FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

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October 1990

DIPLOMACY AND THE ENVIRONMENT

SIR NICHOLAS HENDERSON ON AMERICA

A GOODBYE TO THE GDR BY MARK A. EPSTEIN

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AFSA Views

Corridor Talk

Apart from a collection of stories by Lawrence Durrell, what is *esprit de corps*? If you think the reply is self-evident, try getting a common definition from 10 Foreign Service people. If your research leads to the same results as ours, you'll find that the Foreign Service: a) still has *esprit de corps;* b) lost it; c) never had it; or d) none of the above.

For the purposes of argument, we will advance several theses:

1. *Esprit de corps* has little to do with pay and allowances.

2. Foreign Service *esprit* peaks at times of adversity, such as the Iran hostage crisis, and declines when the service as a whole is least challenged.

3. Quite apart from situations of adversity—which at this writing we pray earnestly won't persist in Iraq and Kuwait—there are some things that AFSA can do to improve *esprit.*

One is the outreach program that we began last year to bring in business partners and improve links with like-minded non-profit organizations. Another that we are working on is to offer an opportunity for active and retired Foreign Service people and their spouses to get together socially at least once a year. We are planning a dinner-dance around Foreign Service Day in the first week of May next year, and AFSA member Herb Levin is now setting up organizing committees to prepare for it. You will hear more as plans develop.

Another effort we would like to stimulate is improving the inner appearance of the building that State, AID, and ACDA principally occupy. NSC observer David Miller touched a responsive chord in July when he counseled us to "get control" of our building (see *AFSA News, page 56*).

Miller wasn't suggesting a coup, and the building is in adequate *physical* shape anyway. Ivan Selin is quick to note that the walls are painted, the floor polished, and the cafeteria newly refurbished.

What has been lacking for as long as we can remember, almost certainly since the building was first occupied in the 1940s, is any sign in those Kafkaesque corridors that there is intelligent life within. What an irony that on the eighth floor, where distinguished visitors come, Clem Conger over the years put together one of the finest exhibits of Americana in the country. Some of this finery extends to the secretary's suite, but from the seventh floor on down, where many of us spend half our working lives, there is . . . *nothing.* Only an occasional lobby display put out by public affairs, usually again for visiting VIPs.

Are we destined to be ciphers behind gray (or occasionally peppermint-striped) walls? The answer is no. Look at the Pentagon, where real people have taken control of some of those caverns measureless to man. There is a medal of honor display, for instance, plus ship models, photos, paintings, etc. Why not at State? Why limit our memorabilia to the museum that Association for Diplomatic Studies President Tom Boyatt is promoting at the new Foreign Service Institute campus?

"No funds," comes back predictably across the bow. But do we need a line item? How about just encouraging each bureau to use local means and do its own thing? The department's secretaries do a splendid job decorating doors each year at Christmas. How about bureau-wide efforts to make the corridors memorable all year round? Just as examples, OES might decide to do an Antarctic photo exhibit; ARA a memorial series on officials who fell victim to terrorist action; EUR a photo series on elections in Eastern Europe, and so on.

We hope that management will endorse this AFSA proposal, and that the director general will recommend it to executive directors and to other agencies in his regular meetings with them. If the idea of bringing our corridors to life takes hold, we think it could help improve *esprit.* It might even do something for our public relations. ***—Ted Wilkinson***

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Cover: *Preserving the Earth's fragile ecology is a task on which governments and industry must cooperate. This month, the JOURNAL features reports from AFSA's June conference on "American Business and the Global Environment." Virginia artist Henry Cole did the acrylic cover illustration and the pen-and-ink drawings on pages 23-35.*

Letters

Foreign Service Park

To the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL:

An article signed by the president of our association ["Views," July JOURNAL] complains about the homeless in the Foreign Service Park. These poor people aren't even in the same category as our man not in Ulan Bator [see July "Clippings"]—they have no housing, suitable or not. My heart cried out for those delicate souls who turn away to avoid the park en route to "their club." As a former desk officer, I share the worry of today's desk officers who have to steer their VIPs around the corner to avoid the place where Willie the Wolfman had the nerve to die. How bitterly sad that Mitch Snyder is no longer around: he'd have chewed the association across one side and down the other. Shame, shame.

Beauveau B. Nalle
FSO, retired
Chevy Chase, Maryland

To the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL:

Re AFSA President Ted Wilkinson's column on political courage in the July issue: the paragraph on the vagrants disturbed me into writing this letter.

They're a nuisance and an embarrassment, no doubt about that. One had the grace to die; eight more have taken his place:

"A dog starv'd at his master's gate/Predicts the ruin of the state."

And a man who dies at the gates of power, what does he foretell? It doesn't take a prophet to predict a bitter harvest from the decade of malign neglect.

Barbara Shelby Merello
Austin, Texas

AFSA President Ted Wilkinson replies: *By printing these letters we acknowledge one point of view, but we don't think it's a majority view. Oral commentary on my July "AFSA Views" is overwhelmingly supportive. Foreign Service people who have seen real misery and misfortune in the Third World will be less than impressed with the plight of able-bodied males living on the sidewalk at 21st and Virginia Avenue. Most, and very likely all of them* can *earn wages and shelter but simply* prefer *freeloading. One actually worked for the Foreign Service Club contractor for six months. Our under secretaries claim to be as distressed about the situation as we are, but powerless. Merely federalizing the problem would not solve it, they argue, and appealing to the city government has yielded no results to date. We invite our readers to submit* their *solutions.*

Mileage credits: a clarification

To the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL:

The June 1990 [*AFSA News*] article "Questioning Perks for the Inspector General's Office" (OIG) contained two misleading statements which OIG would like to have clarified "for the record." The first of these statements concerned authorization to use "mileage credits to obtain first-class seats when business class travel is otherwise authorized." OIG does not authorize first-class travel under any circumstances other than those permitted by the department's regulations. If the criteria specified in the regulations are met, we would encourage OIG employees to use any mileage credits they have earned to offset the cost to the government of the first-class travel.

The second statement requiring clarification is that "OIG employees are 'encouraged' to upgrade their travel arrangements with pre-approval." OIG employees must follow department bureau procedures to obtain approval to fly business class or first class. Once that approval is obtained (on the basis of having met the specific criteria for upgrades), employees are encouraged to use bonus mileage credits they may have earned, again to offset the cost to the government for the authorized upgrade.

The purpose of including a statement encouraging such use is to maximize the benefit to the government of those mileage credits accumulated by frequent fliers such as OIG employees. However, OIG policy and practice only call for use of such credits for official travel, and only for modes of travel authorized pursuant to applicable department regulations and policies.

Kathleen J. Charles
Assistant Inspector General for Policy Planning and Management
Department of State

AFSA Comment: *AFSA is encouraged that OIG policy contemplates use of airline mileage credits for upgrades. Department of State regulations on this point (6 FAM 143.2) are at best ambiguous, and some bureaus have interpreted them restrictively to preclude any use by individuals of the mileage credits that they have earned in the course of official travel. The* Federal Times *reported in July: "In a major change to federal travel regulations, Defense Department civilians who earn 'frequent flier' bonus miles on government trips may cash them in for upgraded airline tickets or hotel accommodations while they are on official travel." AFSA intends to press to have the Foreign Affairs Manual amended accordingly.*

Drug tests

To the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL:

Drug testing has arrived at the State Department. Since February 5, 1990 the department has required all incoming employees, regardless of job description, to undergo drug testing. Those who test positive are denied employment. The department also plans to institute random testing of current employees with security clearances of secret or above by the end of this year.

The drug tests are being imple-


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Letters

mented to comply with the Executive Order of September 15, 1986 which requires federal government agencies to make their workplaces drug-free. The State Department explains them as necessary to protect national security. But is there any evidence of sensitive information being compromised because of a State employee's drug abuse? Or is this simply a political gesture at our expense? In three years working for the department, I have yet to hear of a "drug problem" here that would justify such an invasion of our privacy. Testing only those employees whose mental or physical state indicates drug abuse would seem a much more reasonable and less costly way to comply with the executive order.

Baxter Hunt
Washington, D.C.

AFSA Comment: *Executive Order 12564, signed by President Reagan in 1986, directs all executive branch agencies to establish a drug-free workplace program. Although we agree with the goal of providing a drug-free workplace in the federal government, AFSA does not believe that random drug testing of all Department of State employees with Top Secret security clearances is warranted. We oppose random testing of these individuals because we believe it is baseless. On several occasions following issuance of the Executive Order (EO), and the department's subsequent promulgation of implementing regulations, AFSA requested specific evidence indicating that drug use is a problem in the Foreign Service. The department has admitted that no such evidence exists.*

However, the EO gives federal agencies broad latitude to determine which employees may be subjected to random testing. The EO allows for random testing of all employees deemed to be in "sensitive positions." The department has determined that all positions requiring a Top Secret clearance are sensitive positions. The courts have sanctioned this interpretation, affirming in a number of cases the right of federal agencies to randomly test employees in such positions.

Although AFSA still intends to safeguard the privacy rights of employees to the greatest extent possible, results from a recent poll the association conducted on a wide range of issues indicated that the Foreign Service is split on this issue. Just over half of the individuals who had an opinion favored mandatory drug testing. However, these responses do not necessarily indicate support for random testing.

Hearts and minds

To the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL:

Let me object to your July cover story, "Taking a Fresh Look at Vietnam." Fred Brown eloquently argues that for humanitarian reasons we ought no longer to "let them stew in their own juice." We ought to distinguish between the people and the government.

But what happened to the arguments of those who have assured us for a quarter century that the Vietnamese people would have chosen Ho Chi Minh and his party in free elections in the mid-fifties—if the United States had agreed to hold them? The Vietnamese now have the government they wanted, with policies against foreign capital in Vietnam and for nationalization of the principal means of production. Let's allow them to work with this for a while longer: perhaps they can accomplish what 20 other communist governments have not been able to do.

Why is it that the American left doesn't mind hurting the Chinese people and, when it comes to sanctions, does not want to make a distinction between the people and their government, but in the case of Vietnam now proposes such a distinction?

William J. Parente
Professor of Political Science
University of Scranton
Scranton, Pennsylvania

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FSJ, October 1980

The Foreign Service has had a greater opportunity to work directly with Congress on a matter affecting our own interests over the last 18 months than ever before in our history. Hundreds of our colleagues talked to their representatives in Congress about what they wanted for our Service—and the Congress listened. The 239-78 recorded vote in the House and the 66-17 recorded vote in the Senate in favor of our position on the Foreign Service Act stand as lasting testimony to the effectiveness of that effort. Our good friends in the House and Senate demonstrated the extent of their support for a strong separate Foreign Service of the United States, and they won overwhelming bipartisan backing.

Relationships have not always been so good. . . . Particular committee chairmen through the years seem to have delighted in squeezing the last penny out of the State Department appropriation. Our own effort began on a most inauspicious note when, over our objections, the Congress easily passed legislation stripping us of the overseas commercial function. Yet even in the darkest days we had our defenders and we learned during the Commerce debacle that there was broad sympathy for the Foreign Service on the Hill waiting to be channeled through more systematic efforts.

AFSA Views

FSJ, October 1965

Striking similarities and revealing differences among proverbs tell much about cultures. We feel that "Too many cooks spoil the broth;" in Russian, it is "With seven nurses, the child goes blind;" in Persian, they hold that "Two captains sink the ship;" and the Italians say that "With too many roosters crowing, the sun never comes up." Our advice is "Pray to God and keep your powder dry;" the Russians counsel "Pray to God but row toward shore." Our "Clothes make the man" and China's "Three-tenths according to a man's ability, seven-tenths according to his clothes" is countered by Spain's "Though the monkey wear silk, it's still a monkey." If the officer headed for Africa doubts that its inhabitants are aware that pride goes before a fall, he might check the Swahili proverb: "He is there above; await him below." He could also do worse than ponder the basic wisdom of the Swahili "Whether the cock crows or not, it will dawn."

"Breaking the Language Barrier," by John Waller

FSJ, October 1940

Ever since daylight, German bombers had been circling the city. The explosions in the vicinity of the airport reminded that the low-flying Heinkels were on no pleasure trip; the sharp reports of the anti-aircraft batteries, interspersed by bursts of machine gun fire, signified that the visitors were not being too graciously received. Last-minute impressions of hasty goodbys; cramming luggage into automobiles already filled to capacity; wives and children clutching some treasured article of hand baggage; husbands and fathers trying to keep calm in a chaos; [American Minister to Norway] Mrs. [J. Borden] Harriman cheerfully waving goodby from her flag-draped automobile. Before the first German troops had appeared in the city, the caravan had rolled away in the general direction of Hamar; supposedly the new seat of government. Little did we realize that only after days of unimaginable adventures would the party reach the safety of Sweden. Little did fathers then realize that they'd be saying goodby to their wives and children for God alone knows how long.

"Oslo Episode," by Ivan Jacobsen

Clippings

Staying put in Baghdad

The New York Times, August 23, 1990, transcript of President Bush press briefing

Q: Mr. President, despite demands from the Iraqis that the U.S. and other countries close their embassies in Kuwait and remove all their diplomatic personnel, the State Department announced today that the U.S. would not do that. Why have you decided to take that course of action? And how can you possibly enforce that?

A: Because the occupation of Iraq is illegal under international law and other countries agree totally that we must not take the position that this illegal regime can shut down legitimate embassies as a result of their aggression, that's why.

Q: But with Iraq in military control of Kuwait, how can you possibly hope to enforce that?

A: Well, my view is let's wait and see what happens. I don't go into these hypothetical questions. I'd like to explain this because I know there's a lot of them out there, as to what I might not or might do under certain circumstances. But here I think most countries that I'm aware of, and I defer to [Deputy] Secretary Eagleburger, would agree that they will not go along with . . . agreeing to this kind of affirmation of Iraq aggression, aggression that has been thoroughly condemned by the United Nations.

Q: Mr. President, we asked you last week if you saw any hope of a diplomatic solution. You said, "I don't see it right now." Do these statements from Baghdad that they are willing to put their cards on the table increase the hopes there will be a diplomatic solution?

A: If they're willing to put all their cards on the table, that's good. I didn't hear that, but if they're willing to put them all out there, including complying with international law, that will be good. And in terms of readiness to talk, we've got a very able person there in Baghdad who is prepared to talk, and they came in the other day and said they'd like to talk. Well, here he is available to talk. But please don't tell us that they're going to talk with conditions that are unacceptable under international law, because that is not the way it would work.

'A rare unity. . .'

The Washington Post, Editorial, August 26, 1990

Iraq has found yet another issue on which to isolate itself from the opinion of people who respect law and decency. In illegally ordering out the foreign embassies in occupied Kuwait, in the threatening squeeze it has applied to embassies that stayed and in its harassment of the diplomats and dependents who departed, it has performed wantonly and drawn upon itself fresh opprobrium.

Those diplomats who are now trying to keep the Kuwait embassy functioning are among the first heroes of the Iraq crisis; at personal risk, they are not merely showing the flag but remaining in position to perform the essential consular function of aiding the thousands of foreign nationals who Saddam Hussein has taken hostage. . . .

The united international reaction to President Hussein's violations of diplomatic immunity is of a piece with the unanimous decision of the United Nations Security Council authorizing member nations to use force as necessary to enforce the already agreed (and already effective) embargo of Iraq. This marks major progress in the UN's passage from debating society to action forum. . . .

Diplomacy? Yes. Suitably armed now with successive unanimous resolutions upholding the side of law, the secretary general of the United Nations is in a good position to summon Saddam Hussein to the issue that this crisis was first about and still most about—his unprovoked, indefensible, illegal seizure of Kuwait.

