THE FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

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JUNE 2016

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On the Cover: A Sept. 30, 2015, Unite Against Corruption march in Pretoria, South Africa. Similar marches in Cape Town and Grahamstown took place the same day. Photo courtesy of Sonke Gender Justice.

THE FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

Editor in Chief, Director of Publications
Shawn Dorman: dorman@afsa.org

Managing Editor
Susan Brady Maitra: maitra@afsa.org

Associate Editor
Gemma Dvorak: dvorak@afsa.org

Publications Specialist
Ken Fanelli: fanelli@afsa.org

Editorial Assistant
Shannon Mizzi: mizzi@afsa.org

Ad & Circulation Manager
Ed Miltenberger: miltenberger@afsa.org

Art Director
Caryn Suko Smith

Advertising Intern
JeongEun "Jessie" Shin
Koen Valks

Contributing Editor
Steven Alan Honley

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CONTACTS

AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION 1924

www.afsa.org

AFSA Headquarters:
(202) 338-4045; Fax (202) 338-6820
State Department AFSA Office:
(202) 647-8160; Fax (202) 647-0265
USAID AFSA Office:
(202) 712-1941; Fax (202) 216-3710
FCS AFSA Office:
(202) 482-9088; Fax (202) 482-9087

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Director of Finance
Femi Oshobukola: oshobukola@afsa.org
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LABOR MANAGEMENT
General Counsel
Sharon Papp: PappS@state.gov
Deputy General Counsel
Zlatana Badrich: BadrichZ@state.gov
Labor Management Specialist
James Yorke: YorkeJ@state.gov
Senior Staff Attorney
Neera Parikh: ParikhNA@state.gov
Staff Attorney
Raeka Safai: SafaiR@state.gov
Staff Attorney
Andrew Large: LargeA@state.gov
Labor Management Counselor
Colleen Fallon-Lenaghan: FallonLenaghanC@state.gov
Labor Management Advisor
Jason Snyder: SnyderJ@state.gov
Executive Assistant
Lindsey Botts: BottsLK@state.gov
USAID Staff Assistant
Erika Bethmann: ebethmann@usaid.gov

MEMBER SERVICES
Member Services Director
Janet Hedrick: hedrick@afsa.org
Membership Representative
Natalie Cheung: cheung@afsa.org
Retiree Counselor
Todd Thurwachter: thurwachter@afsa.org
Retiree Representative
Isabelle Hazel: hazel@afsa.org
Administrative Assistant and Office Manager
Ana Lopez: lopez@afsa.org

COMMUNICATIONS
Director of Communications
Ásgeir Sigfússon: sigfusson@afsa.org
Online Communications Manager
Jeff Lau: lau@afsa.org
Outreach and Communications Specialist
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PROFESSIONAL POLICY ISSUES
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Regaining the Moral High Ground

BY BARBARA STEPHENSON

Each month I use this column as an accountability tool, a space for me as president to keep you, the members who elected me and whose dues fund AFSA, informed about the progress we are making implementing the Governing Board's agreed work plan.

But the topic of this edition of the *FSJ*—corruption, and Secretary John F. Kerry's call for good governance and fighting corruption to be a "first-order national security priority"—is so compelling and timely that I am making an exception to instead reflect on good governance itself. My hope is that members of the Foreign Service will find inspiration in these pages and rally behind the call to action.

Under Secretary Sarah Sewell describes how corruption not only gives rise to new threats, including terrorism, but also undermines governments' ability to respond to those threats.

Assistant Secretary William Brownfield shares how anti-corruption has gained prominence as a U.S. foreign policy priority. FSO George Kent describes how Assistant Secretary Victoria Nuland has made countering corruption a core issue in the policy agenda for Europe.

Sec. Kerry made the case powerfully in his Davos speech this year: "The fact is that there is nothing—absolutely nothing—more demoralizing, more destructive, more disempowering to any citizen than the belief that the system is rigged against them." He reminds us that "it is everybody's responsibility to condemn and expose corruption."

Open talk of the sale of public office inevitably undermines the credibility of America's voice as a champion for good governance.

Walking the talk, the Secretary forthrightly acknowledges current political realities in our own country: "We live with a pay-to-play campaign finance system that should not be wished on any other country in the world."

As an FSO who began her career proudly reporting on and fighting for human rights and democracy in Central America, only to face in recent years skeptical audiences overseas who wanted to talk instead about Abu Ghraib, Guantanamo and waterboarding, I am overjoyed to see this policy emphasis on good governance and fighting corruption.

This is, in my view, an American diplomat's dream: a foreign policy fully aligned with our country's core interests and values. As I urge you to rally behind this vision, I want to follow the Secretary's example and forthrightly acknowledge that, left unchecked, the "pay-to-play campaign finance system" the Secretary criticized in Davos will inevitably bleed into our efforts to fight corruption abroad.

When we in the Foreign Service seek to convince audiences abroad to reject corruption, cronyism and the spoils system in favor of building strong, accountable democratic institutions, our voice will be stronger and more credible if we are not open to charges of engaging in these practices ourselves.

Open talk of the sale of public office—as we see in the rash of stories that follow American presidential elections, with speculation about how much this political appointee gave for that plum ambassadorship—inevitably undermines the credibility of America's voice as a champion for good governance.

The fact that the United States stands virtually alone among serious countries in filling ambassadorial positions this way increases the attention to this practice and heightens the tension between what we say and what we do.

As advocates for the rule of law abroad, we should keep in mind that our own law is clear on the subject. Section 304 of the Foreign Service Act of 1980 reads: "Contributions to political campaigns should not be a factor in the appointment of an individual as a chief of mission."

As we move ever more resolutely to make good governance and anti-corruption a first-order foreign policy priority, we should redouble our efforts to model good governance in our own practices.

America's voice will be strongest if we who represent America abroad—the U.S. Foreign Service—are seen as living up to the principles and standards we urge other governments to adopt.

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

A Heightened Focus on Corruption

BY SHAWN DORMAN

This month's focus is on global anti-corruption efforts, a leading foreign policy priority for the United States. The problem of corruption and its corrosive impact and the challenge of working in countries around the world to combat it are not new to diplomats and development professionals of the U.S. Foreign Service. But the issue is taking on a new urgency in 2016 as global awareness of the security dimension of corruption expands.

As we go to press, Secretary of State John F. Kerry is in London participating in the first-ever global Anti-Corruption Summit—a gathering of world leaders from government, business and civil society. The summit produced a first Global Declaration Against Corruption, announced May 12, in which world leaders agreed that:

- Corruption should be exposed—ensuring there is nowhere to hide.
- The corrupt should be pursued and punished, and those who have suffered from corruption fully supported.
- Corruption should be driven out—wherever it may exist.

Ambassador Stephenson devotes her President's Views column to the subject, calling on Foreign Service members to rally behind this policy emphasis and play a critical role in the global effort to take on corruption and promote good governance. She launches the focus, introducing the three lead articles from high-level State Department officials.

Yes, we have three articles from State Department officials writing in their official capacities. This is something we usually avoid. As AFSA's flagship publication, the *FSJ* is the voice of the U. S. Foreign Service—not a State Department mouthpiece—and we value our editorial independence highly.

In this case, each member of the FSJ Editorial Board—a model of good governance at the micro level—evaluated and scored each article separately on its merits, as always. Following a lively debate about the wisdom of publishing three pieces from senior department officials, the board decided it was worth doing.

The reasoning: Each article takes a different angle on the theme, and together they comprise a solid overview of current U.S. policy on corruption—corruption as a front-line policy priority (Assistant Secretary Brownfield); the security dimension of corruption (Under Secretary Sewall); and a ground-level case study in efforts to combat corruption (FSO George Kent).

Those articles are followed by an examination of "The Foreign Corrupt Practices Act and the Rule of Law Abroad" by Thomas Firestone, an expert on international corruption and attorney who spent eight years as a legal adviser at U.S. Embassy Moscow.

And for an assessment of the impact that tolerance of corruption can have on outcomes, State Department Historian Stephen Randolph offers "Foreign Policy and the Complexities of Corruption: The Case of South Vietnam."

With that overview on the table, we invite you join the conversation. The *Journal*'s primary role is to provide a forum for the lively debate of issues of interest to foreign affairs professionals, to foster discussion and to share the unique perspectives of diplomatic practitioners.

Is the U.S. getting it right on anti-corruption? Does the U.S. government today have a credible voice in this discussion? If not, how can it regain that voice? What should the United States be doing to combat corruption, and how can the Foreign Service best advocate for clean and transparent governance?

Send feedback to journal@afsa.org, or respond to the articles when we share them on the *FSJ* and AFSA Facebook pages.

On a closely related topic, our lead feature this month by FSO Tracy Whittington spotlights a model of government transparency, the *Foreign Relations of the United States* series program in State's Office of the Historian, which publishes declassified government documents tracing U.S. foreign policy.

Elsewhere you will find a Speaking Out calling for more support for families with children who have special needs. And in "Mental Health Support for FS Children: Parents Weigh In" we share a compilation of the comments we received for the January-February focus on mental health care in the FS that were specific to FS children.

Next month, we bring you an inside look at the Foreign Service career, including an article on State Department FS hiring today and one on the status of FS spouse employment.

Shawn Dorman is the editor of The Foreign Service Journal.

Mentoring for the Deep Bench

In her April President's Views column, "Building the Deep Bench," Ambassador Barbara Stephenson estimates that leaders are produced roughly in accordance with the following "rule of thumb": 70 percent on-the-job experience, 20 percent mentoring and 10 percent formal training.

It would be interesting to delve more deeply into the mentoring component of the foregoing formula. For example, is "mentoring" a formal component of a supervisory FSO's job description? In other words, does it actually take place?

Furthermore, is the deputy chief of mission (or USAID's equivalent) at post responsible for ensuring that junior FSOs are properly mentored by their supervisors, or even occasionally by the chief of mission? Just as importantly, is feedback on the adequacy of their mentoring experience actively solicited from junior FSOs?

Without such formal mentoring designations and responsibilities, and an effective feedback loop, the early on-the-job experiences of first- and second-tour FSOs may amount to little more than an implied edict to "sink or swim!"

Fred Kalhammer
SFS USAID, retired
Sun City Center, Florida

Universities for Africa

I greatly appreciated Don Lotter's April article on the need to help Africa develop its university system as a better way to develop the continent in general ("Development Aid to Africa: Time for Plan B?"). During my 20-plus years of service in Africa at eight posts, I was continuously frustrated by our ever-changing development policies and priorities.

The only constant was that Africa was forever developing, but never quite getting to "developed"—despite the countless Western experts and consultants who were there to show the way. Since retiring from State I've now spent 13 years at Texas Tech as vice provost administering international programs, and I heartily endorse most of Lotter's points.

The best example I can offer is Ethiopia—once the poster child for the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse—a country where I served twice and still visit every few years to help establish partnerships between American and Ethiopian universities.

When I arrived there as ambassador in 1999, the literacy numbers were abysmal—especially for girls. Thanks to a national policy that first promoted primary education, and later extended that to high school, current estimates are that more than 50 percent of women and two-thirds of men can now read and write.

Ethiopia is now undertaking an even more ambitious campaign to go to the next level: building from scratch a network of universities across the country. In 2000 Ethiopia had just three national universities—today it has 31, and the country is spending more than a quarter of its national budget on education.

But while Ethiopia is graduating thousands with B.A. degrees, they desperately need M.A. and Ph.D. degree-holders to serve as faculty in their new universities.

This is where U.S. universities can help—by establishing partnerships with Ethiopian universities to collaborate on degree programs (here, there and by distance), faculty training, curriculum design and academic management.

Also appealing is the idea of helping establish U.S.-style universities across Africa. For example, a first-rate comprehensive university to serve the Horn of Africa, one that conferred U.S.-quality degrees on students from the region, would be a positive force in many ways.

Unfortunately such projects are no longer supported by the U.S. government, which is a huge mistake. We still have the best university system in the world, and we are the first-choice destination for international students around the globe.

This would be a much wiser use of our limited development funding than the current "flavor of the month" approach, which varies from administration to administration.

Tibor Nagy
Ambassador, retired
Lubbock, Texas

Learning from Northern Ireland

Having spent nearly a quarter of my career dealing with Northern Ireland at one level or another, I read Andrew Sens' excellent article with great interest ("Ethnic and Sectarian Conflict—Two Core Issues," April *FSJ*).

Given our current political environment and the many cleavages in our society, I could not help but reflect on how the two central concepts of the Good Friday Agreements might be applied here at home.

Goodness knows, our polity could use a generous dose of parity of esteem and equal application of the law.

Jack Binns
Ambassador, retired
Tucson, Arizona

Remembering Ed Dillery

Steve Honley's April Appreciation of Ed Dillery was superb. The Foreign Service is loaded with fine people, distinguished people of all manner. To my mind Ed Dillery was the ultimate gentleman—professionally, socially, in tennis or over a bowl of Vietnamese pho.

Ed took time to understand people, their behavior, their attitudes, their rationale. Of a strong analytical bent, Ed showed no harshness or hatred of anyone. At his most extreme, he showed a certain level of chagrin.

Ed was a wonderful addition to the State Department, continuing well into his retirement years. He was one of the finest gentlemen I have known.

Douglas Watson
FSO, retired
Arlington, Virginia

Remembering Jonita Whitaker

Very occasionally in life you meet an individual whose personality combines lightning and sunshine. Jonita Whitaker was such a person.

Jonita's personal dynamism was compelling; she had vision and the energy to carry complex projects to completion. And she did so with an infectious enthusiasm that engaged colleagues and all those with whom she interacted.

Consequently, news of her abrupt death on April 7 struck like an unexpected solar eclipse.

I first met Jonita when she assumed directorship of the Bureau of Political-Military Affairs' Office of the Coordinator of the Foreign Policy Advisor Program (PM/POLAD) in June 2008.

For many years, PM/POLAD had seemed to me a tranquil, semi-backwater focused on providing senior FSOs to senior U.S. military commanders in Washington and overseas. Its directors were normally senior male political officers, sometimes on brief bridge-equivalent assignments and sometimes on their "tombstone" tour in Washington.

Jonita was very different: not male, not a political officer, neither a pol-mil specialist nor someone with military credentials, and not a "Europeanist" NATO hand, Arabist or East Asian expert.

AFSA Facebook Feedback

FSO Steve Banks responds to the April Speaking Out, "The Department of State: Mission and Vision Examined," by Ambassador (ret.) Ed Marks.

This is a "solution" in search of a problem. It's clear to me that the department is extraordinarily well-served in Washington by its extremely capable and effective Civil Service personnel. Meanwhile, it's senseless to try to convert the bulk of Civil Service positions into FS positions.

It'd be a disaster for every headquarters job to change over every two years with the FS bidding cycle. There's a body of expertise unique to the Washington headquarters milieu that we do not gain overseas. I have greatly benefited during my domestic assignments from the specialized knowledge and hard-won experience of my CS colleagues. Plus, we'd be forcing hundreds of Washington-hating FS personnel to do a lot more D.C. tours.

Basically, this idea—seemingly based on little more than FS chauvinism—would create huge management headaches to implement, and for what? The article doesn't really articulate how we'd allegedly be better off were this idea put into effect.

Instead, she was a management-coned officer with assignments in Africa, a year at National Defense University and an academic background that included a bachelor's of science in psychology and a master's of public administration.

She also had done something else that proved to be of particular value: a Pearson Fellowship on Capitol Hill.

In just a few years, Jonita transformed PM/POLAD from a "mom and pop" niche market into a major player. To be sure, she benefited from the conclusions by State and the Department of Defense that our "long war" against terrorism needed more effective Foreign Service-military cooperation.

During this process, Jonita organized relentlessly. The POLAD program expanded into Iraq and Afghanistan with cadres of FSOs matched with military commanders at multiple levels. She arranged Washington POLAD conferences coinciding with major military conferences, and then persuaded senior military commanders to speak frankly to advisers.

With clever creativity, she devised POLAD symbols, including a flag and a much-valued coin. And she convinced PM to publish *The Future of POLADs in the 21st Century*, useful for years as a backgrounder and recruiting tool, as a hard-copy study.

Jonita did her own stint as a political adviser to the Commander of the U.S. Sixth Fleet in Naples before her final position as minister-counselor for administrative affairs at Embassy Pretoria. Creative charm was her hallmark.

David Jones
FSO, retired
Arlington, Virginia

CORRECTION

In the May Local Lens by John F. Krotzer the body of water pictured is mistakenly identified as "Pokhara Lake." The proper name is "Phewa Lake." We regret the error, and thank attentive reader Larry Fields for bringing it to our attention.

TALKING POINTS

USAID Employee and Human Rights Activist Murdered in Dhaka

For eight years, Xulhaz Mannan worked as a protocol specialist at the U.S. embassy in Dhaka, where he founded the embassy's diversity committee. Last September he joined USAID's Democracy and Governance Office as a project management assistant.

On April 25, he was brutally murdered in his Dhaka apartment, along with his friend, activist and actor Tanay Mojumdar.

"Today, USAID lost one of our own," USAID Administrator Gayle E. Smith stated. "We condemn this cruel and inhumane act of violence and add our voices to all those calling to bring his cowardly attackers to justice."

The United States offered to aid the Bangladesh government in their search for Mannan's killers.

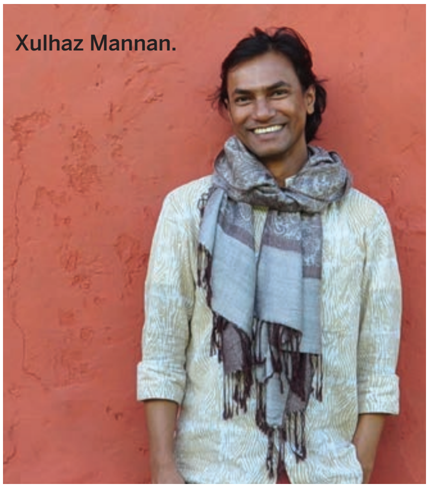
According to the *Dhaka Tribune*, up to six young men entered Mannan's apartment building, claiming to be mail carriers. They mentioned Mannan by name, saying he was expecting a delivery, before entering his apartment and hacking the two men to death.

Al-Qaeda's Bangladeshi branch, Ansar al-Islam, has claimed responsibility for the murders.

In addition to his work at the embassy, Mannan was the editor of *Roopbaan*—Bangladesh's first LGBTI magazine, which debuted in 2014—and was a well-known human rights activist.

Roopbaan, named for a Bengali folk character who represents the power of love, has received support from foreign embassies in the past. Its messages of inclusion have been contentious in Bangladesh, where homosexuality is a highly sensitive topic, and still technically illegal.

Mojumdar, who also worked on the publication, had just entered law school in the hope of becoming a legal defender of LGBT rights in his home country.



SCARLET AMARE

In a statement following Mannan's death, Administrator Smith underscored his work in broadening and deepening political understanding throughout Bangladesh, as well as his devotion to building an open and welcoming workplace.

"Xulhaz was more than a colleague to those of us fortunate to work with him at the U.S. embassy," said U.S. Ambassador Marcia Bernicat. "He was a dear friend."

The murders follow a string of Islamist attacks on secular academics and representatives of religious and social minorities in Bangladesh. Days earlier, university professor Rezaul Karim Siddique was murdered in a similar fashion by members of the so-called Islamic State group.

In early April, a law student, Nazimuddin Samad, was hacked to death in Dhaka after writing about his secular views online. During the past three years, 20 people have been murdered in similar attacks.

Xulhaz Mannan is survived by his mother, brother and sister, and will be sadly missed by many friends, colleagues and the LGBTI community in Bangladesh and around the world.

—Shannon Mizzi, Editorial Assistant, and Gemma Dvorak, Associate Editor

U.S. Special Envoy for the Human Rights of LGBTI Persons Marks One Year on the Job

On April 13, Randy Berry, the State Department's first special envoy for the human rights of LGBTI persons, completed one year on the job. A career Foreign Service officer, Special Envoy Berry has previously served in New Zealand, Bangladesh, Nepal, Uganda, Egypt and South Africa.

During the past year he has traveled to more than 42 countries and seen progress being made through a generally increased level of dialogue on LGBTI issues, both with and without U.S. involvement.

"We are witnessing global movement, truly. There are going to be some places that lag or even move backward, but I don't think that should rob us from understanding what the overall picture is, and that is one of global progress," he told the *Bay Area Reporter* recently.

In an interview with the *Washington Blade*, Mr. Berry noted some prominent legislative successes in Nepal, Vietnam, Botswana, Argentina and Mozambique. However, same-sex sexual relations are still criminalized in more than 70 countries.

Berry identifies Malta as the nation with the best gender identity laws, and commended Uruguay, Chile, Argentina, Colombia and Brazil for their advocacy on behalf of LGBT rights at the United Nations. Trouble spots include Russia, Uganda and Jamaica.

Berry, who is well aware that the United States isn't perfect when it comes to protecting LGBTI rights, highlights the need to be in touch with local activists and advocates, people who understand their own nation's political and social climate and can determine the best way forward for achieving equal rights. Diplomats can then decide how to best support those activists.

Sometimes just meeting and talking with a member of the LGBTI community can be enough to change hearts and minds. However, operating as it does under a "do no harm" policy, the State Department walks a delicate line between encouraging and protecting activists in countries where they may face severe punishment by the government or the local community.

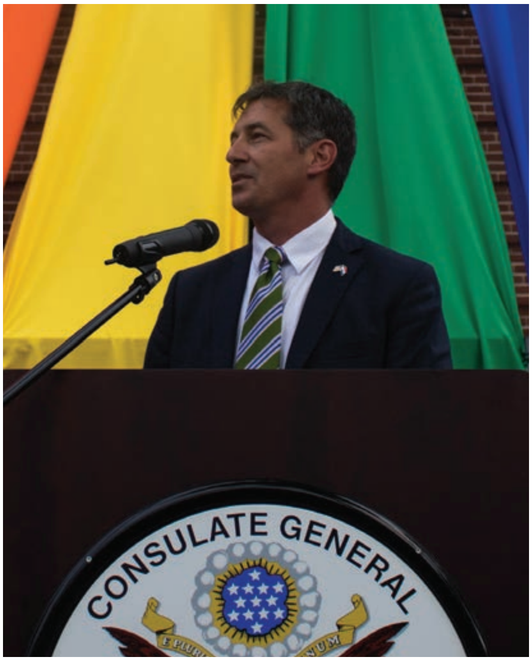
In the coming year, one of Berry's top priorities will be redoubling efforts to combat violence against LGBTI persons, particularly transgender individuals.

—Shannon Mizzi, Editorial Assistant

Contemporary Quote

"This election was not without controversy, and I'm so proud that London has today chosen hope over fear, unity over division. I hope that we will never be offered such a stark choice again. Fear does not make us safer; it only makes us weaker, and the politics of fear is simply not welcome in our city."

—Sadiq Khan, London's first Muslim mayor, in his acceptance speech on May 6.



EDGAR VAN DE BURGT/U.S. CONSULATE GENERAL AMSTERDAM

Randy Berry addresses the Pride Reception at U.S. Consulate General Amsterdam on July 29, 2014.

An Existential Threat: Corruption in Afghanistan

In a pair of recent talks at the University of Pittsburgh's Graduate School of Public and International Affairs and at Harvard University, Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction (SIGAR) John Sopko spoke bluntly on the perilous state of reconstruction efforts in Afghanistan and, in particular, the role of corruption.

Recently Sopko, who is well known for his no-nonsense approach, has come under scrutiny from diplomats and others who claim that his stridency is counterproductive. These charges were aired in an investigation by *Politico* in early May.

The former state and federal prosecutor with the Department of Justice's Organized Crime and Racketeering Section was appointed by President Barack Obama in 2012.

While at Harvard, Special Investigator General Sopko focused on the deteriorating security conditions in the country, and in Pittsburgh he explained how "pervasive corruption poses a deadly threat to the entire U.S. effort to rebuild Afghanistan."

Initially the U.S. government had little understanding that corruption could threaten the effort in Afghanistan and actually helped to create conditions for corruption to flourish, injecting vast sums of money into the country with pressure to spend but little oversight.

By 2009, the special investigator says, the government came to realize that "corruption is not just a problem for the system of governance in Afghanistan; it *is* the system of governance." This conclusion is shared by former International Security Assistance Force Commander General John Allen and other military leaders.

The problem, then and now, is that combatting corruption requires the cooperation of Afghan elites whose power relies on the very structures anti-corruption efforts sought to dismantle.

Two large-scale scandals in 2010, one involving a key aide to then-Afghan President Hamid Karzai and the other implicating the brothers of the president and vice president, showed that corruption was far more deeply entrenched than U.S. authorities had understood.

Estimates for total bribes paid by individual Afghans range from $2 billion (according to Integrity Watch Afghanistan in 2014) to $4 billion (according to the United Nations Office of Drugs and Crime in 2012).

