significant increase in the pace and volume of requests for services and assistance, both here and in the field. While a great amount of our time is spent on negotiating policy, program and organizational issues, we also became closely involved in personal, one-on-one assistance to our new and old members. A sampling of our successes in 2012 follows:

- At our behest, USAID overturned an African post's unfair demand that FSOs accept personal liability for auto accidents occurring during in-country car trips lasting more than 10 hours.
- We helped a member receive Virtual Separate Maintenance Allowance, which had been unfairly denied.
- Through our intervention with USAID's Office of Human Resources, a member was allowed to ship all of his personal

effects, including his car, back to his home of record when he had to leave post on compassionate travel.

- In monitoring the evaluation and promotion process, we discovered that the line drawing exercise could include several more promotions due to special circumstances.
- Some financial institutions, mortgage lenders, tax authorities and state and local governments are interpreting post mailing addresses as evidence that the employee is not a resident of the U.S. Several employees have experienced this situation, which required us to provide certification of their residency status to resolve the problem.
- In one case, we overturned the agency's previous denial of eligibility for a recruitment incentive payment worth several thousand dollars; helped another member to find a missing federal student loan check; and established that another member's service computation date of employment was incorrect. ■



FAS VP: Progress, But Still a Lot to Do

BY FAS VP DAVID MERGEN

The AFSA member meetings in April, May, June, July and October set the agenda for much of the last year, with frustration over the current promotion system a constant theme. FAS has been shrinking the Senior Foreign Service and FS-01 ranks in recent years and using upward stretches to fill numerous positions overseas, fueling this discontent. There was improvement in 2012 as more officers were promoted than in previous years, but we still have a long way to go to ensure that staffing decisions are based on a long-term assessment of personnel needs, rather than short-term fiscal concerns.

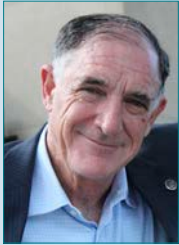
FAS will continue to be under budget pressure, so we have an obligation to make the agency run better, which includes treating its employees to the highest standards possible. In 2012, we clarified gray areas in the rules on time-in-class and time-in-service extensions for service in Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iraq, and agreed to open the Foreign Service recruitment process to a wider range of applicants to ensure that the

agency can continue to bring in the highest-quality officers possible.

Late in the year, the Promotions Precepts Working Group started a review of the AFSA contract provisions covering career advancement, so we expect to make progress on this and other facets of the process during 2013.

The FAS Foreign Service faces issues that affect all FS employees. Despite the bad reputation of the much-maligned Partnership Councils of the 1990s, the latest incarnation—now labeled the Labor Management Forum—is actively pressing for a better work environment. FAS was ranked just 282nd out of 292 agencies in the 2012 ranking of “Best Places to Work in the Federal Government,” leaving room to improve.

I am particularly concerned that more than half the employees surveyed felt that the leadership did not generate high levels of motivation and commitment in the work force. I am pushing for significant improvement in 2013. ■



FCS VP: Some Big Wins

BY FCS VP KEITH CURTIS

The past year saw several major accomplishments, with significant bottom line and positive career effects for the Foreign Commercial Service. We could not have accomplished anything like this without a strong, positive relationship with management. Our thanks go to Deputy Director General Charles (Chuck) Ford, Ejike Obineche, director of Foreign Service personnel, and Tom Moore, deputy assistant secretary for the Office of International Operations. I am also in great debt for the hard, smart work of Steve Morrison, AFSA FCS representative.

Worked on the Proposed International Trade Administration Consolidation. This subject dominated the last six months of the year and included extensive meetings with management, regular liaison on the Hill, outreach to the membership, analysis and a lot of jabber. We were disappointed that management could not find the capacity to respond in a spirit that could have produced a good product. We believe the proposal seriously threatens our clients' interests and FCS members' careers. The outcome is still in doubt as I write this column, but we have succeeded in getting substantial review and additional time.

Established a Full-Time AFSA VP Position. In 2012, after many years of advocacy, we changed the AFSA VP position from half-time, reporting to the Office of International Operations deputy assistant secretary, to a full-time position. This created greater independence, removed conflicts of interests and provided the time to do the job well. The officer is no longer reviewed for promotion or for awards, but receives time-in-class and time-in-service extensions for up to three years.

Restored Bonuses. Late in 2011, management declared there would be no money for bonuses for Commercial Service employees. We worked hard, enlisting allies on Capitol Hill, to have those funds restored, staving off a dangerous precedent with significant personal implications for anyone serious about our career.

Beating Back the STOCK Act. We worked, so far successfully—in dramatic last-minute pitches on the Hill with the

larger Senior Government Service coalition—to postpone, and, we hope, overturn the provision of the Stop Trading on Congressional Knowledge Act that would have required Senior Service members to post their private financial information on the Internet for all to see. We successfully argued against it on the Hill and brought an American Civil Liberties Union suit arguing that the act is an invasion of privacy and endangers personnel and U.S. government security unnecessarily.

Established an Ambassadorial Process. We have made it a priority to have at least one ambassador appointed from the FCS ranks, and were finally successful this year in getting management to establish a process to implement this goal.

We believe that an FCS ambassadorship is important not only for the career track, but also for the visibility and interagency prestige of the Service. It is long past the time for this neglect to be corrected.

Restored a Proper Continuing Service Agreement. After management implemented a stringent interpretation of the requirement that officers pay back transfer and other expenses if they leave the Service before completing a full assignment, we successfully argued that an officer should only be liable for his or her return-from-post costs if he or she does not complete two years. If an officer curtails an assignment after less than one year at post, he or she will be liable for both to-and-from-post expenses and shipment of belongings. If the assignment panel breaks the assignment, the officer is not liable.

Established the Deputy Director General Position. In the past, the DDG position has frequently (but not always) been held by an FSO. Working hard with Chuck Ford, we set the precedent that the DDG should always be reserved for an FSO. This is important not only for career mobility, but for the institution. ■

The past year saw several major accomplishments, with significant bottom line and positive career effects for Foreign Commercial Service.

Labor Management: Taking On All Issues

BY SHARON PAPP, AFSA GENERAL COUNSEL



Labor Management Staff (left to right): Staff Attorney Andrew Large, Senior Staff Attorney Neera Parikh, Office Manager Christine Warren, Deputy General Counsel Zlatana Badrich, General Counsel Sharon Papp, USAID Senior Labor Management Advisor Douglas Broome, Labor Management Counselor Janet Weber and Staff Attorney Raeka Safai. (Not pictured: Senior Labor Management Advisor James Yorke)

Throughout 2012, AFSA's Labor Management staff dealt with a wide array of employment-related issues. By the close of the year, we were working on approximately 280 active individual cases: grievances, discipline proceedings and security clearance issues; Diplomatic Security, Office of the Inspector General and Office of Civil Rights investigations; and Benghazi Accountability Review Board inquiries.

Counseling Members

In addition, the LM staff counseled thousands of members on issues relating to, among other things, performance appraisals, promotions, time-in-class/time-in-service, tenure, assignments (including 5/8 waivers, DS assignment restrictions and involuntary curtailments); Office of Medical Services issues (clearances, Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder, disabilities, demands for repayment of medical bills);

and allowances, per diem, entry-level salaries, overtime pay, workers compensation, debts, leave forfeiture, retirement, transportation/storages, and cohabitation and contact reporting.

Institutional Issues

The staff also worked on institutional issues relating to Foreign Commercial Service consolidation; Foreign Agricultural Service promotion numbers; concerns with Diplomatic Security's Office of Special Investigations, including issues relating to audio/video recording of interviews; Senior Foreign Service salary conversion; Separate Maintenance Allowance for foreign-born, same-sex partners; the availability of the job search program for retirees at 65 years of age with less than 20 years of service; the department's policy of hiring employees at age 58; legal protections for employees who have been on military leave; denial of medical treatment at post

to children of separated parents; educational allowance for children of employees on reimbursable details at AFRICOM; waiver forms for employees assigned to High-Threat Tactical training; concerns relating to DS Ready Teams whereby agents are on-call for 30 days and can be deployed within 24 hours notice to any post; and issues relating to a new MED credentialing form, to name a few.

Off-Duty Conduct

In 2012 the State Department proposed disciplinary action—ranging from a five-day suspension to separation for cause—against a number of employees for off-duty conduct that, in some cases, it had not sought to regulate in the past (extramarital affairs between consenting adults and the content of employee's personal e-mails/texts messages/

blogs). The Grievance Board issued several instructive decisions relating to extramarital affairs. In one case, the board found that the department's regulations found in the Foreign Affairs Manual (3 FAM 4130 and 4139.1) did not put grievant "...on sufficient notice that he would be subject to discipline for extramarital sex with consenting women without any aggravating factors, such as dishonesty, intoxication, payment, exploitation, chain-of-command issues, coworker relations, criterion country nationals, or the prominence of grievant's position."

