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FOCUS ON HUMANITARIAN DIPLOMACY

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APPRECIATION

On the Cover: Yezidi refugees recall their harrowing escape from the so-called Islamic State group at a December 2014 meeting in Mardin, Turkey, with FSO Refugee Coordinator Matthew Johnson, at right. Photo courtesy of Matthew Johnson. Below—2013 graduates from Simad University in Mogadishu, Somalia. Photo: AMISOM Public Information/ Ilyas A. Abukar/Wikimedia Commons.

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Building the Deep Bench

BY BARBARA STEPHENSON

The training acquired through assignments is the primary means by which the Foreign Service develops the next generation of leaders.

I wrote in my very first column of the joy of receiving members of the 183rd A-100 class at AFSA headquarters, in my first act after being sworn in as president in July. Their excitement and enthusiasm about their careers was contagious.

Recently, I shared lunch and a considerably more somber conversation with members of the 185th A-100 class. They are ready to serve, but concerned.

Their concern: that the recent surge in demand for entry-level consular adjudicators will lead to back-to-back consular tours that will distort their career paths and hinder their development into well-rounded Foreign Service officers.

One thoughtful member of the class followed up with me in writing, describing the impact of the "present crushing demand" for consular staffing and urging expanded use of the limited non-career appointment (LNA) adjudicator program.

The current A-100 class, he wrote, "consists of 93 members, all of whom will serve in the consular section during their first tour. It is highly likely that a majority will serve their second tour in the consular section, as well. Of those 93, only 20 are actually consular-coned officers. If the desired end state is well-rounded officers, the remaining 73 individuals are being put at a disadvantage."

AFSA agrees that the desired end state is well-rounded officers. In fact, a key purpose of the Foreign Service personnel system is to produce a deep bench of experienced, seasoned leaders year after year.

How are those leaders produced? Primarily through a series of varied and increasingly responsible assignments. The rule of thumb is 70-20-10: that is, 70 percent of career development comes from a carefully thought out series of assignments; 20 percent from mentoring; and 10 percent from formal training.

On-the-job training, through assignments designed to master the core business and develop a leader, is not just nice to have if circumstances permit. On the contrary, it is the primary means by which the Foreign Service develops the next generation of leaders.

A consular tour—for all officers, of every cone—is an important step in mastering the core business of the Foreign Service, including leader development, a signature strength of Consular Affairs. That said, when the one or two years of consular work slip to four, five or six years, we are putting career development at risk.

AFSA recognizes the short-term challenge of filling a sharply higher number of entry-level consular adjudicator slots and will engage constructively with department management to address it.

As the principal advocate for the long-term institutional health of the Foreign Service, AFSA will insist that solutions to the short-term challenge give due weight to the long-term well-being of our competitive up-or-out Service.

Here is the good news. The current staffing challenge pales in comparison to past challenges and can be easily overcome—without sacrificing access to the varied assignments key to career development.

Let's do some quick math. Workload projections indicate that 600 entry-level consular adjudicators are needed this year. About 365 positions will be filled with new entry-level officers, leaving a gap of 235 positions.

How does filling 235 LNA positions in cities like São Paulo, Guadalajara and Shanghai stack up against past challenges?

As deputy coordinator for Iraq in January 2007, I found myself with less than a year to get more than 600 trained civilians to Iraq, then experiencing horrific violence. It was the largest deployment of civilians to a war zone since the Vietnam War, and we filled every position.

To my new colleagues in the 185th A100 class, I say: Fear not. You joined a strong, resilient organization, one that has faced down bigger challenges in the past. Count on AFSA to advocate ceaselessly and effectively for a career path that ensures that you too can develop into the seasoned, well-rounded leaders the Foreign Service needs. ■

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

Mass Migration Matters

BY SHAWN DORMAN

There are more than 60 million people in the world today who have been forcibly displaced, according to the United Nations.

Millions are on the move, the majority fleeing war and disintegration in their home countries. At the epicenter of the present crisis are the war-torn nations of Syria and Iraq, from which a mass migration of refugees larger than any since World War II emanates.

That is our focus this month, but what can the *Journal* contribute to the discussion of an ongoing crisis that is making headlines daily and figures in domestic political discourse around the world?

We illustrate the breadth and enormity of the challenge from a unique vantage point—the perspectives of practitioners of humanitarian diplomacy, those in the field assessing needs, managing refugee issues and delivering assistance.

Although the United States holds the distinction as the largest provider of humanitarian assistance, the unprecedented dimensions of today's needs weigh heavy on all who work in this field.

Our look at the current situation begins with a Q&A with Deputy High Commissioner for Refugees Kelly Clements. She offers an overview of the refugee crisis and the practice of humanitarian diplomacy, explaining the role of UNHCR in addressing "both root causes of refugee movements and immediate threats to their safety."

In "On the Ground in Turkey," FSO Refugee Coordinator Matt Johnson brings us to the front lines through his personal experience setting up an office for the Bureau of Population, Refugees and Migration at Consulate Adana. He monitors, advocates and reports on the situation from the field.

In "Partnering to Meet Urgent Needs," former FSO Laura Lane, now president of global public affairs for UPS, describes the complex challenge of playing a constructive role in the midst of today's climate of "anxious apprehension" about refugees. Sharing her own experiences from Rwanda to Iraq, she argues for government-corporate partnerships to provide humanitarian assistance more effectively.

Retired FSO Carol Colloton offers a primer on refugee resettlement in the United States in "How Refugee Resettlement in the United States Actually Works." The United States, historically, has permanently resettled more refugees than all other countries combined, she notes, asking whether the American commitment to assisting refugees may be fading.

In "Pitching In to Do Vital Work," Career Ambassador (ret.) Johnny Young shares his experiences working on refugee resettlement in a post-Foreign Service position as executive director for the Office of Migration and Refugee Services for the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops.

Elsewhere, in Features, educator Don Lotter proposes a shift in focus for development aid to Africa and retired FSO Andrew Sens identifies two essential elements for resolving ethnic and sectarian conflict.

Up front, AFSA President Ambassador Barbara Stephenson discusses a vital topic in "Building the Deep Bench." She emphasizes AFSA's determination—as the principal advocate for the long-term strength of the Foreign Service—to ensure that solutions to short-term challenges do not erode the long-term health of the career.

Looking back to the January-February focus on mental health services, I am pleased to report that it—in particular, the compilation of FS member comments—has led to discussion inside the foreign affairs agencies of the need to address problems you raised, including access to care, privacy, transparency about the clearance process and toxic workplaces.

Help keep the conversation going by continuing to share your views with the *Journal*. In January, we promised a separate look at mental health and special needs services for Foreign Service children.

That topic emerged as a serious concern for FS families, with some reporting that it is becoming more difficult to obtain the services they need. We will publish readers' comments on this in June and anticipate an in-depth look at the issue by the end of the year.

Looking ahead, the May focus on life after the Foreign Service will offer inspiring insights into what people do once they leave the Foreign Service, and ideas to consider. So many people responded to our question "what are you doing now?" that we will run that compilation over several months. ■

Shawn Dorman is the editor of The Foreign Service Journal.

Retiree Access Tales

Mary Gilroy's saga about renewing her State retiree card sounded very familiar (Speaking Out, January-February). At least at the end of her several hours at Main State she left with some reward for her efforts, a compensation I didn't obtain a few years ago.

I retired from State in March 2007 from overseas (after just over 30 years with the U.S. government). I didn't return to Washington, D.C., until October 2011, at which time I thought that a retiree photo ID card would be useful.

Checking beforehand with the Office of Retiree Services (and, like Ms. Gilroy, finding even as early as 2011 that AFSA had the most information on the process), I knew the route I had to follow and thought I had the documents I needed.

I first went to SA-1 to have the DS-1838 approved. No problem there. However, at the Diplomatic Security office at Main State, I found that even though Retiree Services had signed off on the DS-1838 and seen my photo IDs, I still couldn't be issued a retiree card.

DS wouldn't accept the second photo ID—my Australian driver's license. (I needed two because, unlike Ms. Gilroy, I was getting my retiree card for the first time.) It seems that a valid U.S. driver's license would have been accepted. Even a valid Canadian license would apparently have worked.

The DS officer could not give me a reason why a Canadian document trumped the Australian. I was advised that my birth certificate would also have been acceptable.

Why a Xeroxed copy of a non-photo document from 1951 would be acceptable over a government-issued photo ID (even if it wasn't American or Canadian) still has me befuddled.

So I had to leave, frustrated after a fruitless afternoon, without that retiree ID card, and still do not have one.

It would be helpful if AFSA could get the latest information from the Bureau of Diplomatic Security regarding which documents are acceptable to support a request for an initial retiree card. Yes, I would still like one.

Finally, again in agreement with Ms. Gilroy, if the retiree card is merely a gesture to the departing employee, why not include one of the more impressive old-style ones along with the Main State flag, a career achievement award and a copy of the Atlas statue from the HST Building courtyard when one is being sent off?

And while one is at it, perhaps State could include one's last "real" ID photo on the card? That might give overseas retirees a certain little cachet when they need to visit a U.S. embassy or consulate.

Steve Flora
FSS, retired
Canberra, Australia

State Could Do Better

Many thanks to Meg Gilroy for her gracious account of the absurdities of the retiree badge!

Having just acquired one while still on active duty, I hadn't given much thought to the issues of renewal. At least I could get to the retiree office unescorted and cut through the building rather than walk around.

But the process raised similar questions in my mind about what the department is trying to achieve. For instance, why issue cards with a chip and magnetic strip that have no purpose? And, why make retirees pick up yet another card in the C Street lobby after passing through visitor security?

As Gilroy notes: "Given the restrictions, the fact that it isn't fully activated and the complicated procedure for renewal, one has to wonder why State can't do better."

Beatrice Camp
FSO, retired
Arlington, Virginia

FS Mental Health Care, A Historical Note

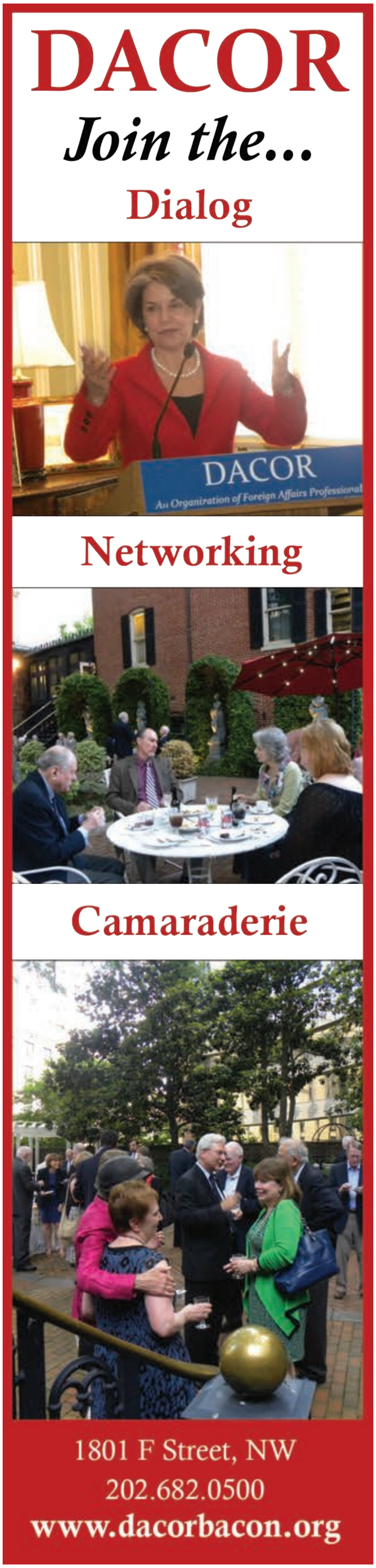
Thank you for spotlighting FS mental health issues in the January-February *FSJ*. I appreciated both the discussion of current issues and the review of the Office of Mental Health Services' evolution, and would like to add some notes on Dr. Rigamer's tenure as medical director.

Retrenchment and downsizing were government watchwords during that time, and MED was no exception. Dr. Rigamer oversaw several initiatives, including stopping the practice of the department acting as a secondary payer for inpatient medical expenses linked to overseas service.

I was posted in MED at the time, and we were asked to look into shifting that role to the Office of Workers' Compensation Programs in the Department of Labor.

However, it quickly became apparent that OWCP would be unable to respond in a timely fashion to our overseas patients' needs, and the idea was dropped.

Another initiative involved restricting regular direct-hire MED personnel to a small managerial group and shifting



other positions into a limited non-career appointment category.

New hires came in under that program, but resistance both within and outside of MED led to a cessation of the practice after a few years.

Michael Nesemann
Regional Medical Manager
Consulate General Frankfurt

Mental Health Treatment: The Faith Alternative

The *FSJ* has not lost its willingness to tackle delicate issues. This is evident from the January-February issue focusing on the supersensitive issue of mental health in the Foreign Service.

In "Foreign Service Members Weigh In," some members tell of how their conditions of service caused them psychological problems, support for which was often not forthcoming.

These accounts confront us with some of the harsher realities of the Foreign Service life, and resonate with me. I, too, experienced such conditions of service: difficult and dangerous postings, small-minded supervisors, a son's mental illness, break-up of the family and eventual mandatory retirement.

Yet I neither applied for psychological treatment nor felt it would be desirable. Perhaps I was aided by the links I discovered between my Foreign Service experience and theology, which I describe in my book (*Theology and the Disciplines of the Foreign Service*, 2015).

If so, this leads to a further point. The inability to find conventional treatment within official structures is unfortunate. But, sadly, even if found, such treatment is not always successful; in my son's case it failed despite a years-long effort.

An alternative and potentially more effective remedy lies in religious faith, with its healing prayer, worship and fellowship.

Given the *FSJ*'s secular orientation, I can understand why it did not feature this approach. But should it not be noted?

Rev. Theodore L. Lewis
FSO, retired
Germantown, Maryland

The FS Profession Debate

As we start a new year, a few of us who are Foreign Service officers serving at the Foreign Service Institute want to weigh in on articles that have appeared over the course of the past year in the *FSJ* and elsewhere featuring commentary about whether the U.S. Foreign Service constitutes "a profession."

Some commentators reached the conclusion that it does not, and a piece in the October *FSJ* ("Working with the U.S. Military: 10 Things the Foreign Service Needs to Know," by Ted Strickler) went so far as to assert that the Foreign Service "could be described as a pseudo-profession, with elitism passing for professionalism."

We disagree. Today's Foreign Service is increasingly professional and elite—as we want America's diplomats to be—but not elitist.

The Foreign Service does reflect many aspects of a profession, including its rigorous entry process, peer-reviewed progression and training programs that provide foreign affairs practitioners with the knowledge, skills and attitudes they need to perform at a professional standard.

We do agree, however, that the area of "long-term learning" deserves further attention, and we are happy to say that this essential element of professionalism is developing robustly at FSI.

Senior-level leaders across FSI are working to tie lifelong learning more clearly to professional advancement and career opportunities. Foreign Service education is an exciting field to work in right now, as we collectively develop

a strategic framework to keep our training up to date with the rapidly evolving international environment.

It will be up to all of us in the Foreign Service to continue to promote a culture of lifelong professional training in this organization—across service backgrounds and with the commitment of mentors, supervisors and learners—so that our diplomacy works most effectively for the interests of the American people.

Note: The views expressed here are those of the authors and not necessarily those of the Department of State or U.S. government.

Alicia Allison, FSO
David Gehrenbeck, FSO
Paul Kreutzer, FSO
Arlington, Virginia

The Power of Exchanges

Following the December *FSJ* focus on the International Visitor Leadership Program, I'd like to share a story of the impact of one exchange.

Back in the mid-1980s, U.S. Information Service Lahore identified a candidate for the International Visitor Program, a young man with a promising future in Pakistani business and good political connections. He participated in a month-long program in the United States with grantees from around the world.

In the debriefing following his return to Pakistan, he enthusiastically praised the content and organization of the visit and could find no real negatives.

When the formal debriefing ended, after making sure my office door was closed, he said, "Now, let me tell you about the most wonderful part of my visit."

He proceeded to describe how he had been aghast to find that he was assigned to a working group that included a man from Israel. "I was tempted to withdraw from the grant. In growing up, I had learned terrible things about the hated Jews."

But he decided to see how things would work out. "You will never believe what happened then," he recounted. "It wasn't long before I came to appreciate the mind and character of this fellow. Working together, he and I became close colleagues, even friends."

Before he left my office he asked, "Would you please mail a letter that I have written to my Israeli friend? It's impossible for me to communicate directly with him from here."

Robert R. Gibbons
FSO, retired
Mesa, Arizona

CORRECTION

Our FS Heritage in the March issue, "FS Personnel Evaluations, 1925-1955: A Unique View" by Nicholas J. Willis, did not include a photo of the author.

Instead, the photo on page 60 of the print edition is of Maxwell J. Hamilton, an FSO and co-author of the October FS Heritage piece, "Taking Stock of Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes."

Nicholas Willis, shown here, is the nephew of Frances Elizabeth Willis, the third woman to join the Foreign Service and the first woman to make it a career, rising to the rank of Career Ambassador in 1962. Willis is the author of *Frances Elizabeth Willis* (2013), a biography of his aunt.

We apologize to Nicholas Willis, Maxwell J. Hamilton and our readers for the mix-up.

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TALKING POINTS

State's Convening Power Helps Syrian Refugee Children

"This is an unusual event for us," said Deputy Secretary of State for Management and Resources Heather Higginbottom, opening a Nov. 16 gathering, "Bridging the Education Gap for Refugee Children in Turkey," at the Department of State.

"In most cases, we host discussions or conferences where we ask our participants simply to listen instead of problem-solve," she added. "But not today."

The event—an initiative spearheaded by the Office of Deputy Secretary of State Antony Blinken in partnership with the Bureau of Population, Refugees and Migration—convened more than 100 leaders from government, international financial institutions, nonprofit organizations, education foundations, tech companies and others to explore solutions on how to provide roughly 400,000 school-aged Syrian refugee children in Turkey with access to education.

Coming just days after the world had witnessed horrific terror attacks in Beirut and Paris, the meeting added a sense of urgency to the challenge of preventing the disenfranchisement of an entire generation of Syrian youth.

The United States, primarily through PRM and USAID's Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance, has contributed more than $4.5 billion in humanitarian aid since the start of the civil war in Syria. Turkey alone has received more than $325 million in U.S. funding for its humanitarian response to the crisis via U.N. agencies and nongovernmental organizations, including for the operations of schools.

Turkish officials and international humanitarian aid organizations estimate that of the 700,000 school-aged Syrian refugee children in Turkey, only 300,000 have access to education. Some have likened the challenge of sending the remaining children to school to having to increase the capacity of New York's public school system—the largest in the United States—by 50 percent within a two- to three-year period.

Following remarks by Ali Ozturk, adviser to the deputy prime minister of Turkey who has responsibility for managing the Syrian crisis response; Anthony Lake, the executive director of UNICEF; and Meighan Stone, president of the Malala Fund, participants broke into smaller discussion groups to brainstorm solutions.

Ideas flowed on how to build more schools, arrange for basic transportation, provide child protection and psychosocial services, and offer vocational training to young adults.

Many participants commented on how much they appreciated the opportunity to expand their professional networks, and the department is now following up on some of the day's proposals.

The event mirrored a similar effort in Turkey where the U.S. mission brought together major U.N. organizations, NGOs and private-sector institutions to identify ways to collaborate on the delivery of humanitarian assistance.

Perhaps such events, which leverage America's convening power to find solutions to today's global challenges, will soon become a hallmark of American diplomacy and development efforts rather than an anomaly.

—Maria C. Livingston, Director of Professional Policy Issues

Bridging the Gap at Georgetown

In January, the Carnegie Corporation gave an $840,000 grant to the Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University's "Bridging the Gap" initiative, with the goal of connecting practitioners and theoreticians in the world of international affairs.

The grant, titled "From Scholar's Theory to Practitioner's Work, and Back," will promote diplomacy as a key international policy tool.

To be shared by the Institute for the Study of Diplomacy and the Mortara Center for International Studies, the grant monies will fund three major "bridging the gap" pillars: (1) education, by updating and expanding ISD's

Contemporary Quote

"To me the most important single quality of a diplomat is empathy, which is not the same as sympathy; it simply means you understand. You take great pains to understand where the other side is coming from.