Locality payoff

The Washington Times, August 1[7], 1990, by Anne Laurent

Locality pay is working for the FB[I] in New York City. An experimen[t] paying $20,000 bonuses to agent[s] sent to the New York office ha[s] staunched the flow of disgruntle[d] agents out of the office. It also ha[s] prompted agents elsewhere to see[k] transfers to New York, despite th[e] high cost of living.

Road to black colleges

The Washington Times, August 2[2], 1990, by Jonetta Rose Barras

Blacks looking for careers in th[e] Foreign Service may find some help in a program set up at two local universities. The diplomat-in-residence program begins its first year this fall at the University of the District of Columbia and its fourth at Howard University.

John McCarthy, former U.S. ambassador to Lebanon, will serve as diplomat to both schools. "This is a major effort to build roads to black colleges. There is a push to get more minorities," said Joseph Montville of the State Department's Foreign Service Institute. "This is our biggest year." Mr. Montville said the 20-year-old program was revitalized in the last two years because of the involvement by Edward Perkins, director general of the Foreign Service. Mr. Perkins, who is black, served as U.S. ambassador to South Africa . . .

Migration humor

The Washington Times, August 24, 1990, by Julia Simon

The just-issued report of the "bipar-

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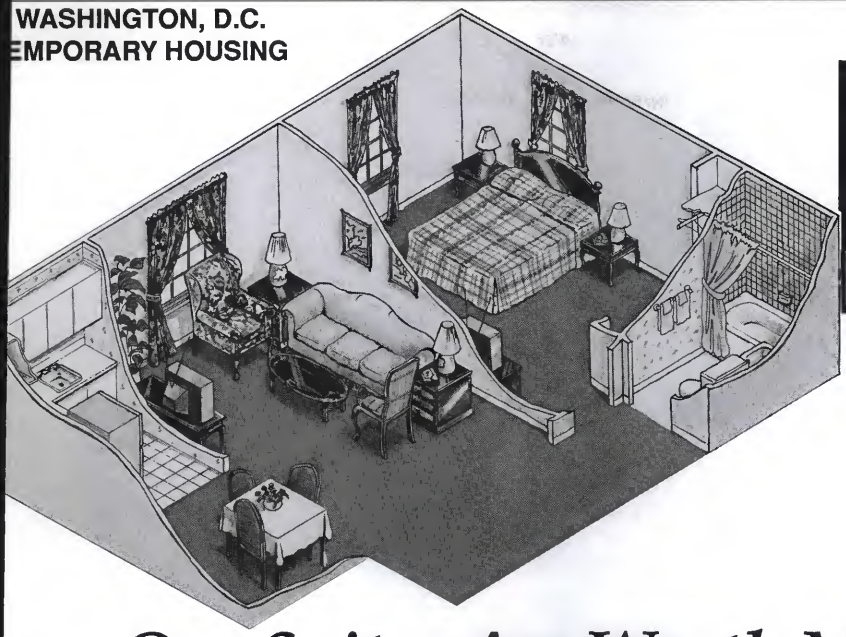

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Clippings

tisan" Commission for the Study of International Migration and Cooperative Economic Development. . . after three years and perhaps $3 million. . . has arrived at two main conclusions, the first being that "the search for economic opportunity is the primary motivation for most unauthorized migration to the United States." Wow. Government life imitates humor.

The second conclusion is about as profound as the first, but worse because it is dangerous rather than just trivial. "[E]conomic development and the availability of new and better jobs at home is the only way to diminish migratory pressures over the long term," it says.

That conclusion turns a nonproblem—migration—into a problem—that is, something that needs to be dealt with by the government. This view contributes to fear and hate of immigration. Its only possible benefit is to the staff of the commission who might continue working on this "problem" at public expense. . . .

The main recommendation of the commission—what a surprise—is that two new U.S. government agencies be set up. The Agency for Migration Affairs would "centralize" various functions overseeing immigration and refugees. The Border Development and Cooperation Commission would meddle into most other border issues. Guess who the report writers imagine might staff these goody-laden new public troughs? . . .

A humorist who wishes to parody government reports should seize upon this one. It is as if the writers worked from a trendy checklist—the environment, natural resources, workers' rights and "exploitation," population growth—every available "concern" is thrown into the stew. The report also is a rare illustration of the intellectual and moral bankruptcy of such government efforts to take everything possible out of the hands of private individuals and turn it over to career bureaucrats to steer.

Foreign Service reserve

The Wall Street Journal, July 23, 1990, by Robert S. Greenberger

The emerging market economies of Eastern Europe offer rich commercial opportunities for Western companies. But U.S. government penny-pinching and interagency rivalries are restraining U.S. businesses' chances.

Hamstrung by budget restraints, the U.S. government isn't adding sufficient new staff at its embassies in Eastern Europe to handle the flood of inquiries from U.S. businesses seeking information about these markets. The Commerce Department's Foreign Commercial Service, which provides economic officers at many overseas U.S. posts, has only one officer each in Budapest, Warsaw, and Bucharest, along with a handful of people hired locally. Next year's budget provides for only one new officer in each of these capitals.

The State Department says the only way it can add diplomats in Eastern Europe is by reducing its staff in Western Europe. It plans to reassign 39 State Department officers and 47 foreign employees to Eastern Europe. But, officials concede, the department is being forced to stretch itself thin just as Western Europe is preparing for economic union in 1992, an event that will create the need for a greater U.S. presence. . . .

The American Foreign Service Association, which represents State Department Foreign Service officers, proposed recently that the department establish a Foreign Service reserve composed of retired officers. To reduce federal costs, these retirees would be used as consultants on a temporary basis as needed. At a meeting last Thursday, State Department officials said they had some problems with the plan, including that a reserve system would make the Foreign Service look too much like the military. But they said they were willing to ponder the suggestion.

Focus

The View from the Embassy

NICHOLAS HENDERSON

Every British ambassador to the United States for the last hundred years has lived under the shadow of the Sackville syndrome

I cannot exaggerate what a surprise and indulgence it is for someone who has been an ambassador in Washington to be licensed, as it were, to let off steam upon what is, after all, an inherently delicate subject for a diplomat—what it is like serving in a country to which he has been accredited—and to be able to do so without fear of being declared *persona non grata* for indiscretion. It is rather like being invited back to one's old school to tell what you really thought about it.

I am slightly encouraged by the remarks that were made by Secretary of State George Shultz about the fluidity of the international scene, and to have a political chief, in a sense, recognize the relevance, importance, and significance of our trade.

For a hundred years now, every British ambassador to the United States has lived under the shadow of what I can only describe as the Sackville syndrome. I would like to say a word about that, because it tells us something in general about the unique opportunities and dangers of representing a foreign power in Washington.

Just before the presidential election of 1888, the British representative in Washington, Mr. Sackville-West, received a letter from an American asking for guidance in deciding how he should vote in the forthcoming election. He asked what seemed to Mr. Sackville a fairly harmless question: whether he thought the incumbent president, Grover Cleveland, would, if re-elected, be likely to maintain friendly relations with Britain. Mr. Sackville replied, innocently enough, he thought, that he was sure the president would do just that.

This reply was rapidly leaked to the press and equally rapidly exploited by the rival presidential candidate, the Republican, Benjamin Harrison, as being a gross interference by a foreign diplomat in the internal affairs of the United States. President Cleveland insisted upon the ambassador's immediate recall, and Mr. Sackville left Washington with his tail between his legs before voting day. Notwithstanding this, Cleveland lost the election, though very narrowly, and it was widely thought that the loss of those few votes that stood between him and victory was caused in part by the British representative's lack of tact, egregiously inflated by the opposition.

It emerged subsequently that the seemingly harmless letter to Ambassador Sackville had been an artful trap set by Harrison's managers in what is generally regarded as the most corrupt presidential campaign in American history.

Cleveland, incidentally, took it out on the British some seven years later. Having staged a comeback and been elected president again, he issued a fierce warning to London over a boundary dispute between Britain and Venezuela.

I tell you this story because it reveals a number of things a foreign representative encounters in the United States that he does not meet elsewhere. Thus, one is frequently exposed to the curiosity and interest of Americans in what you think of their politicians and policies. I think Mr. Sackville just had a stroke of bad luck. In the course of my own two terms of service in Washington, I was frequently asked questions of that kind and was often much more outspoken than Mr. Sackville. His misfortune was to give an opinion in the highly sensitive atmosphere of a presidential election.

What I want to suggest, being no longer bound by the restraints of a diplomat *en poste*, is that, as a general rule, the Americans are eager for the opinions of foreigners, including those of diplomats. They generally do not take offense if you, as a foreigner and a diplomat, discuss and even argue with them about what is strictly their own business.

Nor do the American people, the press, or the government, mind being lobbied by the representative of a foreign power. I suppose this is not surprising given the enormous importance of lobbyists in Washington, of whom I believe there are some 25,000 registered with the secretary of state. To put it another way, if a foreign diplomat does not lobby, I think the Congress may take it as a sign of indifference toward what America thinks or does on a particular subject. I suggest the lobby in Washington, in a rather wild historical analogy, plays a role somewhat similar to that

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A retired career officer of the British Diplomatic Service and now corporate director, Sir Nicholas Henderson, GCMG, has served as private secretary to the foreign secretary and as ambassador to Poland, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, and the United States (1979-82). Reprinted from As Others See Us: U.S. Diplomacy Viewed from Abroad, *published by Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, Georgetown University.*

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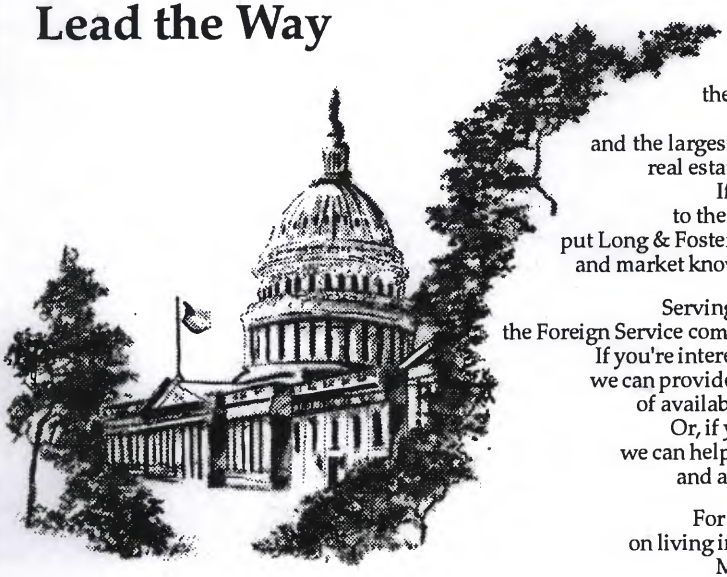

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of a salon in a great European city such as Paris a century and a half ago. There are, of course, very great differences between present-day lobbies in Washington and the salons in Paris a couple of centuries ago. I confess that, to my regret, I never, for instance, found a Madame Recamier in Georgetown—perhaps simply due to the town's *chaises longues* deficit.

The people of America, in my view, are patriotic, but not touchy, due to several particularities: the country's great power, the people's lack of old-world arrogance; their readiness to learn from others and to adapt in accordance with what they have learnt; and, not least, their unfailing optimism. Any foreigner representing his country in Washington comes to be very much aware of this distinctively American combination of qualities.

Mention of the American people in this sweeping way brings me to another generalization of importance to a foreign diplomat. As Alexis de Tocqueville wrote 150 years ago, "The people of America constitute the sovereign power in the USA." Or, as James Bryce described it exactly 100 years ago in what is now one of the greatest books on the United States: "In no country is public opinion so powerful as it is in the United States." Just as those Olympians observed the American scene in the last century, so does a foreign diplomat today perceive the American *people* in the seat of power—not the president, not the Congress, not the administration—unlike, for example, the British Parliament, which is ultimately sovereign in London.

How is this popular sovereignty exercised? The question is highly relevant to a diplomat's task here and brings us to another dominant feature of the American political landscape—the separation of powers enshrined in the Constitution. The question perennially asked abroad about foreign policy in America is, "Where does power in Washington reside?" The answer is that there is no single source of authority in Washington for the conduct of foreign affairs. This became manifest in the "Irangate" drama. Irangate was simply the latest example of the institutionalized struggle for power in foreign policy between the president and the Congress and among various departments of the administration.

Neither the words "foreign policy" nor the subject of foreign policy find any mention whatever in the American Constitution. All one can say with certainty is that the power of decision on this subject is divided between the Congress and the administration, and that within the administration itself, the decision-making process is diffused between the White House and the State Department, with many others, the CIA for example, ensuring that they also get their oar in.

Within the Congress, there is the usual division along party lines reflected in the composition of the House and Senate committees. Another feature that a foreign representative must take into account is the enormous influence of the "staffers," many of whom have great specialist knowledge. At many meetings of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee I attended, seated discreetly and peeping out from the back row, I came to realize that the persons to watch were not so much the senators themselves but the staffers who were whispering into the senators' ears. A "whispering gallery" was how that committee seemed to me. Such was the influence of the staffers behind the scenes.

These institutions by no means exhaust all the catalogue of sources of influence on U.S. foreign policy. There are also the media—newspaper, television, and radio. It is true that in all other democratic countries they exert great influence; but nowhere else do the media play, and

expect to play, so prominent and decisive a role as in Washington, regarding both domestic and foreign affairs. There are, I believe, over 12,000 working journalists in this capital.

One other unique trait of the U.S. system that affects a foreign diplomat is the spoils system—or the revolving door, as it is also called. There are great arguments in favor of this system—which can, as we have just seen, provide a future president with valuable direct foreign affairs experience. It can also inject vitality and new ideas into the conduct of foreign affairs, at the risk of a lack of continuity. The fact that many high-level U.S. posts are filled by non-career appointees instead of career diplomats with specialist knowledge and experience does, to some extent, handicap the State Department in keeping its end up with all the other forces in the struggle for power and influence in Washington. It may also enhance the influence of a foreign career diplomat in Washington who happens to have specialist knowledge.

Let me now indicate in what ways these unique features of the United States and its foreign policy decision-making process may affect the daily life of a foreign diplomat there. Clearly, given the openness of American society, the importance of public opinion, the separation of powers, and the diffusion of decision-making, a diplomat in Washington will not carry out his duties adequately if he focuses too much time and attention on confidential meetings with the State Department.

In other countries where I have served as ambassador—in France or Germany for example—if there is some problem affecting political relations between your countries and you wish to find out how the host government is likely to react, and if you wish to exert influence, you will

probably make your main effort with the foreign ministry. If the prime minister is involved or a summit is on the horizon, you would also probably deal with either the Elysée or the *Bundeskanzleramt,* the Chancellor's Office. If the subject is a commercial or economic one, you may deal with the Ministry of Finance or Commerce. But you would not, as a general rule—though there are exceptions—approach the Chamber of Deputies or the Bundestag or the Parliament. Nor would you envisage it as necessary to cultivate public opinion directly by resorting to newspapers' editorial boards or giving television or radio interviews.

An example from my time in France will show what I mean. At the end of the 1970s, the British government was negotiating intensely with the French government on the subject of re-entering the Airbus consortium. As British ambassador I was very much involved. If I had tried to exert pressure on the French administration by lobbying in the Chamber of Deputies or by asking to appear on French television or by writing articles, it would certainly have been counterproductive. The French government would have regarded such behavior as trying to distort the foreign policy process—not the sort of thing an ambassador was meant to do, even in the modern age.

In Washington it is quite different. I am not suggesting that a diplomat there should ignore or sidetrack the State Department. Foggy Bottom must, as a rule, be the principal port of call. But there will be many other outlets into which he should plug if he wishes to inform himself and to exert influence.