Since its establishment in 2008, SIGAR has made more than 100 arrests and achieved over 100 convictions or guilty pleas, including from American military personnel (both officers and enlisted), federal civilian employees and contractors.

SITE OF THE MONTH: Bribespot.com (http://bribespot.com/en/)

Bribespot is a website and mobile app containing an interactive map updated in real time that allows users to anonymously document incidents of corruption, including where and why they were forced to pay a bribe to government officials or for services like health care or education.

Bribespot was founded in 2007 by three web developers in Estonia, first as an app, then as a website. It is not affiliated with a country or organization, and continues to operate as a non-profit, with the goal of expanding into all countries in which corruption is an inescapable part of life for most people. It has been featured and promoted by the BBC and Voice of America.

Users of the site can explore posts from all over the world. Clicking a pin on the map will bring you to a short description of the bribe, chiefly the address and amount, and sometimes a brief commentary by the person reporting. Documentation is not always formal or comprehensive, as it is self-reported, but in most instances the description quite clearly represents an instance of corruption.

At any given time, bribes appear to be recorded on all six inhabited continents, with consistent documentation in Ukraine, Thailand, India and Mexico.

Bribespot can be accessed in multiple languages including English, Thai, Spanish, Portuguese, Hindi, Bahasa Indonesian, Khmer and Romanian. It works best as a phone application, but can also be used on personal computers. In countries where there is no official corruption reporting mechanism, Bribespot gives citizens a voice to broadcast their experiences to the world.

—Shannon Mizzi, Editorial Assistant

Sopko emphasizes that what is needed is the political will to reform and the creation of some incorruptible entities to pursue the task of fighting corruption. Hopefully, he notes, Afghanistan President Ashraf Ghani has requested SIGAR's assistance in repatriating funds stolen from the Kabul Bank by way of fraudulent loans.

He has also asked SIGAR to become part of a new task force he plans to create, and promised full access to relevant banking and financial records.

SIGAR—a small agency with approximately 200 employees, including more than two dozen in Afghanistan—was established by Congress in 2008 to watch over the now $113 billion U.S. tax dollars spent on reconstruction in Afghanistan and to prevent their waste, fraud or abuse.

The group also has a unique mandate to assess the Afghan reconstruction effort and make recommendations based on a "whole of government" approach.

—Gemma Dvorak, Associate Editor

State's Diplomacy Lab Picks a Winner

On April 1, the State Department held its first live Diplomacy Lab competition, in which undergraduate and graduate students presented proposed solutions to major world issues.

Millicent Smith, a graduate student studying journalism at the University of Tennessee, won with a proposal for a "He for She for Delhi" campaign to combat gender-based violence and reform the police force in New Delhi, India.

Arguing that women's empowerment is critical for democracy, Smith explained the urgent need to rebuild trust between police and the general public through third parties.

Her campaign included training special gender-based violence police officers, conducting community outreach to young men in gender-based violence hotspots, showing young men what sexism is like for women through a "day in the life" smartphone app, and holding branded events and social media campaigns featuring well-known actors.

Out of dozens of submissions, four students were chosen to present their projects to a panel of judges in the department's Burns Auditorium. Meanwhile, groups of students from other universities participated in a "diplomacy fair" in the Marshall Center.

This year's judges included Deputy National Security Advisor to Vice President Joseph Biden Ely Ratner, Assistant Secretary for African Affairs Linda Thomas-Greenfield and Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary for European and Eurasian Affairs John Heffern.

Because of the high level of interest and participation this year, State announced that the Diplomacy Lab program will be held annually for the foreseeable future.

For a full list of spring 2016 projects, see http://diplomacylab.org/projects.

—Shannon Mizzi, Editorial Assistant

The Most Dangerous Cities for Expats

In March, *The Telegraph* published the findings of Mercer's global Quality of Living survey. Now in its 18th year, the survey ranks countries according to a number of factors including personal safety.

Each of the 230 cities surveyed is rated on internal stability, crime levels, performance of local law enforcement and the home country's relationship with other countries. The survey is conducted annually to help employers to compensate employees fairly when posting them internationally.

Of course, it is not just "danger pay" that increases the cost to employers when sending their employees to less safe destinations; it is the overall cost of keeping those employees safe overseas. Slagin Parakatil from Mercer said: "Other elements that add to safety costs in the host location are obtaining suitable and well secured accommodation; having an in-house comprehensive expatriate security program, providing access to reputable professional evacuation services and medical support firms."

Luxemburg was ranked as the safest city, followed by Bern, Helsinki and Zurich, which were tied at second place. Among the lowest-ranking cities for personal safety were Damascus, Karachi, Nairobi and, in last place, Baghdad.

—Gemma Dvorak, Associate Editor

50 Years Ago

Dissent: No Easy Answers

It would be hard to find a Foreign Service officer who has not at some time disagreed with his superiors on policy—its direction or the manner of its execution. Usually, if the decision goes against him, he shrugs his shoulders and does as he is told, solacing himself, perhaps, with some muttered comments on the obtuseness of the master minds back in Washington—or, if he happens to be in Washington, of those upstairs.

But there are occasions when an officer finds that he cannot shrug it off. He is still not persuaded that higher authority is right and he is wrong. What then is he to do?

One of the options is ignoring instructions and doing what you think is right. Unfortunately, this option is one few career officers will wish to exercise, or would be able to get away with for any length of time. Occasionally, though, when dissent involves tactics rather than strategy, one can get away with something that the high command might not have approved had it been consulted, but is constrained to accept as a fait accompli.

There is a certain amount of stretch in even the most tightly-written instruction, and it cannot provide for every possible contingency. Modern communications and the peripatetic habits of the top brass have tended to reduce the 'plenipotentiary" in an ambassador's title to a rueful irony. But there are still times when he can and must act without awaiting wisdom from on high. Events are moving too rapidly to permit his seeking instructions. He may be secretly grateful; he is not altogether confident that Washington's appraisal of the situation, from three to 10,000 miles away, is more accurate than his own close-up view.

He can, of course, resign. There are distinguished precedents: William Jennings Bryan; Anthony Eden at the time of Munich; more recently—and more apposite to our discussion—George F. Kennan. For obvious reasons it has been exercised more often by non-career officials than by career men. …The career officer, on the other hand, has a deeper commitment and a greater stake. By mid-career he has invested 10 to 20 years in the Foreign Service. …If he resigns, how is he going to support his family and put the children through college? Thus practical considerations reinforce his reluctance to leave the Service that he entered with so much zeal and idealism. Moreover, a couple of decades have taught him that policy directives, country papers, even NSC documents, are not carved in obsidian, unchangeable as the laws of the Medes and the Persians. Is he not in a better position to work for a change in policy if he remains within the organization than if he leaves it and takes his case to the people?

Provided this is not mere rationalization of timidity, the decision to stay on, even while dissenting, can be a perfectly honorable one. But it carries with it the obligation to go on fighting, to reiterate one's dissent at every opportunity, as stoutly and persuasively as one can.

It is asking much of a career officer to accept such risks. The temptation is strong to temporize, to equivocate, to conform. Critics of our Foreign Service have charged that for at least a decade our political reporting was diluted and emasculated by the memory of the McCarthy terror.

The temptation is strong, but it should be resisted. And there is a corollary obligation upon the high command to tolerate rather than to penalize dissent.

There are no easy answers. There is rarely an easy answer to any question really worth asking. It is the obligation of every officer to contribute what he can to finding the right answer, or at any rate the best answer in the circumstances, even if it means taking an unpopular position. Beyond that, what he does rests with the ultimate authority—conscience.

—Excerpted from "The Dilemma of Dissent" by Ted Olson, FSJ, *June 1966.*

Supporting FS Families with Special Needs Children

BY MAUREEN M. DANZOT AND MARK R. EVANS

Bidding is never easy. But for the Foreign Service families of some 1,400 children with special education needs, there are extra challenges.

Parents know their children and what their needs are best, so every time bidding season begins, a new round of scouring international school and State Department websites, contacting posts and exchanging emails with the Bureau of Medical Services (MED) and other department offices begins.

All of this takes place in an effort to find a post that can meet the educational and therapy needs of a child while also, hopefully, meeting career assignment aspirations. It requires patience, persistence and, in many cases, just plain luck.

In theory all the elements exist to facilitate overseas assignments when children with special needs are part of the equation, including necessary financial support. In the United States, children with learning disabilities receive, by law, educational and therapeutic support in accordance with the Individuals with Disabilities Education Improvement Act (known as IDEIA).

When posted overseas, the State Department provides a larger education allowance (the Special Needs Education Allowance, or SNEA) to families with children who would receive special needs support, by law, in the United States. The allowance is intended for use in obtaining the same type of assistance and support that would otherwise be required under IDEIA from a U.S. public school district. Various offices in the State Department assist parents of children with special needs to obtain services for their child's education commensurate with the requirements of IDEIA.

In the best-case scenario, both required funding and needed services are available, and an overseas assignment comes together seamlessly, with a willing overseas school and qualified therapists meeting a child's needs. At best this occurs in ways that check the boxes necessary to get clearance for the assignment and authorization from State for financial support to cover associated expenses.

More often than not, however, there are delays, rejections by international schools that only pay online lip service to supporting children with learning differences, and bureaucratic tussles over regulatory interpretation. Flexibility has been paramount in making it all work—on the part of parents, relevant State Department offices and overseas service providers.

Yet today, when the rate of diagnosis of various types of special needs in American children is rising dramatically, for some unclear reason State Department authorization for funding to support members of the Foreign Service with special needs children is becoming increasingly difficult to access.

Since each application for support via SNEA is handled individually by the employee and department authorizers, it is impossible to quantify the trend for successful and unsuccessful applications. However, based on the growing chorus of frustrations being shared within the community of Foreign Service parents of children with special needs, it is clear that new bureaucratic barriers have arisen.

At its worst, the result is to seriously limit overseas assignment opportunities for a broad cross-section of the Foreign Service, in many cases preventing officers or specialists with advantageous skill and knowledge sets from serving in locations that would directly benefit the State Department and promote the foreign policy interests of the United States.

Such policies may ultimately drive employees to leave the Service because they are unable to reconcile career interests with the needs of their children. Or they may prevent promising candidates with valuable skills from entering the Foreign Service in the first place, due to concerns about the ability to meet a child's individual needs.

SNEA 101

Learning differences don't discriminate; they affect families of all backgrounds equally. To both support Foreign Service

Maureen Danzot is a financial management officer who joined the Foreign Service in 2001. She has served in Bahrain, Botswana and South Africa, as well as in Washington, D.C. She and her tandem husband, Miguel, have two daughters.

Mark Evans is a political officer who joined the Foreign Service in 1995. He is currently posted in Stockholm, having served previously in Beijing, Tokyo, Baghdad, Oslo and Washington, D.C. His wife Kristen is a speech and language pathologist, and they have four sons.

families and maximize employee skills and expertise, the State Department needs to provide consistent support to families with special needs children.

This is a complex problem that requires a well-thought-out, long-term solution. To address it one bidding cycle at a time—as is now done—is short-sighted, especially in light of the ever-growing number of hardship and hard-to-fill posts, not to mention the rising rate of special needs diagnoses among American children.

The rate of diagnosis of conditions such as autism, ADD/ADHD and dyslexia among American children, including within the FS community, has been on the rise for the past decade. According to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, approximately one in six children in the United States has a developmental disorder.

A CDC study of the prevalence of developmental disabilities in U.S. children from 1997 to 2008 found an absolute increase during that decade of 1.8 million children diagnosed with developmental disabilities (a 17-percent rise). Diagnoses of autism increased by 289 percent and ADHD by 33 percent.

In terms of funding support, State Department regulations governing the use of SNEA make the intent clear: the "Special Needs Education Allowance … applies to children who would fall under Public Law 108-446, the Individuals with Disabilities Education Improvement Act (IDEIA), if residing in the United States."

Since financial support is, in principle, available via SNEA, the biggest challenge is usually the tremendous variability from country to country in terms of the availability of schools willing to accept special needs children and in-country therapy providers.

There is little consistency. Parents often have no problem finding excellent services in some developing countries, and yet are unable to find adequate programs or schools in parts of Europe or the therapy services they need in the child's native language. In some cases, many posts are completely out of reach of an employee due to a child's learning needs.

It would, of course, be naive to expect to duplicate perfectly the services typically available and provided in a U.S. public school system. Still, the process must recognize the uniquely challenging aspects of educating and raising children with special needs in an overseas environment, while entrusting basic care decisions to parents in consultation with relevant authorities, such as MED's Child and Family Programs, the Family Liaison Office and the Office of Overseas Schools.

The department's support via SNEA has been a critical, and invaluable, part of the solution for many years. So during the recent period, when, without announcement or explanation, that benefit became increasingly hard to obtain because of bureaucratic and what seem to be arbitrarily strict interpretations of the governing regulations, it was a serious blow.

The change in how allowances are authorized seems to date from June 2013, when administration of SNEA shifted from MED's Employee Consultation Services (ECS) office to the Child and Family Programs (CFP) office, both under the umbrella of MED/Mental Health Services.

For members of the Foreign Service with special needs children, the challenge of planning their overseas bidding has become even more onerous.

There Are Solutions

There are many ways to make the process less stressful and more supportive while still adhering to the regulations. Here are some recommendations to consider.

- Engage parents directly in setting policies and procedures. We understand that there is a SNEA working group, but it includes no parental representatives. Direct and frequent engagement with parents to discuss the impact of policies and provide clarity about concerns—in both directions—would be invaluable.
- Always announce policy changes well in advance of the bidding season.
- Increase flexibility in using SNEA in a manner that (1) empowers parents to make decisions regarding the education of a child with special needs and (2) conforms to regulatory requirements. In most cases, this would entail recognizing that even though a supportive arrangement may not duplicate the way a service is provided in the United States (such as using SNEA funds to directly hire an educational aide when there isn't one at a school), it should be authorized if the end result is the same.
- Decouple the medical clearance process from the use of SNEA. MED should provide Class 1 medical clearances to children with special needs who have no ongoing medical condition, rather than the current practice of issuing a Class 2 or a Class 6 clearance based solely on educational needs.
- Ensure transparency in the SNEA eligibility process and greater clarity in what services will and won't be authorized for reimbursement—not only in terms of the types of services that are covered, but also whether there are restrictions on how the support services are delivered.
- Authorize broader access to boarding schools that serve children with special needs, including the use of SNEA in lieu of other educational allowances when a school at post cannot adequately meet a child's special needs.
- Reinstate SNEA funding for use in

placement assistance, both for families currently assigned overseas and for families newly assigned and transferring overseas from a domestic assignment.

Currently SNEA can only be used in this manner while the family is assigned overseas. Placement assistance is required under IDEIA for children with special needs; but under IDEIA, U.S. local school districts are not obligated to provide this once the parent or child is no longer resident in their jurisdiction.

Families transferring overseas are thus caught in a bureaucratic limbo, with no assistance from either their local school district or the department. Placement assistance using SNEA was previously provided to families transferring from a domestic assignment for children who met certain criteria, but it is no longer being authorized by MED/MHS/CFP.

- Reaffirm previous State Department policy that the intention of SNEA is to provide support for services commensurate with those legally guaranteed under the IDEIA to children in Foreign Service families who have special needs and are stationed overseas, and clarify whether the department considers the IDEIA to have legal application for overseas assignments or whether it is only used as a guideline.
- Create an appeals process whereby an employee who disagrees with a MED/MHS/CFP decision can request to have that decision reviewed by a third party (instead of filing a grievance).

Win-Win

The primary responsibility for making sure that special needs children's requirements are met will always begin and end with parents. Department officials must recognize that they should partner with parents in a way that enables them to use appropriate resources to determine what is in the best interest of their child. If done properly, all parties benefit.

Making it possible for a large portion of existing and future Foreign Service members with valuable skills to serve in a wider range of assignments by facilitating rather than hindering access to SNEA will help ensure that the State Department continues to retain and recruit a diverse group of personnel representing the entire U.S. population.

CORRUPTION: A 21st-Century Security Challenge

By undermining state effectiveness, eroding trust between citizens and government and exploiting vulnerable populations, corruption has emerged as a top-priority national security threat.

BY SARAH SEWALL

In a world of globalized threats, bad governance is a liability. Poorly governed areas provide not just a safe haven, but sometimes even a justification for non-state actors like terrorists, traffickers, insurgents, drug cartels and criminal groups to step in and fill the void. These sinister networks thrive where the state cannot prevent or police them, and they benefit when citizens envision better futures or security in an illicit and immoral world.

By undermining state effectiveness, corruption creates openings for these dangerous actors. Corruption also gives them a tool to infiltrate and influence the state itself, further weakening governance and expanding terrorist and criminal reach. As we've seen in places like Honduras and Iraq, corruption is not simply an issue of rights and efficiency. The cost of corruption can increasingly be measured in security and stability.

Sarah Sewall is the under secretary of State for civilian security, democracy and human rights. Sworn in on Feb. 20, 2014, she serves concurrently as the special coordinator for Tibetan issues.

Corruption's Insidious Reach

Corruption feeds instability by eroding trust between people and government. It turns institutions of public service into tools for public exploitation. Left unchecked, corruption can fuel apathy and even hostility toward public institutions. In Tunisia, Ukraine, Egypt and elsewhere, it drove protesters into the streets to upend the political order.

But corruption can also undermine security in less dramatic ways. Crooked officials can make citizens believe that the system is rigged against them, creating sympathy for non-state actors promising a better bargain. In Iraq, the so-called Islamic State, or Daesh, recruits members by portraying itself as a "pure" alternative to a corrupt government. The Taliban makes the same case in Afghanistan. Research from the State Department's Bureau of Conflict and Stabilization Operations has found that citizens who personally experience corruption are more likely to engage in violent, extremist behavior.

While corruption can give rise to new threats, it can also undermine the government's ability to respond to those threats and ensure security. As Iraqi Prime Minister Haider al-Abadi prepared to take on Daesh last year, he discovered 50,000 "ghost soldiers" on the government payroll costing Iraqis $380 million a


U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE

U.S. Under Secretary of State for Civilian Security, Democracy and Human Rights Sarah Sewall discusses links between corruption, human trafficking and illegal fishing with port security officials in Thailand.

year. When President Muhammadu Buhari of Nigeria took office, he inherited a military weakened by corruption and unprepared to defend against threats like Boko Haram. In Ukraine, government corruption not only triggered an international crisis but hampered the military's ability to resist Russian intervention.

Corruption can pose an even greater danger to vulnerable populations. By corroding the rule of law, corruption gives predators more opportunities to exploit the vulnerable—from government officials targeting the poor for bribes to traffickers ensnaring children. In India, pervasive corruption weakens the enforcement of legal protections against domestic violence, leaving women more vulnerable to abuse.

As the world grapples with these issues, the Department of State is elevating anti-corruption in our work. Speaking at the World Economic Forum in Davos in January, Secretary of State John F. Kerry called on the world to make corruption a "first-order national security priority." He echoed this message at the Anti-Corruption Summit hosted by the United Kingdom last month.

Taking a Broader, Bolder Approach

Answering the Secretary's call, however, requires a broader and bolder approach to address corruption. Here are four steps the State Department is taking.

> The State Department is going beyond law enforcement to unite a wider range of anti-corruption tools and actors.

First, we are balancing law enforcement responses to corruption by strengthening efforts to prevent corruption in the first place. This can include creating streamlined and transparent governmental processes to reduce opportunities for graft, using technology to increase citizens' access to information, or training investigative journalists and civil society leaders—who play such a critical role in detecting wrongdoing, as we saw in the wake of the "Panama Papers" exposé. As funding for democracy, human rights and governance increases this year, the depart-

The Challenge of Governance

BY SECRETARY OF STATE JOHN F. KERRY

The following is excerpted from the speech by Secretary of State John F. Kerry to the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland, on Jan. 22.

We have to acknowledge in all quarters of leadership that the plagues of violent extremism, greed, lust for power and sectarian exploitation often find their nourishment where governments are fragile and leaders are incompetent or dishonest. And that is why the quality of governance is no longer just a domestic concern. …

Now, obviously, corruption's not a new problem. Every nation has faced it at one time or another in its development. America's own Founding Fathers knew the threat of corruption all too well, warning of the dangers that it posed to democratic governance. But today, corruption has grown at an alarming pace and threatens global growth, global stability and, indeed, the global future. …

Still in the United States, my friends, we continue to prosecute corruption, and [at the same time] we live with a pay-to-play campaign finance system that should not be wished on any other country in the world. I used to be a prosecutor, and I know how hard it is to hold people in positions of public responsibility accountable. But I also know how important it is.

The fact is there is nothing—absolutely nothing—more demoralizing, more destructive, more disempowering to any citizen than the belief that the system is rigged against them and that people in positions of power are, to use a diplomatic term of art, crooks who are stealing the future of their own people; and by the way, depositing their ill-gotten gains in ostensibly legitimate financial institutions around the world.

Corruption is a social danger because it feeds organized crime; it destroys nation-states; it imperils opportunities, particularly for women and girls; it facilitates environmental degradation; it contributes to human trafficking; and it undermines whole communities. It destroys the future.

Corruption is a radicalizer because it destroys faith in legitimate authority. It opens up a vacuum which allows the predators to move in. And no one knows that better than the violent extremist groups, who regularly use corruption as a recruitment tool.

Corruption is an opportunity destroyer because it discourages honest and accountable investment; it makes businesses more expensive to operate; it drives up the cost of public services for local taxpayers; and it turns a nation's entire budget into a feeding trough for the privileged few.

And that is why it is imperative that the business community of the world starts to demand a different standard of behavior, that we deepen the fight against corruption, making it a first-order, national security priority. …

All told, corruption costs the global economy—global GDP—more than a trillion dollars a year. … This corruption complicates, I assure you, every single security, diplomatic and social priority of the U.S. government and other governments trying to help other countries around the world. And by itself it creates tension, instability and a perfect playing field for predators.

It is simply stunning to me … that in the year 2016, more than 20 million people are the victims of modern-day slavery in what has become a $150 billion illicit human trafficking industry. *The New York Times* recently had a compelling story on its front page of a young Cambodian boy seduced into leaving his country and going to Thailand, believing he'd be part of a construction company. He wound up at sea for two years with a shackle around his neck as a slave in an illegal fishing operation. Those numbers should shock the conscience of every person into action, because although money is legitimately and always will be used for many things, it shouldn't be hard for us to agree that in the 21st century, we should never, ever, ever allow a price tag to be attached to the freedom of another human being.

The bottom line is that it is everybody's responsibility to condemn and expose corruption, to hold perpetrators accountable and to replace a culture of corruption … with a standard that expects honesty as a regular way of doing business.

Never forget: The impact of corruption touches everyone—businesses, the private sector, every citizen. We all pay for it. So we have to wage this fight collectively—not reluctantly, but wholeheartedly—by embracing standards that make corruption the exception and not the norm.

As the voice of our government around the world, U.S. diplomats will be the ones to raise the tough conversations about corruption and security with foreign officials.

ment will look for more opportunities to support these preventive approaches.

Second, the State Department is going beyond law enforcement to unite a wider range of anti-corruption tools and actors. Two dozen embassies in Eastern and Central Europe have convened political and economic officers, public diplomacy specialists, defense attachés and development experts to develop comprehensive national anti-corruption plans. The department has also launched an internal anti-corruption toolkit to provide officers with a one-stop-shop for jumpstarting their anti-corruption work.

Third, the department is striving to identify and seize narrow windows for reform, recognizing how important national political will is for successful anti-corruption efforts. These windows of opportunity may include public outrage about a new corruption scandal, as we have seen in Guatemala and Moldova, or the election of reformers promising to end corruption, such as President Joko Widodo in Indonesia or President John Magufuli in Tanzania.

By focusing U.S. efforts on such "ripe" opportunities, we can help reinforce progress that might otherwise take generations to achieve. A recent report on anti-corruption tradecraft from the Foreign Service Institute cited the example of Paraguay, where U.S. Embassy Asunción responded to the election of a reformist government by quickly developing an International Visitor Leadership Program for new ministers focused on anti-corruption.

Lastly, we are tying these bilateral efforts to the emerging global architecture around anti-corruption. To date, 178 countries have ratified or acceded to the 2005 United Nations Convention against Corruption, and its norms have since been embedded in regional agreements by the Arab League and African Union. In the last few years, the Group of Seven, Group of 20 and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development have also elevated anti-corruption as a priority. These developments underscore the global support in principle for anti-corruption efforts, and they empower U.S. diplomacy by undercutting claims that the anti-corruption agenda is simply Western finger-wagging.

The reporting mechanisms baked into many of these agreements also give diplomats new tools to hold governments accountable for their anti-corruption commitments and empower civil society to provide oversight. Another tool is the Open Government Partnership, a multilateral platform that convenes governments and citizens to strengthen transparency through dialogue, exchange and new technologies.