The board found, however, that because grievant was married and did not explicitly disclose his infidelity to his spouse, he created at least the possibility of blackmail. The board mitigated a three-day suspension to a letter of

Continued on page 67



Advocacy Staff (left to right): Legislative Assistant Clint Lohse and Director of Advocacy Javier S. Cuebas.

Advocacy: Renewed Efforts on Many Fronts

BY JAVIER S. CUEBAS, DIRECTOR OF ADVOCACY, AND CLINT LOHSE, LEGISLATIVE ASSISTANT

As part of AFSA's efforts to advance its mission during 2012, the legislative affairs department evolved into a multifaceted entity that sought the best practices possible to achieve our legislative goals during the 112th Congress.

Javier Cuebas, AFSA's new director of advocacy, comes from the private sector, where he regularly managed national issue-driven campaigns on behalf of corporations and nonprofit groups. Together with Clint Lohse, AFSA's legislative assistant and a former Senate staffer, he monitors and forecasts congressional actions.

AFSA on Capitol Hill

Drawing on AFSA's formidable reputation as an expert on diplomacy, the advocacy department dedicated much of 2012 to developing a constituency/issue-driven strategic outreach and mobilization plan that clearly shows key stakeholders how the Foreign Service consistently

contributes to the greater good.

Stock Act

AFSA reaffirmed its leadership role as the "Voice of the Foreign Service" by developing strategic partnerships with sister organizations to address issues like the Stop Trading on Congressional Knowledge Act. We are proud to report that the coalition was successful in getting Congress to postpone implementation of the STOCK Act's Internet posting provisions—which could have potentially jeopardized the privacy and security of many career federal employees and their families. AFSA will continue to work for the elimination of such a provision.

AFSA also provided valuable testimony during congressional hearings and helped educate congressional offices about budget priorities and personnel security, among other important issues.

AFSA sent letters to key



Senator Richard Lugar, R-Ind., receives a plaque from AFSA President Susan Johnson at a luncheon in his honor.

committees dealing with the Sept. 11 attack in Benghazi and briefed staffers about the need to get the risk/diplomacy balance right. AFSA commended the Accountability Review Board report on Benghazi and continues to promote the implementation of its recommendations.

AFSA organized and hosted a luncheon honoring retiring Richard Lugar, R-Ind., a longtime ranking member and chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Your Support

Thanks to your support, once again, the association's political action committee, AFSA-PAC, played an essential role in advancing our legislative agenda. Retired Ambassador Thomas Boyatt, President Susan Johnson, Executive Director Ian Houston and other members of the PAC board made sure that AFSA's top priorities were presented to congressional leaders during special functions and events. ■

Communications, Marketing and Outreach

BY ÁSGEIR SIGFÚSSON, MARKETING AND OUTREACH DIRECTOR; TOM SWITZER, DIRECTOR OF COMMUNICATIONS; DONNA AYERST, AFSA NEWS EDITOR; AND PERRI GREEN, COORDINATOR, SPECIAL AWARDS AND OUTREACH



PATRICK BRADLEY

Communications, Marketing and Outreach Staff (left to right): AFSA News Editor Donna Ayerst, Marketing and Outreach Director Ásgeir Sigfússon, Coordinator for Special Awards and Outreach Perri Green, Director of Communications Tom Switzer and Charlie. (Not pictured: Web and Graphics Assistant Jeff Lau.)

AFSA Events

AFSA continued to offer a wide variety of speakers, panel discussions and other events, covering both professional issues and bread-and-butter topics. There were 18 major events throughout the year, attracting close to 2,000 attendees—mostly AFSA members—as well as students, journalists, think-tank members, academics and the public at large.

Our Book Notes series featured three selections this past year: *China Hand* by John Paton Davies Jr.; *The Dissent Papers* by Hannah Gurman; and *America's Other Army* by Nicholas Kralev. This series is designed to bring attention to books of interest to the Foreign Service community.



Vanity Fair National Editor Todd Purdum reads passages from *China Hand* to a Book Notes audience.

We started a new series in 2012, focusing on federal benefits. The first two events focused on Medicare and federal health benefits; the third event took place last month and featured a discussion on the Thrift Savings Plan program.

Our ongoing series of topical panel discussions featured programs focusing on the European Union and the euro, the experiences of third-culture children,



PHOTOS BY DONNA AYERST

Rep. Chris Van Hollen, D-Md., explains his take on foreign affairs and budget issues to a mostly Foreign Service crowd at AFSA.

the first anniversary of the Arab Spring and the 25th anniversary of the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty.

We were pleased to offer conversations with two major Washington players: Deputy Secretary of State Thomas Nides and Representative Chris Van Hollen, D-Md. (left). Their perspectives on foreign affairs, the budget and the Foreign Service were much appreciated.

Our annual events—the memorial plaque ceremony on Foreign Affairs Day, the AFSA awards ceremony and the Adair Lecture at American University featuring Ambassador Chas. Freeman—all had excellent attendance.

We are particularly proud of two special events: the October celebration of the relaunch of *The Foreign Service Journal*, and our special screening of the film “Argo” in December. AFSA will continue to offer events of interest and significance to our members and the Foreign Service community at large. We hope to be able to offer more programs looking at important events in the history of the Foreign Service, as well as informational programs on basic issues of importance to our



Clockwise, top left: Amb. John Limbert and AFSA State VP Daniel Hirsch applaud Tony Mendes; the FSJ redesign; AFSA plaques; audience at the Arab Spring panel discussion; member of the audience asks questions during a Medicare session; FS mom and son at Third-Culture Kid event.



members—benefits, conditions of work and so on.
 Recordings of all AFSA events are available on our Web site at www.afsa.org/AFSAvideos.aspx.

AFSA News

Riding on the coattails of *The Foreign Service Journal's* redesign provided *AFSA News* with an entirely new look and feel. With the new design came a number of new features for the newsletter: a calendar of events on the cover page; "Life in the Foreign Service," original cartoons reflecting the Foreign Service lifestyle; a new column, "Active After Active-Duty," highlighting how busy our retirees are and the interesting things they are doing; and a greater effort to provide timely event coverage and information.

Last year saw a continuation of increased coverage of AFSA's constructive dissent awards: the awards ceremony, profiles of the winners and a series of articles on dissent

appear throughout the year. Our dissent awards, unique within the government, provide FS members the opportunity to effect change.

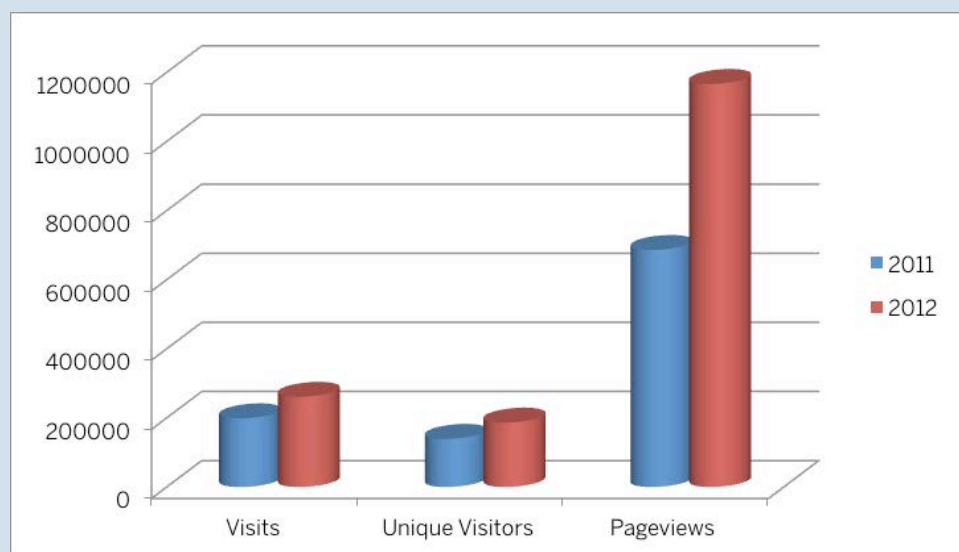
AFSA's VP representatives did a thorough job of highlighting many of the difficulties, joys, frustrations and issues the five foreign affairs agencies and their employees face. The columns give our VPs the platform to express their concerns on everything from agency consolidation, the effects of budget constraints, security issues or family member matters, among many other pressing topics.

AFSA News encourages FS employees and their family members to submit articles. Please contact Donna Ayerst at ayerst@afsa.org.

AFSA on the Web

AFSA's Web site and social media outlets continued to grow in 2012, with all of our online outreach tools seeing the most traffic ever.