Let me give you another example which shows how different an ambassador's scope and responsibility are in Washington. When the British and the French were trying to secure landing rights for the Concorde in Washington and New York, the British embassy (and the French, al-

though I cannot speak for them) engaged heavily in lobbying all manner of points of influence—not just the State Department, or the administration as a whole, but also the Congress, the media, and anywhere influence could usefully be exerted. I am sure that it was only because of this widespread campaign that eventually the Concorde was granted landing rights.

I was not involved personally in the Concorde campaign, but I was involved in another episode that affected our two countries—the Falklands War. I mention it because it throws a certain light on how a diplomat operates in Washington. After Argentina's invasion of the islands in April 1982, the British government clearly wanted to secure U.S. diplomatic and materiel support. They well recalled what had happened in 1956 at the time of the Suez crisis, when the United States not only did not support the British and French governments, but came out on the opposite side, with baneful consequences for London and Paris.

It was obvious that if we were to succeed in getting U.S. support on the Falklands, we had to act on three main fronts—the administration, the Congress, and the media—and that within each of these there would have to be several separate campaigns. In addition to the various adventures I had on Capitol Hill and my many appearances on the morning television shows, I saw a great deal of Secretary of State Alexander Haig, who was certainly the single most important contact for me. I was also in close touch with Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger.

It became apparent how much I also needed to get our views across to the White House, where, to put it mildly, other forces were at work. It would have been a great mistake to have underestimated the foreign policy role of the president or, at any rate, the role that the staffs of the National Security Council and of the White House considered that the president should play. However much the president himself may want to step back, as President Reagan may have wanted to do in this case, the great many dynamic, clever people on the NSC and White House staffs may insist on emphasizing the president's role, making sure that he receives separate advice and plays his own constitutional role in foreign policy. In contrast to other capitals I know, in Washington you have to keep your finger on the pulse of the White House. I am sure that every diplomat in Washington was aware of the part the president played in the Grenada incident and at the Reykjavik summit.

In addition, as a diplomat in America you have to be ready to make speeches and give press, radio, and television interviews up and down the country. You have to decide how much of your time is going to be spent in Washington and how much traveling throughout the country, always bearing in mind that Washington is vast and varied.

You do not necessarily know in advance the scale of your audience or the sophistication of your interviewer. On one occasion, I was invited to speak to the annual meeting of the American Farm Bureau in Arizona. When I arrived, I found myself addressing a gathering of eight thousand farmers who had no more idea why I was there than I had. Naturally they were much more interested in what preceded me on the program, a troop of Indian dancers brandishing tomahawks and wearing precious little except warpaint—and in what followed, a star performance by Bob Hope.

When it comes to dealing with the press, I hardly need explain the awesomeness of meeting the highly clued-up, sharp-penned editorial board of the *Washington Post*. But once you get out in the country, it can be quite different. I was asked to appear on a radio program in a town several

thousand miles west of Washington. The young woman who interviewed me began by saying, "Sir Nicholson, I must tell you, Mr. Ambassador, that I don't know anything about your country except that you're having trouble in Northern Ireland and that Princess Di is pregnant."

There was a pause and I was not quite sure what I was meant to say, so I remarked that those were clearly two very important facts. But then, overcome with curiosity, I asked whether there was nothing else whatever that she knew about Britain. "No, absolutely nothing," she said. What followed was a rather unstructured discussion with precious few moments that could qualify as soundbites.

The social life of a diplomat in Washington, like his official life, has many characteristics not to be found in other capitals. Life is much less formal than elsewhere, not least in the official world. An example of the informality and directness found at all levels in the United States occurred when I was calling on a newly appointed cabinet officer and happened to be wearing a colored striped shirt that day. As I went through the door of his office he said, "Hi, I didn't know I was going to meet a football referee. Do you always wear that sort of shirt?" So you have to be ready for everything—that is what makes it stimulating, amusing, and different.

Relations are certainly more direct. You have to become accustomed to being called by your first name upon initial acquaintance; and it is advisable to do the same in return, if you want to avoid being considered a stuffed shirt. I was attending a rather grand dinner given by *Washington Post* publisher Katherine Graham and had been told to arrive at such and such a time, to bring a card with me, and to announce myself. To the guard at the gate I said, "The British ambassador and my wife, Lady Hen-

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derson," and the guard, consulting the list, said, "Nicko and Mary, that's fine."

Despite the Kennedy Center, the Smithsonian Institution, the National Gallery of Art, the Folger Library—to mention a few of Washington's cultural delights—what stiffens the sinews and summons up the blood in Washington is politics. Social life, whether a Georgetown dinner party, a Sunday lunch, a tennis match, or an embassy dinner, will reflect this in different ways; and the ambassador will hope to play a part on all these different boards. He is an actor on the Washington stage, but also an agent, a go-between, and intermediary between the Washington stage and that of his own country.

When, for instance, a foreign minister or head of government visits Washington, the ambassador and the embassy staff will help to arrange the program. They will offer entertainment, and they will brief the visitor on the latest situation and states of mind in the capital.

When Prime Minister Thatcher, accompanied by the foreign secretary, Lord Carrington, first came to Washington at the end of 1979, the U.S. embassy in Tehran had just been attacked by the Iranians. Over 50 American diplomats had been taken hostage, provoking in Washington extreme tension, bitterness of feeling, and a sense of being internationally besieged. Mrs. Thatcher and Lord Carrington, coming from three thousand miles away, did not quite know what the mood was, but we in the embassy were able to tell them how tense it was in Washington. It was in that atmosphere that Mrs. Thatcher, the following morning on the lawn of the White House, by her unequivocal clarion call for international support for the Americans, first established her close rapport with the American president (not President Reagan, incidentally), with the American people, and with the Congress. And we in the embassy believe we made a contribution to her decision to come out full square like that. On that occasion of her first visit, it was also the embassy's duty, as it has been on many occasions since, to arrange luncheon parties and dinners so that British leaders could meet not only their American counterparts, but also a cross-section of influential people.

Politicians in Washington are socially relatively accessible—at least in theory and despite last-minute cancellations. An ambassador's spouse will have to become accustomed to these cancellations, but may well have a better chance to get to know the inner thoughts of political leaders more informally, more easily, than the ambassador, as a result of sitting next to the senators and cabinet officers at dinner—assuming they turn up. In the first four months of President Reagan's presidency, for instance, my wife sat next to him many, many times at dinner, and had a much better opportunity to find out about him personally than I did. I mention that only as a particularly valid feature of diplomatic life that is not always noticed.

Let me conclude by saying that Washington is the cynosure of all diplomatic career people, thanks to the power and influence of the United States, the nature of its society and government, and the political corpuscles that constitute so large a part of the lifeblood of the city. I hope that in these rather random, personal, and sweeping remarks I may have been able to give you some idea of how foreign diplomats spend their days and nights in this capital; and, more generally, to suggest that despite the changed circumstances in which they operate today—the more rapid communications, the greater impact of public opinion on foreign policy—despite all these things, a diplomat, I believe, may still be able to serve some useful, and dare I say, some indispensable purpose in the interplay of nations. □

Diplomacy and the Environment

In the twentieth century, the unprecedented potency and broad dissemination of technology have begun to show influences on the global environment that will last hundreds and even thousands of years into the future. Industry, which by necessity has primarily economic concerns, makes a significant impact on the environment. Governments have hesitated to create regulations that restrict business and agricultural activities that contribute to pollution, because they are constrained in the developing world by the more immediate needs of economic growth, and in industrialized nations by their concern for preserving robust economies. Establishing an international regulatory environment is a very more difficult a task. The U.S. government has found itself in confrontation with other countries, as the United States tries to adapt itself to the demands of even more environmentally conscious countries on one side and the Third World's perceived need to use more bountiful but more polluting products on the other.

A consensus is emerging in the United States that government should seek cooperative solutions to increasingly urgent problems of preserving the Earth's air, land, and water. To explore some aspects of this cooperation, the American Foreign Service Association (AFSA) on June 14, 1990 brought together diplomats, scientists, corporate executives, and ecologists in a conference on "American Business and the Global Environment."

After a keynote speech by the scientist Carl Sagan, the conference's opening panels outlined three of the key environmental risks now facing the United States: the depletion of stratospheric ozone and the "greenhouse effect," the alarming diminishment of tropical forests, and the difficulties of preventing and managing marine pollution, especially oil spills. A second group of panels focused on incentives and opportunities for business in preserving the environment: conferees discussed energy efficiency and conservation, the corporate role in reducing global warming, and opportunities in Eastern Europe's environmental clean-up.

Foreign Service officers predominantly from scientific and technology positions in the Department of State and the Agency for International Development moderated and reported on the panel discussions. The discussions mirrored the interaction of governments, businesses, consumers, and the scientific community. Reports of the moderators and the rapporteurs on the panel topics follow.

Speakers included Richard McCormack, under secretary of state for economics; Curtis Bohlen, assistant secretary of state for oceans and international environmental and scientific affairs (OES); Richard Smith, principal deputy assistant secretary of state for OES; Richard Benedick, on assignment to the Conservation Foundation; Edward Wolfe, deputy assistant secretary of state for oceans and fisheries affairs; Charles Ehler, director of oceanography and marine assessment, Department of Commerce; William A. Nitze, former deputy assistant secretary of state for environment, health, and natural resources; Amory Lovins of the Rocky Mountain Institute; Richard Cellarius, former president of the Sierra Club; Vera Machado, counselor for environmental affairs at the Embassy of Brazil; Yasuhiro Shimizu and Yasumasa Nagamine of the Embassy of Japan; Tony Vogelsberg, Dupont Corporation; Maria Davies De Freitas, Companhia Vale Do Rio Doce, Brazil; Admiral Joel Sipes, U.S. Coast Guard; James Markowsky, American Electric Power Company; Thomas M. Hellman, General Electric; Warren Brookes, syndicated columnist; Robert Bringer, 3M Corporation; and Sergei Zelenev, a Soviet environmental researcher.

Senator Timothy Wirth (D-CO) gave the luncheon address, at which he discussed legislative initiatives in encouraging environmentally sound business practices.

Carl Sagan's crusade

As Voyager looked back, all of the planets looked very small. The Earth appeared to be an insignificant pale blue dot near the Sun.

Carl Sagan dramatically opened his keynote speech on corporate and government responsibility. In the resonant voice made famous in the "Cosmos" television series, the Cornell University scientist proceeded with a historical overview of the interaction of humans with their environment.

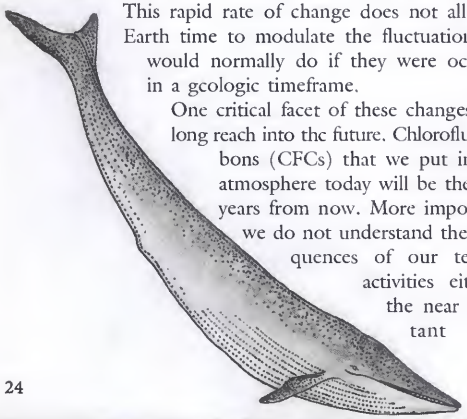
Two million years ago in East Africa, there were few humans and extremely limited technology. The domestication of fire was a major advance in man's ability to control his surroundings. Man's impact on the global environment was minimal. Even 150 years ago, despite increased population and improved technology, it was unlikely man could have significantly modified the Earth's cycles. Today, the Earth's environment can be fundamentally altered by its 5.3 billion technologically impressive inhabitants.

As astronauts viewed Earth from space, they sensed its fragility. Sagan likened the lower atmosphere, on which all life depends, to "a thin coat of shellac on a schoolroom globe." This makes it particularly vulnerable to man's activities.

The possible results of alterations to the atmosphere are well-known. Ozone depletion allows increased amounts of ultraviolet radiation to reach the earth's surface. Skin cancer could increase or, more ominously, the human immune system, genetic material, and photosynthetic productivity could be affected.

Possible increases in greenhouse gases have also been the subject of widespread speculation and publicity. Consequences could include an increase in global temperature, aridity in the interior of continents, and sea-level rise.

While greenhouse warming has occurred throughout geologic time, atmospheric composition has probably never changed as quickly as at present. This rapid rate of change does not allow the Earth time to modulate the fluctuations as it would normally do if they were occurring in a geologic timeframe.



One critical facet of these changes is the long reach into the future. Chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) that we put into the atmosphere today will be there 100 years from now. More importantly, we do not understand the consequences of our technical activities either in the near or distant future. There are prudent steps that must be taken.

To the audience, which included corporate representatives, Sagan stressed that threatening the global environment is not good business. Where the consequences are potentially severe, it is important that industry play a leadership role in mitigating the results of its activities.

Potential changes due to the increase in greenhouse gases are obscure, and possible scenarios are elusive and uncertain. It seems obvious that there are excellent reasons for taking steps, even if the effects of a "greenhouse" are not imminent. There are plausible and profitable technologies available. For example, we have the technological capability to greatly increase the efficiency with which we use fossil fuels.

There has been and will continue to be interest in nuclear energy. For Sagan, the use of fission would have to meet a list of boundary conditions and overcome its major obstacle—lack of public support. Other alternative energy sources, solar and wind energy, have improved rapidly over the last decade and have proven both viable and profitable in the Mojave desert and in smaller applications.

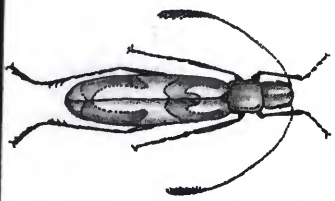
There is an intrinsic linkage between population and environmental concerns. Even a small improvement in standard of living is known to lower the rate of population increase. There are selfish reasons to bring the poorest people to self-sufficiency not by providing "fish" but by providing "fish hooks." Provision of appropriate technology will present great opportunities for American business.

What is being done by U.S. industry? Sagan cited the case of Applied Energy Systems (AES), which is building a coal-fired power plant in Connecticut and has committed itself to planting forests in Guatemala at a rate which will compensate for the carbon dioxide the plant generates. Many businesses are beginning to plan that consumers will opt for a concerned company and that there may be economic penalties for companies that ignore global issues.

Sagan suggested that private industry fund a large-scale research institute devoted to the early discovery of the impact of technology on the Earth. It would cost relatively little for the highest quality scientists to explore the uses of technology to mitigate the effects of technology. Corporations can do what government is neither equipped nor inclined to do. Aside from the public service aspects, the private sector would be in a position to regulate themselves based on the scientific understanding of global change and thereby allay the political pressure to impose stricter regulations. An independent

institute funded by U.S. industry would be able to address questions such as how to identify and achieve a balance between economics and environmental responsibility.

What is the role of the State Department? "Molecules do not need passports," Sagan wryly noted; pollution won't distinguish national boundaries and doesn't respect national sovereignty. As scientific and environmental issues become the shared concern of all countries, diplomats must grasp the implications of technological change. The United States and the Soviet Union produce more contaminants each than the entire developing world collectively. The United States made a $300 billion investment to protect against the worst case of a Soviet strike; Sagan suggested preventative measures against global threats to the environment should be similarly taken. Diplomatic achievements required planning and public support, and Sagan closed by urging that corporations encourage U.S. diplomatic solutions to the environmental challenges posed by global interdependence. □



Diane Bellis, a geochemist currently assigned to the OES Office of Cooperative Science and Technology Programs, was the rapporteur for Dr. Carl Sagan's keynote address.

Developing a consensus for environmental protection

The major players in building an environmental consensus were represented at the panel discussions. On one level, the interaction among them could be interpreted in terms of stereotypes: industry as being resistant to change, the scientific community as wanting research for its own sake, the environmental movement saying, "Do something, no matter what," and the U.S. government surreptitiously taking sides.