Some of the most important work ahead does not involve launching new efforts, but simply examining how our existing operations and foreign assistance may affect corruption around the world. We will be developing a "first do no harm" policy to ask, for example, how we can better prevent the diversion of resources and equipment we provide to foreign security forces. Efforts like the U.S. Security Governance Initiative, which partners with foreign militaries to strengthen their institutions of accountability, suggest ways we can adapt existing partnerships to fight corruption and promote security.

The Foreign Service's Role

As the State Department looks to prioritize anti-corruption, our success will depend on the efforts of Foreign Service officers: political officers persuading foreign counterparts to strengthen accountability for graft, public affairs officers giving voice to citizen activists fighting for transparency and consular officers denying visas to known kleptocrats. FSOs remain some of our best resources in the fight against corruption.

As the voice of our government around the world, U.S. diplomats will be the ones to initiate the tough conversations about corruption and security with foreign officials. Their reporting will continue to strengthen documentation about corruption in the annual Human Rights Report and Investment Climate Statements, and help to identify "ripe" opportunities to advance reform. And in doing so, U.S. diplomats will not only strengthen governance and the rule of law for billions around the world, but also help make America safer and more secure. ■

A U.S. Policy Priority: COMBATING CORRUPTION

State is taking on corruption with a top-down and bottom-up approach.

BY WILLIAM R. BROWNFIELD

As head of the State Department's Bureau for International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs for more than five years, I've had a front-row seat as anti-corruption has gained prominence as a U.S. foreign policy priority. To be clear, corruption is a crime just like any other, and it can be just as corrosive to communities.

Corruption is not new, but what does seem to be emerging now is the growing recognition that it imperils so much of what the United States is trying to accomplish worldwide: good governance, economic growth and national security.

All indications are that this trajectory—increased attention and action to mitigate corruption—will continue. This past January, at the World Economic Forum, Secretary of State John F. Kerry laid down a marker by asking that our global partners make anti-corruption a national security priority.

There is no sugarcoating the challenge before us—corruption is widespread, influencing quiet, day-to-day interactions, as well as high-level transactions and processes. And it is notoriously difficult to root out. Any effective campaign against corruption must be conducted not only from the top down, but also from the bottom up—not necessarily a natural modus operandi for the State Department.

William R. Brownfield, a Senior Foreign Service officer with the rank of Career Ambassador, has served as assistant secretary of State for international narcotics and law enforcement affairs (INL) since 2011. In that position, he is responsible for State Department programs combating illicit drugs and organized crime, as well as those supporting law enforcement and promoting the rule of law. INL currently manages a portfolio of more than $4 billion in more than 80 countries, administered by 5,000 employees and contractors. Prior to assuming his current position, Ambassador Brownfield served as ambassador to Chile (2002-2004), Venezuela (2004-2007) and Colombia (2007 to 2010), among many other Foreign Service assignments.

Leading by Example

The Obama administration has made anti-corruption a key element of its democracy agenda, and has strengthened governmentwide efforts to prevent and combat graft, both domestically and internationally. Toward that end, we have amassed an array of tools and international relationships which are effective in advancing accountability and the rule of law. INL, alongside other State bureaus, has established strong working relationships with the departments of Treasury and Justice, the U.S. Agency for International Development, various United Nations bodies and numerous nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) all over the world to attempt to conduct this effort in a coordinated and comprehensive manner.

While the United States is not exempt from the global scourge of corruption—as our Founding Fathers knew all too well and addressed within our Constitution—State and the interagency community are working every day to guard against it. Through continued implementation of the Foreign Corrupt Practices Act, our nation leads by example, fighting the practice of bribing foreign officials, denying the entry of corrupt foreign officials into the United States and targeting perpetrators of corruption and their ill-gotten gains both domestically and around the world.

Our colleagues' work at the Department of Justice litigating FCPA cases not only gives U.S. firms an incentive to enact compliance programs, but serves as a model for other countries' enforcement agencies. We are pleased that Attorney General Loretta Lynch participated in a March ministerial-level meeting of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, to discuss progress in enforcing the OECD's Anti-Bribery Convention.

In addition, DOJ has successfully returned some $143 million in assets since 2004, and is currently litigating stolen asset cases involving more than a billion dollars. State's denial of visas to current and former foreign government officials and private citizens who have bribed government officials strongly complements such efforts.

> The 2015 QDDR gave clear instructions to all State employees to expand anti-corruption initiatives and seek ways to cooperate with interagency colleagues to strengthen partnerships, promote capacity-building abroad and increase enforcement.

A Defining Moment

The State Department's release of its latest Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review in 2015 was a watershed moment. The QDDR gave clear instructions to all State employees to expand anti-corruption initiatives and seek ways to cooperate with interagency colleagues to strengthen partnerships, promote capacity-building abroad and increase enforcement.

The document also outlines our institutional commitment to empowering civil society all over the world and ensuring successful implementation of vital initiatives, such as the Open Government Partnership and the United Nations Convention against Corruption. With that in mind, INL is rigorously evaluating its own programming to put limited resources into strategies that deliver accountability.

The QDDR stresses the importance of equipping our officers with the right tools to implement our anti-corruption policies. Since corruption touches nearly every sector, State has added formal training opportunities for our political, economic and public diplomacy officers at the Foreign Service Institute. We are also sharing best practices across bureaus and incorporating corruption prevention and good governance priorities into country and regional strategies. Even before the QDDR, our rule-of-law assistance included a focus on building integrity in the judiciary, transparency in government institutions and appropriate implementation of international anti-corruption standards.

During Fiscal Year 2015, the State Department and U.S. Agency for International Development dedicated more than $120 million to a wide range of programs to fight corruption globally. This assistance helps governments develop electronic systems—typically less prone to corruption—to carry out government services like the provision of identification documents; supports training to build the capacity of law enforcement officials, prosecutors and members of the judiciary; and bolsters our efforts to mentor parliamentarians to implement key legislation, among many other effective programs.

In just the past year, INL managed anti-corruption programs across the globe, from Eastern Europe and Central America to Afghanistan and West Africa. In Ukraine, we supported the Interior Ministry's efforts to recruit, vet and train 7,000 new patrol officers; as a result, the police now enjoy an 85-percent approval rating among Ukrainian citizens. To reinforce that progress, last December Vice President Biden visited Kyiv to announce an aid package totaling more than $190 million in assistance to help Ukraine prevent and fight corruption, implement reforms and bolster civil society.

We also saw significant progress in Guatemala in 2015. Investigations by the International Commission Against Impunity in Guatemala (known in Spanish as the CICIG), for which the United States has been a leading donor since 2008, led to arrests and the dismantling of longstanding, pervasive corruption rings within the country's tax authority, penitentiary system, national civil police, Social Security Health Institute and elsewhere. Most notably, in September Otto Perez Molina resigned the presidency and was incarcerated following a CICIG investigation. We also continue to fund bilateral programs to help the Guatemalan judiciary adopt CICIG best practices.

Empowering Civil Society

Fighting and preventing corruption is not only a government's responsibility. It requires a bottom-up approach to building citizens' demand for justice and accountability. With that in mind, we are prioritizing efforts to expand civil society's role and empower citizens to hold their governments accountable.

In Mexico, for example, INL has worked with a local NGO to establish citizens' watch booths in district attorneys' offices located in the Federal District and the states of Mexico and Puebla. The booths are run by volunteers who advise citizens of their rights in reporting crimes, monitor local authorities to ensure that they follow correct procedures, collect data on the quality of services provided and report irregularities. We also support training investigative journalists to uncover corruption at a local level. Local citizens, journalists and organized civil society must all be empowered to expose corrupt practices and feel safe enough to press for the prosecution of perpetrators.

In addition to building capacity in developing countries, we are leveraging renewed global interest in this common cause to strengthen political will and implement international standards. It is impossible to estimate the cost of corruption, but with a conservative World Bank estimate of $1 trillion in bribes being paid annually, the costs in diverted resources are huge. That oft-cited and staggering figure cannot be ignored, and individual countries cannot address it alone. Our partners in the Group of Seven and Group of 20 have made anti-corruption a priority this year, as shown by a May summit in London that brought together representatives of G-20 member-states and developing countries to work toward transparency in beneficial ownership, law enforcement cooperation and asset recovery.

> This is not just a moral fight for more ethical, just societies. It is an economic fight for fair, accountable, transparent systems that allow for growth.

Implementation of key international mechanisms, such as the United Nations Convention Against Corruption and the Inter-American Convention Against Corruption, also enables us to hold countries accountable in fulfilling their obligations under international standards. INL provides foreign assistance to experts from international organizations focused on combating corruption to bolster our efforts in international asset recovery, government transparency and judicial integrity. For example, we support Interpol workshops where law enforcement officials from different countries can cooperate more closely in recovering stolen assets. State Department funding has also enabled U.N. mentors to train anti-corruption authorities in West Africa and Central America.

Political Will

INL and the rest of the State Department will continue our work to strengthen justice systems, train law enforcement and build institutions with partners committed to reducing widespread corruption within their own countries. But anti-corruption policies are only as good as the political will that exists to enforce them, and citizens' willingness to hold their governments accountable is a key contributor to that political will.

This is why U.S. assistance will continue to support a broad range of sectors and needs, adjusting to emerging trends. Our programs will focus not just on good governance, but on addressing the causes and facilitators of corruption.

This is not just a moral fight for more ethical, just societies. It is an economic fight for fair, accountable, transparent systems that allow for growth. And it is a fight we must wage both within our borders and alongside our international partners to protect our economic growth and stability, our security and our future. Good governance is a goal we cannot afford to ignore. ■

Countering Corruption Regionally: THE "EUR" INITIATIVE

Here are one bureau's country-specific plans and unique, multivector approaches.

BY GEORGE KENT

When FSO Victoria Nuland became assistant secretary for European and Eurasian affairs in late 2013, she set out her strategic priorities for U.S. relations with Europe in an Atlantic Council speech titled "Toward a Trans-Atlantic Renaissance." To the surprise of some, Assistant Secretary Nuland added countering corruption to the more traditional issues on our core Europe policy agenda, such as promoting trans-Atlantic trade, European energy security and refreshed trans-Atlantic security ties.

For more than two years, the EUR Bureau has treated countering corruption as a strategic priority with regional stability implications. Corruption not only limits prosperity and weakens effective democratic governance, but also acts as a wormhole for malevolent outside influences, subverting sovereignty and regional stability. These actors can be nation-state actors, such as Vladimir Putin's Russian Federation, or transnational organizations, like organized crime or terror networks.

The multivector democratic, economic and geopolitical implications of corruption played out most clearly in Ukraine, where popular outrage against the excesses of a kleptocratic regime sparked the Revolution of Dignity (also known as the Euromaidan Revolution), which took place there between November 2013 and February 2014.

The bureau's next challenge was putting the new strategic priority into action. After the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of the Soviet Union, EUR had pioneered a cross-cutting approach of matching foreign assistance to country-specific priorities, both through the Office of the Coordinator of U.S. Assistance to Europe, Eurasia and Central Asia (ACE) and intensive engagement with posts. However, the new counter-corruption priority did not fit neatly into the previous paradigm, for two reasons. First, many of the countries for which countering corruption is a priority graduated from foreign assistance a decade ago. Second, much of what is needed falls in the realm

Foreign Service Officer George Kent served as the Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs' first senior anti-corruption coordinator from 2014 to 2015, and previously directed Europe-Asia programming for the Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs. This spring he began a tour as deputy chief of mission in Kyiv.

of high-level diplomatic engagement and public diplomacy efforts, outside traditional foreign assistance programs.

The Anti-Corruption Initiative

In 2014, EUR decided to create a temporary senior anti-corruption coordinator position to develop an approach in conjunction with embassies, interagency partners and other international actors/donors. We tasked two dozen embassies in Central and Eastern Europe to draw up country-specific action plans. We committed to the principle that each post, rather than Washington, should develop its own action plan, ensuring that each plan would reflect local challenges and the resources available at each post to address them. The U.S. Mission to the European Union prepared its own action plan on how best to engage different parts of the E.U. to promote a coordinated approach.

Next, we launched an internal anti-corruption Web page providing a variety of resources. A specially designed handbook guided posts through the stages of assessing the challenge in their host country; developing a post-specific anti-corruption plan; coordinating with Washington, laterally with other embassies and with other institutional and societal players; and determining how best to measure progress. Rather than imposing a template on posts, EUR encouraged them to identify the main corruption-related issues in their respective societies and tailor proposed responses.

EUR encouraged posts to develop multiple lines of effort. Those included high-level, bilateral diplomatic "asks" that could be included in the talking points of visiting U.S. officials, as well as continual ambassadorial engagement. A vital component is public diplomacy (PD) outreach to a variety of audiences, including host-country officials, media entities, business communities, social and nongovernmental activists and students, along with the tailoring of international visitor and other PD programs to corruption-related themes.

Such efforts are particularly valuable in countries no longer receiving foreign assistance. For others, there are targeted assistance programs in rule-of-law capacity building and good

New members of the Kyiv Patrol police force take the oath in St. Sophia Square in 2015.

OLESIA TRACHUK/U.S. EMBASSY KYIV

Achieving high-level buy-in from both chiefs of mission within posts and host-country political leaders is the key to making demonstrable progress.

governance programming, particularly but not exclusively managed through the State Department's Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement and the U.S. Agency for International Development.

Sticks and Carrots

In addition to such "carrots," the initiative also encourages greater use of punitive measures. These include the authorities under Presidential Proclamation 7750 and Public Law 7031c, which renders ineligible for a visa current officials of foreign governments and their immediate family members for whom "the Secretary of State has credible information [they] have been involved in significant corruption, including corruption related to the extraction of natural resources." There has also been greater cooperation with U.S. law enforcement agencies targeting corrupt actors affecting the United States, including the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Drug Enforcement Administration and the U.S. Secret Service, as well as the U.S. Departments of Justice and Treasury.

Achieving high-level buy-in from both chiefs of mission within posts and host-country political leaders is the key to making demonstrable progress. Even before the formal launch of EUR's anti-corruption initiative, a number of ambassadors,

Thumbs up for the new Kyiv Patrol police force, in uniform, with (l-r) U.S. Ambassador Geoff Pyatt, Ukraine Prime Minister Arseniy Yatseniuk, President Petro Poroshenko, Deputy Interior Minister Eka Zguladze, Interior Minister Arsen Avakov and Kyiv Mayor Vitali Klitschko.

OLESIA TRACHUK/U.S. EMBASSY KYIV

concerned by signs of potential backsliding that could undermine support for the greater, generational project of ensuring a Europe that is whole, free and at peace, had made the issue the top priority for their missions. EUR convened two regional workshops for embassy working leads and interagency partners, one in Bucharest and a second in Brussels, to meet important anti-corruption actors, talk through the options available to posts and brainstorm possible solutions.

EUR envisages the post action plans as an iterative process. The first drafts were discussed by interested bureaus at State, with feedback aimed at refining the proposed actions and, in particular, sharpening diplomatic "asks" that high-ranking U.S. officials could use when engaging host country counterparts. Assistant Secretary Nuland mandated that such advocacy points move out of the "if time permits" section and into the core bilateral discourse.

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The bureau struggled with the question of how to leverage assistance programming to complement the high-level diplomatic engagement in countries that were backsliding on corruption but had been phased out of U.S. assistance, while avoiding projects that would be seen as taking a cookie-cutter approach to a diverse region. Ultimately ACE supported a project through the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor that was pioneered at Embassy Bucharest. Using Democracy Commission funds as seed money, the embassy linked local activists with IT professionals in a competition to develop governance and social justice-related information and communication technology (ICT) tools.

This project grew into a broader effort in the Western Balkans that ACE and embassy public affairs offices co-funded. The success of these projects in building a sustained, locally-driven effort led to a broader push to make the most effective of these ICT tools available to other countries in the region. This is currently being implemented by the nonprofit TechSoup.

No Magic Bullet

If Ukraine's Revolution of Dignity validated the focus on corruption as a vital issue for regional stability and for a country's ability to defend its sovereignty and choose its own future, the depth of the country's corruption showcases the challenges in making systemic progress, and the need to continually adjust anti-corruption action plans.

As Assistant Secretary Brownfield explains in this issue (see p. 24), INL helped conceptualize and underwrite one of the important successes in Ukraine: the introduction of a "protect and serve" patrol police to replace the notoriously corrupt road militia. In addition, the 2015 introduction of an e-procurement system, ProZorro ("transparent" in Ukrainian), developed by Transparency International Ukraine, has saved tens of millions of dollars by reducing insider deals.

Elsewhere, however, progress has been slower. But U.S. leaders from Vice President Joseph Biden to Ambassador to Ukraine Geoffrey Pyatt continue to spotlight, both publicly and in private conversations, the need to overhaul the country's judicial system, particularly the corrupt prosecutorial and court systems. Ukraine, like many countries across the region, has yet to hold "big fish" accountable for corruption. Romania's intrepid anti-corruption prosecutor, Laura Kovesi, is a model for many in the region to emulate in this regard.

There is no single magic bullet proven to eradicate corruption, despite a cottage industry of experts peddling such solutions. On the contrary, promoting public awareness, accountability and integrity in public institutions and civil society pressure for transparent governance is a complex and long-term endeavor.

Fortunately, the 2011 Open Government Declaration offers an enduring template of principles and a positive aspirational agenda. The development of effective and accountable institutions, including the criminal justice system, is an ongoing process requiring political will and national ownership to succeed.

If we want to see our decades-old vision of a Europe that is whole, free and at peace fully realized, we have our work cut out for us in the coming years. ■

THE FCPA and the Rule of Law Abroad

The Foreign Corrupt Practices Act, rarely enforced before 2000, has become one of the most effective tools in the fight for good business ethics.

BY THOMAS FIRESTONE

From 2002 to 2004 and from 2006 to 2012, I worked as the Department of Justice resident legal adviser at U.S. Embassy Moscow. One of my jobs was to promote anti-corruption and the rule of law, a challenging task, given the political environment in Russia. I worked on a number of legislative reforms with the parliament and on training programs for prosecutors, judges and defense lawyers. I also worked on rule-of-law programs in several other former Soviet countries, including Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Moldova and Latvia. Based on these experiences, I believe that the U.S. Foreign Corrupt Practices Act is one of the most effective instruments at the disposal of the U.S. government for promoting the rule of law overseas.

Passed in 1977 in the wake of scandals involving overseas bribery by U.S. corporations, the FCPA criminalizes the payment of bribes to foreign government officials to obtain or retain business. It also has provisions containing penalties for false or inadequate accounting. The FCPA applies to U.S. businesses, but also applies to foreign businesses that sell shares in the United States ("issuers"). Even if a foreign business is not an issuer, it can still be prosecuted for violating the FCPA if it participated in a scheme to bribe foreign officials and any part of that scheme took place in the United States (defined broadly).

Until the early 2000s, the FCPA was rarely enforced. But all of that has changed; some of the most significant U.S. corporate criminal prosecutions of recent years have involved FCPA violations. Many of these have involved foreign companies. For example, in 2008, the German company Siemens paid approximately $800 million to DOJ and the Securities and Exchange Commission to settle FCPA charges. In 2014, the French company Alstom paid $772 million to settle FCPA charges. According to one authoritative source, eight of the top 10 FCPA settlements (as measured by the fines imposed) involved foreign companies.

A Very Effective Tool

The increase in FCPA enforcement has been accompanied by the adoption of international conventions, such as the Organi-

Tom Firestone is a partner in the Washington, D.C., office of Baker & McKenzie. His practice focuses on the FCPA and matters related to international corruption. He previously served for six years as an assistant U.S. attorney in the Eastern District of New York, where he prosecuted international organized crime cases. He also served for eight years as the Department of Justice resident legal adviser at U.S. Embassy Moscow.

zation for Economic Cooperation and Development's Anti-Bribery Convention in 1997 and the United Nations Convention Against Corruption in 2003, that require state signatories to adopt similar legislation criminalizing foreign bribery. This has resulted in foreign countries aggressively enforcing anti-corruption laws.

Trying to persuade foreign governments to create a transparent business environment can be extremely challenging, especially when the local government finances itself through corruption. Trying to work through nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) that seek to expose government corruption creates the risk of alienating the local government. However, the FCPA focuses on the supply side of bribery—i.e., the foreign companies that are paying bribes locally.

Advocating compliance with the FCPA makes the point that corruption is a two-way street and requires cooperation between the country of the bribe giver and the country of the bribe receiver. This message is usually much less threatening to foreign governments than hectoring about democracy and human rights.

Moreover, foreign companies are often enthusiastic about having their employees trained in the FCPA. Many of them realize that having a compliance program that meets international standards gives them a competitive advantage because U.S. and European multinationals will often pay a premium to avoid the anxiety and risk that accompany working with companies that do not practice good business ethics.

Russia, for Example

Russia provides a good example of how this can all work in practice. While Russia has a long way to go before it can be called a rule-of-law state, there has been some progress at the corporate level, largely because of the FCPA and its progeny. During my time there, I saw the development of an incipient compliance culture. In 2008 no one talked about compliance, and there was no Russian word for it. But by 2013 Russia had adopted a law essentially requiring companies to have compliance programs.

The current Russian-language version of Wikipedia contains an entry on "komplayens" (in Cyrillic transliteration), which states: "Today, compliance with standards (komplayens) is an area of professional activity that has been brought to Russian organizations by major Western companies." During the same time, Russia acceded to the OECD Working Group on Bribery and passed legislation to bring itself into conformity with the requirements of the OECD Anti-Bribery Convention.

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All of this has a real effect on a day-to-day basis. While working at Embassy Moscow, I taught classes on the FCPA for a local law school that offers a U.S. master of laws (LLM) degree. The classes were attended primarily by young Russian lawyers working in Russian companies or law firms, or Russian branches of international companies and law firms. After lectures, students often approached me with questions about the FCPA implications of transactions that they were working on. On several occasions, they told me that they had used what they learned in the course to persuade their clients or employers not to proceed with possibly corrupt transactions. In other words, bribes were not paid because of the FCPA.

Since I joined the law firm Baker & McKenzie in 2012, we have frequently been retained by local companies in the former Soviet Union seeking assistance in establishing compliance programs that meet international standards. Some do this because they are listed on U.S. exchanges. Others recognize that having a good compliance program makes it easier for them to attract foreign partners. Many recognize that anti-corruption compliance is good for business: internal controls that prevent bribery also help companies avoid internal fraud and embezzlement and unscrupulous business partners.

Spread of the "Compliance" Culture

The processes that I have witnessed in Russia and the former Soviet Union are by no means unique. Under the influence of the OECD's Working Group on Bribery, the U.N. Convention Against Corruption and other international institutions, many other countries that had no concept of anti-corruption compliance 10 years ago have now adopted aggressive anti-corruption

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laws and their companies now use the English term "compliance" as a synonym for good business ethics.

For example, the website of the Italian company Eni, which was the subject of a major FCPA case in 2010, contains a page entitled "Compliance Program Anti-Corruzione di Eni" (Eni's Anti-Corruption Compliance Program), which includes sections on third-party due diligence, top-level commitment and Eni's Code of Business Ethics.

In an era in which euphoria over the end of the Cold War has been replaced by hand-wringing over the resurgence of authoritarianism, it is useful to note the development and spread of international consensus on good business practices and anti-corruption. The United States can contribute to these processes by continuing to spread the word about the FCPA and to support international institutions like the OECD Working Group on Bribery.

Such strategies cost little political capital, but can have a major effect. ■

Foreign Policy and the Complexities of Corruption: THE CASE OF SOUTH VIETNAM

The State Department historian looks back at the relationship between the United States and South Vietnam during the Vietnam War years, assessing the impact that tolerance of corruption in diplomatic partners can have on outcomes.

BY STEPHEN RANDOLPH

As illustrated in other articles in this issue of *The Foreign Service Journal*, the U.S. government recognizes corruption as a major issue, prevalent around the world, with a range of damaging forms and effects. While details vary locally and over time, the dynamics of corruption, the problems that follow in its wake, and the difficulties in addressing it have broad continuity over time, and so a historical case study can offer perspectives that remain useful today.

In the aftermath of the fall of Saigon in April 1975, thousands of South Vietnamese fled to the United States, including many senior civilian and military leaders. Seeking to capture their stories and analyses "before memories faded and before mythology replaced history," the RAND Corporation, which had been deeply involved in the war since its inception, assembled a small team to interview these senior leaders as quickly as possible on their arrival in the United States, focusing on the causes of South Vietnam's sudden and catastrophic collapse.