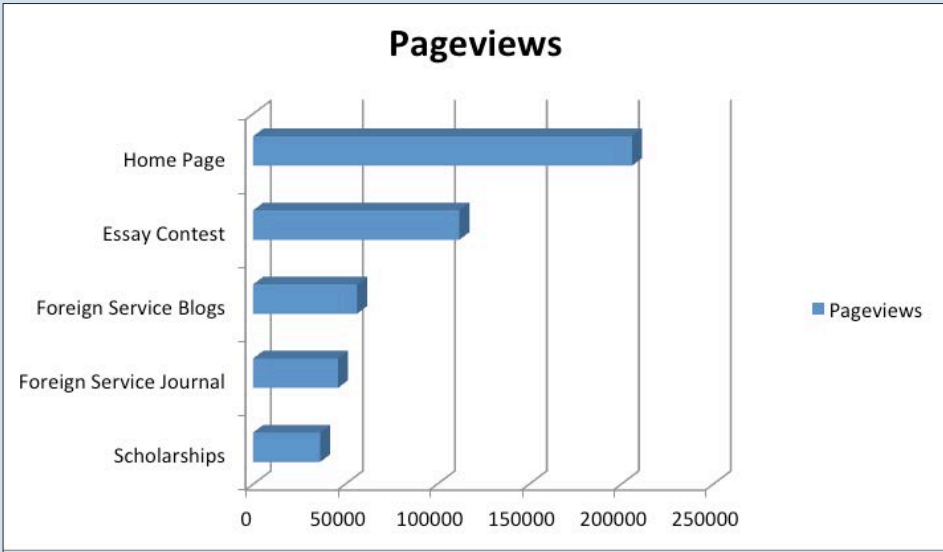
WWW.AFSA.ORG TRAFFIC IN 2012



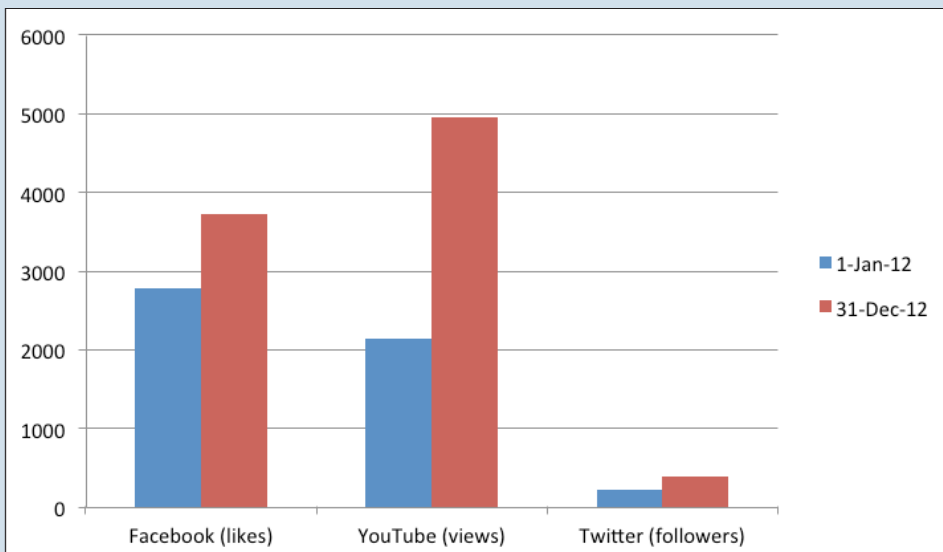
- In 2012, we had 260,867 visits to our Web site—up from 198,738 in 2011—representing an increase of 62,129 or 31.3 percent.
- Our Web site saw 186,347 unique visitors in 2012, compared to 139,204 in 2011—an increase of 47,143 or 33.9 percent.
- Statistics for pageviews tell an even more impressive story: we had 1,166,258 pageviews in 2012 and 685,872 in 2011. That's an increase of 480,386 or 70 percent, an astounding number.



TOP FIVE MOST POPULAR PAGES IN 2012



SOCIAL MEDIA GROWTH IN 2012



- Facebook went from 2,789 to 3,733 likes, an increase of 944 or 33.8 percent.
- Twitter went from 222 to 395 followers, an increase of 173 or 77.9 percent.
- YouTube went from 2,149 to 4,950 views, an increase of 2,801 or 130 percent.

Road Scholar

AFSA's Road Scholar program entered its 17th year of operation in 2012, welcoming more than 600 participants to programs in Washington, D.C., Chautauqua, N.Y. and St. Petersburg, Fla. These programs remain one of AFSA's most popular national outreach efforts, and their message about the importance of the Foreign Service continues to impress audiences.

In 2012, we offered 10 programs on a wide variety of subjects. The most popular topics continue to be those touching on the Middle East, North Africa and South Asia. This year, we had participants from 30 states, as well as the District of Columbia and New Brunswick, Canada. For more information on AFSA's Road Scholar programs, please visit www.afsa.org/roadscholar.



Road Scholars participating in AFSA's Washington, D.C. program.

Media

AFSA's media outreach efforts remained intensive in 2012, as well. We placed—either directly or through AFSA retirees countrywide—52 interviews, articles, letters to the editor, op-eds and fact sheets advocating increased public and congressional support for U.S. diplomacy and development in leading media outlets including the *Washington Post*, *New York Times*, *Congressional Quarterly*, CNN, NPR and the Associated Press, among others.

A particular highlight of 2012 was AFSA President Susan Johnson's 20-minute interview with NPR's "Metro Connection" program following the September Benghazi attack. Drawing on the lessons gained during her own career, Johnson explained the extent of the risks U.S. diplomats must face while assigned abroad, given the rapid deterioration of security in many countries. She went on to discuss the rewards of public service. The program reached a national audience of more than eight million listeners.

AFSA arranged media for AFSA's Memorial Plaque Ceremony, held at the State Department on Foreign Affairs Day, May 4. The ceremony was covered by 14 media outlets, including several TV networks.

Speakers Program

One of AFSA's most effective outreach platforms is our national Speakers Program. In 2012, AFSA deployed more than 450 Foreign Service speakers who lectured on the critical role U.S. diplomacy plays in promoting American interests to an estimated 28,000 professionals and academics in 42 states and Washington, D.C.

AFSA's speaker corps comprises some 510 retired and active duty Foreign Service officers, including some 100 former ambassadors. Many of our retired speakers remain involved in foreign affairs as authors, consultants and teachers. Audiences range from universities and world affairs councils to civic organizations and high schools.

Retired Ambassador Chas. Freeman, a China and Middle East expert, spoke to more than 500 faculty members and students at American University's annual Caroline and Charles Adair Memorial Lecture on Aug. 28. He addressed the challenges for U.S. diplomacy in a competitive world order. Speakers have addressed many other foreign relations topics while stressing the vital role the Foreign Service plays in advancing America's economic, security and development interests around the globe.



On Aug. 28, Amb. Chas. Freeman (center) and Marshall Adair (far right) greet American University students at the Caroline and Charles Adair Memorial Lecture.

PHOTOS BY DONNA AYERST

AFSA's Speakers Program has enabled the association to develop strategic partnerships with leading universities, including Michigan State University and the University of St. Thomas in Houston. AFSA benefits from their generous support through multiyear endowments, which provide funds for programs featuring prominent former U.S. ambassadors.

The program encourages speakers to remind their audiences to contact their congressional representatives to request increased funding for diplomatic readiness and development and to spotlight AFSA's book, *Inside a U.S. Embassy*, an in-depth resource on how an embassy works.

National High School Essay Contest



AFSA's 2012 high school essay contest winner, Natasha Madorsky (center) with Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton is joined by (left to right) AFSA President Susan Johnson, Coordinator for Special Awards and Outreach Perri Green, AFSA intern Paul Carter, her mother, Dr. Elizabeth Stern, Institute for Shipboard Education Vice President for Academic Affairs Robert Waters, her father Michael Madorsky, Mona El-Banna from Booz Allen Hamilton and her teacher and mentor, Peggy Hull.

AFSA's 14th annual high school essay contest culminated in July with Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton's presentation of the first-place prize to Natasha Madorsky of Cleveland, Ohio. For the 2012 contest, AFSA welcomed two generous sponsorships. Leading strategy and technology consulting firm Booz Allen Hamilton served as the official underwriter of the contest, making possible a \$2,500 prize and an all-expense paid trip to Washington, D.C. for Natasha and her parents, Dr. Elizabeth Stern and Mr. Michael Madorsky. Her teacher and mentor, Margaret 'Peggy' Hull, accompanied them to Washington.

Also new last year, the Institute for Shipboard Education's Semester at Sea program (www.semesteratsea.org) is providing Natasha with an all-expense-paid educational voyage aboard the shipboard campus, the *M.V. Explorer*. The Univer-

sity of Virginia sponsors the unique academic program, which provides students with a college semester while traveling the world for 100 days or more.

Honorable mention certificates were awarded to 24 finalists for their excellent essays. Essays went through three rounds of judging by a panel comprised of active and retired Foreign Service officers, teachers and private sector volunteers.