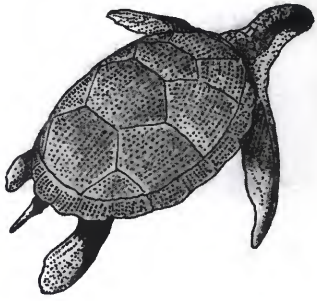
On a more objective level, however, the contribution of the panel members showed that each group has a strong and unique role to play. Industry representatives provided the knowledge of how manufacturing processes are carried out, how technology is actually transferred, and at what cost. Industry invests in products and processes that researchers consider safe at the time the investments are made. The "stratospheric ozone and CFCs" panel was a case in point. In the United States, industry's response to phasing out chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) has been voluntary and impressive. In March 1988 Du Pont, for example, committed itself to phasing out CFCs by the year 2000. Du Pont will have expended $240 million in this effort through 1990. While an international fund will help industrializing countries to phase out ozone-depleting substances, multinational corporations such as Du Pont are ready to transfer CFC substitute technology without any such financial support.

The contribution of the research community is to challenge our thinking with new theories and evidence. Carl Sagan, for example, notes that we do not know the effects on ecosystems and human health of ozone layer damage that has already taken place, or that will take place even if all production of ozone depleting substances were to stop tomorrow.

The environmental movement is the action arm of such concerns, disseminating new information and advocating new environmental policies to the voters and their representatives. As noted by Ambassador Richard Benedick, who is currently with the Conservation Foundation, consumers respond quickly to new information, for example, by not buying aerosol sprays.

The response of foreign nations takes different conditions into account. In Japan, for example, the proportion of CFCs used in detergents, refrigerants, and aerosols is different than in the United States, requiring a different mix of recycling technologies. Japanese tax policies encourage the use of these technologies.

The panel moderator was a Foreign Service officer. The U.S. government's role is to encourage consensus by eliciting and elucidating the opinions of different groups, framing the issues objectively, and moving the process to a clear conclusion. Many emerging environmental issues lie at the intersection of science and public policy, where there are no clear answers. Since even disinterested experts disagree, the credibility and objectivity of government agencies become very important. Parenthetically, it might be noted that Foreign Service officers are well positioned to bring groups together: they derive a certain objectivity from their frequent changes of assignment, and their rank is not dependent on the position they currently fill. Thus they can contribute to the government's important role of playing "honest broker" for the benefit of the consumers and voters who ultimately decide.



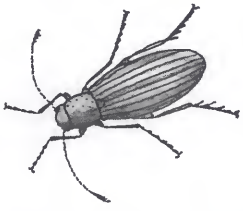
—Nicholas MacNeil

Protecting the Ozone Layer

The Montreal Protocol on Substances that Deplete the Ozone Layer exemplifies how transnational government and business cooperation can address global environmental concerns. Negotiated in 1987, the Protocol puts limits on the production of ozone-depleting substances, thus creating incentives for industry to produce substitutes.

Two chemists at the University of California, Irvine—Sherwood Rowland and Mario Molino—proposed in the early 1970s that manmade chlorine depletes the ozone layer, the thin upper atmospheric crust that protects Earth from harmful ultraviolet radiation. Chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) and Halons, used as coolants in air conditioners and refrigeration, as industrial solvents, and in various aerosol sprays, were invented in the 1930s by E.I. Du Pont de Nemours and Co. When first produced CFCs were considered safer than the refrigerant sulfur dioxide, which is toxic. The compounds are essentially stable and inert, non-toxic, non-flammable, non-explosive, and non-corrosive. But that stability proved a mixed blessing. While these chemicals have powered tremendous economic growth and improvements in living standards, they do not disintegrate upon evaporation. Instead, the molecular compound that enables liquids to become aerosol sprays allows these molecules to rise intact to the outer atmosphere, where they attract and change the composition of ozone molecules.

CFC producers, the public, and governments were reluctant to react to this inconclusive proposal. In the mid-1980s, however, scientific evidence converged when a hole in the ozone layer was accidentally discovered over Antarctica. Subsequently, Dupont announced that it would phase out CFC production, and the United States played a leadership role in the negotiations leading to the Montreal Protocol.



The Protocol is not backed up by complete scientific certainties. The harm that would result from ozone layer depletion is not quantified and even the extent of depletion is uncertain. Nevertheless, 24 nations and the European Community signed the Protocol treaty, the result of a consensus that CFCs and Halons can and are depleting stratospheric ozone, that there is too much risk in waiting for harm to be proven, and that recognized the advantages of prevention over cure. The signatories accepted the dip in ozone quantity that is measurable over the Antarctic during its springtime (October to December) as evidence pointing to the need for action.

The Protocol set limits on global production and consumption of the five most potent CFCs and three Halons. It also called for a 50 percent reduction in CFCs by 1998, as well as a freeze on the production of Halons. The Protocol's unique feature was a requirement for periodic assessment to establish appropriate future controls.

Many regard what happened at Montreal in 1987 as a remarkable precedent for how diplomacy and scientific expertise can be combined to persuade governments and industry to change worldwide attitudes and practices. At the "American Business and the Global Environment" conference, the components that make up the ozone layer consensus, for example, were represented in microcosm: industry, scientific research, the environmental movement, foreign nations, and the U.S. government. Ambassador Richard Benedick, who represented the United States at the Montreal Protocol negotiations, elaborated on the importance of consumer attitudes and emphasized the key role played by industry in influencing and responding to those attitudes. It is important, he said, that industry not close ranks on an issue for the sake of maintaining a common position. At times large sums are spent defending current practices which could be better spent on research for alternative products. At other times, notably at the Montreal negotiations, American and European industry groups showed the flexibility that in the end permitted the completion of the Protocol.

Tony Vogelsberg, Du Pont's environmental manager, warned that premature phaseout of some substances before scientific justification will raise the costs to society unnecessarily. Industry responds effectively, he said, when public opinion has reached a "critical mass" on scientific justification, health and worker safety, and economic considerations.

Vogelsberg and other participants called for U.S. participation in a $100 million international mechanism to help developing nations phase out the use of CFCs. Without international cooperation, countries trying to industrialize would increase their CFC emissions, offsetting any gain from the developed nations that are signatories to the Montreal Protocol. For example, China and India had not yet joined the Protocol. (Happily, on June 15, the day after the conference, White House Chief of Staff John Sununu announced U.S. support for the CFC fund in the amount of $25 to $75 million over three years.)

Is the Montreal Protocol working? A week after the conference, the Second Meeting of the Parties, held in London from June 27 to 29 and attended

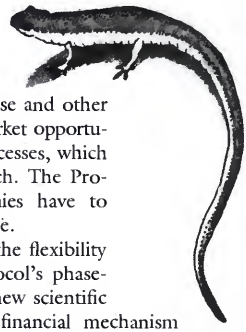
by more than 90 countries, including 59 Protocol parties, indicated that the treaty is working well. Acting on the Protocol's provision for periodic assessments, the London amendments call for a complete phasing out of CFCs by 2000 and for phasing out Halons by 2000 as well except for essential uses. Carbon tetrachloride and methyl chloroform were added to the list of controlled substances and will be phased out by 2000 and 2005 respectively.

Both the Indian and Chinese delegations in London announced in their final statements that they would recommend that their governments join the Protocol as soon as possible.

The meeting's major accomplishment was the establishment of a financial mechanism under article 5 to enable Protocol parties whose economies are developing to meet costs of complying with control measures, such as recycling and product substitution. Between $160 and $240 million will be provided over an initial three-year period. The financial mechanism will also support a technical clearinghouse for country studies and information dissemination. An executive committee of 14 parties, seven developed countries and seven developing countries, will establish guidelines for the mechanism and monitor its implementation. Its decisions will require the agreement of a majority of the donor countries, and it was agreed that the United States will have a seat on the executive committee.

These accomplishments demonstrated the success of the "hard law–soft law" approach to environmental agreements—negotiating a framework convention on general principles and obligations, such as the initial 1985 Vienna Convention for the Protection of the Ozone Layer, and then a follow-up protocol, as the need arises, setting out specific targets, obligations, and implementing mechanisms.

The 1987 Montreal Protocol is not entirely "hard law," however. It has two built-in "soft" features that are highly innovative. First, the Protocol contains incentives as well as disincentives to induce countries to join and comply. Article 4 requires parties not to import products containing or having been made with ozone-depleting chemicals. These and other enforcement measures create market opportunities for new products and processes, which provide an incentive for research. The Protocol points to what companies have to gain, not what they have to lose.



Second, in article 6 there is the flexibility to amend and adjust the Protocol's phase-out provisions on the basis of new scientific evidence and to operate the financial mechanism on the basis of political realities. For its effectiveness, the Protocol depends on a continuing interaction among groups that make up the global consensus on protection of the ozone layer. □

Nicholas MacNeil, a consular officer who spent three years working in the Office of Environmental Protection, was the rapporteur for the Ozone Layer Protection panel.

Environmental Economics: The Trade-Off

Should climate change be regarded as an economic issue that should be weighed according to conventional cost-benefit analysis? Or does the magnitude of the danger warrant treating global warming as an issue of national security?

Scientist Carl Sagan engaged three panelists from government, business, and journalism in heated debate on these questions, focusing on the cost of inaction. He presented the trade-off as tolerable belt-tightening now versus possible global calamity later.

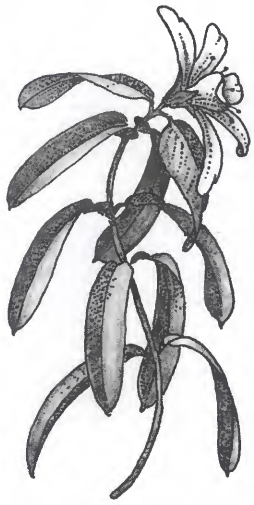
Under Secretary of State for Economics Richard McCormack posed the administration's dilemma as a problem of balance between the staggering costs entailed in reducing emissions of carbon dioxide and the still evolving scientific understanding of the issue. He noted that 10 years ago, scientists believed carbon dioxide would cause cooling; now they believe the climate will warm by 3 degrees Centigrade over the next century. Limiting carbon dioxide emissions would entail an estimated cost of 3 percent of GNP, which would affect U.S. competitiveness. These costs would be even more serious for developing countries, which are pursuing ambitious growth plans: speakers questioned whether the United States can ask developing countries for the sake of the environment to forgo riches that the industrialized countries have already enjoyed.

"We're about to make costly steps affecting real lives. Do we have sufficient data?" asked columnist Warren Brookes. He emphasized that shifting and conflicting scientific assessments provide a very shaky foundation for the drastic actions that environmental advocates demand. Some reports actually trace a pattern of slight cooling in the non-urban United States since 1920. Scientific analysis has linked both floods and drought to global warming. Pointing to the dangers of sweeping policy decisions based on imperfect scientific data, Brookes asked, "Are governments such perfect predictors of the future, and

do the predictors have a good track record?" He cited several expert scientific panels that had been proven glaringly wrong in their predictions on the future cost of oil, the dangers of airborne asbestos, and the increase in aquatic acidity.

Carl Sagan took McCormack and Brookes to task for imposing an unrealistically high standard for evidence required before policy decisions can be made. Sagan cited another area where enormous sums have been spent without certain knowledge—the Cold War. "How much had been spent on the Cold War? Ten trillion dollars. . . . We bought the argument of military prudence: that is, when faced with extremely dire consequences, don't base your actions on the probable, or the best case, but take precautionary measures to defend against even the slim likelihood of the worst case. Of course there is uncertainty; the task for policymakers is always to make decisions under conditions of uncertainty." Sagan cited strong historical justification for the scientific prediction of global warming: evidence from prehistoric carbon dioxide bubbles and pollen grains, which indicate the types of vegetation growing at different periods of the earth's evolution, shows that increases in carbon dioxide concentration track perfectly with increases in temperature. Simply taking basic conservation measures would go a long way toward reducing carbon dioxide emissions, Sagan said. Improved energy efficiency and more R&D on alternatives to fossil fuel, especially solar energy, would promote energy independence and prepare for the eventual depletion of fossil fuels—all at a cost not beginning to approach $10 trillion.

Robert Bringer of 3M Corp., the sole panelist from industry, took a more conciliatory position, saying conservation and economic growth are not necessarily antithetical. Instead, he said, industry should concentrate on redirecting the economic payoffs of industrial production to help the environment, particularly by preventing pollution. He warned, however, that industry must be allowed to come up with its own solutions; command-and-control measures do not lead to sustainable development.



In the lively and contentious panel discussion, McCormack said that improved empirical data are prerequisite to mustering public support for the very expensive process of carbon dioxide reduction. Sagan criticized this approach, saying it ignores the cost of inaction. This is a time-sensitive issue, he said, with global and transgenerational effects. Furthermore, compared with the half-trillion dollar cost of bailing out the savings and loans, the cost of reducing carbon dioxide emissions is reasonable and the benefits to mankind demonstrable. Bringer emphasized the importance of conservation, noting that 3M first reduced energy use by 50 percent from levels prevalent in the 1970s and has lowered consumption by another 25 percent since then.

The panel's opening question remained unsolved: for industrialized and developing countries alike, is a transition to lower carbon dioxide emissions compatible with continuing economic growth? □

Frances C. Li, deputy director of the Office of Global Change in OES, was rapporteur for the panel entitled, "Can Energy Efficiency and Conservation Save Our Bacon?"

Cleaning Up Eastern Europe

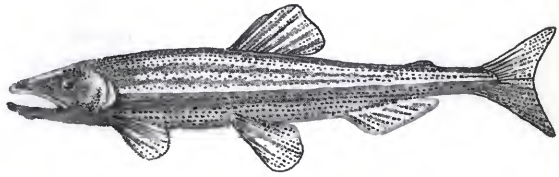
Beset with declining life expectancy and severe pollution, Eastern European countries are beginning to demand better environmental quality. But as Eastern Europe's new governments consolidate, opinion is divided on whether government, industry, or the regulation of the market should take the initiative in promoting more environmentally sound manufacturing processes.

Some observers believe that market competition can encourage businesses to produce environmentally sound goods and services as efficiently as possible, but only within an appropriate policy and institutional framework. Market pricing can reduce waste by promoting economic efficiency, while governments can help by shunning economic arrangements that shield firms from competitors. Soviet scientist Sergei Zelenev urges American business not to take advantage of Eastern Europe's underdevelopment, however, saying business should "do in Eastern Europe what it does in the United States. . . . Don't reduce standards, jack up prices, or leave the really good technology at home."

Among the international efforts to clean up Eastern Europe's environment is a regional environmental center in Budapest that the United States has proposed. U.S.-financed "enterprise funds" for Poland and Hungary will provide capital to promote private-sector development in those countries, a move that has also encouraged the U.S. private sector to look actively for new opportunities to sell goods and services to a renascent private sector in Eastern Europe. Former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Environment, Health, and Natural Resources William Nitze notes that as East and West Germany reunite, the environmental standards of the Federal Republic will become the standard for both countries. He suggests that the reunification process could provide an example for other countries of how to convert to production methods that are both environmentally sound and economically efficient.

Individual governments need to adopt and enforce strict environmental standards, while industry can provide information and expertise on environmental conditions and trends as well as solutions to the problems. "In short, industry must explain how environmentally sound development takes place," says Zelenev. Industry has generally become cleaner as it modernizes. "Just rebuilding outdated plants in Eastern Europe will lead to cleaner industry," says one industry representative.

Environmental pollution, particularly contamination of food and water, has been an important contributor to a recent decline in life expectancy in



Eastern Europe, according to Dr. Sushma Palmer, president of the Georgetown University Medical School. "Environmental threats are seen today as more worrisome than security concerns," she says.