Respondents included 23 military leaders and four from the government. These leaders attributed the fall of South Vietnam to a series of linked causes, the most fundamental of which was, in their view, "pervasive corruption, which led to the rise of incompetent leaders, destroyed army morale, and created a vast gulf of social injustice and popular antipathy." They considered corruption the "fundamental ill" within South Vietnam's body politic, manifesting itself in four ways: racketeering; bribery; buying and selling important positions and appointments; and

Stephen Randolph is the State Department historian. A 1974 graduate of the United States Air Force Academy, he served for 27 years on active duty in the Air Force, retiring as a colonel in 2001. He flew F-4s and F-15s, with a tour in Operation Desert Storm; held senior staff positions on the Joint Staff and the Air Staff; and then joined the faculty at the National Defense University, serving for 15 years before moving to the State Department in 2011. He is the author of Powerful and Brutal Weapons: Nixon, Kissinger and the Easter Offensive *(Harvard University Press, 2007).*

Corruption in South Vietnam was invariably and routinely identified as a pervasive issue in the country, one with corrosive effects in every aspect of the state and society.

pocketing the pay of "ghost soldiers," whose names were carried on the duty roster but were either nonexistent or who paid their commanders to be released from duty.

As one commander put it, the pervasive corruption "created a sense of social injustice" by creating "a small elite which held all the power and wealth, and a majority of middle-class people and peasants who became poorer and poorer and who suffered all the sacrifices."

Evolution of a "Fundamental Ill"

This summary would have surprised few Americans who served in Indochina or dealt with the war at the policy level. Throughout the 21 years of decisive American engagement with South Vietnam, from the time of Ngo Dinh Diem until the fall of Saigon, corruption was invariably and routinely identified as a pervasive issue in the country, one with corrosive effects in every aspect of the state and society.

In September 1954, during the first days of America's involvement, a Special National Intelligence Estimate opened with an offhand reference to Premier Diem's struggles with "the usual problems of inefficiency, disunity and corruption in Vietnamese politics." Two decades later, just weeks before the North Vietnamese attack that would overwhelm South Vietnam, Senator Dewey Bartlett (R-Okla.), returning from a fact-finding mission, reported to President Gerald Ford in March 1975: "Corruption should be ferreted out, there should be freedom of the press and proper use of the courts and police. This will help them to develop their resolve and will strengthen their capability to develop in peace." Along with its deadly effects within South Vietnam, the readily visible corruption provided an easy and unanswerable point of attack for opponents of the war in the United States, and a ready justification for Congress's reluctance to support this American ally.

Why, then, did this phenomenon persist, and even grow progressively more egregious over time? The basic conditions were set at South Vietnam's birth in 1954, when the country emerged suddenly from its colonial past. With very few competent civil servants, with no functioning political system or tradition of democracy or transparency in government and with deep divides across religious, regional, ethnic and class lines, the new government built a military establishment from scratch. Few expected the state to last more than a couple of years. With the advent of active insurgency, the government of the Republic of Vietnam faced a deadly and immediate challenge that absorbed all of its attention.

The massive intervention of American forces that followed within a decade added to the challenge in fundamental ways by infusing vast amounts of money and resources into South Vietnam and conducting military operations that created massive turmoil and dislocation across the country. As the nation moved from crisis to crisis, hampered by a sclerotic and limited government bureaucracy, corruption was always an issue to address later.

At the same time, as U.S. involvement grew during the mid-1960s, American advisers were brought in who considered action against the corruption that had grown with the American investment in the nation to be an integral element of the war for "hearts and minds," and therefore an essential component of pacification and a high priority for action. There were, however, serious obstacles to taking decisive action, reflecting the basic nature of the U.S. relationship with South Vietnam.

Anti-Corruption Efforts Stymied

The most vigorous and sustained attempt by the United States to effect change in this area occurred in late 1967, as "Blowtorch" Bob Komer established the Civil Operations and Revolutionary Development Support program, known as CORDS. Recognizing President Nguyen Van Thieu's long-standing caution in attacking corruption, Komer sought leverage that the Americans could use to encourage a more aggressive approach to the problem.

Embassy Saigon's Minister-Counselor for Political Affairs John A. Calhoun noted a fundamental problem with Komer's approach: it "entails an invasion of the sovereignty of the Republic of Viet-Nam so great that it could and would be argued thereafter that the United States is indeed the neo-colonialist power its critics and enemies allege it to be. … I believe that the more representative government which is emerging in Viet-Nam must be the vehicle for eliminating the social evils which beset the people. I do not think we can or should do this job for them."

The issue came down to the relationship of the United States to South Vietnam. There was a basic tension, never resolved, between helping the South Vietnamese and compelling them to accept American solutions. Or as a CIA analysis later summarized the conflict in American objectives: "The GVN [Vietnam Government] must be invigorated and reformed, and the peasantry must be won over to the government side, but all of this must be done without disturbing the political, social and economic structure bequeathed by the French colonial regime." Put another way, corruption was not incidental to the political system of South Vietnam; it was an integral and defining characteristic of that system.

Komer sought less intrusive means of encouraging action—regular liaison with South Vietnamese officials, review of plans and budgets, and the threat or action of withholding resources. The most effective measure seems to have been the gradual accumulation of information on corrupt or incompetent officials, providing that information to both the South Vietnamese and the American chains of command. The expectation was that the South Vietnamese would eventually act, if sufficient evidence could be found to justify a dismissal.

The original proposal for this program included suspending assistance if the South Vietnamese failed to react to the information, but this was a step Komer was unwilling to take—weakening support for allies in a theater at war was a very difficult course of action to propose. Ultimately, Komer succeeded in persuading the South Vietnamese to dismiss a limited number of officers, but with no guarantee that their successors would be any improvement.

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Setting Good Governance Aside

The Tet Offensive in early 1968 changed the war in every respect. For the communists, the successive waves of the offensive cost them dearly, the losses concentrated among the Viet Cong. Increasingly the war fell to North Vietnamese soldiers, infiltrating down the Ho Chi Minh trail. On the American side, the offensive ultimately persuaded President Lyndon Johnson not to run for a second term, and to seek a negotiated settlement.

Incoming President Richard Nixon had an entirely different perspective on the nature of the war than his predecessor. Nixon and his national security advisor, Henry Kissinger, were classic realists. In part due to their basic outlook on power, and in part due to the change that the Tet Offensive had had on the war, Nixon and Kissinger were not so much interested in winning "hearts and minds," as they were on ensuring physical control of the population. Similarly, they were more interested in ensuring a stable and acquiescent South Vietnamese government than in abstract notions of good governance.

As Nixon summarized it in a conversation with British counterinsurgency expert Robert Thompson, he thought that Thieu was "getting an undeservedly bad reputation." Nixon commented that while some people wanted the administration to pressure Thieu to "crack down on corruption, broaden the base and go forward with land reform, he, the president, didn't care what Thieu did as long as it helped the war." The emphasis on good government as a means of ensuring popular support for the GVN dissipated, as did the willingness to expend political capital on encouraging South Vietnam to combat corruption. In late 1971 Deputy National Security Advisor Al Haig, on a fact-finding mission to South Vietnam, noted: "Thieu's actions against corruption have been inadequate. He has not spoken out against corruption as strongly as he should, and he has not removed the more notoriously corrupt officials." This was one of a litany of problems Haig identified in the South Vietnamese government, and like most of the others, was never effectively addressed.

In the end, the Nixon administration's implicit tolerance for corruption served as other elements of its policy toward Vietnam to maintain a short-term stability in the government at the expense of its long-term prospects. The fall of South Vietnam stemmed from a range of causes. But, among those closest to the events, corruption was considered the most damaging, "largely responsible for the ultimate collapse of South Vietnam." ■

FEATURE

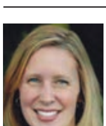
DIPLOMATIC HISTORY LESSONS: A Model of Government Transparency

With the *Foreign Relations of the United States* series, the State Department Office of the Historian provides policymakers and the public a thorough record of American foreign policy.

BY TRACY WHITTINGTON

In a restored Navy hospital dormitory on the hill across from the Harry S Truman building more than 40 Ph.D. historians are at work on the largest and most productive documentary history program in the world. They and their predecessors stretching back to 1861 have compiled 562 volumes of the *Foreign Relations of the United States* (FRUS) series, providing half a million pages of declassified government documents to Congress, scholars and the general public.

Today the Historian's Office serves vital policymaking needs within the department, providing just-in-time history to bureaus and officers around the world, in addition to making available to the broader public a treasure-trove of declassified documents and historical diplomatic information of record in the form of the FRUS volumes, as well as extensive digital resources at the office's website, history.state.gov.



Tracy Whittington is a Foreign Service officer currently working in the Office of the Historian. She has previously served in the Director General's Policy Coordination Office, the Operations Center, La Paz, Montreal and Kinshasa. She is a member of the FSJ Editorial Board.

The office's mandate is significant: to provide a "thorough, accurate, reliable" official record of U.S. foreign policy. Although many countries have some process for documenting government foreign policy decisions, the FRUS program is the gold standard—the oldest, most comprehensive and most formalized. Indeed, FRUS provides a model of responsible government transparency and accessibility that has endured through more than 150 years of political change, hot and cold wars, and not infrequent institutional or partisan efforts to interfere with it.

Policy Accountability: A Brief History

Decades before the Bureau of Public Affairs and the Bureau of Legislative Affairs were a twinkling in the eye of the Secretary of State, the department's annual bound submission to Congress of the previous year's foreign policy documents fulfilled both bureaus' missions. As per its constitutional obligation (Article II, Section 3), the country's executive branch informed the legislative branch of its foreign policy actions.

FRUS also informed the general public. Until the early 1900s, newspapers from the *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin* to *The New York Times* covered this release to Congress of contemporary sensitive diplomatic cables, department instructions to the field and even documents originating from foreign governments. Congressional and public reaction was mostly positive; it turned out those ambassadors actually knew what they were doing.

Budget cuts, followed by the outbreak of World War I, eroded the timeliness of the series. By 1930, FRUS had settled into a 15-year publication lag and become a mechanism of historical, not immediate, accountability. Later attempts to bring the volumes back to currency were eclipsed by post-World War II changes in Washington's foreign policy-making machine and the birth of the interagency. Today's FRUS volumes are more heavily weighted toward documentation of the decision-making process than the back-and-forth between Washington and posts.

In the 1980s, a battle royal developed within the State Department between parties in favor of expanded transparency and those inclined to keep the foreign policy sausage making hidden from public view as long as possible, if not forever.

Department of State documents that once made up 90 percent of the material in FRUS fell to less than 30 percent by the Nixon and Ford administrations, with the addition of White House, National Security Council, Defense, Treasury and other U.S. government agency records. At the same time, the inclusion of intelligence information whenever necessary introduced inevitable but lengthy delays as governmental declassification apparatuses struggled to accommodate the regularized release of once highly sensitive material.

Indeed, in the 1980s, a battle royal developed within the State Department between parties in favor of expanded transparency and those inclined to keep the foreign policy sausage making hidden from public view as long as possible, if not forever. Transparency won the day with the 1991 FRUS statute, signed by President George H.W. Bush, which forced the department to facilitate Historian's Office access to classified documents and systematically declassify records at the 30-year mark (or justify withholding them).

This tug-of-war over the publication of our official history produced the mostly collegial atmosphere in which FRUS is compiled today. A State Department and Central Intelligence Agency joint historian facilitates searches of the CIA's historical records and greases the declassification machine by serving as a thoroughly vetted intermediary. Relations are also good with the external FRUS governing body, the Historical Advisory Committee. Founded in 1957 and statutorily mandated since 1991, this body of academic and public-interest representatives monitors the progress of the series.

The HAC has lobbied on behalf of FRUS, protesting to Congress when its members believed the series did not meet transparency standards—as with the "incomplete and misleading" *Iran, 1951-1954* volume—and advocating more timely release, as when the series fell nearly 40 years behind in the 1990s. (A fascinating account of the series' history produced by the office of the Historian's special projects division, *Toward "Thorough, Objective, and Reliable": A History of the Foreign Relations of the United States Series*, received the prestigious Society for History in the Federal Government's Pendleton Prize for 2016. It is available at history.state.gov.)

The Making of a FRUS

So what's it like to be a FRUS historian? The general consensus: like a kid in a candy store. With access to the universe of primary source governmental documents and immersion in the particular period now under study—the 1970s and 1980s—FRUS historians can claim the greatest expertise on U.S. policymaking during these decades of anyone in the world. No serious book on U.S. foreign policy is published without FRUS footnotes, and few outside historians have the pride—or responsibility—of knowing the books the president and Secretary of State have on their nightstands are based in large measure on the documents they have compiled. In addition, the globe-spanning nature of U.S. foreign relations renders FRUS as much a record of world history as American history. For citizens of some countries, particularly those whose governments have yet to, or will never, publicly share their own documentation, the work of FRUS historians offers their only window into their own nations' foreign policies.

Since the 1990s, FRUS has been organized chronologically

The Historian's Office has also released several "retro" volumes that revisit sensitive episodes in our diplomatic history that earlier FRUS editions covered poorly due to limited access, stymied declassification or political interference.

by presidential administration. The Historian's Office begins its work on each administration with a thorough reading of memoirs and the extant secondary literature of the period, as well as extensive review of the documentation at the relevant presidential library. Editors create a list of probable topics, ranging from traditional bilateral foreign policy and crises (e.g., *Berlin Crisis, 1961-1962*) to themes such as foreign economic policy and national security policy. Most one-term presidential administrations require 25-30 volumes; most two-termers, 45-50.

With the 19th century's nation state–centric foreign policy increasingly giving way to extranational concerns, volumes on global issues have multiplied. Early "general" chapters on international concerns, like the protection of fur seals in the Bering Sea, have become volumes on, for example, the United Nations. Often, global issues volumes have anticipated the creation of functional bureaus to address those issues. Recent proposed or in-progress Reagan-era global issues volumes will be devoted to immigration and refugees and the war on drugs and terrorism.

The historian working on a particular volume has two years to read, conduct research at multiple venues in and outside of the beltway, and select and annotate the 1,400 document pages (out of an almost infinite number possible) to become the 800-900 pages of a published FRUS volume. And that's just the first step. The manuscript then goes through a five-month review process with two readers, followed by six weeks of revision by the historian. Then, the entire timeline moves out of the hands of the Historian's Office when they submit the documents for declassification.

On average, this takes two additional years, but delays of up to six years are not uncommon. (While the Carter administration volumes have nearly all been released, and the first two Reagan volumes, *Conflict in the South Atlantic, 1981-1984*, and *Soviet Union, January 1981–January 1983*, were published recently, three volumes from the Nixon-Ford era still await full declassification.) After this hurdle, editing and publishing the volume takes another year. The average span between policy and publication is 35 years, with 30 the goal. Since the early 1980s, when only one or two volumes were released annually, publication rates have snowballed. In just the last two years, 19 volumes have come out.

In addition, the Historian's Office has released several "retro" volumes that revisit sensitive episodes in our diplomatic history that earlier FRUS editions covered poorly due to limited access, stymied declassification or political interference. In 2013 the Historian's Office published *Congo, 1960-1968*, containing records related to the death of Patrice Lumumba. This followed a retro volume on *Guatemala, 1952-1954*; another retro volume, *Iran, 1951-1954*, is still in production. New perspectives on the importance of previously underappreciated areas of policymaking can also inspire retro volumes, as with the *FRUS, 1917-1972, Public Diplomacy* multimedia volume.

The Historian's Office has also undertaken the digitization of the FRUS series, creating a free, online, full-text searchable archive on the office's website: history.state.gov. So far 260, or more than half of the 500 or so volumes in the series, can be browsed online or downloaded as e-books; and within three years, the entire series from its inception in 1861 will be online, through an exchange with the University of Wisconsin.

More broadly, the office uses the website to advance its twin goals of increasing transparency and accessibility. For example, the website is secure, ensuring that pages visited by its readers, including overseas readers who constitute 25 percent of the site's traffic, cannot be tracked. An update of the website currently underway will make it faster and easier to browse on mobile devices, whose users are a rapidly growing proportion of the site's visitors. In addition, both the website and e-books are accessible by individuals with visual disabilities who use screen reader software. Further, as part of the Open Government Initiative, all source code and raw data underlying the site are freely downloadable, empowering researchers to do more advanced work—including textual analysis and data visualization.

Just-In-Time History: Analysis for Policymakers

While FRUS garners most of the publicity, and represents the lion's share of the office's work, the historians also serve State's immediate needs. Since 1944, the policy studies and special projects branches of the Historian's Office have undertaken more than 2,500 policy studies of varying lengths, supporting current and future policymaking in the department. (The public website, mentioned above, includes not only FRUS content, but draws on many of these studies to provide institutional history and other policy material.)

A decade ago, historians with regional portfolios established an ambassadorial briefing program to bring the lessons of diplomatic history to new Foreign Service officers as part of the A-100 orientation curriculum. The Historian's Office also has a longstanding oral history program that aims to build historical repositories on key foreign policy events, such as the Arab Spring uprisings and the 2014 Afghan elections crisis, before the documents are lost and participants' firsthand recollections fade. Central to it all is the guidance provided to policymakers at State and in the broader national security community on events and issues of the most recent three decades.

Occasional history emergencies notwithstanding (new Secretaries of State have called on the office for studies of their predecessors' initial months on the job or the role of special envoys and representatives), the need for historical analysis is not limited to the top of the organizational chart. Most weeks find the office providing just-in-time history to bureaus and officers from all corners of HST and the globe. On one recent warm spring day the historians were at work on these requests:

- The National Security Council called with a query on visits by foreign leaders, drawing on information continually updated by a staff historian who also maintains a compilation of the travels of the president and secretary and of all principal officers and chiefs of mission.
- A FRUS historian with expertise in Western Europe put the finishing touches on "A Historical Study of the 'Special Relationship' Between the United States and the United Kingdom," while other geographic experts worked on bureau-solicited papers ranging from "Leaving Mogadishu: U.S. Policy toward Somalia in 1990" and "The Reagan Administration's Strategy to Counter Soviet Disinformation, September–October 1983."
- To move a major project combing oral and documentary history forward, a two-person team mined old files on Israeli-Palestinian negotiations for a history of the Middle East peace process under George W. Bush.
- Preparing for a session with the incoming A-100 class, a historian supplemented the 1938 Vienna consular simulation exercise—How would you have implemented department guidance aimed at stemming the tide of would-be immigrants in pre-WWII Austria?—with material related to later refugee outflows from the Balkans, the Great Lakes (Africa) and the Middle East.
- The office provided advice to an inquiring deputy chief of mission about identifying possible records of historical value related to the Ebola crisis and how to work with Administration Bureau records managers to preserve them.
- In addition to requests for policy research, the historian staffing the history@state.gov mailbox fielded short-term micro-taskers from the Secretary's speechwriters, consulates and embassies, academics and journalists, in addition to responding to a sixth-grader hoping the Historian's Office could email his questions to Henry Kissinger.

Tapping the Mother Lode

Why is it so important to know about State's Historian's Office? For current foreign affairs practitioners, it offers valuable historical background. Few offices have an employee who can remember, for example, the most contentious issues in a round of United Nations negotiations 10 years ago; fewer still have the time or resources to gather this critical information before the next round starts. For researchers at all levels and in all locations, FRUS provides a mother lode of declassified government documents that would otherwise require a trip to a federal depository library, as well as historical diplomatic information of record through history.state.gov.

And for the American people, the Historian's Office delivers one of the benefits of responsible, democratic government: the transparency needed to interpret the past in support of informed policy decisions today. ■

FEATURE

A Foreign Service

Animals can play an important part in a diplomatic career, for better or for worse.

BY ANTHONY C. E. QUAINTON

Foreign Service life brings us into contact with all sorts of people—rich and poor, powerful and powerless, amusing and dull—who must be sought out, entertained and endured. Fortunately, it is also filled with pets and other animals, both ours and other people's, whose presence reflects important dimensions of the Foreign Service experience.

So it was with my family, which had a total of three pets during my diplomatic career: a turtle named Peter, a rabbit named Updike and a Lhasa Apso named Sengtru.

We carried Peter across the Pacific in a plastic bowl, complete with a plastic palm tree. He survived a typhoon and was carried through customs at various ports of entry en route to New Delhi, to the amusement and consternation of numerous officials.

There Peter lived the usual solitary life of his species until he was left alone in the care of our bearer and cook, while we traveled by train around Rajasthan. Sadly, unlike small American boys, Indians do not love turtles, and Peter's life was soon cut short by inattention.

Rabbit, Rest in Peace

Updike the rabbit also met an untimely demise, in Nepal, where I was deputy chief of mission (DCM). A beautiful white animal, he was the only pet of Elizabeth, our younger daughter, who was then 8. Updike lived in a hutch behind our residence in Kathmandu, where he was attended faithfully both by Elizabeth and by the residence servants.

The few Western cultural activities in Nepal included a small amateur theater company, the HAMS (which stood for "Himalayan amateurs"). One of our many productions was Arthur Miller's *The Crucible*, in the second act of which John and Elizabeth Proctor have rather insipid rabbit stew for dinner. When it came time to host the cast party I, as co-director of the production, opened up my home and proposed that, in the spirit of the play, we serve rabbit stew.

Our cook, who belonged to the butcher caste, dutifully went off to the market and bought the necessary ingredients. Most of the cast enjoyed the meal, although some of the American guests objected to the very idea of eating rabbit.

The next day Elizabeth went out to feed Updike, only to find another less attractive bunny in the hutch. It appeared that we had eaten our daughter's pet! How could this have happened when everyone knew of her affection for Updike? The answer only became clear a week later when, instead of one white rabbit, there were now seven: a mother and six thumb-sized babies. It turned out that our cook had decided to spare the life of a pregnant rabbit by sacrificing Updike.

Despite that trauma, rabbits remained an important part of our daughter's life. At Princeton she acquired another one, which she named in honor of Colonel Coniglio, our military attaché in Managua. The Colonel, as we affectionately called him, lived (illegally) in her dorm rooms, and accompanied her home to Washington, D.C., for the holidays.

A rabbit straight from the pages of *Alice in Wonderland*, he supplied live decoration on our back lawn, to the great admiration of family and guests. Happily for the Colonel, his only mishap was a brief escape into the neighborhood, before a young neighbor found him a block away and returned him. He lived out most of his life in Elizabeth's dorm room.

Anthony C.E. Quainton, a retired Senior Foreign Service officer, is currently Distinguished Diplomat-in-Residence at American University. He served as ambassador to the Central African Republic, Nicaragua, Kuwait and Peru, and as assistant secretary of State for diplomatic security, among many other assignments.

Menagerie

Lions and Monkeys, Oh My!

Our third pet was a Lhasa Apso named Sengtru (Little Lion), which we bought in Kathmandu and brought with us to Bangui, my next posting. Her insistent bark alerted us to the arrival of guests and unwanted strangers. Unfortunately, she was run over in Washington, D.C., when she escaped from the house during a dramatic and powerful thunderstorm, which had terrified the little animal. She is buried in an unmarked grave in our backyard.

Colleagues also had pets. For instance, my DCM in Kuwait had a pet monkey named Anastasia. She was a regular feature at the American community pet show, held in the embassy compound each year. Like all monkeys, Anastasia had a certain manual dexterity, and at an afternoon barbecue which the DCM hosted, her talents were put to the test. The DCM had come up with a scheme to organize a banana-eating contest between Anastasia and the Marine security guards. Two of them agreed to take part. They and Anastasia sat on the wall of the DCM's garden, where each was given an unpeeled banana to eat. Needless to say, Anastasia won hands-down.

In Kuwait the embassy compound, which had been bombed only a few months before our arrival, was bedeviled by feral cats that lived under damaged, bombed-out buildings. The best-known of these was a scrawny white cat whom the Marines had found badly injured and nursed back to health. Christened Safira (Madam Ambassador), she became their mascot and had the run of the compound.

Safira proved quite popular with local male cats, as well, so we soon decided to curtail her reproductive capabilities. The only catch was that in Kuwait, neutering animals was against Islamic law and illegal. However, under the protection of ambassadorial authority and diplomatic immunity, we decided to sneak an Egyptian veterinarian into the residence one Sunday to perform the necessary operation. The cat was duly captured, and the vet performed the procedure on our kitchen table, to the horror and amazement of the servants. Safira went on to live a sheltered, if infertile, life, for the remainder of our tour.

The DCM had come up with a scheme to organize a banana-eating contest between his pet monkey, Anastasia, and the Marine security guards.

Why Do Greyhounds Lose?

Animals first entered my Foreign Service consciousness not as pets, but as visa applicants. As a new consular officer in Sydney, I was approached by two men for visas for their greyhounds. (Technically, of course, the visas were for the men, as they were planning to accompany their dogs to San Diego to race at the local track.)

I knew little about greyhounds or the challenges of their life, even after spending an evening at the Sydney dog track. So the two applicants explained the system. These dogs were not expected to win, but to lose. The problem is that a fast greyhound will always win and hence return very little money on a bet. The challenge was to make the greyhound lose repeatedly, so that future odds would increase.