If you're trying to alter their behavior or adjust their behavior in ways that are congenial to your own interests, you need to understand that side first. Understanding requires a diplomatic presence; it requires reporting officers to help us understand what's going on in another country."

—Ambassador Robert Hutchings, at the Feb. 18 Book Notes event featuring his new book, Foreign Policy Breakthroughs: Cases in Successful Diplomacy *(Oxford University Press, 2015). Watch the event at www.afsa.org/video.*

230-strong case study library; (2) policy and research, by convening a series of working groups at ISD to explore diplomatic challenges, make recommendations for policy-makers and begin a new Ph.D. fellowship program; and, (3) public outreach, by enhancing the *Washington Post*'s popular and accessible blog The Monkey Cage, which highlights social science research in a foreign affairs context.

Most importantly, the grant signifies a huge (and necessary) investment in the study of diplomacy and diplomatic history.

The *Journal* featured ISD's case studies website as the "Site of the Month" in November.

—Shannon Mizzi, Editorial Assistant

Pakistani Students Challenge Extremism for P2P Win

In February, a group of students from the University of Lahore was declared the winner of a competition sponsored by the State Department, Department of Homeland Security, Facebook and EdVenture Partners called "Peer to Peer: Challenging Extremism."

Forty-five teams from universities in 17 countries participated in the competition, with the goal of creating a social media outreach campaign to reach young people who are vulnerable to recruitment by terrorist organizations.

Each team was given $2,000 to design and launch a program on their university campuses and in their home communities.

The winning campaign, "FATE: From Apathy to Empathy," is a multiplatform consciousness-raising effort that plays out on social media, using graphics, music and a peace pledge, which students can sign in solidarity against violence.

The FATE team also held live events, such as concerts and workshops, to educate young people over the past several months. The team won $5,000 to further expand their campaign.

According to Assistant Secretary for Education and Cultural Affairs Evan Ryan, the goal of the peer-to-peer (P2P) campaigns is to make young people feel less isolated and give them a sense of purpose.

"We live in a country that deals with terror on a daily basis. But there's a tremendous amount of apathy toward that violence," Mashal Imran, a member of the winning team, said.

50 Years Ago

Foreign Service Journal Editorial: New Opportunity for the Service

The announcement by President Lyndon Johnson that he was conferring new authority on the Secretary of State to supervise and direct the interdepartmental overseas activities of the entire government is of major significance for the Foreign Service … and, we venture to say, the majority of [the *Journal*'s] readers welcome this long-overdue step which is so necessary to give effect to the primacy of national policy, as the President sees it, over the specialized interests of the various agencies of the government.

The internal reorganization with the President's directive, introduces the concept of Country Director. It is designed to provide the Secretary and Under Secretary with the backing they need to staff the new groups and by this means carry out their new mandate. The creation of the post of Country Director provides a focus for Washington backing for country overseas programs.

In the past there was a division between the responsibility of the desk officer for these activities and the authority to carry them out, which more often lay at the Office Director or Deputy Assistant Secretary level. With the proper rank, authority and familiarity with the situation, the Country Director should be in a position to provide leadership over country programs, government-wide. It is to be hoped that the days are past when major policy decisions are discussed without the responsible and knowledgeable officer being present.

Although the authority and machinery now appears to be established, the system will depend for its effective operation on the vigor and ability with which it is administered. It is hoped that this momentum can be continued, for the specter of interdepartmental groups which degenerated into formalistic paper mills is all too familiar to most of us.

The success of the system will depend on the leadership which the Department and the Foreign Service give to it.

"When we're confronting an issue like countering extremist ideologies and messaging, we know that we need to work with partners," Ryan states. "These students know how to do that better than I do, and better than many of us in the State Department may be able to."

This is only the second year of the P2P contest, but similar initiatives have been launched in the recent past. In 2011, Barack Obama announced the "Think Again, Turn Away" initiative through the newly created Center for Strategic Counterterrorism Communications.

That online campaign, which released confrontational videos and tweets poking fun at the so-called Islamic State group in an attempt to discredit it, proved ineffective.

The State Department hopes to increase the amount of discussion around alternatives to extremism by getting young people who are not affiliated with the government involved in creating online campaigns tailored for youth at risk of radicalization.

—Shannon Mizzi, Editorial Assistant

SITE OF THE MONTH: Atlas Obscura: http://www.atlasobscura.com/

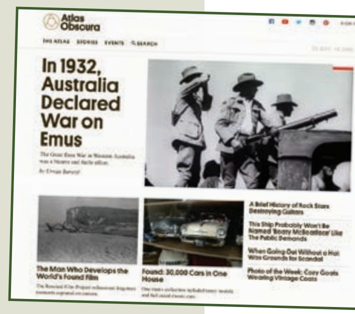
Atlas Obscura aims to be "the definitive guide to the world's wondrous and curious places." But as a living guide, it is more than just definitive: the site gives the lie to the old adage of the world-weary that "there's nothing new under the sun."

In the words of *Atlas Obscura*: "In an age where everything seems to have been explored and there is nothing new to be found, we celebrate a different way of looking at the world."

Founded in 2009 by Joshua Foer and Dylan Thuras, and with journalist David Plotz as current CEO, *Atlas Obscura* is a collaborative website. The site's production team curates pictures and stories of curious places around the world submitted by users—a growing "community of explorers."

It's easy to add your own "undiscovered" locations, whether it's a new find in your own hometown or an exotic spot abroad. The collection includes natural wonders, unique collections, libraries, museums, places associated with historical characters, crypts, cemeteries, labs, research facilities, abandoned places, ruins, castles, art, architecture and more, along with their fascinating back stories.

You can also submit ideas for *Atlas Obscura* events or excursions to interesting places, which are advertised on the website and led by Atlas Obscura "field agents" and members of the Atlas Obscura societies in various cities.



Some currently featured discoveries include a fascinating line of 60 18th-century mills preserved in the mountains of Spain; the "Yard of Lost Toys," an informal museum of forgotten playthings in Lviv, Ukraine; the Othello Tunnels, a collection of railroad tunnels that have been converted into hiking paths in Hope, Canada; and Tonto Natural Bridge, the largest natural travertine bridge in the world, which just happens to be in Pine, Arizona.

Besides being a fun place to spend an hour, *Atlas Obscura* is a great resource to consult before your next vacation or to get to know your own city better. Dubbed the new *National Geographic* by some, the website endeavors to prove that exploration and discovery are still possible, even in your own backyard.

—Shannon Mizzi, Editorial Assistant

Play Sheds Light on Gender-Based Violence

For anyone with an interest in combatting gender-based violence, promoting human rights and providing humanitarian assistance, there is a must-see play making the rounds in international policy and academic circles: "Neda Wants to Die."

Since its debut in 2014, this poignant production—commissioned by the World Bank—has been raising awareness on the epidemic of gender-based violence in conflict settings.

The entire play is set in a remote field office of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees and features the testimonies of three people who are trapped in the middle of a violent civil war: a lone UNHCR case officer, a female victim and a male perpetrator.

Their stories are gripping, shedding light on the secondary trauma experienced by humanitarian response workers and on the incredibly fine and often blurred lines between fault, emotional dependency, desperation and survival.

"I was blindfolded. They tied my hands

COURTESY OF LUIGI LARAIA

"Neda Wants to Die" cast members, from left: Karen Lawrence, Sean Gabbert and Richard Tanenbaum.

and beat me over my head. I thought they were going to kill me. They took me away." These are the stirring words of the play's main character, Neda, as she pleads for asylum from a country where her village has been pillaged, her loved ones murdered, and her own emotional and physical well-being severely violated.

The country setting is never revealed in this 75-minute drama, an intentional omission to underscore how truly widespread this phenomenon is. According to the play's writer and director, Luigi Laraia, Neda represents the one-in-three-women who experience physical or sexual abuse in their lifetime.

"I wanted to create a stage production that was ferociously real, to the point of being unbearable, just as gender violence is," says Laraia. Hats off to Laraia and his cast, local D.C. actors Richard Tanenbaum, Karen Lawrence and Sean Gabbert, for doing just that.

The play picked up steam in 2015 and has now been performed at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, George Mason University's Center for the Study of Gender and Conflict, a Vital Voices event, Washington, D.C.'s Capital Fringe Fest 2015, the United Nations in New York, the Kenyatta International Convention Centre and the U.N. headquarters for Africa in Nairobi and the Frauenmuseum (Women's Museum) in Bonn. Its most recent showing was on March 31 at the Harris Theater in Fairfax, Virginia.

With a panel discussion after each performance, "Neda Wants to Die" has proven a useful tool for inspiring open and frank discussion about gender-based violence.

—Maria C. Livingston,
Director of Professional Policy Issues

State Ranks Second in Customer Satisfaction Survey

The results are in for the annual American Customer Satisfaction Index, and Americans are less satisfied with the services their government provides for the third consecutive year. The federal government scored 63.9 on a customer satisfaction scale of 0 to 100, a nine-year low.

Despite the overall negative rating, there was improvement in several specific areas. One was "clarity and accessibility of information conveyed by the government," and another was "efficiency of services provided."

As far as the individual departments are concerned, Interior received the highest rating, with 75, while the departments of Veterans Affairs, Justice and Treasury received the lowest, at 60, 59 and 55, respectively.

With a score of 71, the State Department came in second out of 13 departments rated, followed by the departments of Defense and Homeland Security.

—Shannon Mizzi,
Editorial Assistant

The Department of State: Mission and Vision Examined

BY EDWARD MARKS

> **State now has two personnel systems, operating on different principles, undermining the congressional (and national) decision to create and operate a distinct professional diplomatic team.**

The drafting and publication of an official mission statement has become standard practice for all sorts of organizations, including governmental ones. What it is and how to prepare it are now taught in business schools.

One fairly standard definition of a mission statement (this one taken from Wikipedia) is that it is a statement of the purpose of a company, organization or person; its reason for existing; a written declaration of its core purpose and focus.

A mission statement is different from a vision statement. While there are various ways to approach this, I would suggest that a mission statement defines and describes the organization, while the vision statement is the "road map" that tells us what it wishes to accomplish at any given point.

Applied to the Department of State, this tracks with the traditional distinction between diplomacy and foreign policy.

Using some fairly standard dictionary definitions, we find that diplomacy is "the art and practice of conducting negotiations between nations" in order to implement foreign policy, which in turn consists of the subjects, items and objectives of a given country at a given time.

In other words, diplomacy is the instrument and foreign policy is the program. A mission statement describes the instrument, while a vision statement describes the program.

Confusion at State

The Department of State appears to be somewhat confused about this distinction. Here is its mission statement presented in the Fiscal Year 2015 Financial Report and shown on the department's website: "The [State] Department's mission is to shape and sustain a peaceful, prosperous, just and democratic world, and foster conditions for stability and progress for the benefit of the American people and people everywhere. This mission is shared with USAID, ensuring we have a common path forward in partnership as we invest in the shared security and prosperity that will ultimately better prepare us for the challenges of tomorrow."

A very brief overview of American foreign policy objectives, this would appear to be more a vision statement than a mission statement.

In other instances, the Department of State seems to have a better grip on the distinction. The following is displayed on State's career page on the Web: "The U.S. Department of State is the lead institution for the conduct of American diplomacy, and the Secretary of State is the President's principal foreign policy advisor."

This is more like a mission statement or organizational description, although it is curiously inadequate. For instance, it does not state the obvious—that State is a U.S. government department—even though stating "obvious" fundamental facts is the point of a mission statement. Calling the Department of State an "institution" is a curious bit of terminology that falls short of describing its official character.

Further, this statement does not describe the department's very special organizational model: a headquarters located in Washington, D.C., with some 300 fairly small "branches" or offices (embassies and consulates) spread around the world.

This is the key organizational characteristic of the State Department and reflects its fundamental role—that of continuous interaction with other governments through formal liaison offices and accred-

Edward Marks spent 40 years in the U.S. Foreign Service, including an assignment as ambassador to Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde. A senior mentor at various military institutions, Ambassador Marks serves as a member of the American Diplomacy board and as a Distinguished Senior Fellow at George Mason University. He was a retiree representative on the AFSA Governing Board from 2013 to 2015.

ited personnel in each other's country, or *the conduct of diplomacy*.

In essence, the Department of State is about dealing with foreign governments, foreign countries, foreign conditions and foreign citizens—Dean Acheson's "vast external realm."

The Core Professional Staff

These fundamental characteristics are crucial for organizational matters such as budgets, management processes and, most important, personnel. The U.S. Congress recognized this in creating the professional Foreign Service in 1924 and reinforced that view in later versions of the basic legislation.

The latest, the Foreign Service Act of 1980, clearly states: "The scope and complexity of the foreign affairs of the Nation have heightened the need for a professional foreign service that will serve the foreign affairs interests of the United States in an integrated fashion and that can provide a resource of qualified personnel for the President, the Secretary of State and the agencies concerned with foreign affairs."

The Foreign Service was obviously intended by Congress to provide the professional cadre for the conduct of diplomacy, analogous to the role of the uniformed military for the exercise of the military arm. It follows that the primary objective of the State Department's personnel system is to provide an adequate and dependable stream of professional experts to work in diplomacy.

The special character of diplomacy led Congress to define the characteristics of the personnel system required for the Department of State. The Foreign Service is to be a professional meritocracy: a corps recruited by competitive examination, promoted by competitive merit and available for worldwide service to meet the needs of the nation.

This cadre is subject to very specific employment requirements starting with the entry examination process and including tenure, language proficiency, fair-share service, competitive annual evaluation, up or out and mandatory retirement at age 65.

These are the same principles applied to employment in other specialized agencies of the U.S. government, such as the military services, the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Central Intelligence Agency. The Foreign Service, in other words, was intended to be the core professional staff of the Department of State.

This role was clarified and emphasized by the Wriston reforms of the early 1950s that essentially eliminated the separation between foreign and home service by merging the international affairs professionals of the department's Civil Service into the Foreign Service.

Losing Focus

Over the years, however, State's personnel system has lost this focus as the department expanded and wandered away from its core mission. Other personnel systems have grown like Topsy. The extent of State's divergence from legislative injunction is well described in the recent report, "American Diplomacy at Risk," by the American Academy of Diplomacy.

This personnel shift was never promulgated as official policy by any president or Congress, but appears to have occurred through a gradual process of administrative creep. It has produced serious management problems with respect to the staffing of both the department and its overseas posts, by diminishing the resources and operational flexibility of the Foreign Service.

While this may not be as dangerous to the republic as using non-soldiers (i.e., civilians) to conduct war, it is not an ideal way to conduct the nation's business.

The State Department has attempted to bridge over this growing gap by formulating the slogan "One Team, One Mission." But that only fudges the issue. Which team? Congress decided in 1924 that the United States needed a professional diplomatic cadre, recruited and managed in accordance with the principles of meritocratic competition, group discipline and worldwide service at the discretion of the Department of State.

Congress reiterated that decision in the Foreign Service Acts of 1946 and 1980. In the early 1950s, Congress extended that personnel decision to the headquarters of the Department of State itself with the Wriston reforms, which pointed toward a single personnel system organized on Foreign Service lines and principles.

However, in the past several decades, State management has moved away from that system and expanded a General Schedule personnel system without formal congressional authority or mandate. State now has two personnel systems, operating on different principles, undermining the congressional (and national) decision to create and operate a distinct professional diplomatic team. (Actually there are now four such systems, if you count political appointees of various stripes, as well as contractors.)

In doing this, State appears to be returning to the pre-Wriston days when there was a gulf between headquarters and the field (the bane of all large and widespread organizations). This is the inevitable result of a bifurcation of personnel between those recruited, employed and professionally focused on the main characteristic of international diplomacy, on the one hand; and home-based personnel, recruited and employed on Civil Service standards who largely remain in domestic locations, divorced in practice from the essential “foreignness” of the department’s responsibilities, on the other.

A Clear Personnel Policy Required

What is required instead is a clear personnel policy, one that is in line with the injunction of the Foreign Service Act and with the mission statement of the Department of State. Given the existence of the FSA, new legislation will not be required; and because the reform will be budget neutral, a seventh floor–led internal reorganization should be sufficient.

The objective would be to staff the department and its field posts with a professional diplomatic service, recruited and promoted by competition, obligated to worldwide assignments for “the good of the Service” and focused on the international character of diplomacy.

The principles of the Wriston Act should be restated to produce a single personnel system for the department. A reasonable integration period for currently employed professional staff would be required, with the objective of rationalizing the department staff into a single personnel system in a reasonable time frame.

Specialized duties such as the legal office and, perhaps, departmental budgeting might require Civil Service incumbents, but they should be specifically identified and set aside as exceptions. What this system is called is irrelevant, but “foreign service” (diplomacy) is what it should be about.

No one would argue that military officers should be allowed to pursue a career exclusively in the Pentagon. Nor should the Department of State’s foreign affairs personnel be permitted to pursue diplomatic careers solely or largely in Washington.

This ongoing change in the quality and character of our diplomatic representation, and in the management of our foreign affairs, does not appear to be happening as the result of conscious national policy. But the trend should be of concern not just to Foreign Service members, but to our political leadership and the public in general. ■

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Humanitarian Diplomacy

Q&A with Kelly Clements, Deputy High Commissioner for Refugees

An experienced practitioner addresses today's unprecedented challenges.

FSJ: *What is humanitarian diplomacy, and how has its practice evolved since the establishment of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in 1950?*


UNHCR

U.N. Deputy High Commissioner for Refugees Kelly Clements, second from right, and members of the UNHCR team in Serbia talk with Syrian and Iraqi refugees stranded on the border between Serbia and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia on March 8.

Kelly T. Clements: From the perspective of the United Nations refugee agency, the UNHCR, the aim of humanitarian diplomacy is to protect, assist and find solutions for refugees, internally displaced persons, stateless persons and other persons of concern to the agency.

Humanitarian diplomacy does not have a clear definition in international law but draws strongly on the principles of independence, neutrality and impartiality. It requires advocacy with governments and engagement with both sovereign states and non-state actors. It involves persuading state and non-state actors to keep borders open to gain access to, protect and assist refugees and to work toward durable solutions.

UNHCR is a non-political humanitarian organization, yet there is nothing about the refugee situations it confronts that is not political in nature. To address both the root causes of refugee movements and immediate threats to their safety, UNHCR engages with political actors in a diplomatically sophisticated manner to gain and maintain the trust of all parties, taking no side other than that of the refugee. Humanitarian diplomacy thus underpins the work of UNHCR.

During my time in the State Department with the Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration, humanitarian diplomacy was embraced, trained and practiced by the bureau's leadership and lean cadre of refugee coordinators. I have found in my short time as deputy high commissioner that the term is not used widely within UNHCR, and does not appear in its statute or in subsequent official policies. Yet the practice of humanitarian diplomacy is essential to the success of UNHCR's work, and inherent in the daily practice of refugee protection.

Still, the implication of engaging in traditionally political activity is sensitive for us; and humanitarian diplomacy has not been developed into a doctrine or a term of art by the agency. Human brutality and political failures are described in terms of flows, barriers and challenges—dull and technocratic language that, by creating distance and blunting realities, enables the nearly 100 states on the UNHCR's governing Executive Committee to take decisions on the agency's budget and policies in a depoliticized atmosphere.

Our sister agency, the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, has an official definition of humanitarian diplomacy that captures some, but not all, the elements practiced by UNHCR: "Humanitarian diplomacy is persuading decision-makers and opinion leaders to act, at all times, in the interests of vulnerable people, and with full respect for fundamental humanitarian principles."

Past high commissioners have always had recourse to humanitarian diplomacy—whether in negotiations with world leaders (e.g., High Commissioner Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan's personal intervention with Canadian Premier Pierre Trudeau in 1972 to take Ugandan refugees), exercising a 'Good Offices' role mandated by the secretary-general (e.g., in East Pakistan, now Bangladesh, in 1972) or organizing major solutions-focused conferences (e.g., the International Conference on Refugees and Displaced Persons in Southeast Asia in 1979 and the International Conference on Central American Refugees in 1989). Individual representatives and other staff members—such as the famed, late Sergio Vieira de Mello and many others—have always known that negotiation and persuasion among all parties are the most effective and immediate ways to protect refugees.