Eastern Europe offers opportunities and challenges for U.S. business. Geographic proximity and language compatibility give some edge to Western European companies, but many U.S. firms are already well established in Western Europe. New mechanisms are being put in place to assist Eastern Europe in the transition to more efficient and cleaner production of goods and services. □

Andrew D. Sens, director of the Office of Environmental Prevention at OES, was rapporteur for the panel on how American business and government can help clean up Eastern Europe.

Global Warming: Is Conservation Enough?

Because the energy sector accounts for more than half of all greenhouse gases released to the atmosphere, much of the debate on possible climate change has centered on prospects for limiting energy-based emissions. Most experts agree that energy efficiency represents one of the most cost-effective ways to limit emission from the energy sector. Considerable disagreement exists, however, over the degree of savings that can be obtained at a reasonable cost through energy conservation measures.

The supply-side constraint to introducing conservation enhancements is the time lag between the development of new energy technologies and their eventual implementation. For example, a new coal combustion technology, which can significantly reduce pollutant emissions, has been in the process of development for nearly 20 years and will not be in widespread commercial use until after the year 2000. Similarly, increasing the use of nuclear power, which emits no greenhouse gases, would require a wait of 20 to 30 years, while new plants are licensed and built. Because of these long lead times, significant short-term efficiencies in energy supply are not likely.

On the demand or end-use side, significant end-use efficiencies are possible at cost-effective rates. Amory Lovins, a scientist with the Rocky Mountain Institute, estimates that as much as 75 percent of the energy currently expended in the United States could be saved through widespread use of existing technologies such as improved lighting (fluorescent light bulbs, improved design), new home construction and weatherizing practices, and more efficient appliances.

Large savings are also possible in U.S. petroleum use, particularly in the transportation sector, where automobiles that can get more than 70 miles per gallon are technically feasible. Even with the substantial projected growth in U.S. energy demand over the next few decades, Lovins believes that energy-based greenhouse gas emissions could be cut by more than half with no negative economic effects.

Offering another perspective on the demand-side issue, James Markowsky of American Electric Power

Service Corporation cited a study by the Electric Power Research Institute (EPRI), which indicates it is technically feasible to obtain energy savings of between 24 and 44 percent by the year 2010, although in practice only 11 to 20 percent savings could be realized, even assuming maximum use of all available technologies, because the economic and market potentials of energy-saving products tend to be low.

The disparities between these two views of possible conservation gains led Thomas M. Hellman, health and safety manager of General Electric, to comment, "How do you get there?" Consumers may be dissatisfied with the cost or overall performance of conservation technologies, even though they could potentially provide for substantial energy savings. For example, while cars that get 70 miles to the gallon are feasible, consumers may choose other cars for their performance, safety, or design features. Similarly, energy-efficient light bulbs that last several years may not be popular because of their relatively high initial cost.

In addition to consumer choice, market failures may account for some differences between technical and market potentials. For example, the market may provide insufficient information on energy savings or few incentives to reduce energy use. To counter this trend, some electric utilities are using innovative techniques to "sell" energy efficiency programs to their customers at competitive rates.

Largely as a result of the oil crisis, the United States has already made significant improvements in energy efficiency, with energy use increasing only 7 percent since 1973, while GNP grew nearly 50 percent. Many believe that further savings can be made. Sweden, for example, has had traditionally high levels of energy efficiency but has realized further energy savings through a variety of measures, such as combining power and heat production.

There is a consensus among industry, government, and the environmental movement that energy efficiency represents the single most important source for energy savings, for both environmental and energy security reasons. However, opinion is sharply divided over the degree to which energy efficiency gains that are technically possible can actually be achieved. Given the potential for global climate change, policymakers need to do further economic research on how to encourage energy efficiency on both the supply and demand sides.

Robert Ford, who works in the Office of Global Change at OES, was the rapporteur for the "Global Climate Change" panel. □

Cooperating on Oil Clean-Up

After each oil spill, oil companies and countries that must clean the slicks out of their bays and beaches realize with dismay that there is no such thing as preparedness. No nation acting alone can control the transboundary consequences of oil spills. International agreements by major maritime nations that establish national, bilateral, regional, and global measures can go a long way toward protecting individual countries from catastrophic oil spills.

Each year, U.S. ports and terminals receive more than 2.6 billion barrels of oil, and the volume is expected to increase. Eighty percent of oil arriving at U.S. ports, furthermore, comes aboard tankers flying foreign flags, adding to the difficulty for the United States of preventing ship spills. Coast Guard retired Admiral John Costello, now a consultant to the Private Industry Response Group, and Admiral John Sipes noted, however, that ship spill incidents have steadily decreased over the last two decades.

The State Department works with the Coast Guard to manage oil and chemical spills in U.S. waters. Edward Wolfe, deputy assistant secretary of state for oceans and fisheries affairs, said that the United States has bilateral agreements on oil spills with Mexico, Canada, Bermuda, and the Soviet Union. Regionally, the Cartagena Convention (Caribbean region) and the South Pacific Regional Environmental Program (SPREP) provide for cooperation among the signatories on oil spills and other marine pollution issues.

Globally, the U.S. participates in the International Convention for the Prevention of Pollution from Ships (Marpol) convention, which has protocols designed to prevent and manage pollution discharges from ships. The International Maritime Organization's 1969 Oil Spill Liability Convention, 1971 Oil Spills Clean-up Fund Convention, and the 1984 Oil Spill Protocols to these Marpol conventions represent the other major international agreements which, taken together, could form a systematic mechanism for compensating victims of vessel source oil pollution damage. The 1969 and 1971 conventions are in force but, lacking congressional ratification, the United States is not a party.

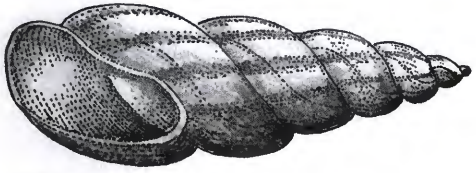
Due to the transnational consequences of oil spills and the complexities and costs of clean-up, the Reagan and Bush administrations have promoted

U.S. ratification of the 1984 Oil Spills Protocol (which were strengthened at U.S. urging to meet U.S. concerns). These protocols would provide for up to $260 million in compensation to countries that suffer a major oil spill. Nevertheless, the future of the 1984 protocols seems doubtful, due to the U.S. failure to ratify. Some coastal states would like to remove the ceiling on compensation for spills, which is not acceptable to the industry or to a number of other countries.

Charles Ehler, of the Commerce Department's National Oceanography and Marine Assessment Office, emphasized that the cost of an oil spill is not evaluated solely in terms of lost oil and ship damage or salvage, but also in terms of costs to the government and taxpayer incurred in a damage assessment, injury to the environment and natural resources, and the cost of environmental restoration.

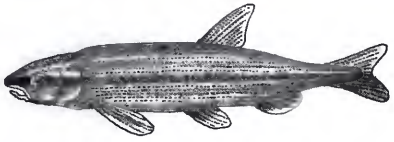
Among the private efforts to control spills is the Private Industry Response Organization (PIRO), formed and capitalized by the private petroleum industry. PIRO was created to provide for a national response capability to catastrophic oil spills in U.S. waters. To be composed of five decentralized centers positioned in areas of greatest spill probability, PIRO aims to become the most capable oil spill response system in the world, set global standards for oil spills response, and improve on the equipment, technology, and techniques for oil spill clean-up. PIRO's John Costello also referred to the need for U.S. ratification of the 1984 oil protocols in order to resolve the discrepancies among standards contained in the patchwork of state and federal liability laws and bring U.S. law into conformity with the protocols' proposed international standard.

Coincidentally, during the symposium the Norwegian tanker Mega Borg was burning and spilling oil off the coast of Texas as a result of an explosion that had occurred days earlier. The vessel was in transit outside U.S. territorial waters and was not intended to enter a U.S. port, though a portion of the spill washed up on U.S. beaches. The Mega Borg incident would have been covered by the



1984 oil spill protocols, had they been ratified by the United States. Under the protocols, the United States would obtain jurisdiction to claim compensation from the ship owner, and an international fund would provide additional compensation up to $260 million to victims of pollution damage. Instead, two weeks after the incident a House/Senate conference committee voted not to ratify the protocols and instead to uphold a state's right to legislate "unlimited liability" for ship owners and others. In such an environment, an irresponsible foreign-flag ship owner without insurance can easily avoid a state liability statute that applies only in the United States.

This development has led to the decision by several major oil shipping companies, including British Petroleum, Anglo Dutch Shell, and A.P. Mueller, to cease tanker calls on U.S. mainland ports for fear of unlimited damage claims under state statutes. Only 8 percent of the world's tanker fleet are owned by major oil companies. High or unlimited liability limits, which are not insurable, encourage owners to sell their fleets and rely on



single-ship corporations whose sole asset, in the form of one tanker, may be lost in a major spill incident. Today, more than 40 percent of the world's tankers are owned by single-ship companies and this figure is expected to rise further as oil companies retire or divest their fleets. Such companies refusing to serve U.S. ports will definitely result in higher prices to U.S. consumers and could result in oil shortages.

Though numerous oil spills would have exceeded the current U.S. liability and compensation limits, all but one, the Exxon Valdez spill in Alaska in 1989, would have been covered by the liability compensation regime under the 1984 protocols. Currently, no regime exists to compensate victims of catastrophic spills or provides legal remedies that are enforceable in foreign courts. In effect, this means that the current framework of oil spills laws in the United States provides neither adequate coverage nor certainty of prompt payment for spill damage. Congress is likely to pass a bill to improve the overall amount of available compensation but will increase, not decrease, the legal complexities for claimants, and the U.S. taxpayer will pay more than they would have under the international protocol regime.

A measure signed by the president on August 18 that is outside the framework of the Marpol conventions will establish a $1 billion fund to cover clean-up costs not compensated by the spiller. However, the need for multilateral action remains a pressing one, and it is a question on which the United States has yet to take action. □

Raymond L. Brown, a Foreign Service officer on assignment to the Office of Oceans Law and Policy at OES, was the rapporteur for the "Oil Spill Prevention and Management" panel.

Saving the Tropical Forest

Perhaps no environmental problem better symbolizes popular concern for the environment than tropical deforestation. The commonly cited statistic in magazine and newspaper articles is a loss of 11 million hectares of tropical forests per year, 2 million hectares more than the size of Panama.

Whatever the comparison, the numbers speak for themselves. Tropical forests, primarily located in developing countries, once occupied 1.6 billion hectares globally but now cover only 900 million hectares. Latin America and Asia have already lost 40 percent of their original forests and Africa a little more than half.

We now learn the problem is even greater than previously thought. A report recently published by the World Resources Institute indicates that instead of losing 11 million hectares of tropical forest per year, we are losing more than 20 million hectares.

Cost of inaction

The consequences of tropical forest loss are extensive, pervasive, and global. Direct costs include loss of forest products such as timber, fuel wood, fibers, canes, resins, oils, pharmaceuticals, fruits, and spices. More than 1 billion people are affected by the soil erosion, loss of agricultural productivity, and flooding caused by deforestation, all of which have significant social and economic consequences. In addition to these immediate human impacts, deforestation also results in the destruction of habitat critical to diverse plant and animal species. While tropical rainforests cover only 7 percent of the earth's surface, they contain at least one-half of all wildlife species. At current rates of deforestation, about 10 percent of tropical forest species will become extinct every decade, averaging more than 100 species per day.

Deforestation, including burning trees to clear land, contributes significantly to greenhouse gas concentrations in the atmosphere. About 25 percent of all anthropogenic carbon dioxide emissions are from this source. Increased concentrations of carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases in the atmosphere may contribute to climate change, which if realized could have negative consequences for much of the world's population.

On a smaller scale, clearing large tracks of forest also alters the local hydrological cycle, reducing the amount of water falling back to earth and promoting a cycle that adversely affects the ability to reforest degraded land.

Tangled causes

The causes of deforestation are as varied as the consequences. While the individual factors leading to deforestation are largely known, the relative contributions and multiple interactions among factors in the different regions of the world are poorly understood. The complexity and diversity of causes frustrate both local and international efforts to find reasonable solutions. Yet the magnitude of the problem demands quick and effective action.

In developing countries, rapidly increasing populations and inadequate access by the poor majority to land and secure resource tenure are major contributing factors to deforestation. Population growth and lack of tenure exacerbate deforestation by creating expanding pressures for resettlement, shifting cultivation, and fuel wood gathering. The clearing of forests for commercial land use, such as logging, ranching, or agribusiness, also directly results in the loss of large areas of forest. In turn, commercial logging opens previously inaccessible forests, facilitating resettlement and continuing the cycle of shifting cultivation and the growing demand for fuelwood.

Government policies often promote the very activities that cause deforestation, at great cost to both the government's treasury and the environment. Some governments have encouraged timber production with tax incentives to meet the growing demand for tropical hardwoods in industrialized countries. In Indonesia, tax holidays and generous timber concessions cost the Indonesian government more than $2 billion from 1979 to 1982, according to Robert Repetto in his 1988 study, *The Forest for the Trees? Government Policies and the Misuse of Forest Resources,* and simultaneously accelerated the degradation and disappearance of Indonesian forests. In Brazil nearly 10 million hectares of tropical forest had been cleared by 1980 for cattle ranches; ranching profits were realized only through tax subsidies that placed a heavy fiscal burden on the government. In addition, most subsidized ranches did not market their timber produced from clearing, representing a loss of up to $250 million.

In many countries, settlers can secure title to property only through "improvements," such as clearing land for other purposes. Up until 1987, the government of Brazil provided tax credits to landholders who cleared their Amazon holdings, again at great expense to the government and environment.

Brazil and Indonesia are by no means the only countries where inappropriate policies have resulted in large-scale destruction of forests. Such policies have been implemented throughout the tropics and, indeed, extend into temperate ecosystems. In the United States, for example, timber sales from national forests often do not generate revenues sufficient to recover direct costs such as road building or other infrastructure development necessary for logging. Government losses from these sales were at least $85 million per year over a period of six years (ending in 1982), creating a total loss, according to Repetto, of more than $500 million over that period.

Diplomacy and markets

The long-term effects of tropical deforestation are global in scope, but the causes are local, as are the most immediate impacts. Efforts to prevent deforestation must therefore address local needs and conditions, but must be implemented in the context of international cooperation. This dual approach will necessarily include the use of international coordinating mechanisms such as the Tropical Forestry Action Plan (TFAP, see box) as well as financial and technical support for policy reform and specific forestry projects.

Economic policy reform and environmental issues are directly linked, because deteriorating environments affect economies, and failing economies accelerate environmental degradation. In many developing countries forestry, for example, depends simultaneously on both the exploitation and conservation of the natural resource base. The common goal in developed and developing countries alike should be to implement policies that balance these competing needs to yield the greatest increase in social welfare by optimizing environmental improvement and income growth.

The use of market forces must be an increasingly integral component of efforts to conserve tropical forests. Although a free and open market is certainly no cure for the environment, as Western development has demonstrated, economic incentives and rational economic policies that promote conservation are essential to achieving significant change in developing countries.

Local populations who bear the cost of conservation should also receive the resulting stream of benefits. For example, inhabitants living in and around forests, who often exercise the real power over the use of the resource, should be provided incentives to manage these resources sustainably for their own benefit. A high priority on the development assistance agenda should be helping developing countries reform their national policies to use market forces and economic instruments more effectively to achieve this aim. There are some encouraging signs. Inappropriate policies and incentives, costly to the government and destructive to the environment, are being reviewed and changed in many developing countries. For example, in Brazil, tax credits to clear landholdings were suspended in 1988 and 1989 and finally canceled. Brazil also established in 1988 the "Our Nature" program, which included a concerted effort to reduce forest burning; Brazil's Institute of Environment and Renewable Natural Resources has issued millions of dollars in fines for illegal burning. Data from the National Space Research Institute of Brazil indicate that these efforts have been successful in reducing burning by 40 percent in 1988 and an additional 40 percent in 1989. Early this year, Brazil also established large "extractive reserves" to promote the sustainable harvesting of forest resources and to benefit those populations living within the reserves.