This year the quality of the nearly 500 submissions was far superior to what we have received over the past 13 years of the contest. We feel that this can be attributed to the incentive of the Semester at Sea voyage (worth close to \$30,000), the opportunity for the winner and his or her parents to come to Washington, D.C., and meet the Secretary of State, and the generous cash prize.

AFSA Awards

LIFETIME CONTRIBUTIONS TO AMERICAN DIPLOMACY

This year's annual awards ceremony took place on June 26 in the Benjamin Franklin Diplomatic Reception Room at the Department of State. Ambassador William Lacy Swing received AFSA's Lifetime Contributions to American Diplomacy Award for his half-century of diplomatic service. Amb. Swing expressed his gratitude for a career that allowed him the opportunity to be present as history unfolded.

CONSTRUCTIVE DISSENT AWARD

The 2012 winner of the William R. Rivkin Award for Constructive Dissent by a mid-level officer was Joshua Polacheck, who sent a cable challenging the thinking behind heightened security levels at embassies and the impact on getting the job done. No constructive dissent awards were given in the other three categories.

PERFORMANCE AWARDS

Leila Gupta received the Avis Bohlen Award for a Foreign Service Family Member; Sara Hurst Butler received the M. Juanita Guess Award for a Community Liaison Officer; and the Delavan Award for a Foreign Service Office Management Specialist went to James Velez. Jeff Jacob was named AFSA Post Representative of the Year.

SINCLAIRE LANGUAGE AWARDS

AFSA also presents other awards throughout the year. The Sinclair Language Awards honor Foreign Service officers for their outstanding accomplishment in the study of a difficult language and its associated culture. The program was established by AFSA through a bequest from Matilda W. Sinclair, a former Foreign Service officer. The winners were: Nancy Abella (Dari), Eric Collings (Uzbek), Sarah Grow (Persian/Farsi), James Hallock (Mandarin), Rebecca Hunter (Albanian), Theresa Mangione (Vietnamese), E. Jerome Ryan, Jr. (Japanese) and David Vincent Salvo (Serbian/Croatian).

GEORGE KENNAN WRITING AWARD

AFSA also sponsors the George Kennan Writing Award, given each year in honor of the best paper by a State Department employee enrolled at the National War College. This year's winner was Michael Dixon.



Left to right: Ambassadors Bruce Laingen, William L. Swing and Thomas Boyatt toast the winners.



The 2012 William R. Rivkin Award for Constructive Dissent winner Joshua Polacheck.



The winners and presenters at AFSA's annual awards ceremony.

PHOTOS BY DONNA AVERST



PHOTOS BY DONNA AYERST

Under Secretary Maria Otero offers words of condolence to the family of Sharon S. Clark during AFSA's plaque ceremony in the Department of State's C Street lobby.

The Memorial Plaques

Every year, AFSA has the honor of paying tribute to our colleagues who have given their lives while serving the American people. On May 4, Foreign Affairs Day, Sharon S. Clark's name was added to the memorial plaques.

The first plaque was unveiled in the C Street lobby of the Department of State in 1933 by Secretary of State Henry Stimson. There are now two plaques honoring 237 members of the Foreign Service who have died in the line of duty.

AFSA President Susan Johnson and Under Secretary of State Maria Otero presided over the ceremony honoring Ms. Clark.

An office management specialist, she died of cerebral malaria in December 2010 while assigned to the U.S. embassy's regional security office in Abuja.

Ms. Clark's children and grandchildren were all present for the solemn ceremony, which underscored the importance of paying tribute to those who gave their lives in the service of their country. AFSA is honored to play that role for the Foreign Service. ■



On May 4, Foreign Affairs Day, Bryseton Bumgardner contemplates his grandmother, Sharon S. Clark, whose name is inscribed on the AFSA Memorial Plaque.

AFSA Scholarship Program: A Busy Year

BY LORI DEC, SCHOLARSHIP DIRECTOR



Scholarship Program Staff: Scholarship Assistant Jonathan Crawford and Scholarship Director Lori Dec.

The AFSA Scholarship Program had a busy and successful year under the direction of the AFSA Scholarship Committee, chaired by Ambassador Lange Schermerhorn. Other committee members were: Deborah Odell (retired State representative), Jenae Johnson (active-duty State rep), Mark Petry (FAS rep), Yvette Malcioln (USAID rep), Joyce Namde (AFSA Governing Board liaison), Anne Cekuta (AAFSW rep) and Andrew Winter (ex-officio AFSA Governing Board rep). Through their hard work, and that of the AFSA Governing Board, more than \$225,000 in scholarships and awards was bestowed on 99 children of Foreign Service employees. Please visit www.afsa.org/scholar for program details.

2012 Highlights:

- In January, Amb. Lange Schermerhorn was approved as the chairman of the AFSA Scholarship Committee.
- The estate of Mr. Daniel Kiang established the Kiang for Excellence Financial Aid Scholarship, a six-figure planned gift.
- Mrs. Laurence Flannery established an annual financial aid scholarship in the name of her late husband, Terence Flannery.
- Ruth Nay Skiles established the Victor H. Skiles Memorial and Ruth Nay Skiles Financial Aid Scholarship in perpetuity.
- Previously established perpetual or annual financial aid scholarships benefited from additional funding from six private donors or support from their donor contacts.
- By making a substantial donation, an anonymous donor took the lead in establishing an AFSA financial aid scholarship in tribute to the U.S. diplomatic personnel killed in the Benghazi terrorist attacks.

- The program implemented an online student application form and judge scoring system for the AFSA art and academic merit awards.
- Academic and Art Merit Awards, ranging from \$500 to \$2,000 each, were given to 26 Foreign Service high school seniors, totaling \$40,500.
- After obtaining a legal opinion, the AFSA Governing Board approved changing the scholarship application criteria for Foreign Service youth, effective in the 2013-2014 school year. Only children of Foreign Service AFSA members are now eligible to apply for AFSA scholarships.
- Seventy-three students received undergraduate financial aid scholarships ranging from \$500 to \$4,000 each, for the 2012-2013 school year, totaling \$186,600.
- New advertisements were developed for the scholarship program's planned giving outreach. ■



Left to right: Maria Giuseppa Spigler congratulates merit winner Basil Smitham and his family.



PHOTOS BY DONNA AYERST

Front row, left to right: Named scholarship donors: Patti Ryan, Priscilla Becker, John Becker, Maria Giuseppa Spigler, Richard Spigler, Nancy Leary, Suzanne Taylor and Amb. Lange Schermerhorn, AFSA Scholarship Committee chair. Second row, left to right: 2012 Merit Award recipients: Joi Chu-Ketterer, Charlotte Ellison, Kathryn Horbeck, Molly Nesemann, Bradley Raynor, Marshall Richards, Basil Smitham and Betina Van Meter.



Top left, clockwise: Richard Spigler, Maria Giuseppa Spigler and Marshall Richards; Priscilla Becker. Joi Chu-Ketterer and John Becker; unidentified group with Bradley Raynor; Patti Ryan; Nancy Leary, Charlotte Ellison and Suzanne Taylor; Scholarship Director Lori Dec.



Foreign Service Journal: A Good Thing Gets Better

BY STEVEN ALAN HONLEY, FSJ EDITOR



DONNA AYERST

Foreign Service Journal and Foreign Service Books staff: (Top, clockwise) FSJ Editor Steven Alan Honley, Associate Editor and FS Books Publisher Shawn Dorman, Advertising and Circulation Manager Ed Miltenberger and Senior Editor Susan Maitra. (Not pictured: Art Director Caryn Suko Smith.)



The Foreign Service Journal's redesign, its first in 18 years and the culmination of a yearlong process, was unquestionably the highlight of the past year for AFSA's flagship publication.

More than 200 guests attended the Oct. 11 launch party that unveiled the transformed magazine in the Benjamin Franklin Diplomatic Reception Room at the Department of State. Deputy Secretary of State William Burns was one of

several distinguished speakers to praise the Journal's lively new design and thank AFSA for its advocacy on behalf of the Foreign Service and its members.

The magazine's content continued to reflect the motto for the launch party, "A Good Thing Gets Better." Fittingly, the October issue spotlighted "The New Foreign Service Generation," while the November edition of "In Their Own Write," our annual compilation of books by Foreign Service-affiliated authors, included more than 90 titles, the most ever.

Other 2012 highlights included April's extensive coverage of family-member employment and related issues, and the September focus on China, which featured an interview with former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger.