In terms of trends, there is today a greater expectation that heads of humanitarian agencies will take a leading role in political arenas and dialogues. At the Security Council, the high commissioner for refugees has a standing invitation to speak. Briefings by the emergency relief coordinator have become an almost monthly engagement, instigated in part by the role of the U.N. Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs in negotiating Security Council Resolution 2139 on humanitarian access into Syria. Whereas in the past high commissioners might wait to be given particular authorities (e.g., Special Envoys, Good Offices), today a high commissioner is expected to speak out on and advocate for issues affecting refugees and others. These interventions form an important foundation for humanitarian diplomacy.

A more troubling development is the erosion of respect for humanitarian workers on the ground. The sanctity of humanitarian personnel, and the protection previously afforded by their mission, status and visible logos, has deteriorated to the point that in many conflicts, the UNHCR and others are deliberately targeted—usually, but not exclusively, by non-state actors. And whereas violations of diplomatic immunity are relatively rare and are treated with the utmost seriousness, the attacks against humanitarian missions appear to be the "new normal."

Coupled with national legislation restricting contacts with organizations designated terrorist and other groups, this trend weakens our ability to act impartially, and to be perceived as such. For UNHCR, a non-political actor charged with the global protection of refugees and internally displaced persons, a proven and visible track record of working impartially with all actors for protection, solutions and responsibility-sharing is one of our biggest assets.

UNHCR entered 2016 with unprecedented challenges and an ambitious agenda filled with opportunities to advance humanitarian diplomacy for the more than 60 million forcibly displaced persons in the world today. Mindful of the need to balance the political demands placed upon the high commissioner and the physical threats faced by my colleagues in some of the toughest

Kelly T. Clements joined the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees as deputy high commissioner in July 2015. She had worked for the UNHCR in Bangladesh in 1992. Before joining UNHCR, she was involved with refugee and displacement issues as a civil servant in the State Department for 18 years. She was deputy assistant secretary of State in the Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration, and earlier led the bureau's strategic planning, policy development and financial management operations.

In 2014, Clements served as acting deputy chief of mission at Embassy Beirut. From 1993 to 1996, she served at the U.S. Permanent Mission to the United Nations in Geneva on a Foreign Service appointment. She was special assistant to the under secretary of State for global affairs (1997-1998), and served as a senior emergency officer for Europe, the Newly Independent States and the Americas, and later as Balkans assistance coordinator; and was deployed to Albania in 1999.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Aerial view of UNHCR's Zaatari camp for Syrian refugees in Jordan, July 2013.

field operations, I am hopeful the agency will live up to its strategic and comprehensive responsibilities in a spirit that recalls its best diplomatic initiatives of the late 20th century to unlock greater protection for the many we serve.

FSJ: *Do you believe that the existing humanitarian infrastructure is able to respond effectively to current challenges? What outcomes would you like to see from the upcoming World Humanitarian Summit in Istanbul?*

KTC: UNHCR has often said over the past couple of years that the humanitarian system is "broke, not broken." Of course, we can do a lot to improve our ways of working and strive for greater efficiency. But the phrase captures something essential—that the humanitarian system suffers from a lack of financial resources to address the scale of emergencies and ever-increasing needs and, more importantly, from the lack of political commitment to solve some of the world's most intractable problems.

2016 promises to be a decisive year for humanitarian action. It may finally herald a change in the way that the international community responds to humanitarian emergencies by ensuring a development focus from the earliest stages. Practically, this means that refugees are included as economic producers and social assets, not just regarded as passive aid recipients; and that refugees and host communities become part of national development plans and have a voice in aid programs.

In addition to involvement in the World Humanitarian Summit, UNHCR will organize the High-Level Meeting on Global Responsibility-Sharing Through Pathways for Admission of Syrian Refugees in March, co-host a high-level event with the U.K. government and the World Bank on forced displacement and help prepare for two major summits in September: the High-Level Meeting of the Plenary of the United Nations General Assembly on Large Movements of Refugees and Migrants, and the White House summit on refugees. Political attention is clearly being paid to this problem. Let's hope that it will make concrete action happen to advance humanitarian diplomacy and aid the greatest number of forcibly displaced people in need that the world has seen since the Second World War.

Global leadership to resolve conflicts and displacements is either lacking, or stymied. The events of 2016, including the World Humanitarian Summit can help us all to draw attention to the gravity and scale of the problems, and to come together in a spirit of shared, collective responsibility to address them. I also hope that we can secure commitments by nations and other actors regarding the centrality of protection to all our work, and the need to uphold humanitarian law and standards.

We in UNHCR remain fully committed to doing our part to make our own workings more effective and to collaborate with other humanitarian and development partners—particularly national ones—on common services. We expect a deal to be struck this year between humanitarian organizations and donors, under which we further improve our working methods, and donors loosen earmarking and increase funding.

FSJ: *You've been involved with humanitarian diplomacy from two different vantage points: first as a practitioner working* *for the U.S. government, and now as the deputy high commissioner for refugees. Can you compare the two experiences?*

KTC: Actually, conducting diplomacy in the humanitarian component of a national government is similar to doing so in a U.N. humanitarian agency, though it is not always perceived in the same light by different parties. We seek to save lives and alleviate suffering according to principles that govern how such aid is provided—according to need, irrespective of political, military or strategic objectives, in an impartial and neutral way.

Protection and assistance are Band-Aids in the absence of political and economic solutions to forced displacement.

Both entities work through humanitarian diplomacy to solve problems of protection and lack of access to assistance from various vantage points—strategic (e.g., at the level of the high commissioner or a senior U.S. government official), operational (e.g., UNHCR representatives or State refugee coordinators) and field level (e.g., on specific issues for both national governments and UNHCR, such as cases of refoulement, closed borders, lack of access to refugees in detention or in specific geographic areas).

In addition to defining objectives consistent with the needs of the affected population and the mandate of the home bureau (in this case, State's PRM), a representative of the U.S. government must also conduct humanitarian diplomacy according to objectives consistent with U.S. government policy. This is not the case for UNHCR, which has a specific mandate enshrined by international law and the U.N. General Assembly.

FSJ: *Does the United States conduct humanitarian diplomacy differently than others? How would the rest of the world rate the United States on the effectiveness of its humanitarian diplomacy? What could it be doing better?*

KTC: Simply put, protection and assistance are Band-Aids in the absence of political and economic solutions to forced displacement. Humanitarian diplomacy is an essential element to deliver as much aid as possible while other solutions are negotiated (e.g., returns home, local integration, third-country resettlement for a lucky few). Partly as a result of being located in the "foreign ministry," the U.S. government's humanitarians are favorably known for bringing a level of political awareness into discussions—this involves an intuitive grasp of the political motives on the part of various actors and the constraints on responders, and the ability to distinguish among positions, bottom lines and interests to come up with well-crafted strategies to address them.

The best thing the United States can do is continue to be UNHCR's toughest private critic (to make us stronger, more collaborative and more effective) and our strongest public, moral and financial supporter, especially during these days of unprecedented need and complex and seemingly intractable political challenges. This should be done with a clear and appreciable distance between political and humanitarian U.S. government objectives. We count on the United States to continue to press us on our programs, push us to do better, but then use its heft (in moderation) to push for refugee rights and other issues.

FSJ: *How can the U.S. Agency for International Development and the Department of State prepare the next generation of practitioners to adequately respond to tomorrow's challenges?*

KTC: In my view, there need to be more USAID and State Department Foreign Service and Civil Service staff exchanges, more cross-training, so that humanitarian and development experts speak the same language. U.S. government humanitarians should be included routinely in overall foreign policymaking, to ensure that the humanitarian implications of proposed diplomatic or military actions are well understood by decision-makers. The U.S. government should second staff members to key international, nongovernmental and civil society organizations (not just humanitarian, but also human rights, peacekeeping, political and security groups) to better appreciate current challenges and prepare for the future.

I base this recommendation on my personal experience, which was heavily influenced by a secondment to UNHCR to serve as a protection officer in Cox's Bazar, Bangladesh, during the height of the outflow of Rohingya refugees from Myanmar in the early 1990s. There I used tools of humanitarian diplomacy daily to influence camp management in the design of services so as not to prejudice women and children, and I advocated with the government on fundamental protection principles like the right to seek asylum. I have carried those and similar experiences with me through my 25 years as a humanitarian diplomat, and now as U.N. deputy high commissioner for refugees. ■

On the Ground in Turkey

These notes from the diary of an FSO refugee coordinator in Turkey convey the realities of the humanitarian crisis spreading from the Middle East.

BY MATTHEW R. JOHNSON

Leaving the familiar and comfortable confines of Madrid and Western Europe behind me, I arrived in Turkey in mid-September 2014 as the first refugee coordinator sent there by the State Department's Bureau of Population, Refugees and Migration. I landed in the evening, checked in (partially) at the consulate in Adana the next day and immediately set off on a five-day whirlwind trip to Istanbul, Gaziantep and Antakya (Antioch) in support of a visit by PRM's principal deputy assistant secretary.

Arriving back in Adana, I thought I would have a chance to breathe and do some of the mundane things we take for granted: unpack, buy groceries, familiarize myself with my new home. Instead, the so-called Islamic State group (ISIS, or ISIL) began its siege of Kobane, in northern Syria, and as I tried to organize myself—setting up my own computerized operational space in my nearly vacant apartment—my computer, iPad and phone were all buzzing with emails and calls from Washington. I worked through most of the first few weekends to provide information to decision-makers.

Matthew R. (Matt) Johnson has been refugee coordinator for the U.S. Mission in Turkey since September 2014. He previously worked on refugee issues at State's Bureau of Population, Refugees and Migration as a program officer covering the Balkans and the Caucasus. He joined the Foreign Service in 2002 and has served in Bogota, Sarajevo and Madrid, as well as on a Provincial Reconstruction Team in Bamyan, Afghanistan.

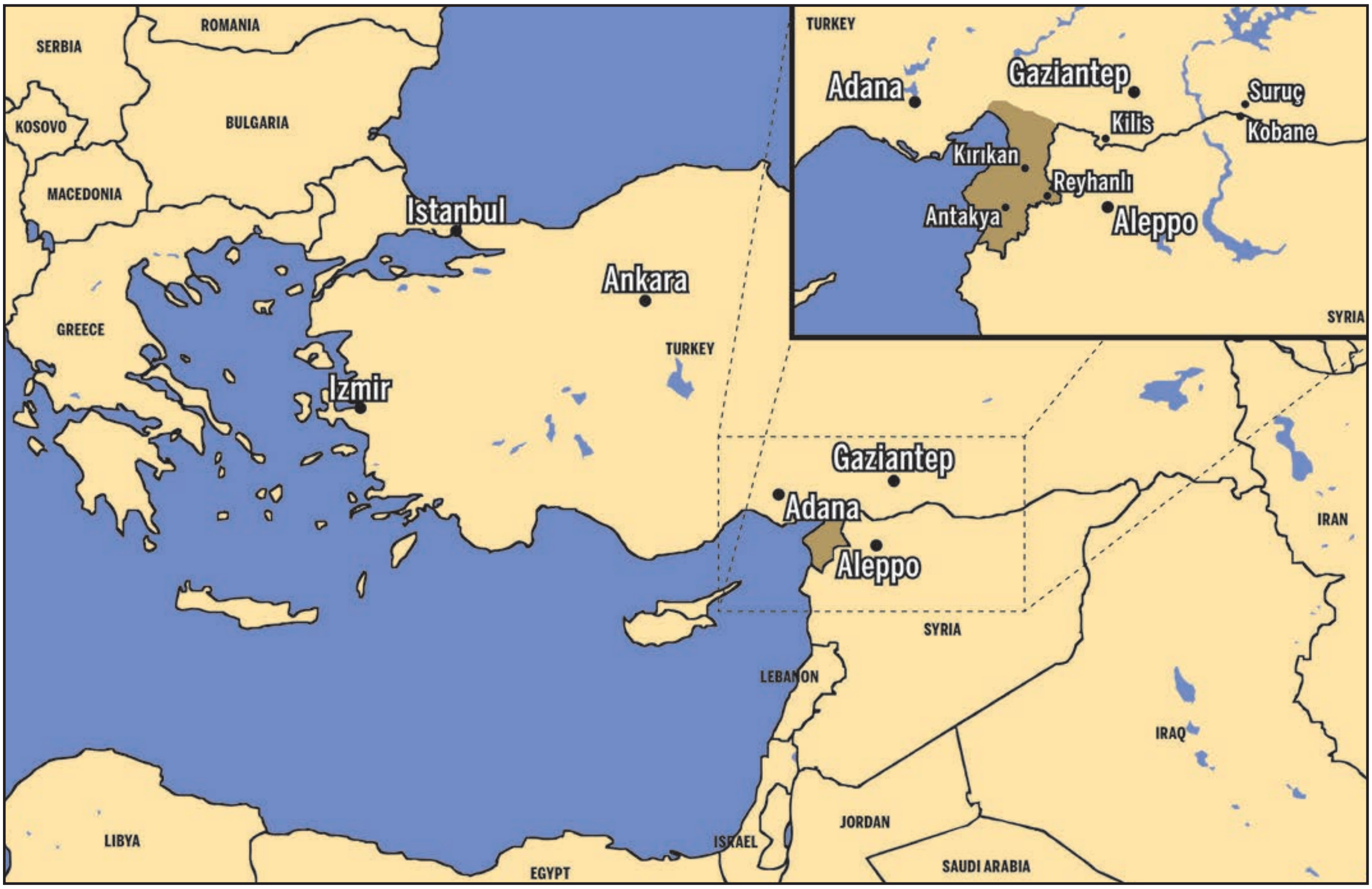
Autumn 2014—Into the Crisis

Tens of thousands of refugees fled the violence over one weekend to Turkish villages like Suruç, just across the Syrian border. Camps and other shelters were erected, while humanitarian agencies began providing assistance: jerry cans to carry and save water, food, hygiene kits, setting up sanitation facilities, vaccinations, medicine and treatment for those who had been injured by landmines. My job was to keep Washington informed and help determine how the United States could help, so I was talking with U.N. agencies, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), Turkish government officials—and to refugees themselves—to gain an understanding of the events on the ground and the needs of the incoming refugee population.

After a week, I hopped into a car to visit Suruç. Halfway there, I received a phone call from diplomatic security canceling the trip—ISIL had beheaded a journalist and humanitarian worker, and coalition air strikes were underway in Syria. We headed back to the security of the consulate.

From Consulate Adana I monitor and evaluate the use of U.S. funding to support refugees, advocate for humanitarian principles with the Turkish government, prepare for mass displacements and assist in the response, visit refugees and NGOs to learn of the needs so we can use our funding appropriately, and provide political reporting so that policymakers in Washington are aware of ground truth in areas like Kobane and can make decisions on how best to address this complex situation.

Recently this has meant flying to Ankara to work with U.N. agencies and the Turkish government to learn how they plan to implement new regulations that would provide more medium-



U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE COURTESY OF MATT JOHNSON

Yezidi refugees recall their harrowing escape from ISIS and the plight of their loved ones at a meeting in Mardin, December 2014, with FSO Matt Johnson, at right. An ethnically Kurdish minority in the region, the Yezidi have been persecuted for ages for their ancient religion, which is linked to Zoroastrianism and animism.

and long-term care for refugees. In the immediate days after an emergency, the primary focus is on protection: providing safety, food, water, shelter, sanitation and medicine, preventing gender-based violence, and so on. But there is also a realization that the conflict in Syria will not be ending any time soon, and that to maintain that type of support for 1.6 million refugees over a decade would drain the coffers of both the Turks and the international donor community. So there are ideas about getting kids into school and getting work permits for refugees who can then earn their own keep and contribute taxes for their social services. I listen, liaise, advise and report back on these issues.

The best part of the job is monitoring the programs that the United States funds. This can take place in the capital, like it did recently when Turkey's Ministry of Education announced that it would start an honorarium, in cooperation with UNICEF, to pay Syrian teachers who are teaching refugee children. This was big news, and it had taken a lot of work weaving through the Turkish legal code and bureaucracy to bring about. So I participated in the inaugural event and congratulated the Turks and UNICEF, who also updated me about the delivery of supplies to Syrian students attending U.S.-funded schools throughout Turkey.

Afterward, I traveled in our armored car to districts in Hatay province that border the Mediterranean and Syria. In Reyhanli, a small city located right on the border with Syria, we conducted office visits and enjoyed a home-cooked Turkish meal, before visiting a youth center where Syrian refugees between 14 and 30 years old can enjoy things like language classes, computer classes, a football club and other activities. They also receive psycho-social support to help them address lingering war trauma they have suffered as they adjust to a new life.

Medical care providers and teachers have been unable to keep pace with the incredible demand for services, which has led to a rise in tensions.

In Kirikan we visited child-friendly spaces that U.S. funding has helped to develop to do much the same thing for younger kids. It warms your spirit to see these children who have endured so much smiling, laughing and playing. We also met recent refugees from Kobane who had set up their own tents on the side of some cotton fields, where they were working illegally. We chatted with them in Kurdish, thanks to my versatile driver Mustafa.

On these trips I always open by letting people know that I am American, I work for the U.S. government, and my focus is on assisting refugees and learning their stories so I can help my government understand their needs and concerns, the great challenges they face in everyday life, and what they wanted and hoped for in the future.

I am generally received warmly—even if there is a bit of skepticism or opposition to some U.S. policies in the region—whether it is a Syrian Sunni Arab refugee, a Palestinian refugee who fled his homeland and then had to flee Syria, as well, or a Syrian Kurd.

Winter 2014—Pockets of Need

While the government of Turkey has spent significant sums supporting the Syrian refugees who have crossed into its territory and reside in refugee camps, it has largely avoided providing assistance to the nearly 400,000 who have settled in trendy cities like Izmir and Istanbul.

The Turks worry that providing refugee services there will draw even more to these burgeoning and wealthy cities. Yet the refugees still flock there with dreams of finding better work opportunities on the gray market, as Syrians are not allowed to work legally at the moment. (That will likely change soon; I am advocating for it daily.)

Consequently, we are focused more on these cities this year. Over the past two weeks I opened refugee community centers in both Izmir and Istanbul. The centers give refugees information about what services they are entitled to and provide Arabic-language social workers, psychological workers and nurses—a must because the language barrier often prevents refugees from even knowing where they can obtain such things as basic medical care.

Opening the center was an incredible opportunity to enlist the support of members of civil society and local government authorities, as well as a way to communicate directly with the refugees.

Spring 2015—Addressing Social Tensions

I traveled to Antakya and Kilis to visit projects we fund. An ancient city, Antakya was one of the largest in the Roman empire in its heyday, and an important pilgrimage site because it was the first city where followers of Jesus called themselves Christians. I visit the city every couple of months, but this time only overnighted there before heading to Reyhanli.

Because of its proximity to the border, Reyhanli has been a first refuge for thousands of Syrians, who have taken up residence there, overwhelming the local population. Sadly, it has also been the target of terrorist activity. In May 2013, two car bombs were detonated, killing 51 and injuring an additional 140—the deadliest single terrorist attack on Turkish soil.

To relieve some of the tension between Turks and Syrians here, we have funded a youth center to give psychological assistance to young refugees and train them in Turkish and English language and computer skills. The center hosts a soccer league, too. Made up of Turkish and Syrian youth, the soccer teams offer opportunities for friendships and common links to develop. After visiting with participants at the center, I made house visits to especially vulnerable refugees.

Humanitarian aid workers seek to assist those in most need, often searching out single mothers with children, the disabled and the elderly to ensure that they, too, are being provided for. In this instance I visited a widow and her young daughter who had suffered eye damage from a barrel bomb in Syria. An NGO provided tailoring equipment to the mother, which allowed her to work from home, earning income while caring for her daughter. Because she generates the income herself, this project is sustainable.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE COURTESY OF MATT JOHNSON

Matt Johnson, in sunglasses, watches as Syrian and Turkish youth plant trees as part of a community building project in June 2015.

The following day, we drove along the highway to the border city of Kilis, just north of Aleppo, that originally had 90,000 inhabitants, but now also hosts 120,000 Syrians. The local Turks have been outnumbered by their Arabic-speaking guests. Medical care providers and teachers have been unable to keep pace with the incredible demand for services, which has led to a rise in tensions. We have provided funding to run six schools there for Syrian refugee children.