One crude method, which my applicants thankfully disdained, was to put some astringent substance on the trainer's hand, with the aim of getting some of it into the eye of the dog as it was being put in the starting box. The dog would be tem-

COURTESY OF ANTHONY QUAINTON

Foreign Service friends: a white rabbit, standing in for Updike, who was sacrificed for the stew (top left); Safira, the Marines' mascot (below); and Anastasia, the DCM's pet monkey.

porarily disoriented, and before he could fully recover a rival would win. A more sophisticated method was to take your dog swimming at Sydney's Bondi Beach. The dogs enjoyed the sea, but became exhausted from struggling with the surf. And an exhausted greyhound never won a race.

I issued the visas, but vowed never to bet on the dogs, however popular dog racing might be among Australians. (It was often said that Australians were so addicted to gambling that at the dog races they would even bet on the bunny.)

Just as dogs have to travel, so, too, do buffaloes. One of the challenges I confronted as the India desk officer was making arrangements for the shipment of an American bison to an Indian zoo. The size of the shipment made its handling extremely complicated; trucking was expensive and air travel even more so. But eventually I overcame the obstacles and a live example of American culture successfully reached India.

Birds of a Feather

A further complication is that not all animals are legal pets. After 18 months of captivity by guerrillas in the jungles of Colombia, Peace Corps Volunteer Richard Starr emerged with a pet parrot. Starr, whose captivity had drawn the attention of the U.S. media, refused to come home unless he could bring the parrot, his sole companion during the long months of his captivity.

However, U.S. law prohibits the importation of parrots, which are classified as an endangered species. So Embassy Bogotá faced a major public relations disaster if Starr could not be persuaded to return home on the special military flight which had been sent to retrieve him. Happily, the State Department's counterterrorism desk persuaded the Pentagon to fly Starr and his parrot to a secure military facility in Florida, where the prying eyes of customs and immigration officials would not notice his avian companion.

During my tour in New Delhi, I discovered that birds have an important place in Indian history. On a visit to the Rajasthani city of Bikaner, I called on the maharajah in his palace, a 19th-century extravagance filled with hunting trophies. We were asked to join him on his skeet shooting range for tea.

As we made polite small talk, he explained the importance of shooting for his family. In Bikaner, there is a small lake to which each winter imperial sand grouse migrate from Siberia by the millions. It was a favorite hunting spot for British officials, including several viceroys. The result was that Bikaner always got preferential treatment in dealing with the British authorities. As the maharajah proudly declared, the motto of his princely

As the maharajah proudly declared, the motto of his princely state was "Bikaner by the Grace of Grouse."

state was "Bikaner by the Grace of Grouse."

Not all animals are benign, of course. In the Central African Republic, for example, dead animals can send a powerful message. Once an agitated local employee came to see me to report that a plot to assassinate the country's ruler, Field Marshall and President-for-Life Jean Bedel Bokassa (later Emperor Bokassa I), was afoot.

When I asked for details, the employee told me that a dead chicken had been found in the center of the presidential palace courtyard. And if that wasn't a sign—if not the agent—of an assassination attempt, nothing was! Needless to say, Bokassa was unhurt, so I decided not to report the incident. But I later heard that he, too, saw the chicken as the portent of an assassination attempt.

Slinging the Bull

I even had a memorable encounter with a mechanical animal in Kuwait, where our enterprising commercial counselor had organized a trade show at a local hotel. Representatives of many American companies had booths, but the centerpiece of the show was the Marlboro Bull—a mechanical device that bucked and twisted from side to side with the intention of testing those brave enough to test their bronco-busting skills.

Needless to say, the American ambassador was expected to lead the way. So, attired with a donated 10-gallon hat, I dutifully took my seat on the bull, and gamely held onto the pommel for dear life. Delighted Kuwaitis watched as the speed of the bull's gyrations was ratcheted up until I was ingloriously thrown to the floor.

In short, at every post and back in Washington, D.C., animals played a part in my diplomatic career—sometimes benignly, sometimes not. They enlivened our lives, added moments of pathos and sorrow, and reminded us that diplomats can be winged, pawed, furry or feathered. ■

FEATURE

Mental Health Support for Foreign Service Children: **Parents Weigh In**

FS children are just as at risk for mental health problems as the average American child, perhaps even more vulnerable. This is a critical issue for FS families.

In preparing the focus on mental health care for the Foreign Service in the January-February issue of the FSJ, *we invited members to respond to a set of questions concerning their experience with mental health services. Due to the sensitive nature of the subject, and known concerns about privacy, we took the unprecedented step of offering to print comments without attribution.*

Based on the significant and substantive response, it was clear that issues relating to support for family members, and particularly FS children, needed a separate discussion. Here then are the comments we received concerning mental health and special needs support for FS children, presented as an opener to that important discussion.

A vital aspect of this topic, support for FS children diagnosed with special needs, is addressed in this month's Speaking Out column *(see p. 17).*

—The Editors

The Video Option

In many locations, mental health services are poor. Language barriers only worsen this situation. The regional psychiatrist is capable of providing digital video camera (DVC) counseling, and other services such as the Employee Consultation Service also help. There are very insufficient services for children. Most local child psychiatrists speak a different native language than the children and are of no help. The regional psychiatrists are more capable of assisting adults. This leaves the children without needed services.

Psychiatry and counseling can be effectively conducted remotely using DVC if parents and schools are supportive. It should be mandatory that each post have this capacity.

Punished for Being Proactive

It isn't easy uprooting our families every couple of years without knowing where we'll end up next or what life will be like in the varied countries around the world.

At times, I find mind-boggling what it takes to lobby for jobs around the world, get settled into a new home, develop relationships with new bosses and colleagues and then start the process over again. Our children have the same struggles, but their little minds aren't yet ready to cope with all of the stresses they often go through.

Our first assignment was to a 35-percent hardship post, a difficult place to live. We couldn't drink the water. The school for our kids wasn't particularly good; it was like a one-room schoolhouse and offered no sports. There were Muslim extremist groups in the country, so security threats were always on our minds. Our house was surrounded by a huge concrete wall, and the feeling of being shut off from the world around us wasn't easy on any of us.

That said, we stayed positive, made the best of some tough situations and turned it into a lovely first-tour experience for the family. While at post, we set up several appointments with the regional psychiatrist (RMO/P) to meet with our kids. We received wonderful pointers, and it made a difference.

After leaving post, we considered finding a therapist to meet with our kids to help them with the transition. They were doing okay, but they were nervous about how our lives would change again. We asked the Bureau of Medical Services (MED) for recommendations on local providers in the Northern Virginia area, and chose one to see our youngest son, who was having the hardest time with the move. He was able to talk about his struggles and fears, and he showed much improvement. He learned how to better express his concerns to us, and we learned what to look for and do to help both of our kids assimilate into another new environment.

After we settled into our second posting, we found out that our youngest child's medical clearance had been changed to Class 2. This happened directly after we asked for the continuing support in Northern Virginia and with no correspondence with us.

Since then, we have met with the RMO/P at every opportunity to demonstrate that our youngest child, now 15 years old, is doing very well. He has many friends, gets great grades, plays sports, gets along well with his classmates and teachers, and is a normal teenager. Yet we haven't been able to get his clearance changed. We spent our entire second tour documenting his progress for the file, continuing to do so during a year of language training and the 18 months of our current (third) tour. Still no change.

> Because we were trying to be proactive with our kids, and because we thought MED had our best interest in hand, we reached out to them for support. We won't do that again.

We are being punished for trying to do the right thing for our kids. The only conclusion we're left with at this point is that we never should have involved MED to begin with. We could have found a therapist on our own and done just as well, and we wouldn't be having these clearance issues now. Because we were trying to be proactive with our kids, and because we thought MED had our best interest in hand, we reached out to them for support. We won't do that again.

Delayed Symptoms

Currently, there are provisions for funding therapeutic boarding school, including medical evacuation from post, in lieu of normal tuition at post, when medically indicated and approved by MED. In many cases the behavioral issues, eating disorders, anxiety or depression that result in such actions stem from triggers related to the Foreign Service—the disruption of life, school, work and social networks caused by repeated moves. Each year numerous middle and high school students become symptomatic at post, are medically evacuated for psychiatric evaluation and are then funded for attendance at therapeutic boarding schools.

The problem is that in many cases the symptoms are suppressed or delayed—a child might withdraw from friends but otherwise "pass" as normal for months or even a year or two before symptoms erupt and become debilitating in terms of inability to thrive in the home, school or other environments. In other words, the harmful effects aren't noticed until the child is no longer posted overseas with the employee. Yet the trigger is still often the realities of moving—especially during teenage years.

The State Department's view is that such cases are the responsibility of the local education authority (school district). It is up to the local school district to develop an individual education plan (IEP) per federal law and use funds provided by the U.S. Department of Education to support special needs education. The reality, however, is that the process to obtain funds is not well developed in some districts, and can take a year to sort out. Often it's only the threat of litigation that results in bureaucratic action.

It's as if military veterans were told that their post-traumatic stress disorder wouldn't be covered by the Department of Veterans Affairs because it didn't become debilitating until after they had returned from deployment.

Could the State Department provide a fund that covers such eventualities both overseas and domestically—especially for cases where the eruption of symptoms is traceable to service overseas and the disruption of moving? Such a benefit could be "secondary," in the sense that any payments from the local education authority to the provider would reduce the benefit, just as when MED pays for medevac costs up front.

It's as if military veterans were told that their PTSD wouldn't be covered by the Veterans Administration because it didn't become debilitating until after they had returned from deployment.

Employee Health Benefits once the employee returns. That said, there are discrepancies in benefits that are not covered even when the mental health challenges clearly result from a family's prior overseas service.

In the past, some employees have secured additional benefits through lawsuits. But why not set up a fund to cover treatment related to service overseas, irrespective of whether the employee or family member becomes symptomatic prior to departure from post? The key is that the condition was caused by (or exacerbated by) the family's time overseas in the service of the department.

Consider the Military Model

The State Department should modify its mandate to cover therapy and therapeutic boarding school for Foreign Service dependents in cases of anxiety, depression, eating disorders or PTSD where the cause or trigger is linked to overseas service (employee or family member). Sometimes symptoms only occur after a return to the United States.

Why not use a military model, which does not restrict treatment for PTSD to those whose symptoms become apparent during overseas deployment prior to returning stateside? I realize that the statutory authorities are different, and I understand that the State Department's traditional view is that it is the responsibility of state government and school districts in the United States to cover services not provided under Federal

Make Special Needs Support Routine

State Department cable 2015 State 676656, under "special educational needs," states: "Children with special educational needs are at higher risk than their peers for mental health conditions. They are especially prone to depression and anxiety, but might suffer from more serious mental health conditions. Support to these children should be as focused and routine as for any other health condition."

Yet my child has been turned down for intervention included in his IEP, decreasing his ability to understand direction and instruction and fully function as a member of the classroom. My child's self-esteem is suffering as a result. His anxiety over attending school is increasing. His teacher is running out of patience, and this affects how she treats him throughout the day, how peers perceive and treat him, as well as how he sees himself.

I think MED really tries to try to meet the mental health needs of our special education children, but it sometimes seems like the right hand and left hand are not working together, maybe because they work out of separate pots of money. Shouldn't the overall well-being of the child be more important?

Those handling the Special Needs Education Allowance funds need to pay attention to the health care provider and be more respectful of those professionals at post who know and interact with the child. Having your child's school needs met should not be a parent's full-time job.

Focus on the Kids

When our daughter had a difficult time adjusting to the United States as she began college in 2010, we consulted the embassy health unit during one of her visits to post. They referred her to a local provider who recommended follow-on treatment in the United States.

The health unit's response was helpful, based on knowledge of local providers. I do not know if they also discussed the issue with the nonresident RMO/P, but we did meet with him during one of his visits to post (without our daughter present). He seemed dismissive of the diagnosis she got in the United States, but did not provide any specific advice or support regarding referrals or resources.

The only time in my 30-year career that I saw an effort to seriously address family mental health concerns was under Dr. Elmore Rigamer's leadership. His effort to raise awareness, educate and obtain research to mitigate and treat mental health conditions was exemplary. Now there are significantly more staff in MED, but their policies and services are not clear. There seems to be no specific attention to children and adolescents, as there was in the 1990s under Dr. Rigamer's leadership.

I was delighted to hear last year that the relatively new Child and Family Program office was staffed with child specialists, but their mission is not clear and is already being truncated. I have heard from families who benefited from CFP support that enabled them to complete their assignments and access necessary treatment (including therapeutic boarding schools or other U.S. resources). I've also heard that CFP mitigated mental health situations through video consultations, which is well-suited to the Foreign Service population and fulfills MED's commitment to telemedicine.

There is a growing perception among FS families that any indication of a mental health concern in a child is cause for immediate medevac. This funnels people directly into a hospital environment, which may not be the optimal setting for a juvenile or for the family. I don't see any effort to mitigate mental health conditions through education, training and provision of resources to help families and communities create a positive environment. Nor is there support for families returning to the Washington, D.C., area who need to find specialized professional services.

I have heard some parents say they would not disclose children's mental health concerns in order to avoid limiting their availability to serve overseas. Employees do not have a solid understanding of the medical clearance process when it involves mental health issues. Some arrive at post without adequate local support.

The Youth Mental Health Initiative, which was started in February 2015, was based on officer-parent perceptions that there are significant mental health concerns among FS youth. The initiative led to a worldwide cable and webinar that outlined existing resources. But efforts to build on this were suddenly stopped by some participating offices, despite earlier agreement. Why?

Getting Cut Off

I am a State annuitant and my wife is active-duty Foreign Service. When my son was 13, I took him, at MED expense, from post to Washington, D.C., to meet with a psychologist and a psychiatrist where he was diagnosed with attention deficit disorder (ADD). Back at post and at subsequent posts, the health unit would provide a prescription for ADD medication that he would take on school days. He would also regularly talk with the regional psychiatrist.

After graduation from high school at our present post, my son went on to a U.S. liberal arts college. He continued to meet with the RMO/P when on breaks from college. When my son missed a visit to post and I attempted to get a new 90-day prescription for his medication from the post health unit, the new RMO/P dismissed me, saying: "We do not know this young man, and we will not write him a prescription"—even though MED and the post health unit had extensive records on my son.

When my son came to post for his winter break, he met with

> There is a growing perception from FS families that any indication of a mental health concern in a child is cause for immediate medevac. This funnels people directly into a hospital environment, which may not be the optimal setting for a juvenile or for the family.

the new RMO/P, who was willing to write him a single, 60-day prescription and said that my son would have to find a psychiatrist in the "local community" near his college to continue getting his medication, that MED should not be writing prescriptions for psycho-stimulants for him. We fully agreed that when our son completed college, he would need to find a local psychiatrist to take over his case. We hoped once he was out of an academic environment, he would not need to take such medication. (And this has been the case.)

But at the point when he was cut off from prescriptions, he was a junior in college and not part of the local community. The college health unit did not normally take such cases, so it was problematic for my son to be "dropped" by the post health unit at this stage, with three more semesters to go. We were worried about him graduating. We had made a tremendous financial investment in his education, and we wanted to see him graduate successfully on time. We contacted MED in the State Department and explained that we were not looking for a "blank check," but would like to see the post health unit prescribe and monitor for our son until he graduated from college. MED said no.

Fortunately, the college health unit agreed to prescribe the medicine for him and monitor him until he graduated, so this worked out. But we remain aggrieved by MED and the post health unit's precipitous and unempathetic treatment of our son.

Suicidal Teen

As a licensed clinical social worker (LCSW) married to an FSO, I know how essential mental health care is for many people. We are at our first post. My teenage son became suicidal after we moved to post. He had a history of depression. The consulate leadership and regional psychiatrist worked quickly to connect us to SNEA, a resource to pay for education (in this case residential treatment with a school on site) for children of FS employees.

Our son received much better care than we could have afforded on our own and is doing well at a private school that is also being funded by SNEA. One advantage is that we have access to excellent services in English for our son; SNEA paid for an educational consultant who helped us make sound choices.

We did not, however, get much help before we arrived at post. Because our son had a history of depression, we had been required to obtain outpatient services for him in advance of moving here, which we did. However, the regional psychiatrist at that time had only one local referral on the U.S. side, and that person was no longer available. We had to find a therapist and psychiatrist on our own. We learned the hard way that we did not choose particularly well.

I would recommend that the State Department hire or contract with local therapists or LCSWs to work in tandem with the RMO/Ps around the world, not just in hot spots. The therapists could offer individual, family and group services in person, traveling to various posts as nurses do, as well as through a secured Skype-type line. They could also make themselves familiar with local resources in their region.

The department appears to recognize that supporting stable family life is critical to the overall mission of the Foreign Service. But it struggles to provide that support in concrete ways, including easily accessible mental health care and transition support for families. ■

AFSA Memorial Plaque Ceremony Honors Fallen Colleagues

AFSA/SHAWN DORMAN

Secretary of State John Kerry and AFSA President Ambassador Barbara Stephenson preside over the memorial ceremony on Foreign Service Day. Steven L. Farley's name was added to the marble plaques in the department's C Street lobby. A wreath was laid to honor Farley and all Foreign Service members who are memorialized on the plaques.

On May 6, the American Foreign Service Association held its annual memorial plaque ceremony to honor fallen colleagues. Secretary of State John F. Kerry and AFSA President Ambassador Barbara Stephenson presided.

The memorial plaques, located in the Department of State's C Street lobby, date back to 1933, and the memorial ceremony has become an integral part of Foreign Service Day activities.

This year, Steven L. Farley's name was inscribed on the memorial wall, joining those of 247 other individuals who have been recognized for making the ultimate sacrifice for their country.

Mr. Farley was killed in Iraq on June 24, 2008, when an improvised explosive device detonated just prior to a

Continued on p. 56

CALENDAR

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

June 2
2-3:30 p.m.
Discussion: "No Military Solution: Science Diplomacy, Globalization and the New Threat Set" with former Canadian FSO Daryl Copeland

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

June 6
12-2 p.m.
AFSA/Public Diplomacy Council: "The British Council as a Model"

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

July 4
Independence Day: AFSA Offices Closed

July 6
12-1:30 p.m.
AFSA Governing Board Meeting

August 2
AFSA/Smithsonian Associates "Inside the World of U.S. Diplomacy"

August 3
12-1:30 p.m.
AFSA Governing Board Meeting

August 31
10th Annual Adair Lecture American University

September 5
Labor Day: AFSA Offices Closed

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

Ignorance of the Law Is Not an Excuse

"Ignorance of the law is no excuse." Many of us have heard that legal principle, but never thought it would apply to us. Unfortunately, we see too many cases of well-intentioned, hard-working employees who get into trouble—sometimes serious trouble—because they didn't know about (or appreciate the seriousness of) a particular offense.

Working together with HR's Conduct, Suitability and Discipline division, we've come up with a short-list of the most common "I didn't realize I could get into so much trouble for that" offenses in the hope that our members will read through them, educate themselves and prevent missteps in the future.

Failure to lock/alarm doors: Most employees understand the need to secure classified information, but we see too many cases of employees who secure the information in a safe, lock the safe and then leave, failing to properly lock and/or alarm the door to the room. In addition to resulting in a security violation or infraction, this offense can also lead to a discipline proposal.

The department normally proposes a letter of reprimand, which remains in your file for one year or one promotion or tenure board review. However, repeated offense can lead to greater consequences.

Late payment of government credit cards: We often see members complain that they were late because of a move or because they didn't realize that they should have been receiving a bill. That doesn't change the fact that they still need to pay the outstanding card balance each month. Penalties proposed for late payment of a government credit card are generally suspensions ranging from three to five days.

If an employee receives a suspension of five days or less, the discipline letter remains in the employee's performance file for two promotion or tenure board reviews. In other words, your chances for tenure or promotion could be significantly diminished for two years because you failed to make timely payments on your government credit card.

Late or non-filing of financial disclosure forms (OGE-278 and OGE-450): If you're not sure whether you're required to file one or both of these forms, consult www.oge.gov. Employees who do not file on time (or who do not request an extension) can end up with a fine of $200 and a letter of reprimand in their file. It is not worth jeopardizing a promotion and/or performance pay simply for failing to file these important forms, especially when you can ask for an extension.

Unfortunately, we see too many cases of well-intentioned, hard-working employees who get into trouble—sometimes serious trouble.

Misuse of a government vehicle: While we haven't seen as many cases in this category, it's still an extremely important one because the statutory penalty for "willful misuse" of a government vehicle is a mandatory 30-day suspension without pay. Any suspension over five days means that a discipline letter will remain in an employee's file until that employee is tenured or promoted. It can be very difficult to be tenured or promoted with this type of discipline letter in your file.

14 FAM 433.3 outlines certain exceptional circumstances in which a government vehicle may be used for personal reasons, but we highly recommend that you get written consent from the appropriate management official to use the government vehicle in this capacity to protect yourself from disciplinary action.

Inappropriate comments: We have seen a substantial rise in disciplinary actions arising from Office of Civil Rights administrative inquiries. Under 3 FAM 1525.2, OCR must investigate any allegations of racial or sexual harassment. Although there may not be a finding of discrimination that meets the legal standard of racial or sexual harassment, an employee can still face disciplinary action (ranging from a letter of reprimand to a multiple-day suspension without pay) based on inappropriate comments or behavior.

We have seen cases where employees face disciplinary action for verbalizing assumptions based on stereotypes. Employees have also been disciplined for improper comments made after hours and away from the office. Our advice is to be mindful of how your comments and actions may be interpreted by others. You may not intend to be offensive or inappropriate, but the person with whom you are communicating may perceive things differently. ■

Views and opinions expressed in this column are solely those of the AFSA FCS VP.
Contact: steve.morrison@trade.gov or (202) 482-9088

Countering Corruption

Commercial Service officers are on the front lines of anti-corruption efforts around the world. In keeping with this month's *FSJ* focus on corruption, I offer a short, non-exhaustive list of resources at Commercial Service officers' fingertips.

While we cannot give U.S. companies legal advice, we can provide them with information and resources on anti-corruption issues. Check with your supervisor if you are not sure what next steps to take in the case of a possible violation of U.S. law or international agreement.

Corruption acts as a barrier to trade and is a major concern for U.S. businesses competing abroad. Perhaps that is why the World Bank Group's once-a-year Ease of Doing Business rankings (www.doingbusiness.org/rankings) and Transparency International's Corruption Perceptions Index (www.transparency.org/research/cpi/overview) receive such attention.

If you or your clients want to learn more about the "gold standard" in anti-bribery/anti-corruption monitoring, reporting and guidance, check out the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development's anti-corruption (bribery) website (www.oecd.org/corruption/oecdantibriberyconvention.htm). The OECD Antibribery Convention requires countries to criminalize the bribery of foreign public officials in international business transactions, as we do under the U.S. Foreign Corrupt Practices Act.

There are also several broader anti-corruption initiatives and conventions, including the United Nations Convention against Corruption: www.unodc.org/unodc/en/treaties/CAC. The U.S. government is now also including anti-bribery commitments in our free trade agreements (FTA), including most recently in the Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement, www.ustr.gov/trade-agreements/free-trade-agreements. Check with your senior commercial officer, regional or executive director or any of the U.S. government resources below for further instructions, updates or related implementing legislation in any given country.

The U.S. Department of Justice maintains a robust webpage on the U.S. Foreign Corrupt Practices Act, as does the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission. See: www.justice.gov/criminal-fraud/foreign-corrupt-practices-act and www.sec.gov/spotlight/fcpa.shtml.

An excellent publication for U.S. companies, especially small and medium enterprises, on the FCPA is *A Resource Guide to the U.S. Foreign Corrupt Practices Act*, found at: www.justice.gov/criminal-fraud/fcpa-guidance and at www.sec.gov/spotlight/fcpa/fcpa-resourceguide.pdf (information on Commerce's role is on pages 5-6). In addition, our Country Commercial Guides also contain useful information on anti-corruption resources and initiatives.

The State Department's Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs also provides information on foreign bribery. FCPA-related issues and questions can be sent to EB-FCPA-DL@state.gov. For CS officers, questions can be directed to Commerce's Office of the Chief Counsel for International Commerce, at occic@doc.gov.

For more information on how to combat corruption generally, contact the Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs at anti-corruption@state.gov.

Finally, CS's International Company Profile service—with its discussion of key officers, banking and other financial information about a potential international partner—may also be a helpful resource for U.S. companies as they conduct their own due diligence.

NEWS BRIEF

C. EDWARD DILLERY MEMORIAL FINANCIAL AID SCHOLARSHIP ESTABLISHED

In March 2016, Foreign Service colleagues made donations to AFSA in honor of the late Ambassador C. Edward Dillery, longtime chair of the Scholarship Committee, who died on Jan. 23. A financial aid scholarship has been established in his name and will be bestowed on an undergraduate student for the 2016-2017 academic year.

Born and raised in Seattle, Washington, Amb. Dillery joined the Foreign Service in 1953. In his 38-year career, he and his family were assigned to embassies and consulates general in Japan, Belgium, Vietnam, the United Kingdom, Cyprus and Fiji, as well as tours in Washington D.C. In his last overseas post he served as ambassador to Fiji from 1984 to 1987.