We also expanded the reach of the Journal Facebook



PHOTOS BY PATRICK BRADLEY

Left to right: Civil Service Association President Tommye Grant and Director General of the Foreign Service Linda Thomas-Greenfield celebrate the relaunch of The Foreign Service Journal, along with others.



page and by year's end had almost 1,200 likes for the page and more than 73,000 impressions. And last but definitely not least, the new FSJ app for the iPad went live in January 2013. ■



Foreign Service Books: Growth in 2012

BY SHAWN DORMAN, FOREIGN SERVICE BOOKS EDITOR/PUBLISHER



Foreign Service Books, the AFSA book publishing division, expanded in 2012 as

a major new book project got under way. Former Foreign Service Officer Harry Kopp, the author of *Career Diplomacy*, has delved into the AFSA archives and is writing a history of the American Foreign Service Association, to be published in 2014. Two more book projects are in the planning stages.

Inside a U.S. Embassy continues to be the anchor publication for Foreign Service Books, and the book did well in 2012. Since publication of the all-new edition in April 2011, AFSA has sold more

than 20,000 hard copies and more than 1,000 digital copies, bringing the total for the three editions to over 100,000 copies. Successful sales led to a second print run in October. In 2012, the State Department purchased another 5,000 copies of the book for outreach and recruitment.

In April, *Inside a U.S. Embassy* received the gold medal from the Independent Publishers Book Awards in the “current events-foreign affairs” category. The book also won the bronze medal from the Axiom Business Book Awards in the “career” category. These two awards illustrate the way that the AFSA book continues to serve the dual purpose of being an introduction to the Foreign Service and diplo-



Inside a U.S. Embassy receives a gold medal from the Independent Publisher Book Awards. Pictured here, Editor Shawn Dorman and an “IPPY” representative at the awards ceremony in New York City in June 2012.



Inside a U.S. Embassy on display at the Potomac Books/Books International booth at Book Expo America in June 2012.

macy, as well as a career guide for those who might consider joining.

FSBooks was represented in 2012 at Book Expo America in New York City in June, the world’s largest international event in the publishing world. AFSA’s participation at the expo was sponsored by our distributor, Potomac/Books International. *Inside a U.S. Embassy* was on display and FSBooks Editor/Publisher Shawn Dorman attended as an exhibitor.

Inside a U.S. Embassy continues to be one of AFSA’s most successful outreach tools. The book can be found in more than 250 libraries

worldwide, including libraries in Australia, Singapore, United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, Jordan, Cyprus, Greece, Rabat, Poland, Morocco, Netherlands and Canada, as well as nearly every state. The book has been adopted for more than 50 courses in the U.S. and overseas, and is required reading for a number of courses designed for military personnel. It is even available on the *M.V. Explorer*, Semester at Sea’s shipboard campus, a college program administered by the Institute for Shipboard Education and academically sponsored by the University of Virginia. ■



Member Services: Quantity and Quality

BY JANET HEDRICK, DIRECTOR MEMBER SERVICES



(Left to Right) Member Services Director Janet Hedrick, Member Services Representative Kristy Pomes and Administrative Assistant Ana Lopez.

AFSA welcomed 870 new members in 2012, most joining at the monthly luncheons held for entering Foreign Service classes at AFSA headquarters. While the number of total students joining the Foreign Service is down 28 percent from 2011 (due to a decrease in agency hiring), an overwhelming majority continue to choose to join AFSA.

We hosted 15 recruitment events this year, including three retirement luncheons for graduates from the Foreign Service Institute's Job Search Program. AFSA is committed to providing excellent service and access to valuable member benefits, and protecting member interests.

Our success is evident by the rising membership numbers: AFSA membership increased by 1.5 percent in 2012, to a record total of 16,167 members.

AFSA BY THE NUMBERS:

- 70 percent of overseas posts have an AFSA representative
- 400 members participated in the AFSA-sponsored Zipcar program
- 568 Foreign Service community members are lifetime members of AFSA
- 1,954 members participated in one or more of the AFSA-sponsored insurance programs
- AFSA ended the year with a record 16,167 members



PHOTOS BY DONNA AYERST

Benefits of AFSA Membership

Labor Management Relations: AFSA negotiates the regulations affecting employees' careers. We work to make the Foreign Service a better place in which to work, live, and raise a family. Our network of AFSA post reps provides on-site assistance to overseas members.

Congressional Advocacy: AFSA is your advocate before Congress on issues affecting the careers of active members and the annuities of retired members.

Ombudsman: We work to resolve member problems with pay, allowances, claims, annuities, health care, and many other issues.

Voice of the Foreign Service: As the professional association of the Foreign Service since 1924, AFSA works to strengthen our profession and is ever vigilant for threats to the career Foreign Service.

Grievance Representation: AFSA's legal staff provides hands-on assistance with grievance proceedings when your rights are violated.

Outreach: AFSA communicates the views of the Foreign Service on professional issues to the news media and directly to the general public.

The Foreign Service Journal: Our recently redesigned monthly magazine offers provocative articles that will keep you current on developments in the foreign affairs profession. The AFSA News section highlights issues affecting your daily life.

Legal Services: We offer free legal advice and representation on employment issues, including security and Office of the Inspector General investigations.

Insurance programs: You can choose among competitively priced insurance programs designed for the Foreign Service community, including professional liability insurance, accident and personal property/transit.

AFSA Scholarships: AFSA grants approximately 100 merit and financial need scholarships a year to Foreign Service family members.

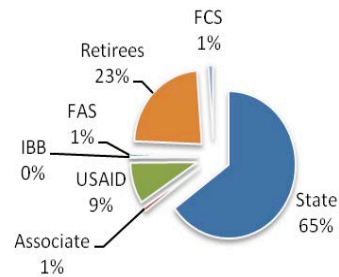
AFSA Awards: Our unique awards program honors constructive dissent and outstanding performance.

AFSA Web Site: We provide online resources including a member directory and guidance on a range of useful topics for foreign affairs professionals.

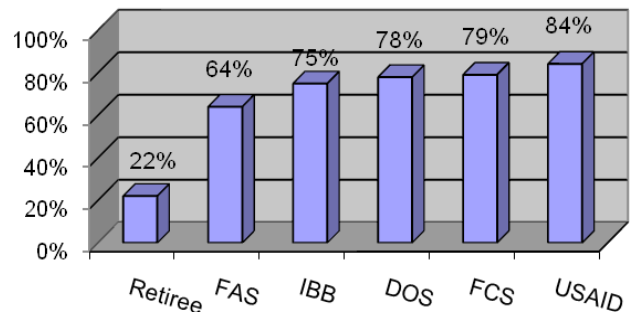
AFSA members are eligible for valuable discounts for: Zipcar, Ford's Theater and Brooks Brothers, as well as subscriptions to major foreign affairs journals.

Esprit de Corps: AFSA works to build a sense of common cause and professional pride between all Foreign Service members—active-duty and retired; officers and specialists; entry-level, mid-level and senior. ■

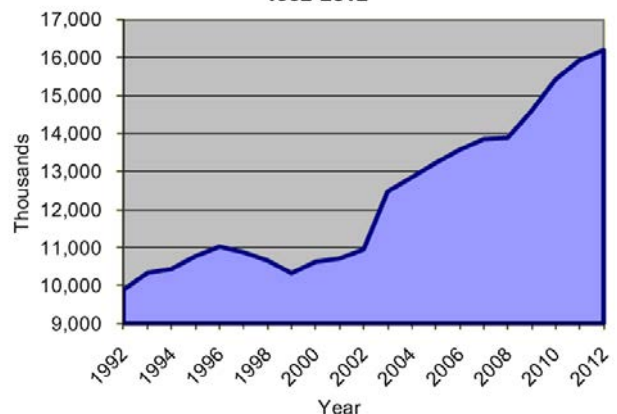
Membership by Constituency
December 2012



Membership Participation by Constituency
December 2012



AFSA Membership
1992-2012





Retiree Counseling And Legislation: Expanded Programs

BY BONNIE BROWN, COORDINATOR FOR RETIREE COUNSELING AND LEGISLATION



Coordinator for Retiree Counseling and Legislation Bonnie Brown with Associate Coordinator for Retiree Counseling and Legislation Matthew Sumrak.

In 2012, AFSA strongly opposed increased and intensified congressional efforts to reduce or eliminate federal benefits as a means of reducing the federal deficit and using the resulting savings to fund non-related programs.

Active Role

In spite of our comparatively small size, AFSA continues to play an active role in the Federal and Postal Union Coalition, the umbrella organization of federal active duty and retired employee associations and unions. AFSA joined more than two dozen federal and postal unions in the “America Counts on Us” campaign to reach key congressional candidates in their home districts, emphasizing benefits issues and the importance of the federal work force.

Matthew Sumrak, our new associate coordinator for retiree counseling and legis-

lation, served on the steering committee for the campaign and coordinated AFSA’s efforts to involve our members in town halls and campaign meetings. A registered lobbyist, Sumrak also joined the legislative team’s efforts on the Hill. Separately, AFSA President Susan Johnson sent a number of letters on behalf of AFSA to congressional decision-makers opposing cuts to federal benefits.