At the last school to be constructed, I was introduced to several students and sat in briefly as they studied Arabic, trying to recall my Arabic letters as, to their delight, I recited part of the alphabet. Afterward I retreated to an office where teachers, administrators and parents voiced their satisfaction, needs and concerns to me during a two-hour meeting.

Summer 2015—The "Education Guy"

As the crisis in Syria stretches into its fifth year, an entire generation of Syrian children faces a future with no education and little hope. The language barrier is a huge obstacle in Turkey, especially when it comes to schooling. Hundreds of thousands of Syrian children are out of school. Because so many members of my family are educators, including both parents, I have become known as "the education guy" in humanitarian circles, not just here in Turkey but also in Amman, Geneva and Brussels.

I have been directing my efforts toward constructing new schools with U.S. funds, advocating for greater contributions from other donors and liaising with Turkish counterparts—all in an attempt to give children hope before they succumb to miserable child-labor conditions, or worse, start selling themselves as prostitutes for the price of a pack of cigarettes.

I am happy to say that we have seen some success, with the number of Syrian children enrolled in school climbing from 107,000 to 208,000 in the past six months. Of course, there are still 380,000 youngsters out of school. But knowing that I played a role in increasing the number of students and hope to add another 100,000 in the next six months allows me to sleep better most nights, especially given the haunting images I sometimes see in the field.

Autumn 2015—A Mediterranean Crisis

In September, the photo of Aylan Kurdi, the Syrian refugee child washed up on the beach in Turkey, brought the migration and refugee crisis to the front pages of international media and into the public's conscience. Hundreds of thousands of Syrians and other migrants had begun taking the risky journey across the Aegean Sea to Greece, whose islands are only a few miles off the Turkish mainland, some dying on the way.

With additional support and a temporary deputy refugee coordinator, the PRM team headed back to Izmir to better understand and report on the situation. The refugees gather downtown, where they have access to smuggling rings, inexpensive housing and an already diverse population of refugees resident there. The neighborhood is chaotic, with crowds of homeless refugees lining the narrow streets. The main street, known as "Hotel Street," is filled with cheap hotels acting as one-stop shops for smuggling to Europe. Shops selling life jackets dot the neighborhood, reminding us of the perils these vulnerable people will face as they take to the sea.

After arranging their voyage with the smugglers, the refugees wait anywhere from a few days to months, living on the street or in the cheap hotels waiting for their day to cross to a Greek

Made up of Turkish and Syrian youth, the soccer teams offer opportunities for friendships and common links to develop.

island, usually Lesbos in the north or Kos if they are departing from farther south. They board inflatable rafts, wooden boats and even jet-skis under the cover of night. Many eventually migrate from Greece to other Western European countries.

We paint a picture of the realities for these migrants and for border security and humanitarian actors trying to address the issue.

January 2016—Progress, Albeit Slow

I have worked on a Provincial Reconstruction Team in Afghanistan, where I didn't have official days off, and thought I understood fatigue. But the work in Turkey lacks any sort of routine. I find myself living and working from a suitcase; I travel 80 percent of the time. While I miss some of the mundane activities of normal life, this rewarding yet exhausting job continues to enchant me.

During the past few months, world leaders have focused on the refugee and migration crisis, and we are making progress, albeit slowly. By the end of 2015, approximately 300,000 Syrian children were enrolled in school. The government of Turkey passed regulations giving Syrians limited permission to work. Donor countries pledged increased amounts to assist in crisis response.

However, the problems continue. Turkey now hosts more than 2.5 million registered Syrian refugees, a few hundred thousand who are unregistered, and another 250,000 Iraqi, Afghan and Iranian refugees. I arrived in Turkey to work as a one-person refugee-coordinator shop to oversee a few million dollars of assistance, but I am now helping set up a five-person office in addition to handling increased political reporting, emergency response and program oversight.

More long days and weekend work are in my future, but those efforts are more than worth it when I see suffering people being assisted with the things they need to live a self-sufficient life with dignity. ■

Partnering to Meet Urgent Needs

Corporate-government partnerships can make a great difference in times of need, argues this former FSO.

BY LAURA LANE

Angela Merkel, the chancellor of Germany, spoke for many recently when she said the humanitarian disaster in Syria left her "not just appalled but horrified."

Right now, millions of people are on the move—fleeing war, disease, famine, oppression and religious intolerance. As someone who early in my career was a firsthand witness to genocide and the refugee crisis it created, I agree we should be horrified with the current events unfolding across Europe and the Middle East.

In terms of sheer numbers, nothing like this has been seen since World War II. Our infrastructure, social systems and governments are being stretched to their limits. But as we see human tragedy play out before our eyes, we need to remember that these migrants aren't just numbers. They aren't an issue to resolve. They are people who need and should receive our help.

With lives on the line and nearly all the world affected by the current crisis in the Middle East and Europe, now is the time to take a hard look at how governments address the issues surrounding mass global migration. Specifically, we must examine how to make government actions more effective by encouraging greater partnership with corporations and humanitarian organizations to promote peace, advance freedom and protect fundamental human rights.

Admittedly, this challenge is made more complicated by the mood of anxious apprehension affecting much of the Western world. Refugee crises are typically accompanied by episodes of racial, religious and cultural tension, as well as backlash toward "the other." Quite simply, in times such as these, there is a temptation to "take a stand" or "draw a line," falling victim to a defensive isolationism aimed at ensuring safety and security. The rhetoric is convincing; it's much easier to save ourselves than to save others.

What is unfortunately lost in that response, however, is our

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Lane currently serves as president of global public affairs for United Parcel Service, Inc. Prior to joining UPS, she was the senior vice president of international government affairs at Citigroup and vice president for global public policy at Time Warner. You can view her TED talk here: http://tinyurl.com/jhosm9m.

own humanity. Whether as individuals or as governments or corporations, we cannot succumb to such fears. Standing idle or staying silent in the face of such suffering is unconscionable. No matter the passport or citizenship one holds, we all share a singular humanity, and we should help those we can, when we can and where we can.

COURTESY OF UPS

A UPS humanitarian relief flight is readied in Dallas for the American Red Cross to help survivors of Typhoon Soudelor in the Mariana Islands in August 2015.

To Build a More Secure World

The mission of the Foreign Service is to advance and protect U.S. interests abroad and implement foreign policy initiatives to promote a free, prosperous and more secure world. Our interactions with foreign governments and citizens are not only meant to ensure good relations, but to contribute to greater global development and to share the basic tenets on which our great nation was founded. But beyond that, at an even more basic level, is the aspiration to promote fundamental human rights and freedom. Through our embassies around the world we strive to protect and further America's diplomatic goals not just because we love our country, but because we believe that all people are created equal and should have the same fundamental rights and freedoms Americans enjoy.

"Wherever men and women are persecuted because of their race, religion or political views," Nobel laureate Elie Wiesel once said, "that place must—at that moment—become the center of the universe." Thus in times like these, we must act to protect those in harm's way in defense of the values we hold dear. Fear drives us to take positions in the short term that make us feel safe. But we must remember that the preservation of life, individual liberty and dignity is essential to modern democracy, and that we cannot ensure peace in our world unless we provide a credible, compassionate alternative to terror.

As a former Foreign Service officer myself, I experienced firsthand what a heavy toll military conflict takes on innocent lives. What I saw and felt when I served in Kigali during the Rwandan genocide isn't something that should be relived. The loss was great; the political silence deafening; the brutality overwhelming.

We always tell ourselves that what happened in Rwanda shouldn't happen again. What happened in Cambodia shouldn't happen again. What happened during the Holocaust shouldn't happen again. But the only way that such terrible atrocities won't happen again is if we act.

> The only way that such terrible atrocities won't happen again is if we act.

Experience also teaches us that we should not run blindly into issues as nuanced as providing refugee aid when national security and global geopolitics affect every decision taken. Nor should our response to humanitarian crises ever be to just throw money at a desperate situation. The response requires a personal investment by all of us and significant effort to achieve meaningful progress in collaboration with all stakeholders. If we take the time to advance needed change in partnership with others, perhaps we won't see a repeat of what's happening today in Syria and the refugee crisis it has sparked.

What Corporate Involvement Can Bring

Cross-stakeholder partnerships are what will drive meaningful results. The U.S. government alone, or any government for that matter, cannot supply all of the resources necessary for change. Nor can nongovernmental organizations, even if they all join forces and cooperate with each other. No single person, company or entity is enough to address issues of this magnitude; but together we can make a significant difference for those in need.

"Each to his own strength" may be the best path forward. To solve global problems, we need to tap into the resources and expertise that each of us bring to the table. Solutions that embrace this shared, collaborative approach have a considerably greater impact because the right people and right organizations will be focused on the right issues.

COURTESY OF UPS

UPS employee Deanna Cain works the forklift at a UNICEF volunteer event packing winter clothes for Syrian children.

Consider how much more could be achieved if governments sought and supported greater corporate involvement, matching problems to strengths. At UPS, for example, we believe in the power of logistics to move a significant volume of global GDP every day. But we also believe in the power of logistics to help alleviate suffering, even in the most troubling circumstances.

Last year, in response to the Syrian crisis and subsequent diaspora, UPS provided financial, in-kind and volunteer support, assisting the efforts of the Office of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, the World Food Programme and the Salvation Army. These resources and the numerous volunteer hours provided by UPSers brought dozens of ocean containers filled with supplies to critical relief points like Erbil, in Iraq, where we delivered winter clothing kits for children, as well as therapeutic foods, tents, water sanitation devices and health kits. Working closely with partner organizations like UNHCR and Shelterbox USA, UPS also brought mobile warehouses and sleeping mats to Gaziantep, in Turkey, and countless kilos of shelter supplies to Lebanon.

UPS's logistics expertise has also been mobilized for disaster relief. In southern Turkey, as part of the WFP's Logistics Emergency Team, skilled UPSers are assessing national infrastructure capacities to maintain support for Syrian refugees. And in Germany and Belgium, UPS volunteers have constructed accommodation facilities, delivered vital supplies like blankets and toiletries, and distributed needed food to refugee camps. In Italy, support from the UPS Foundation has even helped to provide legal counsel to refugees ill-equipped to go through the proper immigration process.

I highlight these efforts not just because I'm a proud UPS employee, but because I also think they might serve as models for greater corporate involvement in the future. By understanding what made past efforts valuable and helpful, we'll be able to replicate and multiply them.

Doing that will entail shared responsibility. Corporations have skills and resources that can be leveraged and directed at humanitarian issues, but only with support from the U.S. government and international community. While it may be true that companies have a responsibility to shareholders and decisions are often driven by a bottom-line calculus, companies are also made up of individuals who bring their values to work with them every day and contribute to corporate cultures that find ways to give back to the communities in which they live and work. I've seen the power of partnership from both the government and private-sector vantage points and strongly believe that everyone—no matter who they work for—can help in such desperate situations, by playing to his or her respective strengths.

Corporations have skills and resources that can be leveraged and directed at humanitarian issues, but only with support from the U.S. government and international community.

A Model for Partnership

Operationalizing this collaborative approach poses its own set of challenges due to various restrictions and bureaucratic red tape. But by sticking to three main principles, we will create an environment through which corporate-government partnerships can make a major difference in times of great need.

➤ First, corporations and governments both need to share early-warning information with each other. Large corporations and governments both have global reach, but don't always cross paths in the same circles with the same networks. Jointly helping to flag issues as they arise will help governments and corporations take more informed action at the right time. When there's an opportunity to make a difference, making each other aware of a situation requiring a united response is the first and most crucial step.

➤ Second, governments must be attuned to the specific capabilities of potential partner corporations. It shouldn't come as a surprise, but whenever there is a natural synergy—like UPS using its logistics expertise to route disaster relief and humanitarian aid supplies—there is an increased likelihood of immediate engagement and collaboration. It also leads to more successful, hands-on collaboration, encouraging actual engagement as opposed to "just financial support."

➤ Third, corporations must recognize that they have a role to play in addressing humanitarian issues. Using the power of their brands and financial resources, corporations can help to shape popular perspectives on an issue and counter messages of fear, hate and indifference. Sometimes, corporations need to take a public stand to make a difference and shape public discourse, particularly in the communities in which our employees live and work.

Our hope at UPS is that we can join others in doing more to help address the current crisis, using our logistical strength to provide compassionate relief while governments work through diplomatic and military means to re-establish peace and security. At the front line of these efforts, the Foreign Service has the potential to help play a role in bridging people and organizations by reaching out to those in need and those with resources to help in any given country. Together, we can engender greater and faster responses to humanitarian crises, making progress where in the past we may have fallen short.

Without a doubt, partnering to address the logistical, political and bureaucratic hurdles we face today will be a daunting task. But if we don't succeed, we run the risk of losing a far greater battle of values—either by capitulating to fear or by failing to protect those who share our common humanity. President Franklin D. Roosevelt said it best: "Freedom means the supremacy of human rights everywhere. Our support goes to those who struggle to gain those rights and keep them. Our strength is our unity of purpose. To that high concept there can be no end save victory."

How Refugee Resettlement in the United States Actually Works

Historically, the United States has permanently resettled more refugees than all other countries combined. Here's what's involved.

BY CAROL COLLOTON

Aisha arrived at Kennedy Airport on a rainy afternoon in November 2009 looking more than a little apprehensive as she clutched her two small children and a number of mismatched bags holding their personal belongings. Four years earlier, she had fled her village in Rwanda and ended up in a refugee camp in the Democratic Republic of the Congo run by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. There she awaited resettlement in a third country.

She filled out reams of application forms, provided biographical data, and sat for interviews with representatives of the Resettlement Support Center and numerous security officials, followed by medical exams. When she was finally told that the United States had accepted her application, it was like a dream come true. But it was not until she had a departure date, and started attending cultural orientation classes, that the reality sank in: she was actually going to America!

Aisha was suddenly beset with doubts. She didn't know a soul in America; how would she survive? Maybe she should just stay in the camp, she thought. But with everyone congratulating her and telling her how lucky she was, she put on a brave face and reminded herself of the violent events she had lived through, and the anguish of the years since leaving Rwanda behind. Right now her most pressing concern was hiding from her children her fear of getting on an airplane for the first time in her life.

She was reassured when she was greeted in New York City by a representative of Church World Services, who assisted her family in transiting the airport and boarding another plane to Minneapolis. There, the local CWS sponsor escorted them to a two-bedroom apartment. It was a bitterly cold, snowy day in December; they had never seen snow before.

Then things began to happen at a bewildering pace. The sponsor explained how the stove, heating system and smoke alarm worked, and took Aisha and her children to a church basement so they could pick out warm clothes. Other CWS staff explained U.S. currency, showed her around the neighborhood, and pointed out where and how to shop, and how to take the

Carol Colloton, a State Department Foreign Service officer from 1976 to 2002, served as deputy chief of mission in Mauritania and as the first regional refugee coordinator for Central Africa following the 1994 Rwandan genocide, among many other assignments. After retiring from the Service, she worked for several years with State's Bureau of Population, Refugees and Migration on refugee resettlement, and continues to do other work as a When Actually Employed annuitant.

CAROL COLLOTON

Young children at a Tanzanian refugee camp during the 1990s civil war in Rwanda.

local bus. The children were registered in school, doctors' appointments were made, and she was enrolled in English-language classes and a job search program.

Seven years later, Aisha has a job cleaning offices. Her children are picking up English much faster than she, and she often relies on them when they go shopping or visit a doctor. After a year, she received the coveted green card giving her permanent residency and was beginning to feel comfortable in the United States. She hoped and prayed that her sister and her children would soon be able to join her. But then, following last summer's bombings in Paris, Aisha began hearing that many Americans wanted to keep any more refugees from coming.

Aisha's experience is far from unique in both respects. But that does not mean the hostility toward refugees and legal migrants shown by some Americans who got here earlier in our history is any less pleasant.

Of the millions of refugees in the world, who should be selected for resettlement?

The Role of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees

People, of course, have migrated throughout human history for various reasons: fleeing war and violence, or seeking a better life economically, politically and socially. But with the advent of the nation-state system, and the demarcation of defined borders, governments began to regulate such mass movements more closely—particularly the flow of refugees, a specific category of migrants governed by international agreements.

To be precise, under international law refugees—as distinguished from internally displaced persons, or IDPs, who have been uprooted from their homes but remain in their country—are defined as "individuals who have fled from their country of nationality or habitual residence, having a well-founded fear of persecution because of their race, religion, nationality or membership in a particular social or political group, and owing to such fear are unable or unwilling to return to that country." The first step for a person fleeing his or her own country is to seek refuge in a neighboring country—in international parlance, the country of first asylum. A refugee is thereby distinguished from an individual who applies to immigrate via the visa application process.

> The screening process for refugees is far more rigorous than for any other group entering the United States.

Current practices for admitting refugees date from the post-World War II period. Some 146 countries adopted the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees that entered into force on April 20, 1954, and was limited to persons fleeing events occurring before Jan. 1, 1951, within Europe. A 1967 protocol removed those limitations and expanded the Convention to universal coverage. Pursuant to these measures, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees based in Geneva, Switzerland, is the focal point for regularization and international coordination of such efforts.

Whenever there is a large-scale movement of people, national and international nongovernmental agencies, assisted by the UNHCR, concentrate on quickly setting up emergency shelter, food, water, sanitation and medical services. Only then do they focus on screening individuals to determine if they qualify for refugee status. Once the refugees' physical needs are met and refugee status determined, more stable conditions are established. Some refugees live among the local population, while others have families in neighboring countries.

The objective then becomes a durable solution. Ideally, refugees will return to their homeland as soon as the situation allows. Lamentably, all too often this outcome is prevented by continuing political unrest, or the fact that the refugees belong to a minority ethnic or religious group that remains unwelcome. The next-best solution is for them to be settled in the country of first asylum and integrated into its society. But in some relatively few cases, third-country resettlement may be the best option.

Of the millions of refugees in the world, who should be selected for resettlement? In 2006, UNHCR designated broad priority categories for refugee resettlement, such as: survivors of violence or torture, family reunification, medical needs, and women and children at risk. Within these categories, narrower designations were established to respond to specific situations and to apply to specific countries. For example, the category used for resettlement of Liberians to the United States was "women-at-risk"—older women who were raising their grandchildren because the parents had died, either from violence or from diseases such as malaria and HIV/AIDS. Another was "The Lost Boys," young Sudanese who had become separated from their families during their flight from the fighting in the south of Sudan and were resettled in the United States in 2001. Following the Rwandan genocide, "mixed marriage" refugees—Hutu and Tutsi—were identified as "at risk," but the Rwandan government objected to the implication that such families could not reside peacefully in postwar Rwanda.

Is the American Commitment to Aid Refugees Fading?

Historically, the United States has permanently resettled more refugees than all other countries combined. In 1980, the year of highest U.S. resettlement, Congress set an annual ceiling of 207,000 arrivals. This number has gone up and down through the years in response to different periods of unrest leading to increased population migrations as well as to domestic political pressures. From 2008 to 2011, the ceiling was set at 80,000, but not met. Since 2013, the ceiling has been established at 70,000 and has been more or less fulfilled each year.

Recent terrorist attacks have led to calls to bar or severely limit the number of new refugees entering the United States. But such proposals ignore the fact that the screening process for refugees is far more rigorous than for any other group entering the United States (generally taking between 18 and 21 months of vetting). Further, the U.S. government can refuse entry to any foreigner, including a refugee, without cause.

Once individuals are identified as eligible for resettlement they all go through the intensive screening process, as did Aisha mentioned above, conducted by the UNHCR, international voluntary agencies and, for those considered for entry into the United States, representatives of the State Department, the FBI and the Department of Homeland Security. This involves collecting biographical data, medical clearances and intensive security screening.

The majority of refugees are normally resettled in 15 states: California (which takes nearly 16 percent), followed by Washington (just under 15 percent), New York (nearly 9 percent), Florida (7 percent), North Carolina and Texas (5 percent each). Oregon, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Georgia and Arizona each accept just over 3 percent of refugees, while Missouri, Massachusetts, Minnesota and Ohio account for about 2 percent each.

While about 30 state government officials have declared their intention to reject the settlement of any Syrian refugees in their states, it is worth noting that most of those states take few if any refugees to begin with—and the three states accepting the largest numbers have all reaffirmed their participation in resettlement programs.

> The plight of millions of refugees encapsulates many aspects of international relations the world appears to be unprepared, or unwilling, to deal with.