Of course, serious problems remain. Governments continue to lose potential revenue while making unsustainable forestry a profitable enterprise. Much progress also needs to be made in reforming the duration of concessions: short durations reduce financial incentives for logging companies to maintain forest productivity. Trade policies continue to exacerbate and encourage deforestation and should be reviewed carefully.

Managing protected areas

Support for specific forestry projects and programs has grown in recent years, as exemplified by the AID forestry program. AID supported 145 tropical forestry projects in 1988 and 171 projects in 1989, funded at levels of $50 million and $76 million respectively, and the agency will support over 200 projects in 1990. AID has supported the establishment of the Zubiya Wildlife Reserve in Jordan, the Hol Chan Marine Reserve in Belize,

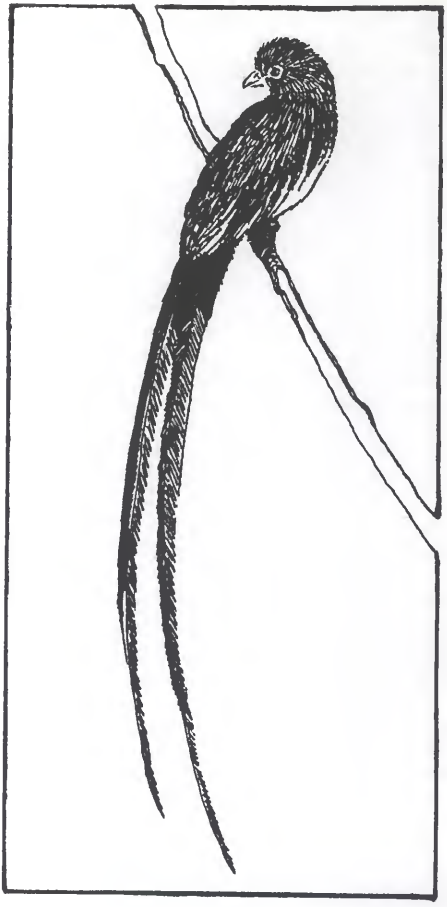
Chitwan, Mount Everest, and Anapurna national parks, and it is working with the Missouri Botanical Garden to establish a national park on Madagascar's Masoala Peninsula, as well as helping to develop management plans for five protected areas in Burundi. AID has been joined by the World Bank and the Nature Conservancy to establish the Mbaracayu Nature Reserve in eastern Paraguay.

Support for protected areas constitutes only a small portion of AID's total forestry assistance, the majority of which is focused on agroforestry, sustainable production of timber and other forest products, natural forest management, and reforestation. For example, in Cameroon, a project on Kilum Mountain is helping to stem further degradation of the Afromontane forest and surrounding agricultural land by developing existing sustainable forest-based industries. A Forestry Development Project in Honduras is improving the management and sustainable production of commercial forests in that country. An Agroforestry Outreach Project in Haiti has successfully assisted farmers in planting and maintaining fast-growing tree species on their farms. The project has also contributed significantly to the overall objective of reducing and, on some parcels of land, reversing the degradation of Haitian forests. AID is helping to provide innovative alternatives to shifting cultivation through its support for agroforestry techniques, particularly alley-cropping, now emerging from Africa's international agricultural research centers.

These projects could have significant impact on tropical forestry conservation. Project-level assistance will be of maximum value only if implemented in the proper policy environment, however. Likewise, to have the greatest impact, policy reform must be accompanied by field work—the two are inextricably intertwined. This gets to the heart of a long-simmering debate in the donor community on the relative importance of policy dialogue and project assistance. The debate is reminiscent of the biological feud over nature versus nurture: as biologists eventually discovered, neither alone is decisive. Likewise in aid, both policy dialogue and project assistance must be integral components of any program to conserve tropical forestry.

Making common cause

Tropical deforestation, with far-reaching economic, political, social and environmental consequences, demands internationally coordinated actions that cut across the traditional sectors. The release of carbon dioxide from cutting and burning trees contributes significantly to global greenhouse gas emissions and could affect climate change; distinct human cultures are threatened when traditional hunting grounds are



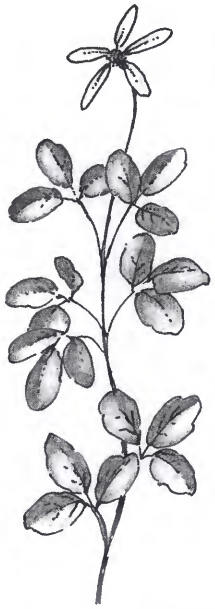
destroyed; the diversity of plant and animal species is threatened when critical habitats are lost; soil erosion caused by deforestation, and the subsequent reduction in agricultural productivity, affect billions of people. These multiple impacts, and the underlying causes of deforestation, must be addressed through a variety of mechanisms: policy dialogue, bilateral and multilateral project-level assistance, and internationally coordinated efforts to support priority conservation activities.

Perhaps the most encouraging sign that tropical deforestation will eventually be arrested, and possibly reversed, while significant stands of forest remain, is the noticeable change in attitude toward the problem. In the 1980s, when combatting deforestation became a high priority in the industrialized countries, the developing world largely suspected this was another attempt to save the environment at the expense of Third World development. Recent

National forestry plans: the pros and cons

Conceived in 1983, the Tropical Forestry Action Plan (TFAP) is, ideally, a mechanism both to identify tropical forestry conservation needs and to coordinate donor activities to meet those needs. Implementation of TFAP began in 1985 with the first formulations of national forestry action plans in a few tropical countries, with assistance from the donor community. As of August 1989, TFAP activities were being supported in 63 countries, more than double the 30 countries listed in 1987. In many cases, national forestry action plans have proved to be an effective process for determining critical conservation needs in tropical countries. TFAP planning has helped stimulate an increase in investment in tropical forestry from $500 million in 1985 to $1 billion in 1989. Clearly, TFAP has the potential to coordinate global efforts to conserve tropical forests and leverage resources at local and regional levels.

Unfortunately, the full potential has simply not been realized due to some structural flaws in TFAP's approach and organization. Significant changes in the near future are possible, however, because TFAP's shortcomings have been recognized by the World Resources Institute (WRI), a TFAP sponsor, and a high-level independent review team commissioned to focus on the urgent need for TFAP reform. These reviews contain recommendations that, if implemented, would transform TFAP into an effective tool to prevent deforestation and promote sustainable forest management.

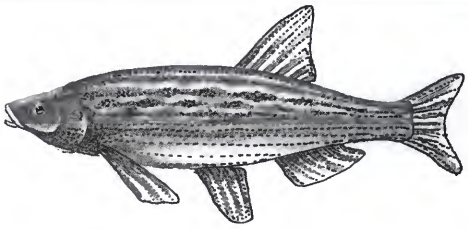


For example, since most of the impacts on tropical forestry are caused by actions outside the forestry sector, TFAP should develop a mechanism to incorporate agriculture, water, energy, and other development sectors into national action plans. To forge successfully these multisector linkages, significant change is necessary in TFAP's institutional and management structure. Both WRI and the independent commission have provided concrete suggestions on how such change should occur.

Other important suggestions include placing a greater emphasis on policy reform and institution building, and ensuring that interested parties are included throughout the TFAP process, from the earliest stages of planning. This latter point is particularly important because one of TFAP's most serious flaws has been a top-down approach that neglects local concerns in identifying conservation opportunities. —J.S.

World Resources Institute polls, however, show that a majority of people throughout the world consider tropical deforestation to be a serious concern: 78 percent in Latin America and the Caribbean, 73 percent in Asia, and 77 percent in Africa. A growing number of developing countries are formally adopting policies to conserve their forests and promote sustainable use of forest resources. World opinion is converging on the notion that conservation and sustainable use of resources on which economic growth depends are the common responsibilities of all nations. □

Jeff Schweitzer, a Foreign Service officer in AID's Bureau of Science and Technology, was the rapporteur for the panel on tropical forest conservation.



The interpretations and conclusions in these reports are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the views of the Foreign Service, the Department of State, or the Agency for International Development.

Cuban Cigars and Meissen China: the Collapse of the GDR

MARK A. EPSTEIN

The implosion of the German Democratic Republic means the end of many things. We will lose the islanders. That was what American diplomats in Embassy Berlin (to the GDR, not in it) called their counterparts at the U.S. mission in West Berlin, the city surrounded by the wall. The flow of U.S. military buses from throughout West Germany is also a thing of the past. Legally untouchable by the GDR border guards, some mornings dozens of them would creep through Checkpoint Charlie (also gone). Their passengers, after a quick stop at the money changer in West Berlin, were on their way to the "Soviet Occupation Zone of Berlin." With pockets full of non-convertible GDR Marks, they were on half-day runs for what a military driver once described as "really great shopping at Alexanderplatz—just like K-mart, only cheaper."

While much has been said about the cost of all this change to the prosperous taxpayers of West Germany, there are some other costs, and some gains, which escape general notice. What about GDR diplomats and what about their embassies? What about other GDR institutions, 40 years old or just 40 weeks?

In Washington, the GDR embassy was a Massachusetts Avenue office building near Dupont Circle. Taking a last cup of coffee there in mid-July, it was clear already that nothing was left. The ambassador had departed some weeks before, and the staff of 70 had been reduced to seven or so. Some were on home leave but would probably not return—there is no money to pay their airfare back, not to mention their salaries. Not only is the GDR out of money, but there is really no place for former GDR diplomats in the foreign service of the new Germany, and not much they can do about it. The East German residence had already been inspected by officials of the West German embassy, as had their apartments in Arlington.

However, there are more distinguished properties that the West Germans will inherit on behalf of the new Germany. In the capitals of the East Bloc there were large delegations, trade missions for the Community for Economic Cooperation (COMECON), and cultural centers that dwarfed anything the West Germans could offer. Some of those facilities will certainly be put to new uses. Even before reunification, we heard that new Goethe Institutes are slated to open in Eastern Europe, teaching the German language to all and sundry. Presumably their old competitors, the GDR's Schiller Institutes, which dominated German cultural play in the Warsaw Pact countries, will wither away or be subsumed. Heaven only knows what eventual linguistic compromise will be reached. For certain political and administrative concepts two different vocabularies have developed over the last four decades.

There are other places where the West Germans in the new Germany will gain by inheritance. In countries where the two German states competed actively for influence—parts of Africa and elsewhere in the Third World—large, expensive, lavish East German embassies, intended to impress the host country, are now available. Some will certainly be put to new uses, and perhaps a few will remain as the sole German embassy. Yet others are assets that can offset the cost of all these happenings. It is the people who will be different.

At least some East German military personnel will be retained in one way or another, presumably those too young to have had real responsibility and those too knowledgeable to let out quite yet. The same will be true of the GDR parliamentary staff, whose numbers swelled from about 100 to more than 800 after the new parliament was elected. While they have had little to do in the way of actual legislation, they have certainly learned a lot about coalition building in recent months. As unfamiliar as they are with the workings of a Western parliament, they will in time be joined to the existing Bundestag staff, and then go through a second learning process.

For diplomats, even those who had no particularly strong party affiliation or patron (there were a few), there seems to be no diplomatic future. The West German foreign service just does not see any way to integrate them. Indeed, since early this year the flutter of circulating resumes had been clearly discernable over the din of unification machinery. No doubt most of these former diplomats, career employees in a womb-like system, will go off and find other work, however great the shock of the transition.

Other things will be lost as well. Some of us will pine for those Cuban cigars from East Berlin groceries, purchased for what seemed merely pennies; others will miss the occasional bargain piece of Meissen ware, though the selection should improve

Mark A. Epstein, a Washington consultant, was a Robert Bosch Fellow from 1988 to 1989 in the West German Foreign Ministry.

now. As for the GDR, few of us will miss it, except as a place to remind us briefly of the old Germany, even of life before 1933, when the colors were drab and the attitudes often rather old-fashioned, Marxist or not.

As for East Germans in the new Germany, some of them will certainly miss elements of GDR life, but it will be hard, if not impossible, to preserve them. In the first few months after the wall came down, East Germans tried hard to tell the world that if the Federal Republic had wealth and democracy to offer, the GDR had its virtues as well, some of them old German-style—better child care and other social programs, as well as good relations with their fellow sufferers under socialism. Mostly, though, it was an attempt to retain some dignity and self-respect. Prime Minister de Maiziere had no sooner got the words "GDR identity" out of his mouth here in Washington than Chancellor Kohl was in Berlin, nearly winning an "immediate reunification" vote in the East German parliament. A few weeks later, in late July, the parliamentary debate over unification threatened the survival of the coalition. Not everything will be quite so dramatic as those events, but institutions and attitudes, good, bad, and indifferent, will die quickly.

The real drama will lie in remaking so many lives so quickly. For the GDR diplomats, it will be hard, but they will surely find other professions and ways to use their talents. For the Vietnamese guest workers in the GDR, who lived in horrible, segregated facilities and did unpleasant factory work, it is hard to imagine just what the future holds: to them, the privilege of work in Europe was highly prized.

Unlike anywhere else in the region, there is a Western commitment to rebuilding and the guarantee that comes of being attached suddenly to the most successful economy in Europe. However, there will be 16 million or more private dramas. Unlike the economic drama, their outcome in the rough and tumble of Western-style competition is hardly predictable. □

1717 Massachusetts Avenue housed the GDR embassy in Washington, D.C.

The U.S. unification story

As East German diplomats in Washington pack their bags and prepare for an uncertain professional future, it is still unsure how the unification will affect employees at three U.S. posts in the fast-combining Germanys.

U.S. embassies in Bonn and East Berlin and the U.S. mission in West Berlin now employ about 260 American employees of the State Department and 320 foreign nationals. According to Brenda Schoonover, personnel officer in the Bureau of European and Canadian Affairs (EUR), three Foreign Service employees have had their assignments canceled, and 15 more have had their tours of duty rolled back; they will not be replaced in 1991. Eventually, there may be further changes, as the State Department adjusts staffing to reflect needs in the new, united Germany.

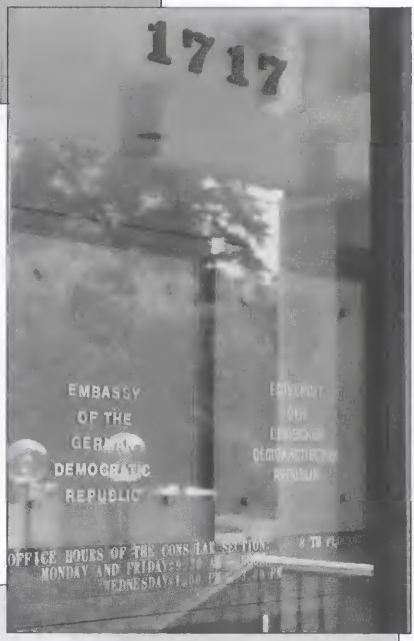
"What we do depends much on what the Germans decide to do, for example, with regard to locating the capital and seat of government," says Jack M. Seymour Jr., acting director of the State Department's Office of Central European Affairs (EUR/CE). It seems clear Berlin will be the official capital, but the seat of government or location of many government offices may yet remain in Bonn.