Assistance and Counseling

AFSA provided retiree members with assistance and counseling in more than 270 cases. While the issues were wide-ranging, most dealt with the Federal Employees Health Benefits Program and Medicare (55), annuities (38), Social Security (19), death of annuitants (14), divorce (13) and survivor annuities (11).

Retiree VP Mary Ellen



PHOTOS BY DONNA AYERST

Gilroy and AFSA retiree Governing Board members worked to increase retiree membership through a pilot phone membership recruitment campaign, along with receptions for new retirees, sponsored by AFSA and DACOR, at the Foreign Service Institute.

Retiree Services continued to publish the bimonthly *AFSA Newsletter*, giving retiree and active-duty members concise information on department policies, expla-

nations of federal benefits and news about the on-going debt-reduction process. In addition, we oversaw production of AFSA’s annual *Retiree Directory* and regularly updated the often-visited retiree Web page on www.afsa.org/retiree_services.aspx.

New Programs

Retiree Services added two new programs during 2012, beginning with sales of the Foreign Service Com-



PHOTOS BY DONNA AVERST

Understanding the differences in benefits between Medicare and the Federal Employees Health Benefit Program can be just as hard to explain as it is to comprehend, if gesticulating is any indication. Members of the audience ask questions of Dr. Judy Feder and Walton Francis at two different AFSA events.

memorative Marker in May. This product recognizes the careers and contributions of Foreign Service employees and their spouses and partners.

We also inaugurated the

“Federal Benefits Speaker Series.” Experts addressed issues of importance to retirees and those approaching retirement. Paula Jakub, vice president of the American Foreign Service Protective

Association, described the coordination between the Federal Employees Health Benefit Program and Medicare; Dr. Judy Feder, a health policy expert and professor at Georgetown University,

spoke about the future of Medicare; and Walton Francis, author of the *Consumer Checkbook Guide to Federal Health Plans*, explained how to compare federal health plans. ■

Labor Management, Continued from page 50

reprimand. It also upheld penalties ranging from three-to-10-day suspensions when affairs were accompanied by aggravating factors.

AFSA's concern, as also expressed by the Grievance Board, is that current regulations (3 FAM 4130 and 4139.1) do not clearly express the department's position on relations with consenting partners without any “aggravating factors.” While we do not condone scandalous behavior or that which could subject the employee to coercion, we have considered a number of cases to constitute unwarranted intrusion into employees' private lives. If this is a realm into which the department wishes to extend its influence, it should give employees better guidance. In addition, it should carefully examine the circumstances to determine if the conduct can “reasonably” be expected to impair the employee's performance by reason of blackmail, as the 3 FAM requires.

Social Media Guidance

AFSA received more than a dozen requests for guidance on the department's rules relating to the use of social media and the clearance process for publication of books, articles and blogs. In mid-November, when Public Affairs informed AFSA of its intended revisions to 3 FAM 4170, LM staff played a key role in reviewing the proposed changes and providing comments and suggestions by taking into account our members'

concerns and desires. We were informed that many of our comments would be incorporated into PA's final revisions to 3 FAM 4170.

AFSA Welcomes APHIS

In late 2012, Foreign Service officers employed by the Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service selected AFSA to be their exclusive representatives. AFSA welcomes APHIS to the AFSA Foreign Service family.

Myriad Issues

The LM staff also assisted AFSA members with myriad issues stemming from their Foreign Service employment. We wrote letters to Atlas Van Lines on behalf of an employee whose household effects were infested with bed bugs; to Bank of America and Wells Fargo relating to several members' primary residence; to Interstate National Dealers Service regarding a member's residency as it affected his automobile warranty; to California State University regarding in-state tuition; to the State Department Federal Credit Union on behalf of the widow of a Foreign Service employee who died while serving overseas; to Audubon Village Apartments requesting the termination of an employee's lease due to the employee's assignment overseas; and to the clerk of a court in Florida regarding excusing an employee serving overseas from jury duty. ■



Business and Accounting

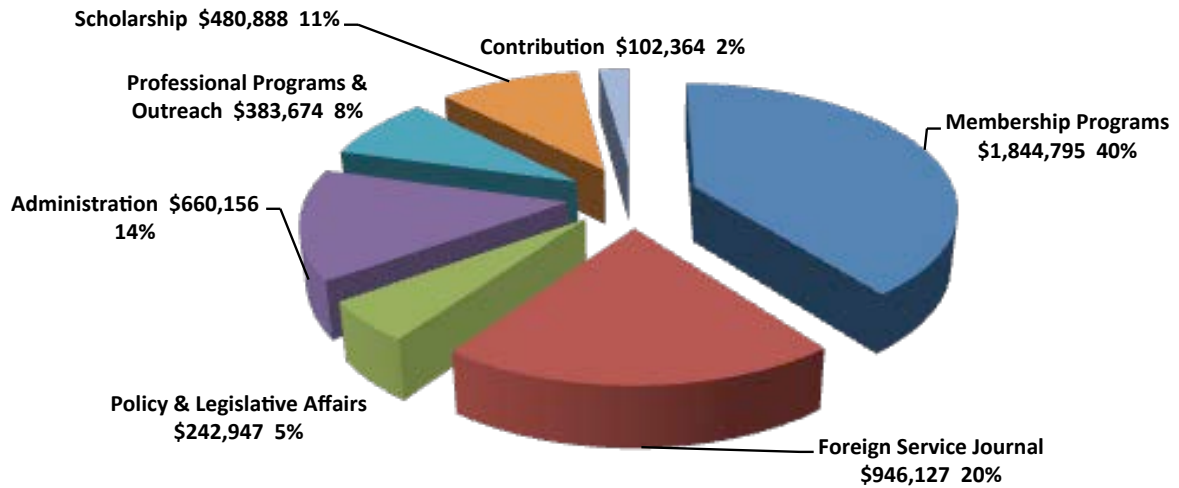
BY FEMI OSHOBUKOLA, DIRECTOR OF FINANCE



Controller Kalpna Srimal, Director of Finance Femi Oshobukola and Assistant Controller Cori Nishi.

DONNA AVERST

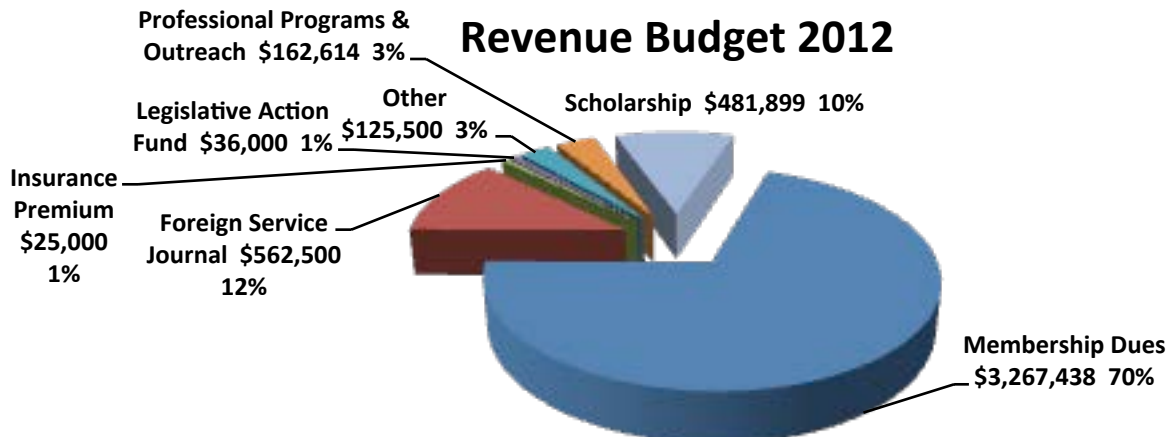
Expenses Budget 2012



* Approved budget figures. Audited financial statements for 2012 will be made available on the AFSA Web site.

**This figure does not include the portion of membership dues allocated to production of The Foreign Service Journal.

Revenue Budget 2012



AFSA Joins the Board of FEEA

BY JENNIFER LOWRY, AFSA STAFF

The American Foreign Service Association has joined the board of the Federal Employee Education & Assistance Fund. FEEA is an important asset to Foreign Service members and other federal employees by providing assistance to FS personnel and their family members.

The organization manages the Diplomatic Fund, which helps pay the cost of college tuition for children of diplomats slain by terrorists. This fund was originally established by the Departments of State and Defense in August 1995 to help the families of three individuals who were killed while on a diplomatic mission in Bosnia. With the Diplomatic Fund, FEEA has provided over \$10.2 million in scholarships to more than 8,000 students.

There are currently scholarships for more than 300 students who lost a parent in the Oklahoma City bombing, the 1998 terrorist attacks on U.S. embassies in Africa and at the Pentagon on 9/11. The goal is to raise enough money to provide full scholarships to the students currently identified, as well as to make the same promise to students who lose a diplomatic parent to terrorists in the future.

As the number of diplomats slain by terrorists sadly increases, it seems more

important than ever for AFSA to join the FEEA board.