How Local Resettlement Works

Some U.S. critics of refugee resettlement have claimed that the federal government settles refugees in their states without consultation. This is not the case, however. While only the federal government can determine whether or not a refugee may be admitted to the country, federal law requires consultation with state and local governments on the resettlement of refugees in a particular community.

Fortunately, the State Department and the Department of Health and Human Services have traditionally enjoyed a cooperative, constructive relationship with state and local refugee coordinators and with voluntary agencies in determining where to place refugees.

The nine voluntary agencies active in resettling refugees in the United States work closely with their local affiliates and state refugee coordinators to determine which locations are the best match for the communities and the refugees. The following factors are considered: family reunification; the number of refugees already in the state and in a particular community (the objective is to avoid overwhelming an area with large numbers, but also to settle refugees where compatriots are already residing); and the availability of affordable housing, employment opportunities, and health and educational facilities.

There have been instances in which a state or local community has objected to resettlement in a particular locality for various reasons. Even if they do not agree that those reasons are valid, the federal government and voluntary agencies generally accede to such objections. After what these refugees have already been put through, the last thing they need is more hostility.

A Problem That Is Not Going Away

The plight of millions of refugees encapsulates many aspects of international relations the world appears to be unprepared, or unwilling, to deal with.

Currently, there are nearly 20 million refugees in the world (not including some five million Palestinians). Whole generations are growing up in what are supposedly "temporary" camps. The international governmental agencies and NGOs running them have to build, staff and supply medical clinics, schools and other basic services.

In response, some countries that have not traditionally been resettlement havens have either begun accepting refugees or taking more of them. Several European countries have increased the number of refugees they accept; others have taken in large numbers in proportion to their population. Finland, for example, with a population of about 5.5 million, has accepted 750 refugees a year since 2001 and planned to take in 1,050 in each of 2014 and 2015. Still, this generosity does little to meet the overall needs.

Are we at a major turning point in human history? With international communications and commercial entities dwarfing the power of most governments, we might well ask ourselves whether the nation-state system as we know it is at a point of cataclysmic change. While climate change is not yet a designated qualification for granting refugee status, its impact may well swallow up small island nations and low-lying coastal areas of many countries—setting off chaotic, uncontrollable mass movements beyond anything we have seen thus far.

Let us hope that international diplomatic efforts will succeed in reducing if not eliminating armed conflicts, and international agreements on human rights, economic trade and other international exchanges will narrow the huge gaps between the haves and have-nots. But even in a best-case scenario, we can probably expect continuing mass movements of people across international borders for the foreseeable future. So a firm American commitment to assisting and resettling them remains essential. ■

Pitching In to Do Vital Work

A distinguished ambassador describes work in the world of refugee resettlement.

BY JOHNNY YOUNG

When I retired from the Senior Foreign Service in 2004, after a 38-year career, I vowed that I would only return to full-time work if I could "do good." An opportunity to do just that came in August 2007, when I accepted an offer to become executive director for migration and refugee services at the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops.

In that position, which I held until February 2015, I managed the world's largest nongovernmental resettlement agency. The Office of Migration and Refugee Services has a budget of more than $80 million, a staff of 106, and more than 80 affiliate resettlement offices across the United States.

MRS, as I will refer to it here, is one of nine faith-based and secular organizations that partner with the State Department and the Department of Health and Human Services to resettle and assist refugees. To give you an idea of how vital its work is, I'll note that of the 70,000 refugees the U.S. government admitted in 2014, MRS resettled more than 16,000—nearly a quarter of the total.

Johnny Young retired from the Senior Foreign Service in 2004 with the rank of Career Ambassador, after serving as chief of mission in Sierra Leone, Togo, Bahrain and Slovenia, among many other Foreign Service assignments. From 2007 to 2015 Ambassador Young was the executive director of the Migration and Refugee Services Office for the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops.

The process begins overseas when the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees interviews a prospective refugee and determines that he or she meets the criteria to be designated a refugee, and can neither return home nor remain in the country of asylum. Candidates approved for resettlement in a third country must undergo an extensive series of clearances and multiple security checks, which typically take between 18 and 24 months for those coming to the United States. Only then may the refugee travel to the country of referral.

Of the millions of refugees in camps and urban areas around the world, only about 1 percent may be selected for resettlement each year.

Work on Many Fronts at Home and Abroad

It was clear to me from my first day on the job at MRS that I had entered an incredible world of exceptionally dedicated, hard-working professionals who are totally committed to the best interest of refugees. This world included my immediate colleagues at MRS and contacts and colleagues from the broader refugee resettlement community, including the network of U.S government agencies and offices. The role of all of these players in refugee work is not just to protect refugees, but to offer them hope and a second chance at a normal life.

My responsibilities at MRS encompassed several areas. First and foremost was managing our headquarters and its affiliates so we could continue to process refugees for resettlement fairly, efficiently and cost-effectively. During my tenure, our budget increased from $50 million to $80 million, primarily for programmatic increases to assist refugees at higher levels of allowance, something for which we had vigorously advocated.

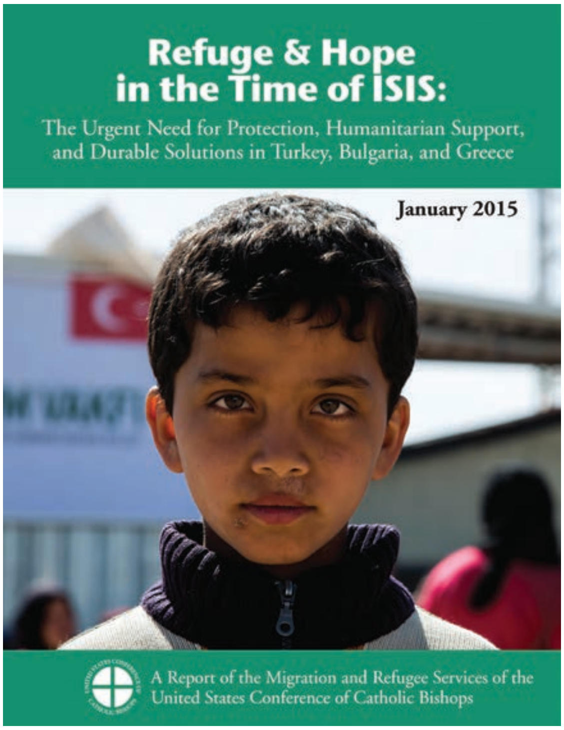
We also regularly traveled overseas, often to dangerous locales, to assess the extent of refugee problems and recommend groups for consideration for resettlement in the United States. During a series of trips to the Middle East I took between 2007 and 2014, we found an increasingly horrific situation. We repeatedly reported that refugee flows in the region would only mount until peace returned to the region. Sadly, our testimony largely fell on deaf ears.

During a series of trips to the Middle East I took between 2007 and 2014, we found an increasingly horrific situation.

My team's report following a trip to Bulgaria, Turkey and Greece in the fall of 2014 ("Refuge and Hope in the Time of ISIS") described the unfolding crisis in stark terms:

"The escalating Syrian conflict has created one of the worst refugee crises of our generation. When a Committee on Migration delegation previously traveled to Jordan, Lebanon and Turkey in October 2012, some 550,000 people had fled from Syria's 18-month old conflict. According to UNHCR, with Syria now in its fourth year of conflict that number exceeds 3.8 million. Syrians now make up the world's largest refugee population after the Palestinians. Half of Syrian refugees are children. Over 85 percent live outside of refugee camps in towns and villages of the host countries.

"Besides producing high numbers of refugees, Syria has some 7.6 million internally displaced people (IDP) and Iraq an estimated 1.9 million. An estimated 191,369 Syrians have been killed in the conflict. … Islamic State of Iraq and Syria has further worsened and expanded the crisis to involve Iraqis and growing numbers of ethnic and religious minorities. During the first several days of the Committee on Migration's [current] assessment trip, over 130,000 Kurdish Syrians from Kobane and surrounding villages in northern Syria were forced by ISIS to flee into Turkey. Besides illustrating the escalating forced migration from Syria, the large influx of this ethnic minority illustrates the growing complexity of the conflict."



U.S. CONFERENCE OF CATHOLIC BISHOPS

This January 2015 report assesses the unprecedented refugee crisis erupting from the Syria conflict.

Turkey's towns and cities were being overwhelmed, and its capacity for processing refugees and providing them protection and basic services challenged, the report notes. Explaining this, MRS went on to identify promising interventions and suggest practical solutions in the areas of increasing refugee registration capacity, disseminating information to refugees on processes and services, and opening opportunities for refugee schooling and work.

Yet as grim as we found the situation at that time, we did not foresee the magnitude of the current Syrian refugee flow into Europe—much less the delayed, tepid U.S. response.

Advocacy Work

I also joined resettlement coalitions and partners in a wide range of meetings and advocacy efforts. These centered on remaining true to our core principles: to protect refugees and give those allowed to resettle in the United States a second chance.

These meetings involved counterparts, as well as senior officials, at the departments of State, Homeland Security and HHS, and even the White House. We also did a lot of advocacy on Capitol Hill. Regardless of how big or small the interaction, these meetings consistently focused on promoting the well-being of refugees and safeguarding the integrity of the refugee program. We took on such subjects as funding, the number of refugees allowed into our country, and the resolution of problems some state and local governments created to hinder resettlement programs in their jurisdictions. We were generally very successful in these efforts.

Of my many domestic duties, I most enjoyed visiting our affiliate offices across the United States, and meeting with refugee families during those visits. Some of them had suffered years, if not decades, of impoverishment and indignities as they awaited resettlement. Their gratitude reaffirmed my already deep appreciation for the U.S. resettlement program, which offers the possibility of a green card and a pathway to citizenship.

I will never forget one Iraqi family—husband, wife and three children under 10—in Albuquerque, New Mexico, that had been in the country for only a few months. Because of her excellent English prior to coming to the United States, the wife had reversed roles with her husband and become the leader of the family. She was the only breadwinner and was the interface with the community and service providers. The couple struggled with this situation. But what struck me even more was how the wife kept repeating, over and over, how happy they were that the kids could play freely outside and there were no bombs. No bombs. No bombs! She felt secure, protected and free—the core objective of the resettlement program.

Since 1975 the United States has welcomed more than three million refugees from all over the world who have built new lives in cities and towns across the country. Of the approximately 15.4 million refugees in the world today, the vast majority will receive support in the country to which they fled. Less than one percent are eventually resettled in a third country, and of those the United States welcomes more than half—more than all other resettlement countries combined.

Still, there is no doubt in my mind that our country can and should do much more, especially for Syrians and other refugees. I pray that our leaders will not be distracted by the idle chatter of ill-informed politicians who use the refugee resettlement program as a pawn in their political games and schemes. Instead, let us remain firm in our support for refugee resettlement programs, which reflect who we are as a people and what we believe in.

FEATURE

DEVELOPMENT AID TO AFRICA Time for Plan B?

Fifty years and trillions of dollars of foreign aid has yet to put the African continent on a real growth trajectory. Here's a suggestion for a change in focus.

BY DON LOTTER

Despite the best of intentions, trillions of dollars in Western foreign aid have failed to pull sub-Saharan Africa out of poverty—much less put the continent on a development trajectory similar to the one many Asian and Latin American countries have successfully followed for decades. Here I propose a different approach to development assistance in Africa—redirecting aid flows to developing U.S.-run university programs, initially within existing African universities. Online education would be the core mode, greatly reducing costs.

This proposal has several advantages over current practice. First, and most important, building U.S. educational programs and institutions on the continent is the most efficient way to help establish the foundation for Africans to build their societies on their own terms. At the same time, however, it is arguably a very effective way to compete with China in Africa.

Beijing is already building universities in Ethiopia and Malawi, and funding existing schools in South Africa, to win the hearts and minds of future African leaders. Yet the United States still has the best system of higher education in the world, which is why students flock to our colleges from all over the world.

Don Lotter was a senior lecturer in development studies at St. John's University of Tanzania from 2011 to 2016. He has a Ph.D. in agriculture from the University of California-Davis, and has been involved in crop production for food security and the development of cooking fuels from agricultural waste to slow the destruction of Tanzania's forests for charcoal.

Scope of the Problem

The failure of development aid to date is easy to see in Tanzania, where I recently taught at a small university in the country's central region. After 50 years of projects and programs, this area still suffers from food insecurity, malnutrition, maternal anemia and stunting of children's growth, as well as dismal education standards, poor agricultural productivity and endemic corruption. The same pattern exists across much of the continent.

African counties commonly derive some 50 percent of their government budgets from foreign aid. This is a recipe for dependency and for bloated governments that maintain a small percent of the population at high incomes, yet fail to reach the people in villages and slums with development programs. In my experience, Tanzanian government employees are often corrupt and undereducated. Yet they are the very people on whom conventional donors depend for the crucial "last mile" of aid program implementation. Many of these bureaucrats demand "sitting fees"—starting at five dollars a day for villagers and rising to hundreds of dollars a day for regional and district heads—just to participate in development projects.

U.S. universities in these countries would set a standard against which indigenous schools could challenge themselves.

On top of that, far too much aid money is frittered away on new cars, the construction of new offices, stays in high-end hotels and generous per diem payments for government staff. I can always tell when nongovernmental organizations or government bodies are meeting in Dodoma, because fleets of new Toyota Land Cruisers and other sports utility vehicles dominate the city. I recall chatting one time with a Tanzanian at the bar in a high-end tourist hotel in Arusha. He worked for the highway-building division and was staying at this $250-per-night hotel on the government's tab. (I couldn't help thinking of my experience during the 1980s working for the state of California, with an economy bigger than all of sub-Saharan Africa's. We stayed at $30-per-night hotels.)

Africans outside these power loops rightly resent such misuse of money, which runs counter to donors' development goals. But then failing to develop and remaining poor are, of course, the qualifications for more aid. In such an environment of self-feeding corruption it is nearly impossible to do effective development work.

Build American Universities

Unfortunately, while new colleges and universities are opening all over the African continent today, many of them are substandard institutions. Many instructors are unqualified, yet cannot be easily discharged. Lecturer absenteeism is alarmingly high, and many instructors make no effort to keep up in their fields despite the existence of free online resources geared to professionals. Many African college students pay bribes, very often instructor-elicited, to pass courses and graduate without being able to read or write well.

Instead of trying to fix local schools, the United States should consider the establishment of U.S. universities in these countries, to set a standard against which indigenous schools could challenge themselves. Their faculties should be entirely American, because local hiring would poach good teachers from schools where they are needed so badly. We have a surfeit of people with doctoral degrees in the United States, at least some of whom would presumably welcome the opportunity to teach overseas.

Accreditation of these institutions could be handled by a U.S.-based body, such as the Council for Higher Education Accreditation or the Association of American Colleges and Universities. Relationships with organizations such as the American Council on Education, as well as joint-degree programs with U.S. universities, could also be explored. (There was welcome movement in this direction at an April 2015 conference on international joint and dual degrees, hosted by ACE's Center for Internationalization and Global Engagement.) Similarly, a U.S. university consortium could take on the development and management of these schools.

Although a host of historic American universities continue to serve the Middle East, they are not appropriate models for Africa. Those countries have much higher per capita incomes and can support private universities. Because Africa is at the opposite end of the income spectrum despite reports of rapid economic growth, these new facilities would simply be filled by students from elite families, who already have the wherewithal to go abroad for education.

Meeting Critical Needs

The students we want for these schools are the bright young people who are locked out of quality education and struggle through the dismal government schools. I have found them extraordinarily hungry to learn and excel. Once they no longer have to contend with widespread corruption and incompetence in the indigenous education system, they will be equipped to effect change from within their societies. As a bonus, these American university alumni may very well become their countries' future leaders and prime movers.

The undergraduate degree programs these American universities offer should concentrate on meeting urgent needs:

Online and distance education systems will go a long way to reduce costs.

business management, public health, nursing, agriculture, education, information technology, science, English and journalism. The degree programs would need to be four to five years to accommodate remedial needs.

I don't foresee the schools offering graduate programs because the pressing need is for education at the level of state universities and community colleges in the United States—in other words, the fundamentals of undergraduate education. But perhaps top graduates could be given scholarships to pursue further education in America. Graduates of the American universities will enter the job market with skills in the top 2 to 3 percent of local university graduates and are likely to be sought after.

Rigorous protocols will be required to ensure that acceptance to these schools is merit-based. State Department or USAID oversight of the universities' operation will be necessary to stand up to pressure from wealthy families to admit their children, qualified or not. Students would be expected to pay tuition that is consistent with the host government's loan programs for university students, which might cover 10 percent of the university's budget. Rigorous background checking of student applicants will also be necessary, as fraudulent documentation is rampant.

Online and distance education systems such as massive open online courses (MOOCs) and real-time online classes taught by U.S.-based faculty will go a long way to reduce costs. Perhaps most of the teaching could be done this way for courses that are not laboratory- or field-based, with support and examinations carried out by resident U.S. staff. The necessary fiber-optic Internet backbones have already been laid in much of Africa.

A Timely Proposal

Now is the time to invest in this initiative, ideally through reallocating current aid flows. The universities would need to be subsidized to give ample opportunity to applicants of average African income.

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On a strategic level, graduates of these schools could very well become their countries' leaders.

A first phase might be to establish autonomous programs within existing African universities in which online instruction, both asynchronous (e.g., MOOCs) and synchronous (real-time), is done. A small team of American staff would administer the courses and exams and maintain the network. American universities would be contracted to provide instruction. Perhaps hybrid education systems made up of a combination of online and conventional classrooms and laboratory teaching is the way to go.

In the next phase, an American university can be started in an African country—one out of, say, a half-dozen we approach—that offers the best package of local resources: e.g., land allocation, loan programs for students and infrastructure support. Existing infrastructure can be used, such as a former school or urban building complex. Enrollment would be small in the first couple of years, until faculty and administrators gain experience and a fuller vision of what is needed. Africans are supremely adaptable when it comes to utilizing transitional, limited resources, I have found.

The challenges will be many, but I believe the potential gains far outweigh the costs. Africa needs, above all, to build from the ground up via its own resources and efforts. Access to affordable, rigorous university education can be the foundation for this. These American universities would not only elevate the current standard of higher education in most of these countries, but could do the same at lower levels. On a strategic level, graduates of these schools could very well become their countries' leaders.

But perhaps the best reason of all to try it is this: We cannot continue to waste dwindling U.S. foreign assistance on ineffectual programs. It is time for us to make a lasting difference in the developing world.

(Please join my Facebook discussion page on this topic: American Universities Africa Vision at www.facebook.com/groups/americanuniversitiesafrica.)

FEATURE

ETHNIC AND SECTARIAN CONFLICT

TWO CORE ISSUES

Successful solutions will invariably include a reasonably equal application of the rule of law and an effective effort to ensure "parity of esteem" between the parties.

BY ANDREW D. SENS

Nearly a decade ago, I wrote in these pages that the opportunity to end the long-running sectarian divide in Northern Ireland that opened up in the 1990s came about only when leaders at both the national and local levels accepted the inevitability of a discussion of legitimate local grievances and fears, and parties and people on both sides of the conflict took part in the conversation that ensued ("Lessons from Northern Ireland's Peace Process," September 2007 *FSJ*).

Andrew D. Sens, a Foreign Service officer from 1966 to 1997, served in Uganda, France, Norway, Iran, Pakistan, Argentina and Washington, D.C. His last assignment was as executive secretary to the National Security Council. Following retirement, he served as the American member of the Independent International Commission on Decommissioning, set up by the British and Irish governments in 1997 in Belfast and Dublin to facilitate the disposal of paramilitary arms from both sides of the Northern Ireland conflict. He also lectures and consults.

The "Troubles," as that conflict was called, reflected deep dissatisfaction by minority nationalists (usually Catholic) over widespread social and political discrimination by majority unionists (usually Protestant), and their fear of intimidation from violence-prone paramilitary gangs that unionists, at least tacitly, often supported. For their part, unionists protested strong nationalist opposition to their time-honored traditions and religious convictions, their determination to maintain a constitutional link to the United Kingdom, and the very real despair caused by the Irish Republican Army's violent anti-British campaign.