After retiring, he served for two years as AFSA vice president for retirees, taught several AFSA-sponsored Elderhostel (now Road Scholar) courses and, for 15 years, served as both a committee chair and judge for the AFSA Scholarship Program.

Amb. Dillery was instrumental in setting policy that fostered transparency, sound financial management and accessibility. An appreciation of Amb. Dillery was featured in the April issue of *The Foreign Service Journal*.

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

The Washington Conceit

In my January column I discussed the existential threats to the Foreign Service of politicization of policy and personnel, homogenization of the Foreign and Civil Services and nullification of the Foreign Service Act of 1980 and its merit-based system.

In addition to the damage to the Service discussed in January, there is an equally negative impact on foreign policy itself as a result of these trends. I call it the "Washington Conceit."

The reality is that foreign policy "happens" overseas. Foreign nations make their decisions on political, economic and military interests in their own capitals—not in Washington. The human targets of our public diplomacy are overseas—not in Washington. Obviously the projects that sustain development diplomacy are overseas—not in Washington. And, of course, practical comprehension of developments and dynamics in other countries is essential to foreign policy formulation in the first place.

Many important things do happen in Washington: policy decisions on the highest-level issues (perhaps a dozen or so) are made in Washington; administrative support is centered here; and our income via congressional appropriations is generated here.

But foreign policy itself happens out there. That is why John Kerry seldom sleeps in his own bed. He is overseas where foreign policy happens. The Foreign Service is there also.

If the locus of foreign policy is overseas, why are most of our human resources in Washington? There are multiple reasons, of course. But I believe there are two main drivers of this phenomenon.

First, political elites and staffers who want to establish their foreign policy "chops" are largely limited to domestic assignments. Most probably prefer Washington, which has no foreign language requirements and presents neither danger nor discomfort.

There are about 60 politically appointed Ambassadors at any one time. But there are at least 10 times that number of politically appointed positions in the department from Deputy Secretaries to under secretaries to their clerical staffs.

In addition there are now almost 60 special envoys, special representatives and "other senior officials" with accompanying staffs. This influx is largely composed of individuals with no experience in the implementation of foreign policy at our 250 embassies and consulates overseas.

The second driver is the dramatic increase in General Service positions and personnel in the State Department. Since 2009 about 1,700 additional Civil Service officials have been hired, most as "foreign affairs officers" encumbering positions in the functional and geographic bureaus. Very few have overseas foreign policy experience at posts abroad, and none are subject to worldwide availability requirements.

Taken together, the Deputy Secretaries, under secretaries, other political appointees, schedule B and C personnel, Civil Service employees Special Government Employees and "special representatives" and their staffs constitute the vast majority of the State Department's staffing.

They share a lack of experience in conducting diplomacy on the ground overseas. Moreover, they believe that Washington is the center of the foreign policy universe, and tend to discount the field perspective. This "Washington Conceit" reduces the quality of our foreign policy, and that is dangerous for the national security of the United States and its citizens.

AFSA Governing Board Change

Due to the frequent moves that are part of Foreign Service life, Governing Board members are frequently deployed abroad before the end of their term. State Representative Margaret Hawthorne attended her final Governing Board meeting in April, as she has been appointed Consul General and Chief of Mission in Curacao. We thank her for her service and congratulate her on her new role.


COURTESY OF JASON DONOVAN

As called for by the AFSA bylaws, the Governing Board has appointed a replacement: Jason Donovan to fill this position immediately. A career diplomat, Donovan joined the Foreign Service in 1999 and served his first tours in Guatemala and Rome. From 2007 to 2009, he coordinated regional security initiatives in Southeast Asia, then served as deputy economic chief in New Delhi. Recalled to Washington in 2012, Donovan served on the National Security Council for South Asia and then as the deputy director for Western Europe in State's European Bureau. He currently serves as the director of the Office of Multilateral and Global Affairs in the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor.

AFSA Governing Board Meeting April 6, 2016

Awards: Following a discussion of the F. Allen 'Tex' Harris and W. Averell Harriman Award nominations and the need to build consensus on what constitutes dissent, a motion was put forward by State Representative John Dinkelman that these awards not be granted in 2016. The motion was approved.

A motion to approve the Award Committee's recommendations for the remaining awards was made by State Representative John Dinkelman. The motion passed unanimously.

PAC Treasurer: On a motion from Retiree Vice President Tom Boyatt, the board approved the appointment of Earl Anthony 'Tony' Wayne to the position of treasurer for the AFSA PAC. Ambassador (ret.) Wayne most recently served as U.S. ambassador to Mexico and retired in September 2015.

State Representative Appointments: Because four Governing Board members are departing during the next few months, the board approved the appointment of the following AFSA members as their replacements: Jason Donovan (effective in May), Keith Hanigan, Kara McDonald and Alison Storsve (effective summer 2016). The board particularly noted that the new board members reflect, as far as possible, the demographics of the board originally chosen by AFSA members in the June 2015 AFSA election.

Administrative Leave: On a motion by State Representative John Dinkelman, the board affirmed their trust in President Ambassador Barbara Stephenson to advocate for AFSA in the committee stage of Senate Bill S. 2450 (the Administrative Leave Act of 2016).

AFSA Policy Positions: AFSA President Ambassador Barbara Stephenson submitted a policy memo on AFSA's overarching objectives when advocating for its members to the board for approval.

Following discussion on refining and focusing the goals, particularly with regard to career planning and access to due process, a motion for approval was proposed by Retiree Representative Dean Haas. The motion passed.

Foreign Service Day Reception

AFSA/JOAQUIN SOSA

AFSA President Ambassador Barbara Stephenson, speaking at the reception. In her remarks, Amb. Stephenson recalled the bipartisan resolution signed by 54 senators—including then Senator John Kerry—which designated the first Friday in May as Foreign Service Day.

AFSA/SHAWN DORMAN

Retired FSOs Douglas Wake and Connie Phlipot, who married in the AFSA headquarters in 1988, attending the Foreign Service Day reception. AFSA members since A-100, together they have served over 60 years.

AFSA/JOAQUIN SOSA

AFSA members and invited guests at the Foreign Service Day reception, following a program of distinguished speakers and events at the Department of State.

Memorial Plaque
Continued from page 51

meeting between American officials and members of the local government.

In her remarks, Ambassador Stephenson stated: "Steve is the seventh person honored on this wall as the result of service in Iraq, a reminder of the challenging and indeed perilous environments in which we serve. Members of the Foreign Service deploy worldwide to protect and serve America's people, interests and values. Deploying worldwide inevitably sometimes leads us into harm's way."

Continuing the ceremony, Secretary Kerry spoke about Mr. Farley's career. "He dedicated his life to defending our nation and to promoting our values, and he lost his life in service to our country's ideals of justice and liberty for all when he was working in Iraq to deliver that to other people, because he believed in that so deeply."


AFSA/JOAQUIN SOSA

Secretary Kerry speaks at the AFSA memorial ceremony.

The Secretary also read from a letter written by Mr. Farley, in which he said "My life has been forever changed by the strength and efforts of the Iraqi people."

Secretary Kerry reflected on the faith and commitment of not only Mr. Farley, but "so many of the foreign affairs professionals who represent our nation across the globe."

Concluding the ceremony, Secretary Kerry said, "It is fitting that Steve should be remembered by what he did for others—by his selfless actions and his unyielding belief in the better angels of humanity."

The plaque engraved with Mr. Farley's name was then unveiled by Amb. Stephenson, to a standing ovation from his family, friends and colleagues.

Immediately preceding the ceremony, Amb. Stephenson joined the Farley family for a special meeting with the Secretary.

Mr. Farley's wife, parents, sister, two of his sons and one granddaughter joined leaders from across the foreign affairs community—including USAID Administrator Gayle Smith, Assistant Secretary for Diplomatic Security Greg Starr and former ambassadors to Iraq James Jeffrey, John Negroponte and Zalmay Khalilzad—in honoring his life at the ceremony. Denise Marsh, a survivor of the attack that killed Mr. Farley, was also present to honor her friend. Ms. Marsh, still serving as a Foreign Service officer, was awarded the Medal of Valor for her actions.

Also in attendance were Mr. Farley's friends and colleagues from service with the State Department and the military, including other colleagues who served with him in Iraq.

—Gemma Dvorak, Associate Editor and Marcy O'Halloran, Awards Intern


AFSA/JOAQUIN SOSA

The Farley family stands at the memorial plaques.

AFSA Participates in Santa Fe World Affairs Forum


COURTESY OF ROGER TOLL

St. John's College provided a setting conducive to discussions about migration and diplomacy.


COURTESY OF ROGER TOLL

U.S. Ambassador Vicki Huddleston speaks on her years as chief of the U.S. Interest Section in Havana, Cuba.


COURTESY OF ROGER TOLL

Symposium attendees enjoy a moment with SFWAF President Pat Kushlis (right).

AFSA was pleased to participate in this spring's Santa Fe World Affairs Forum symposium titled, "Crisis in Migration; a New World of Walls?" which took place April 18-19 at St. John's College.

SFWAF is a member organization co-founded by retired Foreign Service Officer Patricia Kushlis and, since 2003, has served as a place for New Mexicans to broaden and deepen their understanding of world affairs.

This year's SFWAF symposium called attention to the recent unprecedented flows of people who have had to abandon their homes due to civil conflict, not only in Syria but from Iraq, Afghanistan and Sudan to Somalia, El Salvador and Honduras.

The event hall was packed to capacity, with more than 100 university and college students, civic, business and government leaders, former Fulbright scholars, ex-Peace Corps volunteers, Los Alamos scientists and Foreign Service retirees.

Participants received a global overview of refugee flows throughout history, did a deep dive on U.S. and European Union policies surrounding the current crisis in Syria, explored factors contributing to Latin American migration, dabbled in the implications of climate change on displacement and discussed the practical and ethical implications of such events for local communities like Santa Fe.

The symposium featured an impressive lineup of speakers, including Distinguished Senior Fellow and President Emeritus of the Migration Policy Institute and President of MPI Europe Dr. Demetrios Papademetriou, retired Ambassadors Joseph Wilson and Vicki Huddleston (an AFSA member), the International Organization on Migration's Costa Rica-based Regional Liaison and Policy Officer Salvador Gutierrez and Mayor of Santa Fe Javier Gonzalez.

AFSA Director of Professional Policy Issues Maria Livingston attended and made copies of the April issue of *The Foreign Service Journal*—on humanitarian diplomacy—available to participants.

"This event was exceptionally well planned and executed," said AFSA President Ambassador Barbara Stephenson. "Pat and the entire SFWAF team are doing tremendous work to educate the community about the importance of diplomacy and development in helping to solve some of the world's most looming crises."

Discussion resulted in collective agreement on the importance of investing in diplomatic solutions to help address the many challenges associated with forced migration.

Pat Kushlis is a retired public diplomacy officer who served in Europe, Asia and at U.S. Information Agency Headquarters. In retirement, she co-writes the foreign affairs blog WhirledView and chairs SFWAF, whose volunteer board collaborated with several N.M.-based retired FSOs and others in the community to make the symposium possible. Visit www.sfwaf.org for more information.

AFSA is proud to support Foreign Service retirees who are working to increase awareness and understanding of the many ways diplomacy and development protect and promote America's people, interests and values.

Please let us know about your events at member@afsa.org or feel free to add your activities to the "events" tab in the online forum AFSA Community.

—Maria C. Livingston, Director of Professional Policy Issues

Ambassador (ret.) Tom Boyatt, General Counsel Sharon Papp and Staff Attorney Raeka Safai.

AFSA Wins MSI Dispute

AFSA is pleased to announce that, on April 20, the Foreign Service Labor Relations Board upheld the decision of the Foreign Service Grievance Board in the implementation dispute AFSA filed regarding the State Department's nonpayment of 2013 Meritorious Service Increases.

This dispute, which has been ongoing since 2014, originated in the State Department's failure to award the monetary portion of the MSIs to 554 State Foreign Service employees who were recommended for MSIs by the 2013 Selection Boards.

The FSLRB decision orders the department to make those 2013 MSI payments retroactively, with interest.

A Long Process

AFSA first filed an implementation dispute with the State Department in May 2014; it was denied the following month. Subsequently, AFSA filed an appeal with the FSGB, and the appeal was decided in AFSA's favor in September 2015.

The department filed exceptions (i.e., an appeal) to the FSLRB in October 2015, and AFSA responded to those exceptions in a 35-page brief outlining our position. On April 20, the FSLRB denied the department's exceptions, with no further appeals available.

For a full account of the background to this important issue, see AFSA General Counsel Sharon Papp's article in the December 2015 AFSA News.

The FSLRB decision makes clear that the department is legally required to pay 554 employees their 2013 MSIs—including interest. The mechanism for delivering the payments has yet to be confirmed.

"I would like to recognize the tireless efforts not only of the 2013-2015 AFSA Governing Board and its leadership," says AFSA State VP Angie Bryan, "but also of AFSA General Counsel Sharon Papp, AFSA attorney Raeka Safai and their colleagues James Yorke, Zlatana Badrich and Lindsey Botts. A special thank you as well goes to AFSA Retiree VP Ambassador (ret.) Tom Boyatt, who provided valuable input as they prepared their case."

Two More Cases

In 2014 and 2015, the department paid MSIs to only five percent of employees recommended by the Selection Boards, even though AFSA's collective bargaining agreement with the department provides for up to 10 percent.

AFSA has filed implementation disputes in both of those cases. The 2014 MSI case is currently pending with the FSGB, and AFSA recently filed an appeal with the FSGB regarding the department's denial of the 2015 MSI case.

We will keep you updated on those decisions as soon as they are known.

—Gemma Dvorak, Associate Editor

Thank You, Wisconsin!

The Badger State delivered a victory for Foreign Service members earlier this year when Assembly Bill 370 became Act 323.

AFSA is proud to have endorsed this member-driven initiative to expand some of the exceptions relating to vehicle registration renewals and driver license renewals to apply to active-duty Foreign Service members. These exceptions are currently made for active-duty military personnel.

AFSA thanks the bill's author, State Representative Scott Krug, who worked closely with his constituent, AFSA member Brian Riese, to make this happen.

If you have a similar issue in your state of residence and feel ready to advocate for the Foreign Service, send us an email at advocacy@afsa.org with the subject line "State Issues."

Promoting Careers in International Relations for Women

On March 23, the organization American Women for International Understanding and the Bureau of Human Resources, Office of Recruitment, Examination and Employment (HR/REE) co-hosted the second annual Career Opportunities for International Relations Symposium at the State Department. Eighty young women, ranging from high school seniors to young professionals, attended the event.

AWIU promotes woman-to-woman interaction and understanding worldwide. Career panels during the day's events focused on early career development for both public and private sector job opportunities.

Presenters included State Department Deputy Secretary for Management and Resources Heather Higginbottom, State Department Counselor Kristie Kenney, former U.S. Representative Diane Watson and Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary for Human Resources Carol Perez, who shared valuable advice on how to become empowered female leaders.

AFSA Publications Director Shawn Dorman participated in the "speed networking" session, talking to groups of women about AFSA and the Foreign Service career.

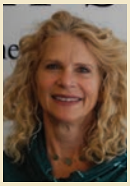
The State Department hosts provided copies of AFSA's guide to the Foreign Service, *Inside a U.S. Embassy: Diplomacy at Work* to all symposium attendees.

AFSA Publications Director/*FSJ* Editor Shawn Dorman with AWIU's Diane Henry.

AFSA Welcomes New Staff

Ken Fanelli joins AFSA as the new publications specialist. He brings extensive experience in publishing, marketing and copywriting, most recently with the National Active and Retired Federal Employees Association.

Originally from Philadelphia, Ken has a master's degree in non-profit management from Eastern University in St. David's, Pennsylvania. A former intern for Senator Claiborne Pell (D-R.I.), who was chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee from 1987 to 1995, he is an avid reader of nonfiction and biography with a strong interest in diplomatic history. Ken has three children, is active in the Episcopal Church and is an accomplished photographer. He lives in West Virginia with his wife and two cats.



Catherine Kannenberg is AFSA's new outreach coordinator, a position which focuses on strategic partnerships and targeted outreach.

Catherine has a Ph.D. in experimental psychology from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and brings extensive experience in editing, teaching and program management. Raised in a Foreign Service family and married to a career Foreign Service officer, Catherine has lived in a great variety of places, from Italy to Turkey, South Korea and Venezuela. She and her husband were posted in Ghana, Germany and Uganda, and they have just returned from Sudan, his last posting before retirement. Catherine enjoys tennis, yoga, cooking and, of course, traveling.

Gemma Dvorak joins AFSA as associate editor for *The Foreign Service Journal,* responsible for AFSA News. Gemma brings seven years of locally employed staff experience, joining us from Embassy London. A consular specialist, she fielded enquiries from the public on consular matters, maintained the embassy's consular webpages and pioneered the consular social media efforts. Earlier she spent two years as a constituency/legislative aide for Sir Simon Hughes, a Member of the U.K. Parliament.

A native of Great Britain, Gemma has a bachelor's degree in history and politics from the University of East Anglia. She is married to a Diplomatic Security special agent currently stationed in the Washington Field Office. They live in Fairfax, Virginia.

Jennie Orloff is the new executive assistant to AFSA President Ambassador Barbara Stephenson and Executive Director Ian Houston. A Foreign Service spouse, she previously served in the Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs at the Department of State and as community liaison officer at Embassy Cotonou.

Before moving overseas, she worked in the Office of Data and Accountability at D.C. Public Schools and at Russell Reynolds Associates, where she recruited executives to nongovernmental organizations and health care organizations. She began her career as a paralegal at the Department of Justice. Jennie holds a B.A. in government/law and French from Lafayette College and an M.A. in education from George Washington University.

2016 Summer Interns Arrive at AFSA

AFSA is happy to welcome our new interns.

- **Advocacy:** Two interns will join the advocacy department this summer. Miami, Florida, native Orianne Gonzalez is an international relations senior at the University of Central Florida; and Vanessa Sorrentino is a sophomore at Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service. Her hometown is Brooklyn, New York.
- **Awards:** Eunice Ajayi is an English major at Rutgers University, where she also minors in political science and Korean. Her hometown is Severn, Maryland.
- **Communications:** Martin Vasev, a native of Bulgaria, joins us from Yale-NUS College in Singapore, where he is a student majoring in philosophy, politics and economics.
- **Executive Office:** Alyssa Godfrey studies international relations and mathematics at the University of St. Andrews, where she is a sophomore. Alyssa hails from Poway, California.

As we went to print, our Labor Management and Advertising interns had yet to be selected.

We thank departing interns John Balle, Briar Blount, Koen Valks, Jessie Shin, Blake Ladenburg, Allison Bailey, Kathryn McGirk and Marcy O'Halloran for their great work this past spring and wish them the best.

AFSA Sponsors Summer Intern at State

AFSA has once again collaborated with the Thursday Luncheon Group to support a minority college student for a 10-week internship at the Department of State. Established in 1992, this program has since brought 26 students to Washington, D.C., for an enriching professional experience.

This year's TLG intern, Camille Swinson, is a senior at Spelman College in Atlanta, Georgia, where she is pursuing a major in international studies and a minor in Spanish language. Camille will be the first TLG intern to work on the Brazil desk—just in time for a busy summer with the Rio Olympics.

Camille has a strong interest in international diplomacy and aspires to become a Foreign Service officer. She is passionate about gender-based human rights issues, as demonstrated by her past internships with DC Rape Crisis Center and Innocents at Risk.

This summer also marks the third year of collaboration between AFSA and the Hispanic Employees Council of the Foreign Affairs Agencies on a similar program benefitting a deserving minority student as they pursue an internship with the Department of State.

This year's HECFAA interns are in the final stages of the selection process; we look forward to introducing them to you in a future edition of AFSA News.

AFSA greatly appreciates its strong relationship with both HECFAA and TLG. Special thanks go to their respective leaders, Francisco Palmieri and Stacy Williams, as well as the very supportive staff in the Bureau of Human Resources' Office of Recruitment, Examination and Employment.

We look forward to providing similar opportunities for many more students in the future.

—Briar Blount, Communications Intern

COURTESY OF CAMILLE SWINSON

The Do's and Don'ts of the College Application Game

For young people, going to college involves making some of their first major life decisions. Here are some tips for Foreign Service high schoolers on how to get it right.

BY CLAIRE WEDDERIEN

The college application process is like the ultimate dating game. Every year a new batch of students puts themselves through the possibility of crushing rejection with hopes of finding acceptance with "the one."

It's an emotional and opaque process in which the student must also learn to live with the fact that the rules of the game are constantly changing. This year alone has seen the introduction of the new SAT, a rising interest in doing away with standardized test scores and even the creation of a new application process—the coalition application.

With the stakes so high, the Family Liaison Office interviewed two college counseling experts—Judy Bracken and Rebecca Grappo—in search of best practices for applying to college and a heads-up on the biggest mistakes Foreign Service kids make.

Judy Bracken has 17 years of experience in Falls Church and Fairfax County, Virginia, public schools as a college and career counselor, and currently works as a counselor for private clients. Rebecca Grappo is the founder of RNG International Consultants and specializes in helping parents make the right educational choices for their Third Culture Kids. She has also worked as a teacher internationally and domestically.

Both Grappo and Bracken are parents of Foreign Service kids, so they have been through the process themselves and understand the unique challenges FS kids face while attempting to untangle the college application process. Our discussion is the basis for the pointers to Foreign Service students heading into the college application process offered here.

Claire Wedderien is an education and youth specialist with the State Department's Family Liaison Office. She grew up in the Foreign Service.

Making Your College List

Don'ts

Creating a college list is stressful and demands a good deal of research and thought. To lessen the load, Judy Bracken has compiled the following list of factors that should be disregarded when making decisions.

She strongly suggests you do not pick a college "just because your parent(s) are alumni or because your boyfriend or girlfriend is attending."

She also recommends that you do not eliminate a school because of the climate, the location or the "off the shelf" costs. Deciding what college to attend is probably the first truly adult decision you will make, and you have to look at the larger picture of setting yourself up for success.

Becky Grappo notes that she too often sees TCKs making the mistake of "following the crowd." She sees students applying to the same 20 to 30 colleges as everyone in their high school.

According to the *Washington Post*, there are more than 5,000 post-secondary

institutions (over 2,000 offering four-year degrees) in the United States. Schools offer a wide variety of programs and services, and some will work for the type of student you are and others will not.

Do's

Choosing the right handful of schools is a mammoth task, but to narrow down your list, think about what Grappo terms your "unique needs."

Bracken suggests you "reflect on where your strengths and weaknesses lie. And also on what truly interests you. It's okay to have more than one interest." Grappo also encourages students to be honest with themselves and their parents about their interests and abilities.

A good way to start asking the right questions is by visiting colleges. Bracken recommends students visit all types of colleges including big, small, private, public, in-state and out-of-state, with an open mind.

This can obviously be difficult for Foreign Service families posted overseas. But college is a huge investment, and finding a college that is a good fit can ultimately save you money and mental anguish.

By visiting a variety of colleges, you can form a clear picture of what you want and also conduct the ultimate test—whether you can picture yourself living a happy, productive life at a particular school.

If it's not possible to visit a college you are interested in, try the following options: check whether the institution offers virtual tours, look for issues of the college newspaper online and search for student blogs that can help you form a realistic view of what that school has to offer.

Remember also to be realistic in terms of how likely you are to get into highly competitive schools. Even for straight "A" students with high standardized test scores, Ivy League universities and other top schools should always be considered "reach" schools because of the abundance of applications they receive.

Building Your Application

Don'ts

Don't pad your resumé with activities and clubs in which you did not actively participate. Grappo says that "students

should not think that they will be able to do it all, nor do colleges expect them to." Students can and do get caught padding their resumés, and no institution is looking to invest in a dishonest prospect.

Your ideal college should be the school that wants you for what you can honestly offer their community. The strongest applications tell a consistent story about who you are as a student and a member of a community.

Do's

Your options can be limited or may change depending on where your family is posted. But in Grappo's experience, "most schools have a variety of extracurricular activities [that] include athletics, visual and performing arts and academic interests." She suggests that you look at "depth, not breadth, when choosing how to spend [your] time."

Colleges want to know what you will bring to the campus in terms of passions and gifts. Grappo urges you to remember that being overseas provides you with other very special opportunities outside of school. "Think about getting involved in the bigger community and making a difference there, too."

If you must move during high school, Bracken reminds you, it's important to line up your recommendations at the end of junior year. "If you are heading to or from post in your rising senior summer, make sure to have those recommendations in hand before you get on the plane."

Expressing Interest

Don'ts

Don't try to demand special attention or favors from the admissions office. Don't ask about the status of your application before the announcement date, and do not expect someone to hold your hand through the process.