FEEA's contributions to federal employees and their families extend far beyond scholarships. They also offer emergency assistance to

More than \$7.7 million in emergency no-interest loans and grants to over 13,000 federal employees have been provided over the last 25 years.

federal families struggling to meet basic living expenses. More than \$7.7 million in emergency no-interest loans and grants to over 13,000 federal employees have been provided over the last 25 years. Included in these amounts are grants and loans following major disas-

ters like Hurricanes Andrew and Katrina, the Oklahoma City bombing and the 9/11 terrorist attacks.

FEEA is the only non-profit organization devoted solely to helping civilian federal employees. Its simple, yet significant, mission speaks volumes: to assist civilian federal employees whenever and wherever the need arises.

With the unique nature of the Foreign Service, we hope that our input on the FEEA board will help in making decisions related to our nation's diplomatic service. We look forward to participating in FEEA's important work and sharing this new experience with our members. Please consider joining in FEEA's charity 5K run/walk on May 5. Learn more at www.feea.org. ■

NEWS BRIEF

Notice: AFSA Governing Board Elections

Please visit the AFSA Web site to learn more about the current AFSA Governing Board Elections, including a list of candidates and access to the online forums for discussing campaign issues www.afsa.org/elections. All members in good standing as of March 15, should receive a ballot to be mailed on or about April 15. In the event that you do not receive your ballot, please contact election@afsa.org.

For the first time, members for whom we have an e-mail address will have the option of voting online.

CALENDAR

3/6/2013
12:00 - 2:00 PM
AFSA Governing Board Meeting

3/6/2013
Deadline: AFSA Financial Aid Applications

3/10 - 3/14/2013
AFSA Road Scholar Program

3/17 - 3/20/2013
AFSA Road Scholar Program

4/3/2013
12:00 - 2:00 PM
AFSA Governing Board Meeting

4/7 - 4/10/2013
AFSA Road Scholar Program

4/10/2013
2:00 - 3:30 PM
Seminar: Eldercare and Health Management

4/15/2013
Deadline: AFSA High School Essay Contest

5/1/2013
12:00 - 2:00 PM
AFSA Governing Board Meeting

5/3/2013
Foreign Affairs Day/AFSA Memorial Plaque Ceremony

5/5/2013
Public Service Recognition Day 5K Run/Walk

5/22/2013
2:00 - 3:30 PM
AFSA Book Notes: "Master Class"

AFSA Speaker Series: TSP Pre-Separation Briefing

BY MATTHEW SUMRAK, ASSOCIATE COORDINATOR FOR RETIREE COUNSELING AND LEGISLATION

AFSA hosted the fourth session in its Federal Benefits Speaker Series on Feb. 11. Randy Urban, of the Federal Retirement Thrift Investment Board, gave a Thrift Savings Plan pre-separation briefing to AFSA members focused on contribution rules, investment considerations, and withdrawal options, both in-service and post-service. More than 85 AFSA member's attended the event.

Beginning with contribution rules, Mr. Urban stressed that the most important

thing to remember is that agency contributions are "free government money," and you do not want to lose out on getting the full 4 percent match that every employee is entitled to.

He also recommended that TSP monthly contributions are spread throughout the entire year so you do not max-out your agency's contribution limit early in the year. The current limit is \$17,500.

He reminded the audience that one can start, stop, or


change their contribution at any time. Every FERS/FSPS employee automatically receives a 1 percent agency contribution. To maximize both your and your agency's contribution, Urban strongly encouraged everyone to go to the TSP Web site at www.tsp.gov. Their calculators will help you to decide the right amount to contribute.

When investing with TSP, keep in mind how long it will be before you will use your investment. In most cases, that will be sometime

after you retire. Also worth considering is diversification and risk tolerance, followed by inflation and taxes. It is important to understand the tax implications for withdrawing funds.

The last consideration is investment costs. TSP pays for itself and receives no government money; despite this they have very low investment costs. As of 2012, the average expense for administrative and investment management fees were \$0.27 for every \$1,000. Com-

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pare that to the average cost for mutual funds is \$2.62 per \$1,000 and median 401(k) expenses are \$7.20 per \$1,000. Your low-cost TSP investment allows you to save more.

Withdrawals from your TSP account have their own set of rules and participants must be aware of notification requirements. All post-service withdrawal requests require a notarized signature of the participant. Withdrawal forms can be pre-filled using the online wizard on the TSP website and this can help to avoid mistakes.

Married FERS partici-

pants must obtain a notarized spouse's signature, but not for married CSRS participants. If a participant has both a traditional and a Roth balance, all withdrawal options are paid proportionally (pro-rata) from each balance.

In order to elect an in-service withdrawal, the participant must be 59½ or older. It is very important to know that an in-service withdrawal is a one-time withdrawal of all or a specific dollar amount of at least \$1,000.

For more on managing your Thrift Savings Plan, please see the April issue of AFSA News. ■

ACTIVE AFTER ACTIVE-DUTY

Middle East Lunch Topic

BY T. DENNIS REECE, CHAIR, FSRA-FL

On Jan. 25, Ambassador David Newton spoke on U.S. challenges in the Middle East to more than 120 persons at a Foreign Service Retirees Association of Florida luncheon in Sarasota. Five of the attendees were recognized for their charter membership in the FSRA, which was formalized in 1982. About a dozen attendees attended the event as a result of FSRA's ties with Returned Peace Corps Volunteers chapters in Florida.

The FSRA holds luncheons five times a year throughout the state and also provides speakers on the Foreign Service and related subjects to interested parties. Membership is open to persons who have represented the U.S. government abroad and their spouses or partners. For more information on FSRA, please visit our Web site at www.foreignserviceretireeassociation.org. ■

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Inside a U.S. Embassy

DIPLOMACY AT WORK

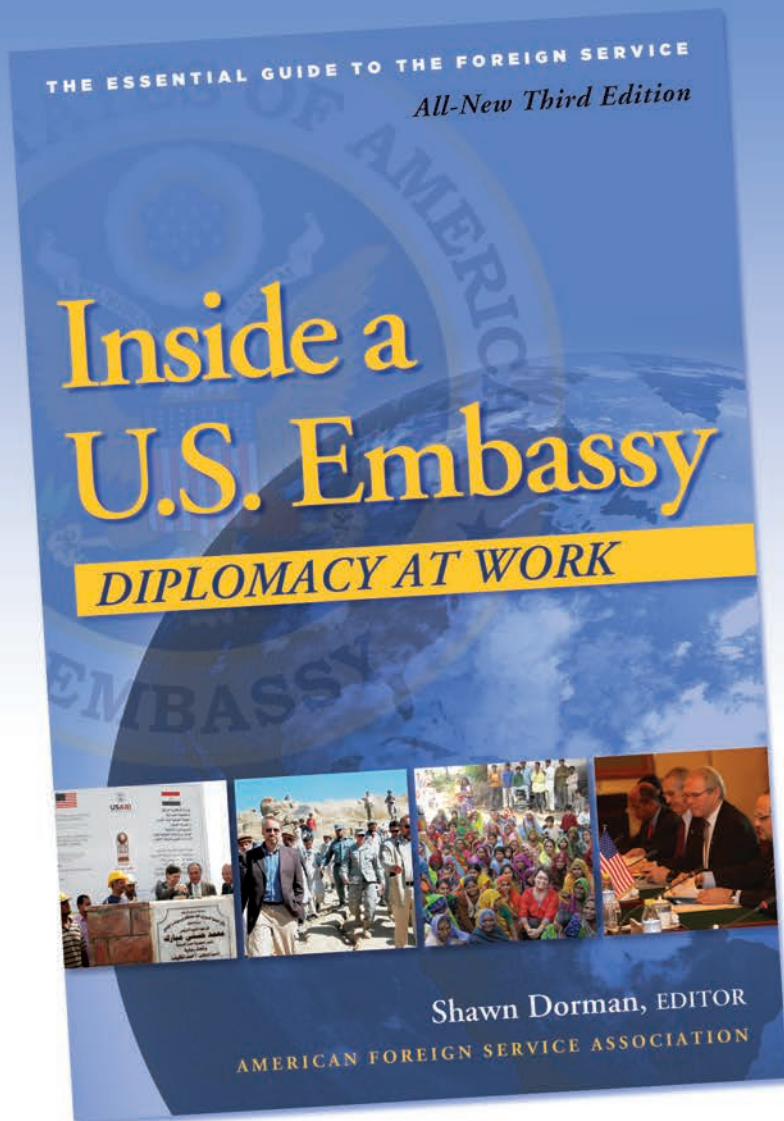
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ISBN 978-0-964948846, \$22.95,
280 pages, 91 photos, 24 maps,
FSBooks, 2011.

Shawn Dorman, EDITOR
AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION

Growing a Second Heart

Three Truths and a Lie

Graham Fuller, *CreateSpace*, 2012, paperback/\$14.95, Kindle Edition/\$9.99, 274 pages.