Under Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, British policy toward Northern Ireland had been heavily oriented toward security. The idea was that the IRA not only had to be defeated, but be seen as vanquished. But this approach only led to a seemingly endless cycle of death and destruction, provocation and retaliation. Moreover, children sent by their unionist parents to school in England and Scotland during the Troubles tended to stay there, threatening the majority's very existence.

The contempt for the "other" that underlies relations between groups involved in sectarian and ethnic conflicts has to be confronted squarely.

This latter development came to matter a lot after John Major became prime minister in 1990, because an element of his approach to finding a way out of a dead-end process was a declaration from Downing Street that the United Kingdom did not have a constitutional commitment to Northern Ireland. Consequently, should a majority of Northern Ireland's citizens choose to reunite with the Irish Republic, a key nationalist goal, Westminster would not object.

The Good Friday Agreement

In the early 1990s, John Hume, a farsighted, moderate nationalist Irish politician, challenged Gerry Adams—leader of Sinn Fein, the Irish republican political party, and an important critic of the status quo—to consider the reality of the country's difficult history. It was clear, Hume argued, that the IRA and Irish nationalism will not be forced out of politics by the British Army. But neither would the IRA succeed in driving the British out of Northern Ireland at the point of a gun.

So there were only two options, Hume argued. We can perpetuate the current cycle of contempt, violence and stalemate—or we can find another way to govern ourselves that fosters peace and security, protecting minority rights while respecting the majority's role in government and the making of public policy.

The alternative turned out to be the Good Friday Agreement of April 1998, which established a new power-sharing government in Belfast. The document guaranteed participation in the legislative process in proportion to a party's electoral strength at the polls; a revised prosecution service and court structure to minimize the opportunity for bias in the administration of justice; a substantially modified police force to make enforcement of the law as fair as possible for both communities; and a scaling back of the British Army's profile in Northern Ireland to normal peacetime levels.

The agreement forthrightly declares: "The tragedies of the past have left a deep and profoundly regrettable legacy of suffering." It then calls for reconciliation, tolerance and mutual trust, and the promotion of human rights of all.

Implementation took considerable time, frequently leading to arguments and even some pushing and shoving, but the negotiators made real progress as the new arrangements were set up and bedded in. Ever since then, it appears that a spirit of accommodation of others' views and concerns has increasingly prevailed in Northern Ireland's parliamentary debate, as well as within the administration of government—even in relations between the nationalist and unionist communities at every level.

Toward a Parity of Esteem

A few years ago I asked the Belfast playwright and author Marie Jones, whose marvelous one-act play, "A Night in November," I had just seen staged at a Busboys and Poets restaurant in Washington, D.C., if the new generation growing up in Northern Ireland would recognize the world her play so vividly describes. She replied quite fiercely, "My 10-year-old already doesn't know what the fuss was all about."

The fact that the next generation will not experience the bigotry and bitterness of the Troubles is a very good thing, indeed. To be sure, there are still issues that provoke civic dissension. There is still too much name-calling in Irish politics; and there are still too many who fail to see the need for what in Northern Ireland is called "parity of esteem." In the Irish context, this term refers to a society's negotiation of a post-conflict equilibrium, in which each faction strives for peaceful co-existence with other groups, rather than seeking a "winner take all" outcome. And generally speaking, this is happening in Northern Ireland.

I should note that this idea goes back to Immanuel Kant's "categorical imperative," that one shouldn't undertake an action that one would not want to see as a general rule. Jean-Jacques Rousseau's definition of amour-propre adds the thought that every individual shares a need for respect within the community. Harvard University philosopher John Rawls explains in his analysis of Rousseau's political theory that all

As we assess Northern Ireland's experience in facing up to the legacy of the Troubles, can we conclude that John Hume was right?

people need to be recognized by others in a community or society as equal members with a secure status. Of course, this obligates us to grant the same standing to others in return, and hence to honor the limits that their needs and claims impose on us.

In short, the contempt for the "other" that underlies relations between groups involved in sectarian and ethnic conflicts has to be confronted squarely. And to be clear, what I mean here is an end to the denigration of those not in "our" group, whose ideas, culture and traditions are not ours. Thus, words and actions that promote hatred and contempt must not be acceptable.

Such a transformation will be difficult and time-consuming to implement, for it means modifying long-established mindsets that have deep historical and cultural roots. And that will take real leadership at every level of the community.

Equal application of the rule of law is not a new idea either, and it has a very practical basis. As is surely obvious, where there is discrimination and selfishness in the conduct of our affairs that reaches a point where a group within society—defined by culture, creed, race or relative poverty—is denied the means to make informed and effective use of its political freedoms so as to lead reasonably satisfactory lives, then the stability of the whole community is undermined.

Where such a group is publicly demeaned, and its distinguishing characteristics, culture and history are derided, cooperation from that group and a sense of shared responsibility for the well-being of the community as a whole deteriorates over time or never is formed in the first place. Of course, human history is full of examples of "my boot on your neck" backed up with sufficient strong-arm tactics working very well to the advantage of some for long periods of time. But this too has never been just, and it is never a model for community improvement.

In society, every individual's sense of self-respect and self-confidence rests importantly not only on others' assessments and judgments, but on his or her conviction that fairness prevails in the application of laws and the provision of opportunity.

Vindicating John Hume's Optimism

As we assess Northern Ireland's experience in facing up to the legacy of the Troubles, can we conclude that John Hume was right? For my part, I am convinced that he was, and that there are always two options for dealing with ethnic or sectarian conflicts wherever they may be found in this world. A divided community can continue to do business as usual, with its many attendant costs and failures, or it can find a better way to manage relations between neighbors.

There are an almost infinite number of options for resolving such conflicts, for human beings can be quite ingenious when they want to be. The political structure created by Northern Ireland's Good Friday Agreement is a good example of what can be accomplished when people put their minds to it.

Moreover, the agreement satisfies two key requirements that, as a diplomat and conflict-resolution practitioner, I have seen play out in many different settings. Successful solutions to a longstanding ethnic or sectarian conflict will invariably include (1) a reasonably equal application of the rule of law and (2) an effective effort to ensure parity of esteem between the parties.

In short, when crafting an approach to an ethnic or sectarian conflict, or seeking to judge the likely effectiveness of a proposed solution to such a dispute, what we must look for every time is a reasonably level playing field and a commitment to a reasonable degree of mutual respect.

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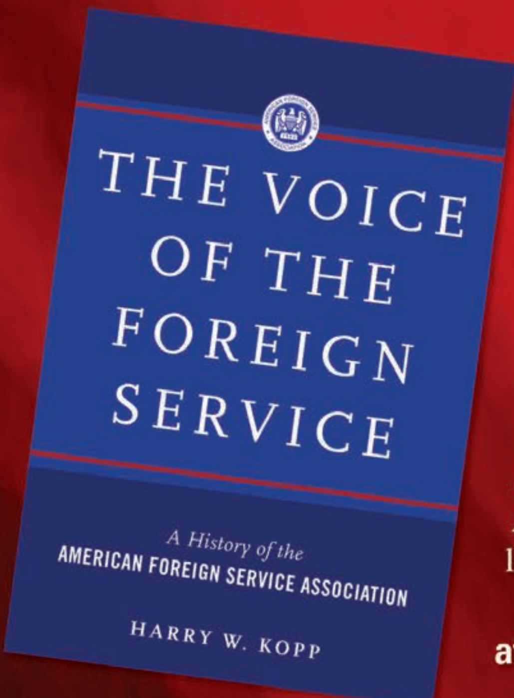

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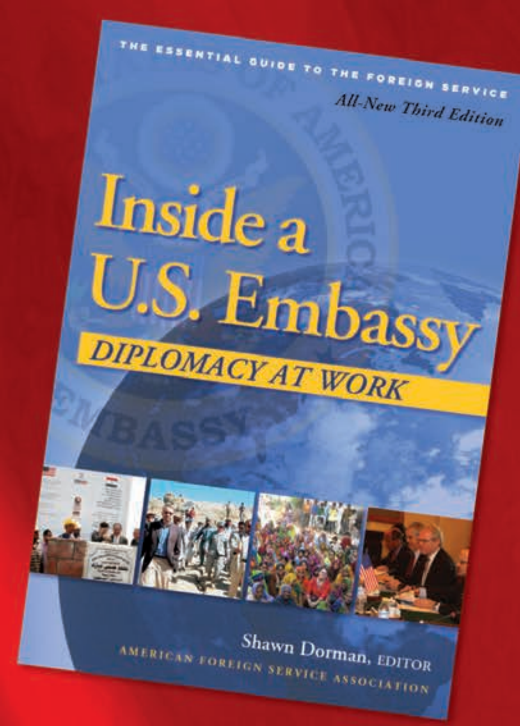

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Secretary Kerry on Overseas Comparability Pay

AFSA/MARIA C. LIVINGSTON

AFSA President Ambassador Barbara Stephenson poses a question on Overseas Comparability Pay during the Feb. 8 town hall with Secretary of State John Kerry.

At a town hall meeting on Feb. 8 in the Department of State's Dean Acheson Auditorium, Secretary of State John Kerry discussed challenges to achieving work-life balance and IT modernization, efforts to reform the Civil Service and the implications of the Paris climate agreement, among other topics.

During the Q&A period, AFSA President Ambassador Barbara Stephenson thanked Secretary Kerry for his early and strong support of full OCP when he was on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

She noted that worldwide-available members of the Foreign Service spend two-thirds of their careers overseas; yet when they deploy abroad alongside defense and intelligence colleagues, they are the only member of that trio to take a cut in basic pay.

In conclusion, she asked what he planned to do in his last year as Secretary to bring home the final tranche of OCP.

Sec. Kerry responded: "I will do everything in my power to have an impact on OCP," and vowed to raise the matter during upcoming budget hearings.

(Kerry did just that in testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on Feb. 23 and the House Committee on Foreign Affairs on Feb. 25. Deputy Secretary of State for Management and Resources Heather Higginbottom and USAID Administrator Gayle Smith echoed that support in their testimony on March 8 and March 15, respectively.)

Kerry added that the struggle for OCP was emblematic of a much larger problem—the general lack of public awareness of what diplomacy is and why it matters. We must convince Americans that an investment in America's foreign policy is a smart investment, he said.

Amb. Stephenson met privately with the Secretary immediately prior to the town hall to discuss the importance of a healthy, attractive career path to ensure the Foreign Service recruits and retains the top talent needed to meet the foreign policy challenges of today and tomorrow.

Stephenson also invited Kerry to do an interview for *The Foreign Service Journal*, and he accepted. That interview will be featured in an upcoming issue.

—Maria C. Livingston, Director of Professional Policy Issues

CALENDAR

April 1
12-1 p.m.
Job Search Program Graduation Ceremony at FSI

April 6
12-2 p.m.
AFSA Governing Board Meeting

April 10-14
AFSA Road Scholar Program: "Diplomacy in Action: The Middle East, South Asia and Global Terrorism" Washington, D.C.

May 4
12-2 p.m.
AFSA Governing Board Meeting

May 6
Foreign Service Day/AFSA Memorial Plaque Ceremony

May 22-26
AFSA Road Scholar Program: "The Middle East: Conflict and Controversy" Washington, D.C.

May 24
2-3:30 p.m.
AFSA Book Notes: *The Wolf of Sarajevo* by FSO Matthew Palmer

May 30
Memorial Day: AFSA Offices Closed

June 1
12-2 p.m.
AFSA Governing Board Meeting

June 5-10
AFSA Road Scholar Program: "U.S. Foreign Policy for the 21st Century" Chautauqua, N.Y.

June 23
4-6 p.m.
AFSA Awards Ceremony

Views and opinions expressed in this column are solely those of the AFSA FCS VP.
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Life After the Commercial Service

The May issue of The Foreign Service Journal *will focus on "Life After the Foreign Service." Since the bimonthly FCS VP Voice column is not scheduled to appear in May, consider this my contribution to the discussion on retirement.*

Historically, the end of the calendar year has been a good time for people to retire. Doing so allows officers to "cash in" on any unused annual leave, pay off that nagging mortgage, go on a trip or buy that fancy new car they've always wanted.

As 2015 drew to a close, I saw a lot of Commercial Service retirements, which allowed me to catch up with a large number of former CS officers who had traveled to Washington, D.C., for the celebrations. From my conversations, it seems there is no "one size fits all" when it comes to FCS retirement.

So, what did I learn? Based on my very unscientific survey, it's anyone guess what you'll be doing when it's time to retire. Foreign Commercial Service retirees come in all shapes and sizes: happy, sad, angry, resigned, working, not working, playing golf, writing, fixing things up around the house, traveling, you name it.

As to the myth that all FCS officers retire and go on to work for some firm or entity making big bucks in countries where they were last assigned: Hooey! Again, from my very limited sample, only one or two officers—of the dozen or so I met—were in any way trading on the experience they gained in their last several assignments. Besides, there are limitations on what you can do in post-federal employment, right?

So what is the upshot of all of this? Plan all you want when it comes to retirement, but keep your options open—fully twice as many senior-level (FS-1 and above) FCS officers will age out from 2018 to 2020 compared to 2015 to 2017. Plan to attend the Foreign Service Institute's Retirement Planning Seminar or Job Search Program, or both. Visit www.state.gov/m/fsi/ for a schedule, and send an email to Tyler.Glofelty@trade.gov to register.

If retiring in the greater Washington, D.C., area, keep in mind the possibility of serving on the Foreign Service Grievance Board or on an AFSA committee, and don't forget to proactively sign up for the reduced AFSA membership rate for retirees at retiree@afsa.org.

AFSA Governing Board Meeting: February 3, 2015

Consent Agenda: On a motion from State Representative Erin O'Connor, the board approved all consent agenda items. These included (1) the Jan. 6 Governing Board minutes and (2) the appointment of State Foreign Service Officer Jennifer Haskell to serve on the AFSA Profession and Ethics Committee. The motion passed unanimously.

Overseas Development Program: On a motion by Retiree Vice President Tom Boyatt, the board approved a position paper regarding the Department of State's evaluation of the Overseas Development Program (including State's recommendation that the program be expanded from 20 to 40 positions, with five added this year). The paper—which has since been delivered to the Bureau of Human Resources—states that the AFSA Governing Board does not concur with the proposed expansion and suggests revisiting the issue only when the department (1) demonstrates that the ODP's existing 20 positions are consistently filled, (2) provides clearer evidence that the ODP is meeting its stated goals, and (3) arranges for an independent cost-benefit analysis that justifies the resources expended on the program.

Talent Retention: The Governing Board discussed issues of retention in the Foreign Service and the need for more reliable data on why members of the Foreign Service leave. The board agreed to form a working group that will begin to look at ways to collect data to inform decision-making related to workforce planning.

Views and opinions expressed in this column are solely those of the AFSA Retiree VP.
Contact: boyatt@afsa.org | (202) 338-4045

Salaries and Retirements: Foreign Service vs. Private Sector

The debate over the value of public-sector versus private-sector income and retirement benefits has been waged intermittently since the large expansion of the government following the Great Depression and World War II. Unfortunately, the discussion has been fraught with stereotypes, inaccurate information, ignorance and some vitriol.

During my 30-year Foreign Service career, I went through all the ranks from FSO-8 to Career Minister and retired without Social Security or the Thrift Savings Plan. I also spent 25 years in the private sector working as a vice president of a large company (Sears World Trade), president of a small company (U.S. Defense Systems), partner in a consulting group and a trustee of Princeton University—a combination big business and big nongovernmental organization.

I know both worlds pretty well from personal experience and from familiarity with the experiences of relatives and friends. Herewith, my heroically simplified take on financial remuneration during and after employment in each sector.

Advantage, Private Sector

Private-sector salaries are about 25 percent higher than the Foreign Service at the entry level. This gap is narrowed, of course, for entry-level officers who are posted overseas—almost all are. At mid-career, the gap widens and continues to widen for the rest of the careers in both sectors. The reason for this differential boils down to one word: equity.

During the course of their careers, private-sector employees accumulate equity in a variety of forms (owners' stock, profit-sharing stock grants, options to buy shares at beneficial prices and the like). They have many options for converting this equity into retirement income streams.

The multimillion-dollar termination or retirement packages paid to departing or retiring CEOs are primarily in the form of equity—usually highly appreciated shares of company stock. In short, during the working years, the advantage is with the private sector.

However, when comparing retirements, the pendulum swings back to the Foreign Service. Again the reason can be summarized in one word: pensions.

Defined-benefit pensions are fast disappearing in the private sector. But not for us, and that is very important. Older retiree pensions are robust. More recent retirees receive a smaller percentage of their salaries as a defined retirement benefit, but added to this is Social Security retirement income.

Our pensions are the functional equivalent of $5 million worth of savings in U.S. Treasurys.

The vast majority of Foreign Service retirees receive retirement payments from the government (pension plus Social Security) ranging from $50,000 to $100,000 annually. Some receive higher amounts. For the purposes of example and simplicity, let's say the average is $100,000.

Advantage, FS

Think about that for a moment. That income is guaranteed by the full faith and credit of the federal government. To obtain that income and that guarantee, a private person would have to purchase $5,000,000 in 10-year U.S. Treasury bonds currently yielding around 2 percent!

Note well! *Our pensions are the functional equivalent of $5 million worth of savings in U.S. Treasurys.* That fact is well-known and envied (and in some cases resented) by our private-sector colleagues.

Foreign Service pensions also have the positive attributes of annuities in that the income is guaranteed for life (and for the life of our spouses if we so elect). Payment is automatic—we do not have to manage the money.

Further, our retirement pensions have none of the risks of private sector annuities, which are variable (they can go down) and subject to commercial risk (the company funding and managing the annuity can go bankrupt).

For most of us, financial compensation was not high on our priority lists when we joined the Foreign Service. More important were travel, adventure, change, intellectual challenge and service to the nation.

Most of us are very fortunate to have had careers that met or exceeded our youthful dreams and that, in our autumn years, provide financial security as well.

By both measures we are millionaires.

AFSA Memorial Plaques Criteria

On Nov. 2, the AFSA Governing Board approved revisions to the criteria governing who is eligible to be considered for inclusion on the AFSA Memorial Plaques, located in the Department of State's C Street Lobby. The official criteria, as approved, are spelled out in the following.

~

The AFSA Memorial Plaques honor members of the Foreign Service (as defined by Section 103, 1 through 5, of the Foreign Service Act of 1980) who die while serving abroad under circumstances distinctive to the Foreign Service.

Criteria for Eligibility

Eligibility is limited to deaths occurring overseas due to circumstances distinctive to the Foreign Service, including acts of violence or terrorism.

The death may occur at post of assignment or in another location, as long as the cause of death was an event or circumstance which occurred while on assignment outside the United States and was attributable to the location of assignment.

Eligibility may also include any of the following:

• travel to or from post and travel at post while in the active performance of official duties;

• death due to disease related to particular circumstances of overseas assignment;

• death caused by inadequate medical facilities, defective government equipment or facilities, a natural disaster at an overseas post, or crime at an overseas post.

Deaths involving the decedent's illegal, negligent, reckless or selfish behavior are not eligible for inclusion.

The criteria for the addition of a name to the AFSA Memorial Plaques shall be the criteria that applied at the time of the individual's death.

AFSA owns and maintains the plaques and organizes unveiling ceremonies when new names are added, in cooperation with the Department of State.

Procedures

The AFSA Awards and Plaques Committee considers proposals for additional names and makes recommendations to the AFSA Governing Board, which selects the final names for inscription, based on the above criteria.

Any questions about the memorial plaques should be directed to AFSA Awards Coordinator Perri Green at green@afsa.org or (202) 719-9700.

AFSA and the Public Diplomacy Council Team Up

AFSA and the Public Diplomacy Council are deepening their collaboration to bring our members more information on subjects related to the practice of public diplomacy.

The PDC has long hosted its monthly lunchtime discussions at AFSA headquarters. Now AFSA will record these and make them available to members of both organizations.

The first two recordings are available at www.afsa.org/video. The first features Alex Karagiannis—senior adviser to the Department of State's Bureau of Human Resources—whose Feb. 25 presentation addresses how PD officers can demonstrate impact and capture the ever-elusive "so-what" factor on the new Employee Evaluation Report.

Foreign Service Officer Lia Miller, an AFSA member and Public Diplomacy Council associate member, introduces Alexander Karagiannis at the Feb. 25 presentation on performance evaluations.