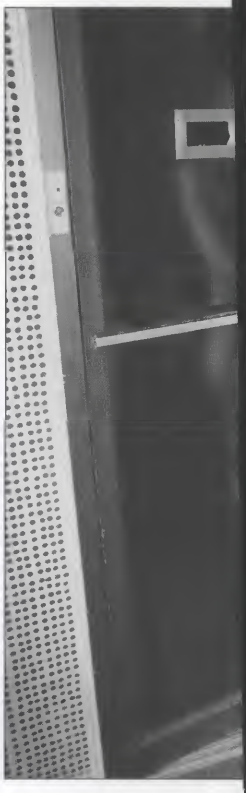
A few positions are clearly redundant, though. The State Department has changed the assignments of two officers who had been slated to arrive in Berlin in late 1990, as well as of one communicator. There may be additional changes over the next two to three years, but State will want to ensure adequate staffing to fulfill the political and economic reporting requirements and to meet consular and administrative needs in a changing Germany. For example, a consulate general will be opened in Leipzig.

Buildings and equipment present another big question mark. Currently the United States leases all its property in East Berlin from the GDR. In West Berlin, only the ambassador's residence and two other properties are owned outright by the United States. "We and our embassy and its 'branch office' in Berlin will be working to obtain on reasonable terms the property we need," says Seymour.

—Anne Stevenson-Yang

Goodbye to the GDR in Washington, D.C.





Above, GDR Press Spokesman Jantz and the Embassy of the German Democratic Republic plaque at 1717 Massachusetts Avenue, Washington, D.C. The embassy's offices were leased. *Near right*, few opening hours for visas to the GDR. *Center*, Mr. Jantz, one of 23 remaining GDR representatives in July, opened the embassy's doors to photographer Barbara Borkovitz. *Below*, the ambassador's meeting room in the embassy.

Above, the ambassador's residence at Roshdo Court, Bethesda, Maryland, property owned by the GDR. The last GDR ambassador to the United States left June 24, 1990. "TJ" was the GDR diplomatic license plate code. *Below*, The residential quarters of GDR diplomatic staff in Arlington. The windows, *below left*, are protected by typical East German ironwork. As of September, neither the East nor West Germans had notified the Department of State's Office of Foreign Missions about the intended disposition of either property.

Books

Mexico, the Beautiful

A Marriage of Convenience: Relations Between Mexico and the United States
By Sidney Weintraub, Oxford University Press, 1990, $24.95 hardcover

Mexican Politics: The Containment of Conflict
By Martin C. Needler, Praeger Books, 1990 (second edition), $39.95 hardcover, $16.95 softcover

The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo: A Legacy of Conflict
By Richard Griswold del Castillo, University of Oklahoma Press, 1990, $22.95 hardcover

Reviewed by Theodore S. Wilkinson

Mexico! What faint heart fails to stir on hearing that mystical *nahuatl* word, with origins as obscure as the tribe itself, which brought the Aztec culture to the lakeshore of the world's (once and future) largest capital! What tales and memories of dust, deceit, and disillusionment come to mind? And of pride, idealism, nobility, and sacrifice?

The State Department's public affairs division once in the 1970s sent for approval to Secretary Vance five priority issues to guide its programs for the next year, among them such knotty problems as SALT, the Middle East, and the trade deficit. The secretary's reply was a single, marginal note: Mexico.

Rather than Mexico's spouse of convenience, some would say that Washington is a fickle lover casting a coy eye southward only fitfully, causing our Mexican partner to ricochet from despair to delight in response to the American mood.

But that characterization is not entirely fair. Some fits and starts in our relationship are beyond the control of either party, like the current crisis in the Gulf, which should yield a bountiful windfall for Petroleos Mexicanos—Pemex—and for Mexico's export ledger. At other times, as Sidney Weintraub points out in rich detail, decisions are taken by policymakers in Washington to respond to overriding domestic imperatives, and the impact for Mexico is either consciously or unconsciously disregarded.

In fact, it isn't easy to find the right words for this complex bilateral relationship. I never particularly liked Alan Riding's title (*Distant Neighbors*) either, although much of what he wrote in this 1985 book was inspired. The most vivid analogy is one Foreign Relations Under Secretary Sergio Gonzalez Galvez used to use. He compared coexisting with the United States to sleeping with an elephant. It gives you warmth and security, but it's no place to be when the elephant rolls over.

Available literature on our Latin neighbors today would be poor even if Mexico lacked any endowment of culture, resources, or scenic beauty. That our libraries hold so little on a country as diverse and full of mystery as Mexico is lamentable. Griswold, Weintraub, and Needler write from vastly different perspectives, yet the same names and sources run through all three bibliographies—just one sign of how little candlepower goes into the American searchlight on Mexico.

There are some indications that this is changing, as U.S.-Latin American study centers and even U.S.-Mexican centers multiply on U.S. campuses, principally in the South and West. And the appearance of three such important studies is gratifying, despite some imperfections in each.

Of the three studies, Weintraub's is perhaps the most ambitious. Needler has given us a first-class analysis of the Mexican political system; Griswold an analysis of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and a point of view (that the rights of Mexican-Americans under the treaty were systematically disregarded for a century); Weintraub an analysis, a point of view, and an action program.

In a sense, however, Weintraub's action program may already have been overtaken by events. Starting from the assumption that Mexico City at least was not politically ready for far-reaching U.S.-Mexican economic integration, he proposed a more subtle approach: "managed integration" of the border areas—that is, trying to steer and shape through government action a process that is going on anyway, both autonomously and inexorably. Now, one short year after the completion of his study, the two governments would already seem to have jumped beyond incremental "managed integration" of the border area, as they explore the creation of a free trade agreement with a major potential impact throughout both nations.

Weintraub's influence on these events extends beyond his book, since he was also a key economic adviser to Ambassador Diego Asencio's congressional commission on migration and economic cooperation. As Asencio put it to President Salinas when the commission met with him a year ago, it's a simple matter: "Mexico has got to export either people or products to the United States." Salinas replied to Asencio that he wouldn't put it so crudely but then used the same phrase publicly during his state visit to the United States this spring. (The commission's logic was certainly not the only factor that impelled Salinas to reverse course and seek free-trade talks this year. Another was

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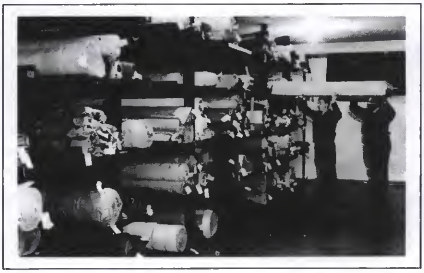

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a European trip in the spring that convinced him that the Common Market countries are intent on rescuing Eastern Europe and have little current interest in special trade deals elsewhere.)

Weintraub's influence is also apparent in another of the commission's well-reasoned recommendations, namely, that U.S. government agencies should be obliged to prepare "immigration impact statements" (similar to environmental impact statements) to accompany major decisions on international trade and aid.

It is understandable that border policy issues loom large for Weintraub, who is Dean Rusk professor at the University of Texas. Both pique and passion for justice spring from his pages when he recounts how "they" (Mexico City and Washington) have held the border regions hostage for irrelevant political reasons; how the voices from Mexico City preach fatuous nationalism to border residents to uphold Mexico's sacred cow of sovereignty, and how Washington decrees "counterproductive" border-crossing slowdowns as reprisals for Mexico's perceived drug enforcement shortcomings. Weintraub believes that consultations between Mexico and Washington should be broader and more intensive, and no harm can come from that, although there are already a fair number of high-level government-to-government channels. Political decisions can probably also be better attuned to border circumstances; but it's likely to be a long time before the crude instruments of international leverage available to federal governments can be refined to bear equitably on all regions and individuals, and before foreign interests will be given as ample a hearing as they should be in domestic economic policy decisions.

In contrast to Weintraub, Needler concerns himself principally with Mexico's internal dynamics, and he has no particular axe to grind. His study is short and clear, full of distilled and limpid wisdom about the elements of the Mexican domestic mosaic—the church, the press, the military, the left, and Mexico's regions. I would recommend it both as a primer for generalists and a refresher for experts. Even after years in Mexico, I found some delightful new insights; for example, that the Mayas of the Yucutan, with a tradition of neatness and punctuality, consider the rest of Mexico "scruffy." Needler's catalogue concludes with excellent chapters on economics and foreign policy, but ventures perhaps too far into the mist in a final chapter on "understanding Mexico's ruling class." Comparing Mexico's current technocrat governors first to Marx's "Bonapartists," then to Djilas's "new class," then to "smurfs," and lastly to Plato's "guardians" was just too eclectic for me to follow.

Heaven knows that it isn't easy to write authoritatively about a political system that is designed to veil the decision-making process and preserve options, a structure as hermetic as the soul of Mexico itself, as Octavio Paz describes in *Labyrinth of Solitude*. Needler's observations about the "new class" of technocrat administrators notwithstanding, the system remains opaque, with knowledge of the most sensitive matters confined to cliques within circles, like degrees of masonry. With regard to the quasi-legal means of cooptation and extralegal violence that the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) has traditionally used to maintain political control, "it is unclear," in Needler's view, ". . . to what extent these activities are ordered by the president; to what extent he knows about them by implication only, so as to preserve 'deniability,' to what extent he knows they go on and tries to limit them; to what extent he doesn't know about them."

Slowly but surely, it's true that the closed Mexican political system is breaking down. Cuahtemoc Cardenas's startling 1988 challenge from the left forced the PRI government to admit another increase in opposition electoral gains, which even the customary manipulation of vote totals could not hide. One irony is that each concession made by the PRI to keep the lid on in the short run enhances the prospect for openness and shared power in the longer run. More opposition deputies in Congress mean more controversy over national policy decisions, which means clearer choices for future elections, and so on.

Weintraub points to other Mexican ironies. If trade liberalization fails, the PRI will be blamed for attempting it. If it succeeds, many of the PRI's tools of patronage (for example, selective granting of import licenses) will disappear. Or, with regard to border *maquiladoras,* the PRI government needs them to create jobs and reduce the corrosion of unemployment; but *maquiladora* workers become increasingly oriented toward the United States and less and less responsive politically to a distant and seemingly irrelevant PRI authority in Mexico City.

Griswold's study of Guadalupe Hidalgo is more narrowly focused than either of the others. It is also extremely uneven. The history of the treaty and the negotiations that produced it is short and clear. The central theme of the book that follows is about the claims that arose under the treaty, how they were treated in claims commissions and the U.S. courts, and how U.S. judicial attitudes evolved. This discussion shows important and difficult legal research. What follows is a somewhat sympathetic view of the strained efforts of the Chicano movement in the 1960s to demand social action based on the treaty and to internationalize these demands, plus a recitation of some exaggerated linkages made by others between the treaty and other 20th century issues, such as the Mexican case against the three-mile limit at the 1961 Law of the Sea confer-

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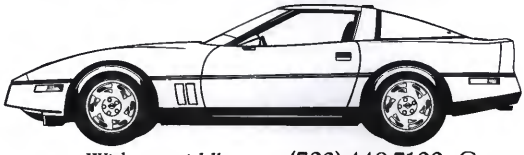

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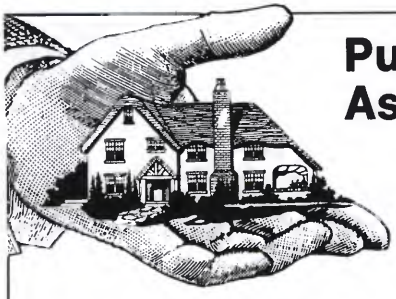

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ence. Griswold seems to be trying to convince himself when he concludes: "The growing Hispanic minority will compel us to consider, again and again, the meaning of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo within American history."

Considering that the American army was encamped in Mexico City at the time, what is most surprising about the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo is that it does not read like a *diktat*. Provisions protecting Mexican rights in the Southwest were not ratified entirely by the United States and were rewritten in broader and less restrictive language in a Protocol of Queretaro. Griswold laments that even these more limited property and citizenship rights were treated in a pretty cavalier fashion by U.S. courts for much of the next century, much as the United States treated its treaties with the Indians. But even the total of property claims under the treaty, including those that were settled as well as those set aside, can scarcely be said to have been overwhelming either in numbers or in value. The primary significance of Guadalupe Hidalgo has been and will continue to be the enormous territorial settlement conveyed to the United States, satisfying virtually once and for all the country's appetite for "manifest destiny." America's Hispanic minority deserves more respect than it gets today, but the dynamic social and economic factors that Weintraub and Needler analyze are more relevant to the Hispanic plight today than the provisions of a 140-year-old document.

Trying to make durable generalizations about Mexican-American relations or just about Mexico alone is a hazardous occupation. President Salinas's political future was anything but auspicious two years ago, after an election that can at best be described as inelegant. Mexico's economic growth is still flat, but two years of authoritative leadership have curbed inflation and brought some traditionally undisciplined elements like the petroleum workers union into line, to the point where Salinas's real popular approval rating may even exceed his phony election vote count.

Bilaterally, the United States and Mexico can now talk amicably without constant antagonism over Central America. Relations appear to be cordial enough to step up both free trade talks and the other aspects of "managed" border cooperation that Weintraub favors. But the fragility of bilateral cordiality is illustrated by the sharp reactions to the Camarena docudrama aired on U.S. national TV last January, and the abduction from Guadalajara of Camarena suspect Dr. Alvarez Machain in midspring. Minimizing the impact on the game of wild cards such as narcotics crises is a genuine challenge for diplomacy.

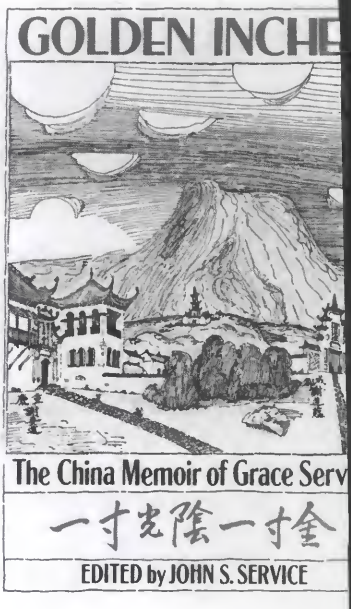
Theodore S. Wilkinson, currently president of AFSA, served from 1981 to 1984 in Mexico City.

Remembering Grace Service

Golden Inches: The China Memoir of Grace Service

Edited by John S. Service, University of California Press, 1989, $19.95 hardcover

Reviewed by Helen Strother Fouché



World nomads have crossed paths with the Service family; I am one of them. Bob Service stood as the proxy godfather for our first son years ago in Nicaragua. Now that I have read this intimate and intriguing account of life in China in the early decades, his grandmother, Grace Service, has become a friend in spirit.

The book's title draws from a Chinese proverb, "An inch of time is an inch of gold." So Grace Boggs Service viewed her years in China, from 1905 to 1937. She accompanied her husband, Robert Roy Service, to China in the service of the YMCA, and shared in the tribulations and joys of a career that hopscotched them between Shanghai, Chongqing, and Chengdu. Daily life unfolds against the background of China's metamorphosis from colonial humiliation into 20th century nation statehood.

Meticulous journals formed the base for this fast-moving personal narrative. Generous footnotes added by her son, John Service, are equally interesting, clarifying historical events and adding frank personal insights.

This is a book for those who have ever traveled in China, are fascinated by Chinese culture, or have served in hardship posts anywhere. It is written from a woman intellectual's perspective, but is the story of a family and a career, of a turbulent nation, and of an epoch. The death of a baby, the violence of coups, the thrill of shooting rapids in a houseboat on the Yangtze River, and the beauty of mountain sunsets pull the reader into this rich narrative.

Helen Strother Fouché is a member of the JOURNAL editorial board.

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AFSA ♦ NEWS

Despite setback, battle for family leave continues

Christie E-Loon Woo
Law Clerk

Despite the July defeat of the Family and Medical Leave Act (H.R. 770), which would have provided minimum standards for maternity, family, or other medical leave both for employees and their families, AFSA maintains its support for establishing such a leave policy. The Family and Medical Leave Act failed July 25 to receive sufficient House votes to override President Bush's veto. The House tally was 232 to 195 in favor of overriding the veto, 53 votes short of the two-thirds needed to prevail.