Recognize that your waiting period is the busiest time of year for admissions offices; rather than conveying enthusiasm, you are signaling a lack of independence and neediness with frequent queries.

This doesn't mean that you shouldn't ask questions and raise legitimate concerns. But do your research before contacting the college directly. At the very least, thoroughly consult the college

website for answers first.

Bracken also reminds students to never "apply Early Decision unless you are 100-percent certain that it is your first-choice school." Remember, applying ED means that you're legally bound to attend that school if you are accepted.

You can only apply ED to one school, so choose wisely. If you do not have a clear preference, resist the temptation to use this tool, or you may find yourself trapped into attending a school that is not your best fit.

Do's

Bracken does advocate for applying Early Action whenever possible. These applications are non-binding, and you can still give you a leg up in the numbers game. She also strongly recommends "making sure colleges know you have been on their campuses. Many schools keep a tally of the number of times you have demonstrated an interest in them."

Schedule an interview with an admissions officer or alumni volunteer (often available in your home city—even overseas) and sign up for the college's mailing list.

Bracken advises: "If you have a particular major in mind, it can be incredibly helpful to make an appointment to meet with a faculty member in that department when you visit, or via Skype if you are unable to visit. Be prepared to ask questions that cannot be found in existing school literature."

Writing Your Essay

Don'ts

Do not write a college essay that anyone else could write. Grappo warns all FS kids to "avoid writing the banal 'I am a citizen of the world because I am a TCK' essay." This sort of essay says little about who you are.

Think about what the college essay should accomplish: create a picture of who you are, as opposed to the empirical data (grade point average, test scores) you submit to the college.

Thousands of applicants can boast of spending part of their life overseas, but far fewer can articulate what they found meaningful or moving about the experience. Your college admissions office does not want to read an essay about your

understanding of geopolitical power struggles; they want to know about you.

In the same vein, Grappo cautions against allowing parents to overedit your essay: "Nothing is a bigger turnoff than reading an essay that has lost its 17-year-old voice and sounds like a middle-aged parent."

Do's

Write about a subject you are passionate about, a topic that can best highlight your writing abilities and personality. Ultimately, your essay will be judged on what you can reveal about yourself and how you articulate it.

"A good story is a great way to be remembered and shows the significance of having lived abroad," Grappo reminds students. "I tell students not to focus so much on the 'what' of what happened but more on the 'why' it's significant."

Answer the question or prompt given to you instead of what you wished they had asked. Usually schools try to keep the questions open to allow students to focus on what is important to them; remember to relate your essay back to the original prompt.

Both Bracken and Grappo remind you to start your college essays early. You will likely be writing more than one, and the drafting process is crucial to submitting the best essay possible.

Improving Your Odds

Don'ts

Don't assume that coming from a world-renowned high school will guarantee you a spot in an Ivy League university, even if you present an application with great extracurricular activities, high test scores and a strong grade point average. The odds will always be against you when applying to an exclusive school.

Bracken also cautions against relying on ratings like those compiled by *U.S. News & World Report* to select colleges. The factors that go into ranking colleges, such as acceptance rates, might not be relevant to the quality of the education you will receive.

Do's

Bracken urges students to consider admission statistics relative to their geography when determining how likely

they are to get into a school. For example, to get into the University of Virginia, a student from one of the northern counties will need a significantly higher GPA and test scores than an applicant from the southern counties.

Colleges tend to group applications based on geography. The advantage of applying to colleges from an overseas school is that, in Grappo's words, "you can sometimes be a bigger fish in a smaller pond, making it easier for your application to stand out from a crowd; whereas it can be much harder to stand out in a competitive suburban school in the United States, especially if a lot of other students in that area are applying to the same colleges."

Applying Early Action can be another way to get admissions officers to view your application in a smaller pool of applicants, as fewer students submit EA applications.

Another way to potentially improve your application, Bracken suggests, is to "take both the SAT (with the optional essay portion) and the ACT (with the optional writing test), since you may do significantly better on one or the other."

Keep in mind, she notes, that for both tests, you have the option to choose the best test scores you wish to forward to colleges. There isn't a downside to hedging your bets when it comes to standardized testing.

Affording College

Don'ts

Bracken recommends against discounting a school because of cost. At the same time, don't dismiss the need to consider how you're going to pay for college. When looking at scholarships, do not look only at opportunities that would cover your entire tuition.

Such large grants and scholarships tend to be the most competitive. You are much more likely to find several smaller grants that can help keep college costs down.

Do's

Do talk to your parents about what you can expect in terms of financial help from your family. Bracken suggests that you

have a serious college budget discussion with them at the beginning of junior year. These conversations can be awkward, but they are essential to enabling you to finish college without any surprises.

Also, start your scholarship search early. Bracken believes students should "pursue scholarship opportunities as early as freshman year. Early scholarship opportunities do exist."

Use reputable online scholarship search engines to explore the wide variety of scholarship opportunities that exist, and remember to look at scholarships for specific colleges, as well.

Take the time to do your homework; scholarships are offered based on background, needs, merit and participation in an activity or other affiliation. You may be surprised at the number of scholarships for which you are qualified to apply.

You should also apply for scholarships that are offered specifically to FS dependents through the American Foreign Service Association, the Foreign Service Youth Foundation and the Associates of the American Foreign Service Worldwide.

Remember, too, it is essential that parents file all of the required financial assistance materials by the deadline posted for each college, including the Free Application for Federal Student Aid, or FAFSA.

No Guarantees

Unfortunately, there are no guarantees in love or in the college application process. You can do everything right, and you might still be rejected or waitlisted.

All you can do is submit your best application, the one that truly represents who you are and what you want out of the college experience. The truth is that whatever school you end up attending will have more to teach you than you can possibly learn.

Also, the odds that you will get into one of your chosen schools are in your favor—79 percent of colleges accept over half of the students that apply. The "right school" is the school that can best support you in creating the future you envision for yourself.

For more information and resources on the college application process, visit FLO's College & Beyond Webpage: www.state.gov/m/dghr/flo/c21958.htm or email FLOAskEducation@state.gov.

SCHOOLS AT A GLANCE

Go to our webpage at www.afsa.org/education

School	Page Number	Enrollment	Gender Distribution M/F	Percent Boarding	Percent Int'l.	Levels Offered	AP/IB◆	TABS common application	Accept ADD/LD	Miles to Int'l. Airport	International Students Orientation	Holiday Break Coverage◆◆	Annual Tuition, Room & Board
ELEMENTARY													
Grace Episcopal School	91	116	51/49	NA	NA	PS-5	NA	NA	NA	3	NA	Y	19,230
ELEMENTARY/JUNIOR HIGH													
Hampshire Country School	98	25	All boys	100	5	3-9	N/N	N	Y	65	N	N	57,500
Indian Mountain School	70	250	50/50	37	12	PK-9	N/N	Y	Y	52	N	N	56,970
Langley School, The	72	470	50/50	NA	NA	PS-8	NA	N	N	15	NA	NA	15,090-34,570
ELEMENTARY/JUNIOR/SENIOR HIGH													
Basis Independent McLean	68	300	varies	NA	NA	PK-12	Y/N	N	Limited	14	N	N	22,000-25,500
Bolles School, The	64	1,636	51/49	6	7	PK-12, PG	Y/N	Y	Y	23	Y	N	46,830
Hockaday School, The	71	1,098	All girls	7	55	PK-12	Y/N	Y	Y	20	Y	Y	50,026-51,333
Masters School	74	670	52/48	35	14	5-12	Y	Y	N		Y	N	59,500
Saint Andrew's School	67	1,285	50/50	18		PK-12	Y/Y	Y	Y/Y	30	Y	N	53,230
St. George's School	100	1,150	All boys	14	10	G1-12	Y	Y	Limited	7	Y	N	45,000
JUNIOR HIGH/SENIOR HIGH													
Cortona Academy of Science, Technology & the Arts	72	60	50/50	5	25	7-12, GAP	Y/Y	N	Y/Y	4	Limited	Y	25,000[a]
Grier School	97	310	All girls	85	45	7-12	Y/N	Y	Y	120	Y	N	51,700
Hargrave Military Academy	96	220	All boys	92	12	7-12, PG	Y/N	N	N	76	Y	N	32,800
Shattuck - St. Mary's School	87	475	60/40	75	27	6-12, PG	Y/N	Y	Y	43	Y	N	46,800
Southwestern Academy	75	160	60/40	75	75	6-12, PG	Y	Y	Limited	27	Y	Y	39,900
St. Margaret's School	97	135	All girls	80	30	8-12	Y/N	Y	Limited	50	Y	Y	47,900

[a] Sibling discount [b] Financial aid available [c] Dollar value subject to exchange rate [d] Aid for federal employees [e] Dual college enrollment
◆ Advanced Placement/International Baccalaureate ◆◆ Dec. 25-Jan. 1 NA, not applicable

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SENIOR HIGH													
Asheville School	65	285	50/50	80	19	9-12	Y/N	Y	N	42	Y	Y	51,735
Buffalo Seminary	96	225	All girls	23	20	9-12, PG	Y/N	Y	Limited	9	Y	N	48,250
Darrow School	74	125	50/50	80	25	9-12	N	Y	Limited	38	Y	Y	56,100[b]
Forman School	66	218	61/39	87	13	9-12, PG	Y/Y	Y	Y	42	Y	Y	70,555
Fountain Valley School of Colorado	79	240	50/50	70	26	9-12	Y/N	Y	N	75	Y	N	52,700
Kimball Union Academy	83	340	55/45	70	20	9-12, PG	Y/N	Y	Y	125	Y	Y	56,000
Lake Forest Academy	89	435	50/50	50	25	9-12	Y/N	Y	Limited	21	Y	Y	55,500
Madeira School	99	315	All girls	55	16	9-PG	Y/N	Y	Y	12	Y	Limited	58,158
Phillips Academy	87	1,131	50/50	74	10	9-12, PG	Y/N	N	Limited	26	Y	N	52,100[b]
Salem Academy	93	172	All girls	57	25	9-12	Y/N	Y	N	25	Y	Y	45,060
Salisbury School	98	308	All boys	94	23	9-12, PG	Y/N	Y	Y/N	100	Y	Limited	58,100
St. Mark's School	84	360	53/47	75	21	9-12	N/N	Y	N	30	N	N	57,500
St. Timothy's School	99	200	All girls	70	30	9-12, PG	N/Y	Y	Limited	19	Y	Limited	53,900
Woodberry Forest School	94	385	All boys	100	10	9-12	Y/N	Y	N	73	Y	N	53,500
OVERSEAS													
Berlin Brandenburg International School	73	700	50/50	20	65	K-12	N/Y	N	Y	15	Y	N	43,000[c]
Carlsbad International School	77	80	55/45	90	95	9-12	N/Y	Y	Y/Limited	74	Y	Y	34,000
Frankfurt International School	73	1,800	50/50	0	80	K-12	N/Y	N	Limited	19	Y	N	19,860-24,340
International School Frankfurt-Rhein-Main	88	900	50/50	NA	72	PK-12	Y/Y	N	N	6	Y	N	13,000-20,600
Jakarta Intercultural School	85	2,500	50/50	NA	85	PK-12	Y/Y	N	Limited	24	Y	N	19,500-32,100
John F. Kennedy School Berlin	75	1,680	50/50	NA	50	K-12	Y/N	N	Limited	15	Y	N	None

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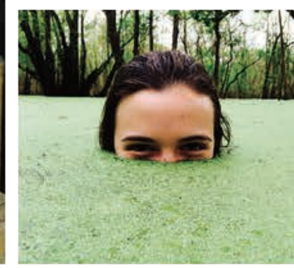


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SCHOOLS AT A GLANCE

Go to our webpage at www.afsa.org/education

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OVERSEAS CONTINUED													
Leysin American School in Switzerland	83	340	50/50	100	80	7-12, PG	N/Y	Y	Limited	75	Y	N	88,000[d]
St. Stephen's School	86	274	47/53	14	61	9-12, PG	Y/Y	N	N	12	Y	N	36,800[c]
TASIS, The American School in England	81	740	50/50	27	40	PK-12	Y/Y	N	Limited	8	Y	N	57,600[d]
TASIS, The American School in Switzerland	81	730	50/50	36	75	PK-12, PG	Y/Y	Limited	Limited	40	Y	N	83,500[d]
MILITARY													
Wentworth Military Academy & College	90	319	64/36	95	40	9-12, 13-14[e]	Y/Y	Y	Limited	58	Y	N	32,000
SPECIAL NEEDS													
Gow School, The	71	150	91-9	90	33	7-12, PG	NA	N	Y	20	Y	Y	63,600

DISTANCE LEARNING

School	Page Number	Description
Texas Tech University Independent School District	69	Flexible kindergarten through 12th grade educational opportunities, accredited by the Texas Education Agency (TEA). Meets the same rigorous standards as traditional brick-and-mortar schools. Assignments are graded by experienced, Texas-certified teachers. TTUISD is nationally ranked and "Best in Texas," according to 2016 Best College Reviews.
Stanford Online High School	63	Enrollment is 650, with a male/female gender distribution of 49/51. State Department covers tuition. ohs.stanford.edu. WASC Accredited, diploma-granting independent school (7-12). Global and academically motivated student body, American college-preparatory education. Advanced Academic program (AP and university-level courses). Student services and vibrant student life.

ORGANIZATIONS & SERVICES

Organization	Page Number	Description
AAFSW	90	Associates of the American Foreign Service Worldwide. Publisher of *Raising Kids in the Foreign Service*. A volunteer organization that supports Foreign Service employees, spouses, partners and members of household. www.aafsw.org
FLO	85	Family Liaison Office. Information and resources for Foreign Service families. Contact FLOAskEducation@state.gov www.state.gov/m/dghr/flo/c1958.htm
FSYF	88	Foreign Service Youth Foundation. A support network for U.S. Foreign Service youth worldwide. www.fsyf.org
The Prep Advantage	91	The Prep Advantage offers premier, independent, online one-on-one educational services, academic tutoring and test preparation. Tutoring for academics: AP, IB. Tutoring for standardized tests: TOEFL, SAT, ACT. Help with Common App., essays and much more.
Western Connecticut Boarding Schools Assoc.	95	The Western Connecticut Boarding Schools Association (WCBS) is a consortium of 14 independent boarding and day schools in western Connecticut offering a rigorous college-prep foundation.

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Applying to Boarding School: Lessons Learned

Boarding schools are a very important option for FS children. Here are some tips on applying.

BY JOHN F. KROTZER

The reasons Foreign Service parents choose the boarding school route are as varied as the students themselves: unsuitable schooling at post, special needs support, gifted student opportunities and the need for stability have all been regularly cited.

In my conversations with these parents, one thing that most have in common is that boarding school was not part of their child's long-term education plan. Something happened, and suddenly boarding school was an option they needed to evaluate quickly!

Such was the case with us when we learned in 2014 that our next post was going to be Beijing. While the international schools there look great, the requisite language program my wife would enter meant that our oldest daughter would end up attending three different schools during her last three years of high school—a very unappealing proposition to any teenager.

We jointly decided that boarding school in the United States would be the best option for her, and I began to quickly learn as much as I could about the process.

I spoke with the State Department's Family Liaison Office and the Office of Allowances, and I networked with as many boarding school parents as I could find. (The Facebook page "AAFSW Boarding School Parents," for which I am an administrator, was unfortunately not yet in existence, but is now a great network and resource.) I also did a lot of research online, particularly about the application process and about college placement by the schools that interested our daughter.

Ultimately, she applied to five schools in New England, interviewed on campus at each of them, and waited patiently. We were very optimistic, as she was an honor student with great grades, very strong test scores and lots of extracurricular success.

To our surprise, she was admitted to only one school and waitlisted at the other four. Despite all of our research, we discovered a number of key things about the boarding school application process too late. As a result, we experienced several "aha" moments—some good, and some not so good—over things we really wish we had known about earlier.

While some of these discoveries are more relevant to students applying to so-called "elite" schools in the United States, several are applicable to all types of boarding schools worldwide. I hope a few of these lessons will be helpful to those in the Foreign Service thinking about boarding school in the future.

"Need-Blind" vs. "Need-Aware"

We have all heard how most colleges are "need-blind" in admissions, mean-

John F. Krotzer is a Foreign Service family member and, most recently, the community liaison officer at Consulate Mumbai. He and his family are heading to Beijing for their next posting.

Regardless of "need-aware" admissions, do not assume you will not get financial aid!

ing that a student's financial need is not considered when an admission decision is made. It is easy to assume this would be the same at boarding schools—many of which look like college campuses—but that would be a mistake. Most boarding schools are "need-aware," and if you do apply for financial aid, that will be taken into account when deciding whether to admit your child or not.

In fact, I discovered that many boarding schools provide no financial aid whatsoever to 75 percent of their students. Several people outside of the Foreign Service I spoke with said that they purposely did not apply for aid so as to improve their child's chance for admission. Given this, Foreign Service families posted in locations with large education allowances or with children who qualify for SNEA funds have an advantage, because these may be sufficient to cover all of the school's fees.

For us, applying for financial aid was a necessity because no education allowance is paid while on temporary duty at the Foreign Service Institute. I did, however, make it clear in the application process—both verbally and in writing—that we would have a larger educational allowance the next year (when posted in Beijing). I am not sure if this helped, but it definitely didn't hurt.

Financial Aid *Does* Exist

Regardless of "need-aware" admissions, do not assume you will not get financial aid! Many schools have huge endowments, and every school admissions office we spoke with talked about attracting more students with a "global perspective." As already mentioned, many schools offer financial aid to up to 25 percent of students; and, on average, that assistance amounts to about 75 percent of

Of course grades matter. But in the case of boarding school, the grade you enter also matters. A lot!

tuition, room and board. That can be a lot of money.

Like colleges, most boarding schools use a third-party service (School & Student Services by the National Association of Independent Schools, or SSS by NAIS) that calculates what a family can afford. The school uses this information to determine what, if any, financial aid to offer.

Although only admitted to one school, our daughter was offered grants that amounted to a large percentage of tuition, room, board and books. It was a lot more than I thought she would get, and was more generous than the financial aid service calculation of our need. I think this was the only nice surprise we had in the process!

Grade (and Grades) Matter

Of course grades matter. But in the case of boarding school, the grade you enter also matters. A lot!

Many boarding schools only have grades nine through 12; and, in addition to not accepting any new seniors, their available spots for admission drop substantially after freshman year. In other words, it is easier to be admitted as a freshman than as a sophomore, and is much easier to be admitted as a freshman or sophomore than as a junior.

To give you an idea of what this looks like, I asked an admissions counselor at my daughter's school about the number of students admitted by grade each spring. Roughly speaking, this is the breakdown:

- 100 freshmen
- 30 sophomores
- 12 juniors

The counselor added that these proportions are representative of most


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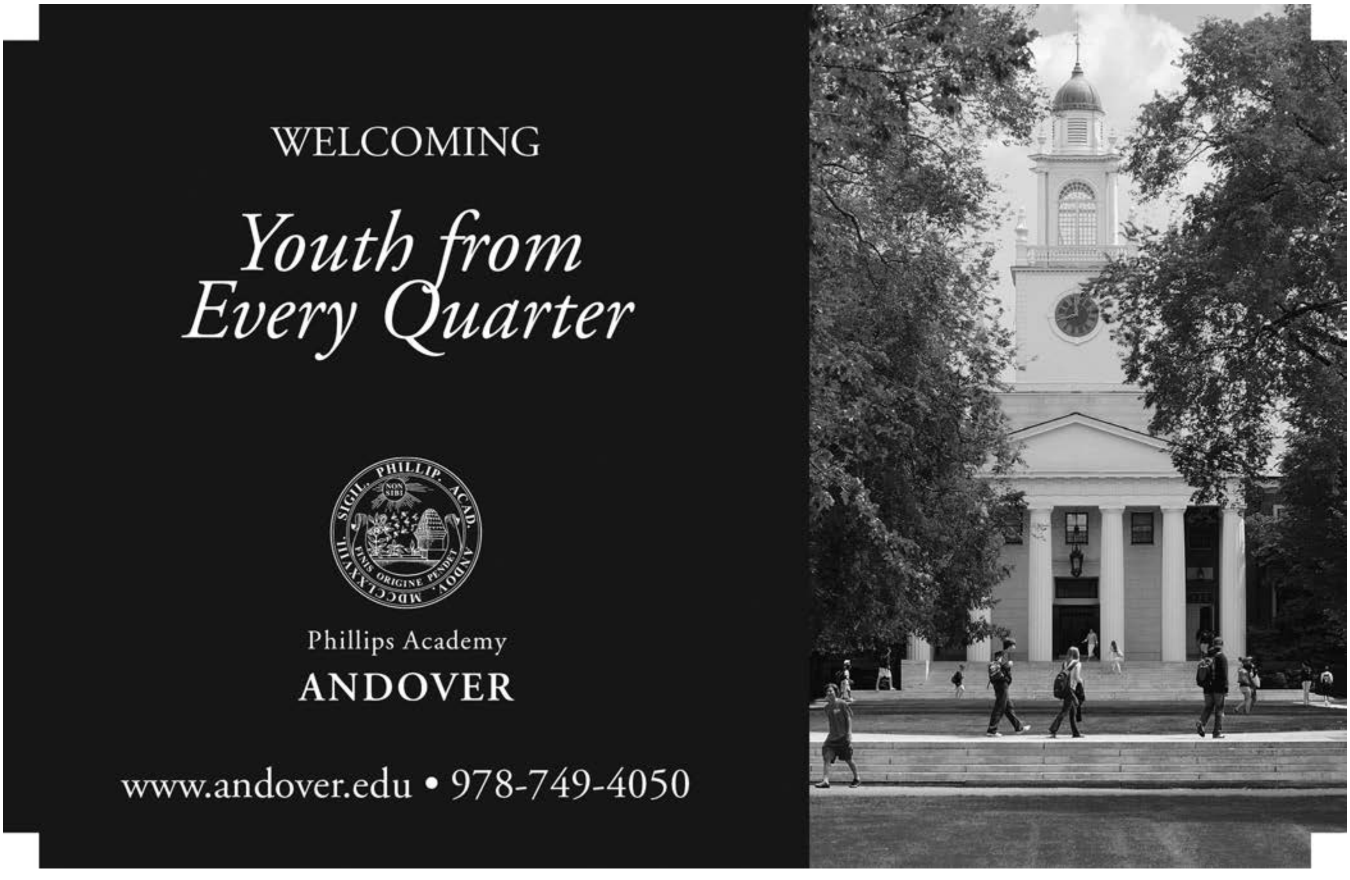
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Keep in mind that the Office of Allowances will not pay for an extra year of tuition unless your child is formally held back.

boarding schools.

This reality leads many people to consider having their child repeat a grade to improve their chances for admission. In fact, when visiting boarding schools, you will find many students whose first year of boarding school was a repeat of their last year of public or parochial school.

This can seem like an appealing option—after all, who doesn't think their kid could use an extra year of maturing? But keep in mind that the Office of Allowances will not pay for an extra year of tuition unless your child is formally held back. The rules for this are very specific, and rather than repeat them here, anyone considering this option should reach out to the Office of Allowances directly for the latest guidance.

There is another factor that can also come into play at some of the more elite boarding schools—athletics. Boarding schools that are competitive in sports may also be recruiting to fill open spots on their teams, and for sports like football, they may be targeting sophomores or juniors who are bigger and faster than their freshman counterparts. That further reduces the number of available openings to upperclassmen.

Our daughter applied to all five schools as a rising junior. Two of the schools that waitlisted her told me directly that she would have been admitted had she applied as a sophomore. Furthermore, the school she was admitted to accepted 11 juniors: two bright young women, and nine young men recruited for football or ice hockey!

College Counseling & Placement

Many boarding schools, for better or for worse, pride themselves highly on their college placement results, which in most cases are focused primarily on U.S.-based

From the *FSJ* Education Supplement December 2014

The ABCs of Education Allowances

BY PAMELA WARD

Employees of government agencies assigned overseas are granted allowances to help defray the cost of an education for their children in kindergarten through 12th grade, one equivalent to that provided by public school systems in the United States.

In most cases, posts abroad are served by one or more English-language, American curriculum schools.

The allowances for a specific post are determined by the fees charged by a school identified as providing a basic U.S.-type education. Parents may use this allowance to send their children to a different school of their choice—say, a parochial or foreign-language institution. If the alternative school is more expensive than the "base" school, the difference would be an out-of-pocket expense for the parents.

An allowance covers only expenses for those services usually available without cost in American public schools, including tuition, transportation and textbooks.

Parents may also elect to homeschool their children while at post, using a home study program or a virtual online educational program. They will receive an allowance to purchase materials and services while posted abroad.

If a foreign country does not have a secular, English-language school with an American curriculum, or has such a school that goes only through certain grades, an away-from-post or "boarding school" allowance is provided.