The second involves a conversation with authors Ron Nixon and Daniel Whitman. Nixon's book, *Selling Apartheid: South Africa's Global Propaganda War*, examines South Africa's apartheid propaganda campaign. Whitman served as a program development officer at Embassy Pretoria in the late 1990s. His book, *Outsmarting Apartheid: An Oral History of South Africa's Cultural and Educational Exchange with the United States, 1960-1999*, is based on interviews with South Africans and Americans who administered, advanced and benefited from government-funded exchange programs.

In April, PDC will host DC Jazz Festival Executive Director Sunny Sumter, who will explore jazz as a PD tool.

PDC meetings are held on the first Monday of each month. AFSA will make the recordings available within two to three days of each program. We hope our members enjoy this collection of conversations on PD issues.

—Ásgeir Sigfússon,
Director of Communications

2016 Global Ties Conference: Promoting the Foreign Service

Global Ties U.S.—formerly known as the National Council on International Visitors, and a Department of State partner helping administer the International Visitor Leadership Program—held its annual national conference in Washington, D.C., on Jan 27-30. The event drew more than 1,000 leaders from across the United States who are on the forefront of connecting international visitors with their local communities.

In appreciation of the December issue of *The Foreign Service Journal*, which focused on the 75th anniversary of the IVLP, Global Ties invited AFSA to represent the Foreign Service during the four-day event. Global Ties President Jennifer Clinton and Foreign Service Officer Robert Zimmerman (on detail to Global Ties) both wrote for the December issue and were instrumental in establishing the Global Ties connection with AFSA.

AFSA/MARIA C. LIVINGSTON

AFSA President Ambassador Barbara Stephenson speaks about balancing international exchanges' long-term goal of building mutual understanding with the short-term goal of supporting foreign policy priorities. From left: President and CEO of IREX Kristin Lord, Executive Director of The McCain Institute for International Leadership Kurt Volker, Stephenson and Brigadier General (ret.) and CEO of the American Security Project Steve Cheney.

AFSA Speakers Link Exchanges to the Foreign Service

AFSA President Ambassador Barbara Stephenson kicked off the association's participation by speaking during an afternoon plenary, "A Strategic Dialogue on Advancing Peace & Security through International Exchange Programs," at the U.S. Capitol Visitor Center.

The panel focused on the importance of international exchanges for advancing diplomacy and defense efforts. Sharing her experience as the consul general in Northern Ireland, Amb. Stephenson recalled when Consulate General Belfast used exchange programs to help the police force shift to a community policing model—a move that was critical for advancing the peace process.

AFSA/MARIA C. LIVINGSTON

Approximately 550 people, including members of Congress and their staffers, international exchange leaders and private-sector supporters, were in the Capitol Visitor Center audience during the Jan. 27 panel discussion.

Working with the Bureau of Education and Cultural Affairs, AFSA arranged for Ambassador (ret.) Linda Jewell—an AFSA member and longtime supporter of the association's Road Scholar program—to give the keynote address on the value of exchanges at an ECA-sponsored reception for conference participants in the State Department's Benjamin Franklin diplomatic reception room with more than 300 attendees.

Amb. Jewell drew on her 30-year career as a public diplomacy officer with the U.S. Information Agency and the Department of State and her activities in retirement. She has served as the vice president of International Student Exchange Programs and

Please turn the page

Global Ties Conference • Continued from page 51

is currently the treasurer of the Public Diplomacy Council and a member of the board of Pyxera Global.

AFSA Outreach Bolstered by Members

AFSA was pleased to offer every conference goer a free copy of the December *FSJ* and made numerous copies available throughout the venue for anyone who wished to take more to share with colleagues, friends and family.

The association's exhibit table was a popular stop in the conference Meeting Hub, where numerous visitors stopped to learn more about the Foreign Service. Several public diplomacy-coned Foreign Service volunteers—Robert Zimmerman, John Dunne, Kit Norland, Carlos Aranaga, Amy Bliss and Peter Kovach—helped staff AFSA's table throughout the conference. Their personal perspectives were invaluable to visitors interested in how the Foreign Service helps advance American interests and values overseas.

Conference goers were also eager to learn about the many ways AFSA can help enrich their programming for international visitors, as well as bolster their efforts to create a more globally aware citizenry in their home states. The association's National High School Essay Contest and Speakers Bureau, and resources such as the popular book *Inside a U.S. Embassy* and *The Foreign Service Journal,* offer dynamic possibilities.

Supporting Professional Development for Members

Given the professional development and networking opportunities inherent in this type of event, AFSA raffled off two complimentary conference registrations to PD-coned members. Deputy Director Jeanne Clark of the Bureau of International Organization Affairs' Office of Public Affairs, Planning and Coordination and Assistant Cultural Affairs Officer Amy Steinmann of Embassy Moscow were the lucky winners.

AFSA wishes to thank everyone who had a hand in ensuring that AFSA's presence at the Global Ties conference was strong. Thanks to this team effort, AFSA—and the Foreign Service—established a new and important relationship with one of the country's largest networks of internationally minded civic leaders. We look forward to working with Global Ties U.S. and its affiliates in the near future.

—Maria C. Livingston, Director of Professional Policy Issues

AFSA/MARIA C. LIVINGSTON

FSO Volunteer Amy Bliss (left) shares her Foreign Service experience with a conference attendee at the AFSA exhibit table.

COURTESY OF GLOBAL TIES U.S.

Jeanne Clark, a public diplomacy officer and AFSA member, dropped by the AFSA exhibit table to say thanks for her complimentary conference registration. From left: Clark and AFSA Director of Professional Policy Issues Maria Livingston.

AFSA/SHAWN DORMAN

Ambassador (ret.) Linda Jewell (left) with Institute of International Education's Executive Director of Professional Exchange and Community Outreach Nancy Overholt at the State Department-sponsored reception for the Global Ties Conference.

My Encounter with the IVLP Village

BY AMY STEINMANN

In January, I attended the national Global Ties U.S. conference in Washington, D.C. My participation was made possible by the American Foreign Service Association, which raffled off a couple of conference registrations to public diplomacy-coned members.

I am the assistant cultural affairs officer responsible for administration of the International Visitor Leadership Program for Mission Russia. My team and I run one of the largest IVLP portfolios in the world, with an annual budget of more than $1 million.

In this capacity, I know all the processes involved in putting more than 130 Russians on planes annually and sending them to the United States, where they receive direct exposure to the workings of American democracy and develop a deeper understanding of our country. However, it wasn't until I attended the Global Ties conference that I gained a true understanding of the many elements running stateside to make these programs happen.

The conference brought together State Department officials, national program agencies (nonprofit organizations that implement IVLP) and hundreds of community-based members—who help tailor program itineraries for our international visitors—to share ideas, exchange best practices and discuss the future direction of the department's premier professional exchange program.

AFSA/MARIA C. LIVINGSTON

Embassy Moscow's Assistant Cultural Affairs Officer Amy Steinmann at the Global Ties conference, holding a copy of the December issue of *The Foreign Service Journal*.

Although the Jan. 22-23 "Snowzilla" nearly derailed my plans to attend the conference, I made it to Washington, D.C., from Moscow unscathed and was able to both share my perspective from post and gain insights during four days of strategic dialogue. The presence and attested to the importance accorded by senior leadership to the IVLP and the fact that the program is viewed as a highly effective policy tool.

Hearing from those who develop the program content, those who greet our visitors on the ground and those who interpret and serve as their guides was truly insightful and eye-opening. I learned of the challenges that inevitably arise when bringing groups of foreigners to the United States for an intensive, and at times, emotion-packed journey, and of the many successes which make this work so significant and rewarding.

One of the greatest takeaways for me, personally, was the realization that IVLP truly does take a village—from government officials who align IVLP trips with mission strategic goals, to program implementers who design trips that meet those goals, to the families who open their homes to our visitors and truly showcase American hospitality.

I'd like to thank AFSA for this opportunity, which allowed me to engage in in-depth professional development, to network and to make connections with hundreds of people devoted to this program. The conference was incredibly useful as I seek to enhance the value and benefit of IVLP exchanges, both to the participants and to Mission Russia.

Amy Steinmann is a public diplomacy officer currently serving in Moscow. Her previous assignments have included Washington, D.C., Frankfurt and Georgetown. The views expressed in this article are those of the author and not necessarily those of the U.S. government.

AFSA ON THE HILL

President Obama's FY 2017 Budget Request

The American Foreign Service Association closely follows the discussions within the administration that help shape each year's federal budget request and the subsequent budget process on Capitol Hill.

We regularly speak to members of Congress about the importance of maintaining a strong and continuous operations resource base to enable the Foreign Service to effectively fulfill its mission, even as U.S. foreign policy priorities shift over time.

We aim to keep our members informed of the latest developments and encourage proactive engagement with elected officials and their staffs.

This article is the first of several that AFSA will present on the FY 2017 federal budget proceedings now getting underway. We include a primer on the process that highlights the critical junctures of which our members should be aware.

On Feb. 9, President Barack Obama submitted his Fiscal Year 2017 budget request to Congress. Here are a few items that AFSA is tracking.

Foreign Affairs Agencies' Operating Expenses: The budget includes $5 billion for Diplomatic and Consular Programs—personnel, infrastructure support and operating costs—representing a 6-percent increase over current levels. USAID's operating expenses are set at $1.4 billion—a 9.5-percent increase. The International Trade Administration is listed at $521 million—a 10.5-percent increase; the Foreign Agricultural Service is at $2,224 million—a 9.9-percent decrease; and the Broadcasting Board of Governors is at $777.8 million—a 10.3-percent increase.

Security for Diplomatic and Development Facilities: The budget request contains $135 million for security programs and overseas diplomatic and development facilities—a 6.1-percent increase over current levels. This figure includes funding for embassy security, construction and maintenance; Diplomatic Security Bureau operations; and ongoing repair and safety of overseas real property assets.

Paid Parental Leave: The budget plan calls for six weeks of paid parental leave for federal employees on the birth, adoption or foster placement of a child. The proposal would make explicit the right of new parents to use sick leave to care for a new child.

Cybersecurity: In response to last year's data breaches at the Office of Personnel Management, the budget request includes $37 million to continue upgrading OPM's computer systems. Part of a new cybersecurity action plan,

Background: The Federal Budget Process

In 1921, the U.S. Congress passed the Budget and Accounting Act requiring the president of the United States to submit a budget for consideration by the Congress. Although the president's budget proposal is not law, it provides a roadmap for executive branch policy priorities. Similarly, the reaction of the Congress to the president's proposal has substantial implications for the work of the Foreign Service.

Eight Months Prior: Agency Budget Requests

The budget process is labor-intensive, beginning each spring with discussions at the agency level. Each agency must submit a request to the Office of Management and Budget in late summer or early fall. OMB then reviews, modifies and sends the requests back to the agencies by November. In December, agencies make their final appeals to OMB, and in January OMB resolves appeals and proceeds to assemble the president's budget proposal for the coming fiscal year.

The Government Accountability Office, Congressional Budget Office and U.S. Department of Treasury play important roles in providing data and analysis that help shape and identify priorities that make it into the request.

February-March: The President's Budget Request

The president traditionally presents the budget request to Congress in early February. The document offers the president's major program proposals and analysis of historical budgetary trends. The administration must also release a "Mid-Session Review" on July 15 that takes into account changes in the overall budget scenario due to congressional action.

May: Concurrent Budget Resolution

Once the president has put his administration's budget proposal on the table, the House and Senate Budget Committees focus on drafting, marking-up, voting and reporting their respective budget resolutions with the aim of eventually passing a concurrent budget resolution (i.e., Congress's own budget plan). The Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act of 1974, which established the budget process as we know it, requires final adoption of the concurrent budget resolution to be completed by April 15—a deadline that often goes unmet.

The budget resolution's main purpose is to develop a framework—including aggregate budget levels and discretionary spending limits—within which appropriations committees make allocation decisions.

In accordance with Sections 302(a) and (b) of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974, the budget authority and outlays proposed in the final budget resolution are distributed to the appropriate House and Senate Appropriations Committees. These committees then must divide the proposed funds among their 12 subcommittees.

June: Appropriations

The House and Senate Appropriations Committees have jurisdiction over discretionary spending, which includes roughly 94 percent of the international affairs budget (aka the "150 Account").

The appropriations process determines how each chamber believes the discretionary funds should be allocated and involves consideration by (a) the House and Senate Appropriations Subcommittees; (b) the full Appropriations Committees of the House and Senate; and (c) the full House and Senate.

There are three types of appropriations measures: (1) regular appropriations provide funding for agencies over the course of the federal fiscal year (Oct. 1–Sept. 30); (2) supplemental appropriations provide budget authority for areas that have insufficient funding during the fiscal year, such as military expenses or disaster relief; and (3) continuing appropriations, better known as continuing resolutions, provide stopgap funding for agencies that have yet to receive regular appropriations.

July-August: Spending Bills

The House and Senate strive to pass their respective spending bills prior to the regular state or district work period (i.e., the August recess).

September: Conference Committee and President's Signature

A House-Senate conference committee is formed to resolve any differences between the two bills and to agree on a final version that can be presented to each body for a vote. The final bill can be in the form of an omnibus (a lumping of multiple appropriations bills into one larger bill), a continuing resolution or a combination of the two (as was the case for FY 16). If passed by both chambers, the president must determine whether to sign the bill into law.

October: Government Status Depends on Budget Outcome

Oct. 1 is the beginning of the new fiscal year. An omnibus budget bill, or at least a continuing resolution, must have been signed into law by this date for the federal government to continue to operate.

the budget would create a $3.1 billion revolving fund to replace antiquated information technology.

We invite you to read the respective analyses of the president's international affairs budget request by the U.S. Global Leadership Coalition and the Congressional Research Service at www.bit.ly/21gS8Zw and www.bit.ly/21G66V9 to learn more.

—Javier Cuebas, Director of Advocacy

ANNOUNCEMENT

CELEBRATE ADST AWARD RECIPIENTS AT GALA DINNER

The Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training will host its biennial gala dinner on April 26 at the Washington Plaza Hotel. ADST is pleased to announce the 2016 Tribute to Excellence award winners.

Strobe Talbott, president of the Brookings Institution and Deputy Secretary of State in the Clinton administration, will receive the Ralph J. Bunche Award for Diplomatic Excellence. Previous recipients include James Baker, Colin Powell and Lee Hamilton.

The Cyrus Vance Award for Advancing Knowledge of Diplomacy will go to Joseph Nye, former dean of the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University.

The International Business Leadership Award will be presented to the nonprofit One Laptop Per Child, which has been creating and distributing educational devices for the developing world since 2005. Founder Nicholas Negroponte and CEO Rodrigo Arboleda will accept on the group's behalf.

ADST, a nonprofit organization located at the Foreign Service Institute, has the world's largest collection of diplomatic oral histories, archived onsite and with the Library of Congress.

For more information about ADST or to sign up for this year's gala, visit www.ADST.org.

Engaging High School Students: Model UN Conference

On Feb. 11, AFSA President Ambassador Barbara Stephenson delivered the keynote address at the opening session of the 53rd annual North American Invitational Model United Nations conference. More than 3,700 high school students from across the United States and 18 countries were in the audience.

AFSA/SHAWN DORMAN

AFSA President Ambassador Barbara Stephenson delivers the keynote address at the 53rd annual North American Invitational Model United Nations conference.

One of AFSA's strategic goals is to increase outreach to high school and college students; this conference is an ideal opportunity for such engagement. For the third year in a row, AFSA helped sponsor the event, which every year gathers thousands of young people who are interested in and knowledgeable about the world.

During her speech, Amb. Stephenson urged attendees to remain engaged in international affairs and diplomacy. She explained how the skills they learn through Model UN would prepare them to become the Foreign Service of the future—a calling that will require them to excel at bringing together actors from across society to forge consensus on issues such as climate change, migration and corruption.

Amb. Stephenson argued that the Foreign Service of the 21st century must benefit from more than just "traditional" diversity; it also needs a diversity of skills. The Foreign Service will always have room for those with what we might call the traditional educational backgrounds: political science, economics, history, communications, international relations, law. But it will increasingly need people who are comfortable talking about science, technology, engineering, medicine, transportation,

AFSA/SHAWN DORMAN

More than 3,700 high school students from across the United States and 18 countries heard Stephenson's vision of how a diverse Foreign Service will address a new set of global challenges.

AFSA/ÁSGEIR SIGFÚSSON

NAIMUN participants were eager to speak with Amb. Stephenson (center) about their aspirations to join the Foreign Service.

AFSA/PERRI GREEN

AFSA Editorial Assistant Shannon Mizzi speaks to NAIMUN participants about the association's High School Essay Contest.

climate science, and even social work.

The Foreign Service will need people who understand how to gather, use and deploy data in the service of problem-solving and stakeholder engagement. Mastery of social media and digital networking will become even more necessary.

AFSA staff connected with students and teachers at the conference by hosting an exhibit table for the fourth year in a row to promote the association's National High School Essay Contest—a joint partnership with the United States Institute of Peace, Semester at Sea and the National Student Leadership Conference.

We also shared copies of *The Foreign Service Journal*; promoted AFSA's guide to the Foreign Service, *Inside a U.S. Embassy*; and encouraged students and teachers to invite a Foreign Service speaker from the association's Speakers Bureau into their classrooms.

Participant Kayla Steinburg of New Hampshire is typical of the highly motivated and inspired students who participate in Model UN. In an email to AFSA following the conference, she could hardly contain her excitement about the Foreign Service: "I am interested in pursuing a career in the Foreign Service, because learning about the international community and interacting with people from different cultures will help me better the world and myself."

AFSA continues to partner with organizations to reach young people across the country.

—Ásgeir Sigfússon, Director of Communications, and Perri Green, Awards Coordinator

AFSA BOOK NOTES

Learning from Diplomatic Successes

On Feb. 18, Ambassador Robert Hutchings kicked off the American Foreign Service Association's 2016 Book Notes series with a talk on his new book, *Foreign Policy Breakthroughs: Cases in Successful Diplomacy.*

The event was moderated by Ambassador Barbara Bodine, Distinguished Professor of the Practice of Diplomacy and director of the Institute for Diplomatic Studies at Georgetown University.

Co-edited with Dr. Jeremi Suri, *Foreign Policy Breakthroughs* features nine case studies in successful diplomacy from both the United States and abroad.

These include post-World War II relief, the evolution of the non-aligned movement, the 1972 Nixon visit to China, the North American Free Trade Agreement, the Camp David Accords, the reunification of Germany, the establishment of the European Union and pre-2001 relief aid to Afghanistan.

During his talk, Amb. Hutchings highlighted the book's 10 key lessons in diplomacy. For instance, he cited the recent nuclear deal with Iran as an example of the first lesson: success follows failure.

Even though early phases of the negotiation were unsuccessful, the exercise allowed diplomats to learn more about Iran's negotiation style and what it considered to be its most significant national interests.

AFSA/ALLAN SAUNDERS

Ambassador Robert Hutchings responds to questions on his new book, *Foreign Policy Breakthroughs,* at the AFSA Book Notes event.

In another illustration, Hutchings described President Richard Nixon's 1972 visit to China as an example of how the conduct of diplomacy sometimes requires a careful mix of secrecy and openness.

Without discretion early in the process, Nixon would have faced huge opposition on Capitol Hill, and consequently, may not have restored diplomatic relations with China.

In response to a question from Amb. Bodine on how to best deal with other governments whose policies we disagree with, Hutchings stressed the importance of having diplomats on the ground in every nation, despite our differences. The United States is still paying, he argued, for not securing diplomatic relations with Iran many years ago.

The event concluded with a Q&A session during which both ambassadors shared lessons learned from their careers.

Anyone with an interest in diplomacy as a profession, including members of the Foreign Service, as well as university and high school students aspiring to a career in the field, will find value in the pages of *Foreign Policy Breakthroughs*.

Visit www.afsa.org/video to view a recording of this event. For a review of the book by Amb. Bodine, see the December 2015 *Foreign Service Journal*. ■

—*Briar Blount, Communications Intern*

APPRECIATION

AFSA's Very Own Santa Claus:

Carl Edward Dillery, 1930-2016

Ambassador Carl Edward Dillery served as AFSA's elected retiree vice president from 1991 to 1993 and as chair of the Scholarship Committee from 1997 to 2012.