REVIEWED BY STEPHEN W. BUCK

This gripping book will speak to a broad audience: parents, Third-Culture Kids, cross-cultural adoptees and anyone who has ever been affected by the huge ripple effects of addiction. It delves deeply, at the most personal level, into the issues of roots, belonging and grounding that affect many Foreign Service and international families.

Along the way, Fuller offers insights into the challenges that Foreign Service children “living between worlds” often face on a daily basis.

Three Truths and a Lie is an amazing story in its own right. But what makes it truly remarkable is who wrote it: Graham Fuller, a Middle East specialist who was once vice chair of the National Intelligence Council (among many other positions), and the author of dozens of articles and books on the Muslim world.

Used to a world of secrets and compartmentalization, Fuller leaves nothing hidden in this compelling account of his family's attempts to save their adopted Korean son, Luke Byungbae Fuller, from the

downward spiral of addiction. As Graham admits, for all his ability to observe, report on and analyze developments and trends, he was never able to figure out the mystery that was his son or halt his downward spiral.

In the process, Fuller offers insights into a Foreign Service culture that also focuses on rationality, yet sometimes offers little help to families dealing with the complexities of cross-cultural adoption and the challenges that Foreign Service children “living between worlds” often face on a daily basis.

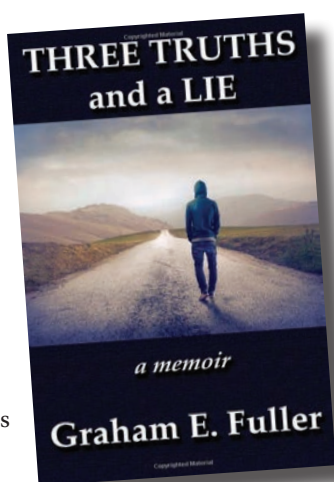
The title of the book refers to a game Luke excelled at: coming up with four statements about himself, three of which were true and one that was a lie. Much of the book is about the very volatile Fuller family trying to understand the much quieter Luke and to save him from his growing addiction.

While the focus is on trying to rescue Luke, in the end the book is as much or more about Graham as it is about Luke.

Though he is well trained in intelligence gathering and analysis, Graham comes to realize that he is less adept in “catching onto reality in things of the heart.” This is not at all surprising, given the culture of the intelligence world.

Graham concludes that Luke's death at 21 of a drug overdose did not leave an “emptiness” or “hole” in his

heart. Rather, he felt “as if I have grown a second heart...more open and vulnerable to the world, more sensitive to its emotional elements. That is an unexpected blessing for someone who took routine refuge in an analytical mind.”



Like the great Greek tragedies, the journey Fuller traces in this book is not an easy one. Even though we know the end of the saga from page one, *Three Truths and a Lie* is very hard to put down because of the story it has to tell, the excellence of the telling and, most of all, the deep honesty, humility and humanity of the author.

Stephen W. Buck, a retired Senior Foreign Service officer, served at eight posts in the Arab world during his 39-year diplomatic career. He consults and lectures frequently on the Middle East, and has served on the Foreign Service Journal Editorial Board since 2003.

How to Make Friends and Influence People

Persuasion and Power:

The Art of Strategic Communication

James P. Farwell, *Georgetown University Press*, 2012, paperback/\$29.95, Kindle Edition/\$16.17, 271 pages.

REVIEWED BY PATRICIA H. KUSHLIS

As its title implies, *Persuasion and Power: The Art of Strategic Communication* is a “how to” book for professionals in many different fields. At the same time, it will interest anyone who wants to learn more about how governments and politicians (elected and non-elected) have informed and influenced publics about their policies and candidates.

Farwell, a veteran consultant to political campaigns and U.S. military and strategic entities, aims to explain in lay terms the thinking behind campaigns of *influence*—or, in less pejorative terms, how to “win hearts and minds.” In essence, Farwell suggests that there are commonalities among the

Farwell's basic argument is that the overriding goal of any information campaign is not only to inform, but also to influence the people who matter.

endeavors that the Pentagon refers to as “strategic communication,” civilian government agencies often call “public affairs and public diplomacy,” businesses see as advertising, and political advisers view as campaigning. He uses numerous real-world examples to illustrate his points.

His basic argument is that the overriding goal of any information campaign is not only to inform, but also to *influence* the people who matter. This is the case for authoritarian regimes and dictators seeking to keep their populations in line, as well as for democracies, militaries, foreign officials and elected politicians.

He goes on to argue that whatever the message, the facts and the story need to be accurate. They must be judged as credible by the intended recipients because the long-term veracity of the messenger is crucial to gaining and maintaining popular support.

Toward that end, the messenger must choose the most effective medium for delivery of the message, whether for good or ill. Witness, as Farwell tragically documents, the efficacy of hate radio campaigns during the 1994 Rwandan genocide—and, I would add, similar

propaganda conducted in the former Yugoslavia during the same decade and earlier.

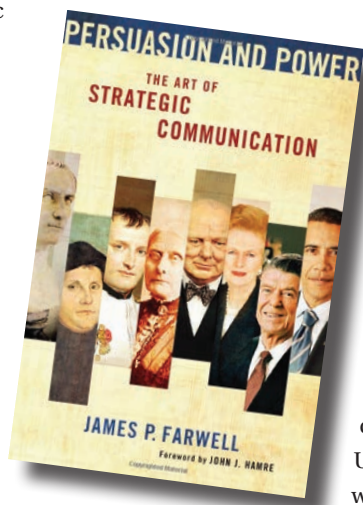
In “Change that Would Matter,” Farwell’s penultimate chapter, he includes lists of recommendations for the U.S. military and State Department as these behemoth bureaucracies navigate the shoals of divided government and reduced resources. Since one of those lists is mine—you may credit or blame me for its contents—I will note that

I stand by all of my suggestions. (In the interest of full disclosure, let me add that you will see my name in several other chapters, as well, because I was involved in the book’s initial editing.)

Fundamentally, I argue in that list of initiatives that U.S. public diplomacy—indeed U.S. foreign policy as a whole—needs to begin at home with “the last three

feet.” In my view, the State Department has been derelict in its treatment of public diplomacy specialists abroad, thereby squandering much potential influence. Moreover, it has yet to grasp the need to garner support for its activities and policies through educating and communicating better with publics right here in the United States.

Let me close by adding one more recommendation to Farwell’s. There needs to be greater concerted support by the State Department, Congress and the rest of the American political leadership, as well as members of the international business community, for the long-planned Museum of Diplomacy than there has been up to now.



Washington, D.C., overflows with easily accessible and impressive memorials to America’s war dead. There’s even a Spy Museum that commemorates the Central Intelligence Agency, while the Newseum trumpets the feats of the commercial media. An attractive, welcoming and publicly accessible Museum of Diplomacy in the nation’s capital should be part of that mix, as well. ■

Patricia H. Kushlis was an FSO with the U.S. Information Agency from 1970 to 1998. A longer version of this review appeared on Whirled View, the world politics, public diplomacy and national security blog she co-writes with former FSO Patricia Lee Sharpe (<http://whirledview.typepad.com/>).



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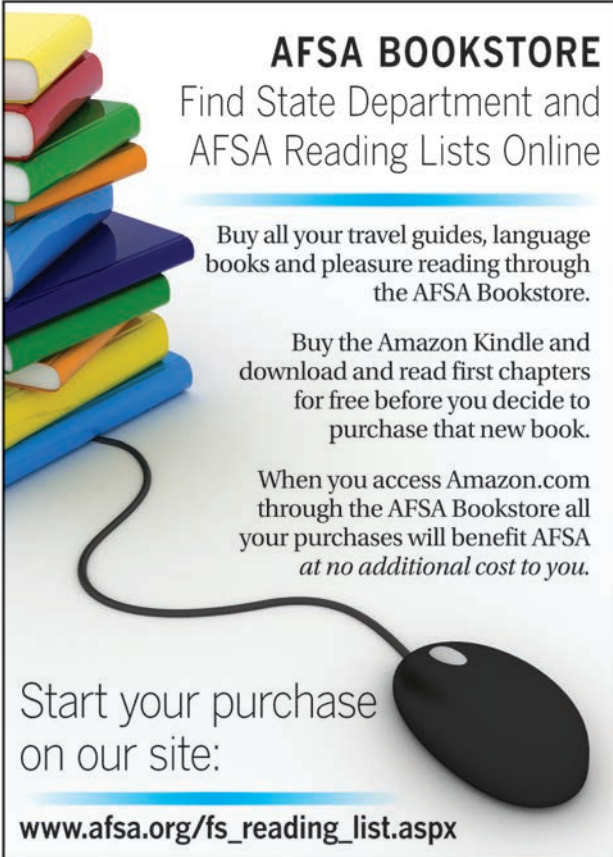


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