The U.S. government does not provide an allowance for college or other post-secondary education.

There are several offices in the Department of State prepared to help you understand how the educational allowances work, and what choices you have for your children. These include the Office of Overseas Schools (www.state.gov/m/a/os), the Office of Allowances (www.state.gov/m/a/als) and the Family Liaison Office (www.state.gov/m/dghr/flo/c1958.htm).

We hope that you will get in touch with us if you have any questions about your situation. For information or assistance contact FLOAskEducation@state.gov or call (202) 647-1076.

Excerpts from an article by the same name by Pamela Ward, a former regional education officer in the State Department's Office of Overseas Schools. The complete article appears in the December 2014 FSJ.

There is another factor that can also come into play at some of the more elite boarding schools—athletics.

colleges and universities. They often have teams of counselors who meet regularly with students beginning in the junior year to identify each student's target universities and strategies to gain acceptance.

Many schools offer structured support in essay writing and SAT/ACT test preparation. This level of support may be helpful to many students, but can be especially vital to students with learning differences—or, as some of my friends have pointed out, "most teenage boys."

On top of this, many of the schools we looked at dedicate a weekend during junior year when parents are invited to campus and walked through the entire college counseling process.

Of course, not every student needs this. Some families are focused on specific schools or types of schools due to family legacy, religion or for some other reason, and those people may not need much college counseling at all. But if your child will need some counseling, and plans to attend university in the United States, there is little doubt they will get excellent assistance at a U.S.-based boarding school.

Each of the schools to which our daughter applied boasted excellent placement at top universities, which at the time was good enough for me. It wasn't until I attended a college counseling weekend at her school, met with her counselor and came home with the school's 85-page college counseling program guide that I realized just how organized and thorough their program is.

Location, Location, Location

When our daughter began looking at boarding schools, we limited her to ones in New England so that she would be somewhat close to family. It wasn't until after her fall break—when the school closed the dorms—that I fully realized how fortunate we were to have done this.

Boarding schools will often close their dorms during breaks, requiring kids to find alternative housing at those times. This is not a challenge for the average boarding school parent, who often lives within driving distance or is wealthy. But for Foreign Service families posted overseas, this can be difficult to manage.

Your child certainly won't have a car, and may not be old enough to use public transportation on their own. Once friendships develop, they may be able to stay with classmates, but that can take time. There should be a shuttle to the airport, but if you have to fly them to an available relative for school breaks, it can add up to four to six domestic flights per school year.

The bottom line is that parents need to identify when these breaks are, and have a plan in place for your child before you head overseas.

In our case, we had not put nearly enough thought into this in advance. Though our daughter was only admitted to one school, it happened to be in the same small town where her aunt lives. In addition, we are in the Washington, D.C., area this school year, so for longer breaks, we've had her come to us, a short flight.

More Information

If you are a Foreign Service family considering boarding school, I would strongly suggest that you join the group "AAFSW Boarding School Parents" on Facebook.

This is a place where you can ask questions of more than 100 current, past and prospective boarding school parents in the Foreign Service. By joining, you can also request a copy of the recently compiled list of boarding schools attended by FS kids.

Further, if you are concerned about your ability to find the right school for your child, consider employing an accredited independent educational consultant. Contact FLO, or ask on the "AAFSW Boarding School Parents" Facebook page, for recommendations.

Good luck! ■

All Girls, All Boys, All Good—The Benefits of Single-Sex Education

Once considered a vestige of the Victorian era, single-sex education is enjoying a resurgence.

BY MARYBETH HUNTER

Foreign Service parents strive to make the best educational choices for their children, whether in the United States or posted abroad. One option gaining attention is single-sex education, whether at post schools or at boarding schools, in the United States or abroad, in single classrooms or entire schools, from kindergarten through college.

Once considered a vestige of the Victorian era, single-sex education is currently gaining popularity. While the notion may call to mind images of stuffy institutions in idyllic settings, parents and students increasingly value such an education based on the knowledge that differences exist in the ways both boys and girls learn, and that teachers at single-sex schools tailor their teaching style and material to respond to those differences.

The benefits of single-sex education reveal themselves in a variety of ways. For instance, educators at single-sex schools have reported that students attending their schools demonstrate increased confidence in their abilities. Also, proponents of single-sex education argue that such confidence has impact beyond the academic arena by furthering social skills and strengthening future boy-girl relationships.

The common social pressures existing in coed environments are absent, enabling student development without potential distractions from the opposite sex.

Gender-Based Learning Support

Teachers have long been aware that learning styles among students can vary significantly. Research suggests that boys and girls might benefit more from divergent teaching styles that cater to their respective biological profiles.

Take listening skills, for instance: Boys often need to hear instructions at a higher volume of speech for increased comprehension. Likewise, research suggests that boys are more receptive to action-oriented, tactile presentations in the classroom. Another study indicates that, in general, boys are more vocal than girls on teams and prefer group work to independent study.

As for females, researchers find that girls learn better when the nuances of color, texture and smell are introduced. Girls reportedly perform better academically in a warmer classroom, while boys perform better in a classroom at least five degrees cooler than their female counterparts prefer.

In a single-sex setting, instructors can vary teaching methods to bring out the best in their students. When educators tailor their approach to boost academic success, this contributes to psychological and emotional success. That said, it is important to keep in mind that teachers may not always be trained properly to

Marybeth Hunter is the education and youth officer at the State Department's Family Liaison Office.

employ gender-specific teaching techniques effectively.

Boosting Self Esteem

Student self-esteem is a concern for parents and educators. Students in a single-sex environment are more likely to be open to various fields of study, and are less likely to be self-conscious or hesitant about trying out new areas of learning atypical for that gender. Structuring the classroom experience around this model allows the student to enjoy the learning experience more deeply.

In turn, students develop greater self-confidence, tackle more challenging or "out of the norm" courses of study, and engage more freely with peers and adults

Members of the FS Community Comment

"My experience … was liberating. I could shed all of the concerns that derive from dual sex environments while in the classroom, but assume my interest in a diverse social life when I chose to. It was all on my terms and that was a powerful dynamic for me."

—FSO, single-sex college graduate

"[Single-sex college] shaped who I am and better prepared me for the 'real world.' It made me strong and independent, and gave me confidence in my intelligence and abilities."

—FS student, single-sex college graduate

"It brought a different type of focus in the classroom, as well as fostering an environment that encourages girls to be more vocal and participate in class."

—FS student, single-sex high school graduate

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The Western Connecticut Boarding Schools Association (WCBS) is a consortium of independent boarding and day schools in western Connecticut offering a rigorous college-prep foundation.

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in classroom discussions. Finally, studies show that single-sex education encourages students to develop their own interests and take advantage of leadership opportunities regardless of their gender.

According to *New York Times* writer Elizabeth Weil, administrators at single-sex schools report "fewer discipline issues, more parental support and higher test scores in reading, writing, and math" than their coed counterparts.

Single-sex schools also reduce social and peer pressure, which has been intensified in recent years by social media. In some cases, removing the presence of girls allows boys to knuckle down and work on their own. Conversely, removing the presence of boys can help girls become more vocal when engaging with peers because they no longer feel intimidated and are less self-conscious.

Smashing Stereotypes

Eliminating gender stereotypes in the classroom has demonstrable advantages, especially in closing achievement gaps. According to Sara Sykes, the director of admissions at Westover School (an all-girl's school in Middlebury, Connecticut), students at single-sex schools are "more likely to pursue a wider range of fields of study especially in science, technology, engineering and mathematics."

Ms. Sykes points to a recent National Coalition of Girls' Schools study, which reported: "When rating their computer skills, 36 percent of graduates of independent girls' schools consider themselves strong students compared to 26 percent of their coed peers. In addition, 48 percent of girls' school alumnae rate themselves great at math versus 37 percent for girls in coed schools. In fact, three times as many alumnae of girls' schools plan to become engineers."

Likewise, a 2003 study in *Psychology of Men and Masculinity* indicated that boys from single-sex schools were more than twice as likely to pursue interests in subjects such as art, music, drama and foreign languages compared with boys at coed schools.

However, some researchers caution that single-sex education is detrimental to the academic, social and behavioral development of a child because it can lead to even greater gender discrimination and difficulty relating to the opposite sex as adults.

Developing Diversity

Educational experts argue that diversity is an important consideration in building a quality educational experience. While one might think that homogeneity is fostered in single-sex schools, diversity is often woven into such environments via hiring choices and extracurricular opportunities.

At the all-boys' Salisbury School in Salisbury, Connecticut, Director of Admissions Peter Gilbert reports that students are constantly exposed to perspectives other than their own through coed opportunities in leadership and commu-

Continued on page 100

Resources

Articles

- Anderson, Melinda (2015). **The Resurgence of Single-Sex Education: The Benefits and Limitations of Schools that Segregate Based on Gender.** *Atlantic Monthly.*
- Gonchar, Michael (2014). **Does Separating Boys and Girls Help Students Perform Better in School?** *The New York Times.*
- Morrison, Nick (2014). **Single-Sex Education Belongs in the 21st Century.** *Forbes Magazine.*
- Novotny, Amy (2011). **Coed versus Single-Sex Ed.** *Journal of the American Psychological Association,* Vol. 2, No. 2, p. 58.
- Weil, Elizabeth (2008). **Teaching Boys and Girls Separately.** *New York Times Magazine.*

Books

- ***Boys and Girls Learn Differently! A Guide for Teachers and Parents*** 2nd Edition (Jossey-Bass, 2010) by Michael Gurian (Author), Kathy Stevens (Contributor)
- ***A Gendered Choice: Designing and Implementing Single-Sex Programs and Schools*** (Corwin, 2009) by David W. Chadwell
- ***The Separation Solution?: Single-Sex Education and the New Politics of Gender Equality*** (University of California Press, 2016) by Juliet A. Williams
- ***Single-Sex Schools: A Place to Learn*** (Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2015) by Cornelius Riordan
- ***Single-Sex versus Coeducational Schooling*** (CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2014) by U.S. Department of Education
- ***Why Gender Matters: What Parents and Teachers Need to Know about the Emerging Science of Sex Differences*** (Harmony, 2006) by Leonard Sax, M.D., Ph.D.

Websites

- International Boys' Schools Coalition (IBSC) **– www.theibsc.org**
- National Coalition of Girls' Schools (NCGS) **– www.ncgs.org**

Continued from page 97

nity service, as well as daily interactions with opposite-sex school staff members.

Conversely, at girls' schools, male staff members are often role models, allowing for a relatively mature dialog to occur with the opposite gender and facilitating a mentoring relationship.

The crucial point is that faculty, staff and families at single-sex schools realize that they are all educating students to succeed in an increasingly diverse and complex world. The overall setting may be single-sex, but the perspective is decidedly not one-dimensional.

Single-Sex Education at Post

Some Foreign Service parents have already chosen the single-sex education path for their children. Department of State employee Katherine Lawson and her husband Nestor Sainz weighed all of their options carefully before choosing the all-girl San Silvestre School for their daughter Isabella when their family was posted in Lima, Peru.

"For me, one of the most important aspects of the all-girl learning environment was that by holding the students to high expectations in all areas—math, science, computers, art, poetry, language and physical education—the school broke down gender stereotypes," says Katherine

"The school seemed to get Isabella's needs right away and worked with her directly to chart her course of becoming an independent lifelong learner. The seeds of independence and confidence sown in those early years are already starting to take root and flourish now that she is a teenager."

Know Your Student

Despite the many benefits of single-sex education, educators and researchers agree that not every student will thrive in a single-sex environment. Every student is different. Parents are encouraged to evaluate the talents and needs of their own children to determine if the single-sex setting suits those needs.

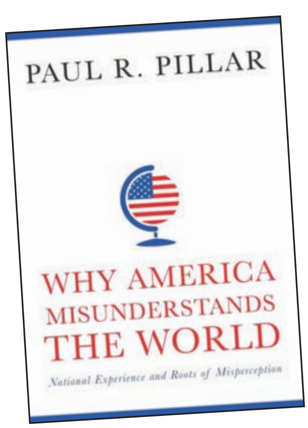
Foreign Service families looking to discuss the variety of educational options available should contact the Family Liaison Office Education and Youth team at FLOAskEducation@state.gov. ■

A Dubious Exceptionalism

Why America Misunderstands the World: National Experience and Roots of Misperception
Paul R. Pillar, Columbia University Press, 2016, $29.95/hardcover, $28.99/eBook, 224 pages.
Reviewed By Gordon S. Brown

This book should be required reading for all presidential candidates. In it, academic and former intelligence official Paul Pillar explores the numerous reasons why Americans' perspectives about the world and foreign policy have developed very differently from those of other nations.

More importantly, he has then shown how our very American view of the world, and our role in it, has led us to a wide range of analytical and tactical misperceptions about other nations' motivations and behavior—and consequent misperceptions and misguided conventional wisdom about what our own policy responses should be. The list is appallingly broad.



To hyper-condense Pillar's careful analysis, his basic argument is that our continental security; our largely successful economic and social history; our democratic, optimistic and religious ethos; and our success in the occasional wars that we have fought have combined to give Americans a very particular and inaccurate view of the world.

We also ignore, he posits, the geopolitical insecurity of other nations, their different social and ethnic tensions, their histories of conflict and their greater understanding of the necessity for give and take in diplomatic competition. The result has been a very particular American world view: one that is insular, moralistic, righteous and given to seeing international competition as a series of win-lose struggles in which we fight foreign evils.

Pillar has skewered the conventional wisdom on a host of issues where our misperceptions of the threat, the motivations of others or even of our own national interest have led to flawed policies.

In short, we don't get it, and don't understand why our actions sometimes backfire.

Many of the points and illustrations made by Pillar will not be unfamiliar to the foreign policy aficionados or wonks likely to read this journal. A seasoned and respected foreign affairs analyst, Pillar has skewered the conventional wisdom on a host of issues where our misperceptions of the threat, the motivations of others or even of our own national interest have led to flawed policies.

His own regional experience and frustration show through; there are few Asian examples, for example, but a plethora of critiques about our misunderstandings about Middle Eastern sociopolitical realities and our consequent errors.

Foreign policy practitioners who have seen their carefully analyzed draft memoranda bled down to a set of oversimplified and "foreigner-free" policy options will surely sympathize with Pillar's presentation, but find no solace in his conclusion that the analysts are almost invariably ignored anyway when the policy decisions are made.

It would be nice to think that, if our presidential candidates actually were to read this book, it could in some way change the attitudes and perceptions about foreign affairs that we have been hearing for the past months.

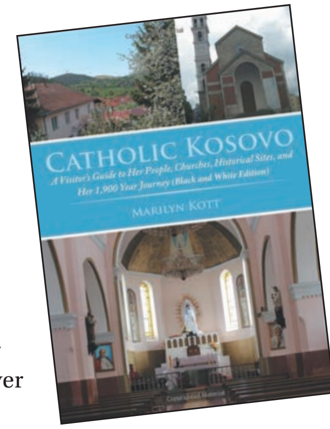
Gordon S. Brown retired in 1996 after a 35-year career in the Foreign Service, during which he specialized in Middle East and economic issues. His last postings were as deputy chief of mission in Tunis, POLAD to CENTCOM during the First Gulf War and ambassador to Mauritania. Since retirement, he has turned to writing, mainly 19th-century history, and has published six books. He is a member of the FSJ Editorial Board.

Melting Pot of Empires and Cultures: A Unique Guidebook

Catholic Kosovo
Marilyn Kott, Lulu Press Inc., 2016, $38.49/paperback, $5.99/eBook, 162 pages. Also available at Barnesandnoble.com, Amazon.com and iTunes.
Reviewed By Douglas E. Morris

The Balkans is an amazing region that has been almost completely overlooked by tourism. Nowhere is this more evident than in Kosovo, a landlocked nation seemingly trapped in time, surrounded by Montenegro, Serbia, Albania, Macedonia and Bulgaria.

Kosovo's Ottoman past is well known, but less apparent are the deep roots of Catholicism that continue to flourish there today. *Catholic Kosovo*, by the spouse of the former military attaché to U.S. Embassy Pristina, Marilyn Kott, helps us uncover those roots.



Don't let the title of the book fool you. Kosovo's major ethnic groups and religions are all so entwined that this book is not just about Catholicism's significant role in this predominantly Muslim society; it is also a one-of-a-kind guide to some amazing out-of-the-way places all over the country.

Kosovo was a crossroads of trade before, during and after the Roman Empire planted its flag in the ancient city of Ulpiana, just outside the modern-day capital, Pristina. The Roman ruins there are mesmerizing in their simplicity as they reveal Christianity's ancient connection to this timeless country. The graves of the second-century Christian martyrs Florus and Laurus, for example, were recently unearthed in the ruins of the cathedral in Ulpiana.

Kott traveled the length and breadth of the country, broke bread with traditional villagers, met with Catholic clergy and immersed herself in the culture and history of Europe's newest nation.

Kosovo also straddled the border between the two competing parts of the ancient world, Rome and Constantinople. The country was a thriving mining and trade center when Byzantium emerged from the ashes of the Eastern Roman empire, and for centuries remained a frontier of the Ottoman empire, acting as a buffer between it and the Austro-Hungarian world.

Kosovo is a melting pot of empires and cultures, and *Catholic Kosovo* reveals all of that and more. Compiled and edited with care by Ms. Kott, who lived in Kosovo for over two years while her husband worked at the U.S. embassy, the book was researched by the author and a committed cadre of local writers.

Kott traveled the length and breadth of the country, broke bread with traditional villagers, met with Catholic clergy and immersed herself in the culture and history of Europe's newest nation. She and her fellow contributors provide the reader with detailed information on more than 50 sites of historical or cultural interest, along with more than 80 photographs and diagrams to help readers plan a visit.

"I think that anyone interested in history will find Kosovo's Catholic influence a fascinating lens through which to view the region," explains Marilyn. "The people have experienced a lot over the centuries, and the result is a remarkable history and culture, shaped by many influences."

During her sojourn in Kosovo Kott was also active in creating and assisting a variety of nongovernmental organizations that serve the local and Mission communities in Pristina, receiving the annual AAFSW-Secretary of State's Award for Outstanding Volunteerism Abroad for this work. She has arranged that all profits from her book go to charities in the country.

Kosovo was, and remains today, a crossroads of history. It is a fascinating country to visit and explore, and there is no better guide to helping make that happen than *Catholic Kosovo*. Best of all, profits from its sale—every single penny—go to charities in Kosovo.

The author can be reached at MarilynKott@outlook.com.

Douglas E. Morris is the partner of an FSO, living with her in Turkey, Brussels and Kosovo. He is the author of 11 books, including the travel books Made Easy Travel Guides to Italy *(https://sites.google.com/site/madeeasytravelguidestoitaly/) and* Open Road's Best of Italy *(www.BestofItalyGuide.com).*

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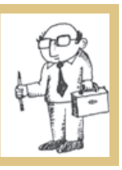

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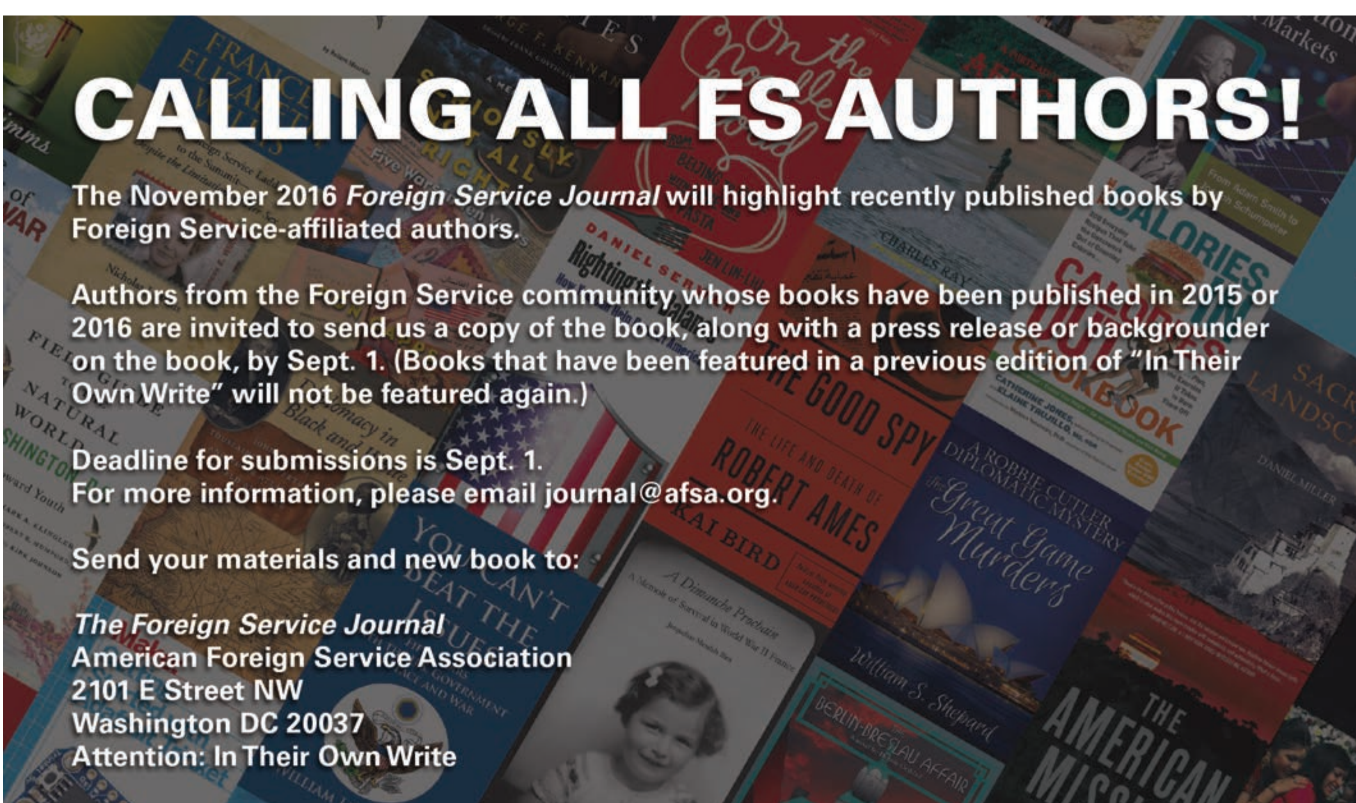

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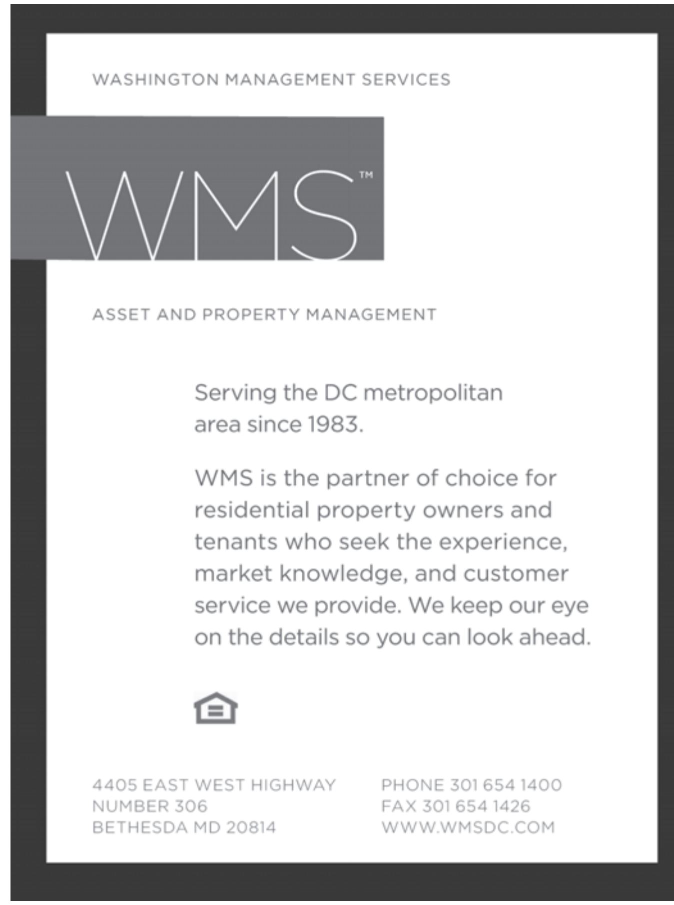

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BY ALDA KAUFFELD ■ JORDAN

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Alda Kauffeld is a Foreign Service spouse posted in Amman, Jordan. As an eligible family member, she works as residential security coordinator at the embassy. The Kauffeld family has served in Kenya, Sri Lanka, Ghana and Jordan. A professional photographer, Ms. Kauffeld was the winner of the National Photography Awards contest in 2009, and recipient of the "Best in Show" award for the 50th Art in Embassies "Through Their Eyes" worldwide Defense Department and State Department Photography Contest in 2012.