BY STEVEN ALAN HONLEY

Ambassador Carl Edward Dillery, who died on Jan. 23 at the age of 85, was much fitter than Santa Claus. But in spirit, at least, Ed (as he was universally known) bore a striking resemblance to jolly old St. Nicholas, and managed to do so all year round—but most especially on Foreign Affairs Day.

Each May during his nearly 15 years as chair of the American Foreign Service Association's Scholarship Committee, Ed joyfully disbursed scholarship checks worth thousands of dollars to dozens of deserving high school students. While those funds didn't come out of his own pocket, he seemed to take just as much pleasure from the annual ceremony as if they had. And in the process, without in any way hogging the spotlight, he transformed what could have been a repetitive series of transactions into something truly profound: an investment in each teenager's future.

AFSA/SHAWN DORMAN

Ambassador C. Edward Dillery, at right, with 2007 AFSA Merit Award winners who were able to attend the reception. From left, Jason Meer, Erica Wickman, Andrew Keith, Sarah Haviland and Paul Armstrong.

Lori Dec, AFSA's longtime scholarship director, says she "can't remember a time when Ed did not have a smile on his face. He was a genuinely nice man, very down to earth, and never let on that he was a former ambassador. He was always ready to assist with any committee business, be it attending an awards lunch, accepting a scholarship check from a donor or presiding over a Merit Awards panel meeting. He will be sadly missed."

Steven Alan Honley, a Foreign Service officer from 1985 to 1997, is The Foreign Service Journal*'s contributing editor. He was editor-in-chief of the* Journal *from 2001 to 2014.*

AFSA/LORI DEC

Ambassador C. Edward Dillery receives an AFSA Special Commendation from then-President Susan Johnson when he retired from the chairmanship of the Scholarship Committee in 2012.

That blend of humility and beneficence was a constant throughout Ed's 38-year Foreign Service career.

Low-Key Generosity

That blend of humility and beneficence was a constant throughout Ed's 38-year Foreign Service career. In 1958, a year into his first overseas tour, he was transferred from Tokyo to Kobe-Osaka for an assignment as textile reporting officer (which would last until 1961). With characteristic modesty, Ed recounted the notification he received of that decision during the oral history interview Stu Kennedy, of the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training, conducted with him in 1994:

"I remember [Embassy Tokyo Consul General] Laverne Baldwin calling me in and saying, 'You have been transferred to Kobe-Osaka as economic officer. With all these good young Foreign Service officers, I can't figure out why they picked you, but I hope you do well.'"

During that assignment, a local export company asked him to find them an English-language instructor so its senior executives could work better with their American colleagues. Ed did them one better by offering his own tutoring services:

"When the first session was over they said, 'How would you like to have dinner?' And I said, 'That sounds very nice.' So they took me out to a lovely dinner in real Japanese fashion. We did a little bar hopping, and I took the last train home. And that became the pattern for every Thursday night. So I am afraid they spent more entertaining me than they would have if they had paid me. I got to know them so well that I kept in correspondence with them for many years afterwards."

A Highly Varied Career

Carl Edward Dillery was born in Seattle, Washington, on Dec. 17, 1930, and graduated from Seattle Pacific College in 1953 with a bachelor's degree in history. He spent two years working as an insurance examiner before joining the Foreign Service in 1955. (In 1973, he would earn a master's of science degree in the administration of national security from The George Washington University.)

From 1955 to 1957, Ed was a foreign affairs officer in the Department of State's Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs (now the Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs). Following the back-to-back assignments in Japan (1957-1961) referenced above, he returned to the department to work in the Bureau of Scientific and Technological Affairs (1961-1965). After spending a year at the University of California at Berkeley, he served as chief of the economic section in Brussels (1966-1967).

Next, Ed volunteered—much to the chagrin of his wife, Marita, as he later recounted in his ADST interview—for a tour in the U.S. Agency for International Development mission in Saigon (1968-1969). Arriving not long after the 1968 Tet offensive, he was stationed in Quang Ngai province as a senior adviser to USAID's Civil Operations for Revolutionary Development Support program. After a detail to the Department of Defense (1970-1971), he worked in the Bureau of Political-Military Affairs (1971-1972) and attended the Industrial College of Armed Forces (1972-1973). It was also during this period that he earned his MSA degree from GWU.

The next decade of his career focused on Europe, with assignments as deputy political counselor in London (1973-

1976) and deputy chief of mission in Nicosia (1976-1978), followed by four years in the Office of Southern European Affairs, first as deputy director (1978-1979) and then director (1979-1982). He next spent two years as director of the Office of United Nations Political Affairs (1982-1984) before becoming U.S. ambassador to Fiji, Tonga, Tuvalu and Kiribati (formerly known as the Gilbert Islands), a post he held from 1984 to 1987.

During his three years in Suva, Ambassador Dillery derived special satisfaction from his role in administering the Accelerated Impact Program. This was a small self-help program through which the embassy supported various projects, most of them developed by Peace Corps Volunteers who worked with villagers to build water systems, community halls, health stations—and kitchens, which were especially popular. As Amb. Dillery explains in his ADST oral history:

AFSA/LORI DEC

Ambassador C. Edward Dillery, at right, gives the John and Priscilla Becker Family Scholarship to Merit Award winner Joshua Downes at the May 1, 2009, reception. AFSA President John Naland, center, congratulates Downes.

"In the traditional village, the kitchens were one end of the thatched roof house. They built little annexes on it with concrete slab and concrete blocks and a little stove and running water. They did a lot of that kind of thing and we provided the money for it. My wife and I got to open those projects with ceremonies, and when that happened we received the traditional ceremonial thank-you with the roasted pig and traditional dressed native dancers and cup bearers giving you the native drink, whale's teeth as a sign of respect, etc.

"It was a great experience. You will find plaques in remote Fijian villages which say that in 1986, Ambassador Dillery opened this school or water system—a nice legacy."

On his return to Washington in 1987, Amb. Dillery served as deputy director of the Office of Management Policy (1987-1989) and the Bureau of Management and Financial Policy (1989-1992). Before retiring from the Foreign Service in 1993, he served on commissions dealing with international broadcasting and Foreign Service personnel.

"He was a real professional, a devoted Foreign Service officer and a wonderful human being."
—Ambassador Raymond Ewing

Giving Back Through AFSA

A longtime AFSA member, Ed served on the Governing Board as retiree vice president from 1991 to 1993. He taught several AFSA-sponsored Elderhostel (now Road Scholar) courses before becoming chair of the AFSA Scholarship Committee in 1997, and served in that capacity until January 2012. In 2004 Ed received the AFSA Member Achievement Award.

Amb. Dillery was also active in the Washington Institute of Foreign Affairs, the Cosmos Club and DACOR, and he served on the board of Mediterranean Affairs, Inc. He spoke French and Japanese, and enjoyed golf, tennis and singing in the choir of the Church of the Covenant in Arlington, Virginia.

He is survived by his wife Marita (Lewis) of 62 years; his children, Sara Hynes (and her husband, Jack), Edward L. (and his wife, Katie) and John (and his wife, Sara); and eight grandchildren.

Speaking at Ed's memorial service on Jan. 30, Ambassador Ray Ewing expressed the sentiments of Ed's many colleagues and admirers when he remarked: "Ed Dillery was a cheery, upbeat person, always ready with a smile, and a good-natured approach to everything he did. He was a real professional, a devoted Foreign Service officer and a wonderful human being. His passing is a real loss for his family and his many friends."

Donations from Mrs. Dillery and the couple's Foreign Service colleagues have established a memorial scholarship in Ambassador Dillery's name. Contributions are still being accepted to add to this award.


AFSA/LORI DEC

Ambassador C. Edward Dillery, at left, accepts a $4,000 check for the Financial Aid Scholarship Fund from Nick Frankhouser, scholarship chairman of the Public Members Association of the Foreign Service, on May 1, 2008.


Secretary of State John Kerry delivers the keynote address at the Foreign Affairs Day celebration at the U.S. Department of State in Washington, District of Columbia, on May 3, 2013.

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Learning the Lessons of History

Lessons Encountered: Learning from the Long War
Richard D. Hooker Jr. and Joseph J. Collins, editors; National Defense University Press, 2015; available gratis as a PDF or ebook at http://ndupress.ndu.edu/Books/LessonsEncountered.aspx, 473 pages.
Reviewed By Todd Kushner

Throughout his tenure as chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (2011-2015), General Martin Dempsey pushed the U.S. government to identify and internalize the strategic lessons arising from its 15 years of operations in Iraq and Afghanistan. The National Defense University's Institute for National Strategic Studies responded to that tasking with this penetrating volume, *Lessons Encountered: Learning from the Long War.*

As editors Richard D. Hooker Jr. and Joseph J. Collins note in their introduction, "Not learning from wars can be catastrophic"—a definite understatement! With the U.S. military and Foreign Service likely to be engaged in future nation-building and counterinsurgency efforts, both institutions have a deep interest in avoiding the mistakes of past campaigns and applying the lessons of the successes.

Warning: Perusing this volume will force readers to confront painful realities! As the contributors document, the administrations of George W. Bush and Barack Obama frequently failed to define strategic problems, set forth clear strategic aims and formulate workable operational plans, both in Iraq and Afghanistan. In particular, they did not adequately orchestrate the elements of U.S. national power or resolve significant interagency differences.

Our military and civilian leaders habitually misunderstood their counterparts' decision-making processes and, consequently, talked past each other. U.S. efforts in both countries were plagued by confusion over who was in charge, given the fact that multiple agencies and commands seemed to be running independent programs. As a result, even though the U.S. government spent $1.6 trillion just to cover the direct costs of both wars, key elements like foreign assistance were significantly under-resourced.

Warning: Perusing this volume will force readers to confront painful realities about the U.S. role in Iraq and Afghanistan!

Each chapter of *Lessons Encountered* does an excellent job of summarizing relevant events, analyzing the U.S. approach to the specific situation, and drawing the relevant lessons. It is not always clear, however, how contributors envision implementing their recommendations. For example, calling for greater awareness of when "a mission demands interagency collaboration and mak[ing] special provisions for it" does not exactly constitute a roadmap to guide future decision-makers.

While the book contains extensive, helpful background material, including an index would have helped readers identify and revisit specific topics. Because each chapter is self-contained, the quality of the writing and analysis varies a good deal, but Foreign Service readers will find the chapters on national-level decision-making and coordination, and security force assistance, particularly pertinent.

Lessons Encountered usefully reminds us that the United States can claim some genuine successes thanks to its nation-building efforts in Afghanistan and Iraq over the past 15 years. But the book also shows that most of those gains came in spite of the system, as individual civilian and military leaders used dedication, adaptability, creativity and teamwork to overcome institutional, systemic and strategic challenges.

The shortcomings identified in this volume contributed to the risks faced by our military and civilian personnel and contractors on the ground, more than 6,800 of whom gave up their lives and more than 52,000 of whom have been physically wounded in these operations.

Now is the time to truly learn, and apply, the lessons "encountered" in these pages—before our nation is once again called upon to secure and rebuild a foreign land.

Todd Kushner, a State Department Foreign Service officer since 1985, is currently a visiting faculty member at the College of International Security Affairs. He served as a political adviser in Iraq from 2010 to 2011, among many other assignments.

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An Essential Resource for FS Families

Raising Kids in the Foreign Service
Leah Moorefield Evans, editor; AAFSW Press, 2015; $12.99/paperback, $8.99/Kindle; 308 pages.

Reviewed By Debra Blome

There's a lot of accumulated wisdom out there in the Foreign Service community. And the Associates of the American Foreign Service Worldwide Press has once again gathered it up and packaged it into what should become an essential resource for any FS family.

The essayists are the helpful neighbors everyone wishes they had, ready to dispense advice and soothe fears.

Founded in 1960 as the Association of American Foreign Service Women, AAFSW is the oldest nongovernmental organization supporting the U.S. diplomatic community. The all-volunteer organization serves as a support network for family members of Foreign Service employees of all foreign affairs agencies. Among other achievements, its advocacy helped lead to the creation of the State Department's Family Liaison Office, the Foreign Service Institute's Overseas Briefing Center and the Foreign Service Youth Foundation.

Raising Kids in the Foreign Service, edited by Leah Moorefield Evans, is the latest release from the AAFSW Press. Its previous publications include *Realities of Foreign Service Life,* Vol. 1 (2002) and Vol. 2 (2007); and *Moving Your Household Without Losing Your Mind* (2013).

This collection of 32 essays covers the full spectrum of issues any Foreign Service family is likely to encounter overseas. As Evans—herself an author, AAFSW volunteer and self-described "family transition specialist"—explains in her foreword, this book is a compilation of the collective wisdom of veteran Foreign Service family members.

The essayists are the helpful neighbors everyone wishes they had, ready to dispense advice and soothe fears. Evans invites readers to "grab a hot cup of tea, curl up on your Drexel couch and settle in for a good read."

Beginning with pregnancy abroad, the essays cover a whole lifespan of issues: adoption, schooling (American, British or French? Homeschool or boarding school? AP or IB? Special needs? Gifted and talented?), college admission, alcohol, safety and security, tandem parenting, single parenting and parenting through unaccompanied tours.

There are also several chapters covering more general lifestyle issues all Foreign Service members face (e.g., taming clutter, mindfulness and maintaining connections back home).

Admittedly, it's unlikely any one reader will need advice on all of these topics at the same time. So in that respect, *Raising Kids in the Foreign Service* may not be the kind of book to settle down with for a good read. But it is an essential resource to keep on hand for when the need arises.

Some essays are expertly written, engaging in ways that only someone who has been there and done that can be. You may feel like you're slogging through others—but make the effort! While the writing may not be elegant, the information and advice are still indispensable.

Raising Kids in the Foreign Service should be in the library of every Foreign Service family, new or old. Though I've been an FS family member for more than 20 years, I learned from this book that I could be reimbursed for the cost of my 7th-grader's online math class.

That information was available to me on the State.gov website, it turns out. But I wouldn't have thought to look for it there if my friendly "neighbor"—editor Leah Moorefield Evans—hadn't mentioned it in her own essay.

Debra Blome is a former associate editor of The Foreign Service Journal. *She currently lives in Jerusalem with her husband, FSO Donald Blome, and their family.*

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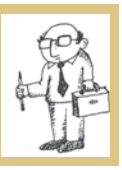

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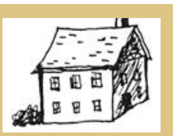

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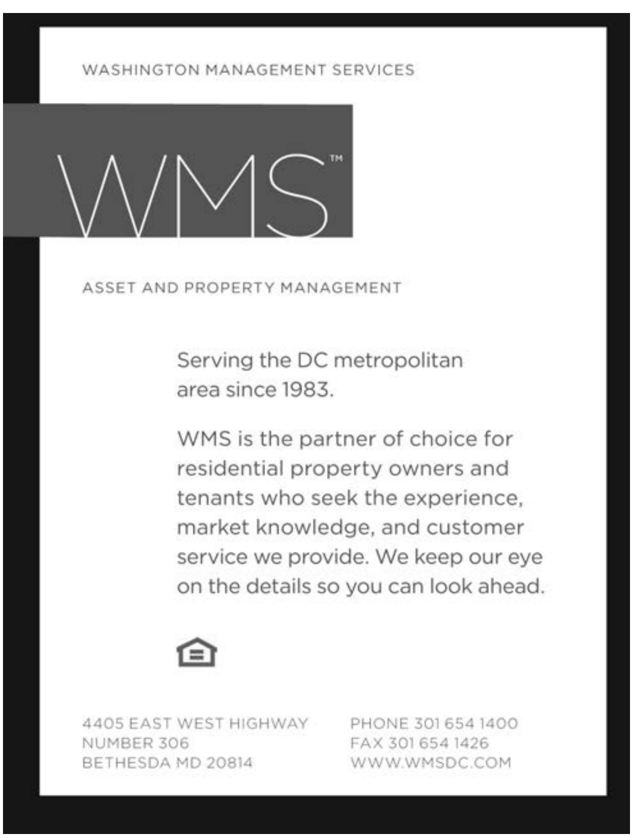

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Into the Desert

BY KATE CARR

In December 1960, right before Christmas, my husband Dave and I launched our little Volkswagen into the Syrian Desert. We did this without a road. According to our guide book, there was an unpaved trail passable by all vehicles.

We were following the tracks of small trucks that used this shortcut between Damascus and the ancient city of Palmyra, but the markings were not distinct. When we couldn't see any tracks in the black rocks of the stony desert, we steered between two distant mountain ranges.

This route was more than 60 miles shorter than the normal way: namely, going north to Homs and taking the paved road. It took us seven hours to cover the 130 miles, but it was definitely an adventure.

Alone in a wide, dry landscape, we saw mirages ahead that looked like pools of water. As we reached each one, the water disappeared and the ducks on the surface turned into desert plants. The camels we met in a caravan, however, were real.

Mile after mile, we worked our way toward an oasis on the southern edge of the sandy desert. There, in the last fold of the Anti-Lebanon Mountains, a perennial spring gave rise to a civilization dating back to the 19th century B.C.

Always a way station for desert crossers, the city of Tadmor (city of dates) was originally founded by Arab tribes. It was renamed Palmyra (city of palms) during Roman times, with Roman architecture superimposed during the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D.

> The setting sun turned the limestone columns of the ancient Palmyra ruins a glowing red.

A few miles from Palmyra, we connected with the macadam road from Homs and drove on into the ancient city, one of Syria's archaeological treasures. The setting sun turned the limestone columns of the ruins a glowing red. We rounded the temple of Bel-Shamin and arrived at the one-story Hotel Zenobia hidden in its shadow.

It was a cold winter evening. We were welcomed and invited to take a place near the pot-bellied stove that sat in the middle of the reception room. There were three men already enjoying the warmth.

One was in charge of the ruins, another the teacher in the local school, and the third was manager of the hotel. He went off and ordered dinner for us from the cook.

Early the next morning, we walked around the extensive site. We saw the main temples, and then went with a guide to the tombs. Inside the tombs were hundreds of sculpted heads, each depicting the mummified body sealed within the cell.

Among the many rulers of Palmyra was the desert queen Zenobia, famous for fighting the Romans and setting up an extensive empire in 270. Camel troops from Palmyra had been fighting the Persians on behalf of the Romans for years.

Zenobia declared the city independent and led her warriors against Roman Emperor Aurelian. She claimed to be descended from Cleopatra. Like that queen, she was quick-witted, bold and spoke many languages. But Rome was much too strong for this desert kingdom to oppose, and Zenobia was defeated.

After a second rebellion a year later, the wealthy city was pillaged, burned and reduced to a minor outpost in the desert. Earthquakes through the centuries also leveled parts of the lavish structures.

When we were there, the Syrian government was excavating and rebuilding the site. This continued until the so-called Islamic State group took over the site in May 2015. Since then many people have been killed, and the monuments are being systematically destroyed.

The most prominent person murdered was Khalid al-Asaad, director of Palmyra antiquities from 1963 until his retirement in 2003, who was beheaded in the square in front of his museum on Aug. 11, 2015.

ISIS began by wrecking statues they deemed polytheistic. Among those was the Lion of Al-lat statue in front of one of the temples. They went on to demolish the main temple of Bel and the smaller temple of Bel-Shamin, and blow up seven of the ancient tower tombs. The Arch of Triumph, too, has fallen to their frenzy.

At some point, memories may be all that are left.

Kate Carr and her FSO husband David were posted for 18 years in the Middle East. During those many years, they explored the countries that are presently in the news. David Carr retired from the Foreign Service in 1993, and the couple lives in Fort Collins, Colorado.

BY JANICE ANDERSON ■ SELES, ANGOLA

We stumbled upon this scene during a three-day weekend enjoying the cool, mountainous, coffee-growing region of Angola. Near the town of Seles, a group of children were gleefully playing on a tank, scrambling all over it and bouncing on the barrel, which still moved up and down. The pink tutu and the children's laughter made a powerful contrast to the remnants of the civil war that had torn the country apart from 1975 to 2002. ■

Janice Anderson joined the Foreign Service in 2006 and has served in Rwanda, India, Denmark and Angola. She is heading to Iceland this summer. Her husband, Jerry, is the captain of an 800-foot commercial cargo ship that carries everything from circus animals, Christmas trees and fresh produce from the United States mainland to Hawaii, Guam and China. She took this photo with a Canon point-and-shoot camera.

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