Bush strongly objects to instituting federally mandated leave policies. Bush vetoed the bill June 29, the same day it arrived on his desk, on grounds that it forces a "one-size-fits-all" government policy on private companies. The administration believes employment benefits in the private sector should be either voluntary or negotiable between employers and employees.

No federal laws require employers to offer sick leave, vacation benefits, or parental leave. Twenty-five states have laws requiring some kind of sick leave or parental leave. Most states also require maternity benefits. However, the United States is one of the few industrialized nations that does not set minimum standards for maternity leave. Department of State regulations address the issue of absence for maternity reasons in section 463, Volume 3 ("Personnel"), of the Foreign Affairs Manual (FAM), which specifies that employees may not take maternity leave per se but may take a combination of sick leave, annual leave, and, if available, leave without pay.

The bill would have allowed federal workers up to 18 weeks of unpaid family leave over a two-year period to care for new children, and up to 26 weeks of unpaid medical leave over a one-year period. The bill also requires the government and other employers to continue health insurance benefits during employees' leave and to assure the same or an equivalent job upon their return.

Representative Patricia Schroeder (D-CO) believes that the provisions of H.R. 770 give employers flexibility for the following reasons:

☐The bill exempts businesses with fewer than 50 employees—95 percent of all employers.
☐It allows employers to exempt 10 percent of their employees to avoid serious economic harm to the firm.
☐The bill covers only employees with at least one year of service and 1,000 hours of work.
☐An employee must present medical certification from a doctor of a serious illness when requesting the leave. The employer has the right to ask for a second opinion.
☐Finally, an employee must give reasonable notice of the intent to take family or medical leave.

The bill has taken five years to come to a floor vote. Senator Christopher Dodd (D-CT) said, "If we don't succeed this time, the president is going to see this bill every year as long as he's in the White House. . . This is a basic, fundamental issue of human decency."

AFSA will continue to support the bill and monitor any further developments.

Bookfair '90

Family Night, Friday, October 19, 1990 will mark the opening of the 30th annual Bookfair of the Association of American Foreign Service Women (AAFSW). The hours will be 4 to 7 p.m.

Bookfair '90 will be open to the public Saturday, October 20, Sunday, October 21, Saturday, October 27, and Sunday, October 28. The hours will be 10 a.m. until 4 p.m. For personnel with security access to the State Department building, Bookfair will be open Monday, October 22 through Friday, October 26 from 11 a.m. to 3 p.m. The location of Bookfair will be the lower level of the 23rd Street entrance to the State Department and the exhibition hall near the cafeteria.

Thousands of books from special collections will be on sale. Valuable stamps and coins for experienced collectors as well as packets of stamps for beginners will be available. Art treasures and collectibles from around the world will be on sale in the art corner. Records and sheet music will be featured in the record corner.

For more information, please call 202/223-5796.

Proceeds from the sale go to AAFSW scholarships and community projects in Washington, D.C.

Contact: Georgia Pratt 202/223-5796.

Professional Issues

How State looks from the NSC

Richard S. Thompson
Coordinator for Professional Issues

Speaking to a capacity audience at the Foreign Service Club July 26, Ambassador David C. Miller Jr., special assistant to the president and senior director at the National Security Council, criticized the State Department as slow moving and lacking in managerial expertise.

Ambassador Miller spoke enthusiastically of his service as ambassador to two African countries and of the abilities of the Foreign Service officers with whom he had worked. However, he stated, "I have never seen an organization that selects and trains people with so much care and then underutilizes them." He noted that at his embassies he gave officers an opportunity to work in an unfettered way. Ambassador Miller further remarked that the Department of State is too slow and lacks forcefulness and creativity, thereby losing much of the policy influence it should have. Embassies and ambassadors are less effective than they could be, because the department "doesn't work right."

As an example, Miller offered 20 years of U.S. arms negotiations, which have been conducted mostly by civil servants and military officers and not Foreign Service officers. International economic problems provide another example: Miller said few embassies have seriously attacked trade problems.

Miller strongly praised Assistant Secretary for International Narcotics Matters Melvyn Levitsky for trying to make INM more effective but asserted that past inaction by State in the Andean countries had left the anti-narcotics effort there largely to the Drug Enforcement Agency. He suggested that an integrated approach organized by State would probably have been more effective at the outset.

Foreign Service officers need to spend more time developing managerial ability. "Foreign Service officers must start considering Peter Drucker just as important as George Kennan. Leadership flows to competence, which comes from expertise and training."

Taking up a last point he said was dear to his heart, Miller asserted the Foreign Service had lost its building (i.e. the Old Executive Office Building during World War II) and its culture (*see* "Views," page 2). The Pentagon halls are full of history, but the State Department halls contain no remembrances of great figures of the Foreign Service such as George Kennan or the late Ambassador Arnold Raphel. Rekindling pride in the Foreign Service would help the Foreign Service regain control and fight political appointees.

In response to questions Miller said that State should maintain some regional expertise, but officers should be much more willing to take tours in other agencies, such as Justice, the Pentagon, and the CIA, to learn about these agencies' cultures and thus be better equipped to exercise leadership.

Miller also decried excess "layering" in the State Department. "If something has 15 clearances it means no one really thought about it."

Keep Informed!

Those wishing to receive individual notification of AFSA's luncheon series with speakers on current issues should send their names and an office or home address to AFSA, Attn: Professional Issues, 2101 E Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037 or Room 3644 NS, Department of State.

Establishing a reserve corps

AFSA has proposed establishing a Foreign Service reserve corps composed of Foreign Service retirees who are available for temporary service. In a letter to Secretary Baker in August, AFSA President Theodore S. Wilkinson suggested that the State Department formalize the rudimentary reserve system under which retirees are called in as consultants during periods of intensified political activity in various parts of the world, centralize its administration, and expand its membership to include the Foreign Services of other agencies.

The AFSA proposal would establish a central data bank by combining the "WAE" ("when actually employed") lists of retirees who are temporarily employed with the skills bank currently maintained by PER/CTR. This data bank would provide a summary of each Foreign Service reservist's experience, language skills, and area knowledge. Members of the reserve corps themselves would maintain their language proficiency and area or functional expertise, though they would have access to regular area studies facilities at the Foreign Service Institute. Finally, a legislative basis for a comprehensive reserve corps would be sought to bring together Foreign Service retirees from State, USIA, AID, Commerce, and Agriculture, either by modifying S. 1978, which provides for establishing a new Department of Industry and Technology and a Volunteer Export Assistance Corps within the new department or through separate legislation.

A Foreign Service reserve corps could be a vital and inexpensive source of personnel for the U.S. government when confronted with unforeseen requirements, as well as a resource for private-sector enterprises seeking consultancy. The reserve would also boost morale in the Foreign Service. AFSA would like to hear members' views on the proposal, and we'll keep you posted on response from the department.

Scholarships

Gail Volk
Scholarships Administrator

Applications are now available for AFSA's 1991-92 scholarship programs. This school year will begin with about 85 students attending colleges with the help of roughly $85,000 in AFSA scholarship funds.

Thanks to the generosity of donors, the scholarship program has grown steadily since its inception in 1926, when Elizabeth T. Harriman established a trust in her son's memory to fund scholarships for dependent children of a Foreign Service officer. According to Dawn Cuthell, a former AFSA scholarship administrator, in her February 1981 FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL article entitled "Something for the Good of the Service," Oliver Bishop Harriman was serving as chargé d'affaires in Copenhagen at the time of his death of heart disease on May 1, 1926. Under Secretary Joseph Grew set up guidelines for selection, distribution, and the establishment of an advisory committee for administering the Harriman trust.

The AFSA Board of Directors expanded Mrs. Harriman's concept by establishing the American Foreign Service Association Scholarship Program in 1932, contributing funds, and delegating responsibility for operating the program to the committee on education. Then, in 1936, the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL followed with another grant.

One of the outstanding contributors to the scholarship program was William B. Benton, who served as assistant secretary for cultural affairs and exchanges and helped draft the Foreign Service Act of 1946. Benton, who entered public service from a highly successful career in advertising, donated payments for articles he'd published to the scholarships program, provided sets of the Encyclopedia Britannica to overseas schools where children of the Foreign Service were being educated, and in 1962 offered two separate $5,000 matching grants to scholarship programs. Enthusiastic support also came from Edward "Tom" Wailes, Jefferson Patterson, Selden Chapin, and Theodore Achilles.

By holding their first book fair in 1961, the Association of American Foreign Service Women (AAFSW) established what has since become a co-sponsorship of the AFSA scholarship program. Yearly scholarship donations from book fair profits have grown from $1,500 awarded to three students in its first year to $41,000 today, providing 24 student scholarships and contributing half of the cash awards to Merit winners and honorable mention recipients. AAFSW's continuing commitment to AFSA scholarship programs includes participation of an AAFSW board member on the AFSA Committee on Education.

Continuing support for AFSA's scholarship programs has also come from the beneficiaries themselves, in the form of profits from sale of personal goods overseas, proceeds from fees and honoraria, and direct donations. A major source of scholarship revenue comes from donations received for named scholarships, named memorial scholarships, and bequests.

In future articles, look for accounts of what former AFSA scholarship recipients are doing now. Readers who once won an AFSA scholarship or know someone who did, please call or write with your stories.

Scholarships

WHO? For dependent students of all Foreign Service personnel who are serving or have served abroad for foreign affairs agencies covered by the Foreign Service Act of 1980.
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WHEN? All applications must be completed and returned to AFSA before February 15, 1991.

CALENDAR

October 10: applications available for AFSA scholarships for the academic year 1991-92.

October 11:"AFSA Symposium on International Telecommunications" to be held at the State Department in collaboration with Bureau of International Communications and Information and with the National Telecommunications Administration

November 14: "AFSA Conference on New Dimensions in International Trade" to be held at the Mayflower Hotel

Early December: AFSA's annual meeting

February 7, 1991: AFSA Conference on National Implications of State and Local Government Involvement in International Commerce.

April 1991: AFSA conference on Business Opportunities with Mexico

May 2, 1991: AFSA dinner dance

May 3, 1991: Foreign Service Day

Outreach

AFSA provides a hook-up with the telecommunications industry

Brian Hennessey
Conference Coordinator

The revolutions of 1989 were sped—and in some cases, perhaps, determined—by the revolution in telecommunications. What guns and diplomacy could not accomplish was performed by radio, television, fax, and computer networks. Not only the general public, but presidents and legislators watched simultaneous transmissions of governments toppling and walls being chiseled down. The size of the communications industry is growing along with its importance: by the year 2000, communications will challenge energy and agriculture as the largest industry in the world.

AFSA and the State Department's Bureau of International Communications and Information Policy have organized a conference to discuss how government can help the U.S. communications industry create an electronic global village. The theme of the "U.S. Communications Inc." conference is whether the United States should seek a Japanese-style collaboration between government and industry to hold onto the slight edge America still maintains in some sectors of the industry and capture new international markets.

The communications conference will be the first organized by the outreach program to focus on one particular industry; prior conferences have looked at regions and countries (Eastern Europe and Korea) or policies (business and government, strategic export controls, the environment). Future conferences are planned concentrating on the pharmaceuticals and energy sectors.

The conference format will allow for considerable debate among the participants. It is hoped that this dialogue will help promote a new policy to aid American communications firms in their business abroad.

Ken Bleakley, former AFSA president, will be acting U.S. coordinator and director of the Bureau of International Communications and Information Policy on the day of the conference and will introduce the proceedings. The problems of penetrating new markets will be discussed by Mike Frischkorn, president of the Telecommunications Industry Association, and Denis Lamb, recent ambassador to the OECD. Travis Marshall, vice president of Motorola and an AFSA International Associate, will discuss competing in high technology markets.

Strategic and trade controls that inhibit the industry will be debated by Hughes Aircraft Vice President John Koehler, and State's Deputy Assistant Secretary for International Trade Controls Christopher Hankin. Jack Hoagland, editor-in-chief of radio & television, Christian Science Monitor and Rupert Murdoch, chairman of News American Publishing Inc. are invited to talk on policy initiatives the government should be promoting for broadcasting. Invited to discuss the panels' conclusions are U.S. and Foreign Commercial Service Director General Susan Schwab and the State Department Under Secretary for Management Ivan Selin.

Congressman Edward Markey, chairman of the Telecommunications and Finance Sub-committee of the Energy and Commerce Committee, will give a luncheon address.

For further details, call Brian Hennessey at 202/338-4045.

Travel regulations clarified

Catherine Schmitz
Member Services Representative

Foreign Service employees have expressed concern over an AID notice on temporary duty (TDY) travel rules. The notice summarized a decision by the comptroller general to discourage anyone attempting to charge the government for extra costs incurred during "unreasonably delayed travel." Reasonable travel time is determined by balancing the point of departure, the destination, the availability of flights, the starting time of the temporary assignment, and other factors.

Although each case is different, certain generalizations can be made. For example, if an employee is to begin a TDY assignment on Monday, the authorized travel (i.e., the time from which the agency will grant a per diem) usually must begin no earlier than Sunday. However, if the employee's normal travel time is more than one day, a per diem may be authorized for Saturday as well as Sunday. If there is any uncertainty about what constitutes "reasonable" travel time, the agency's travel and transportation office should be consulted.

Included in the comptroller general's decision is a reference to 6 FAM 131, which states that "to the maximum extent practicable, the head of an agency shall schedule the time to be spent by an employee in official travel status within the employee's regularly scheduled work week." This does not guarantee that employees will never be required to travel on personal time; however, if an employee believes that his or her agency is not making a reasonable effort to adhere to this regulation, AFSA should be notified.

Congress: clearing the deck

Rick Weiss
Congressional Liaison

Congress is poised to tackle several issues of relevance to the Foreign Service this autumn. With a general election in November, Congress will attempt to pass as much legislation as possible before leaving in October to face the electorate. Following is a summary of congressional issues that will have an impact on the Foreign Service:

• Unless there is agreement between the White House and congressional leadership to "fence the function 150"—meaning to protect the international affairs account from "domestic program raids," State, AID, and USIA resources will be reduced in autumn budget negotiations below FY 1990 levels.

• Both of the civil service committees have reported out federal pay reform bills. If passed, increased funding to implement the reforms will be marginal at best.

• Working with the office of Senator Robert W. Kasten (R-WI), AFSA proposed an amendment to the Civil Rights Act of 1990 during floor consideration by the Senate. The amendment would have provided Foreign Service women and minorities equity with Civil Service employees to utilize optional channels for discrimination complaints. The amendment was accepted by the Republican floor manager but could not be considered because of cloture procedures. The AFGE local (USIA) and national unions informed Kasten's office that they would not support this amendment to the civil rights bill.

• Senator Alan Cranston (D-CA) introduced S. 2896, the Migration Affairs Reorganization Act of 1990, implementing the legislative recommendations of Ambassador Diego Asencio's report from the Commission for the Study of International Migration and Cooperative Economic Development. Title 5 of this legislative proposal would transfer to a new Agency for Migration Affairs "the following components of the Department of State: the Bureau of Consular Affairs (except for such functions as relate to assistance for Americans abroad), the Bureau of Refugee Programs, and the asylum unit of the Bureau of Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs." This bill will be reintroduced and considered by Congress in 1991.

• During the House debate on the FY 1991 appropriations bill for the White House and executive offices of the president, Congressman Timothy J. Penny (D-MN) stated, "In particular, I want to make reference to the White House spending increases. The Office of Administration within the White House, a 34 percent increase. The executive residence at the White House, a 25 percent increase. The Office of Management and Budget, an 11.3 percent increase. Mr. Chairman, it seems to me that a president who up until two weeks ago said no new taxes should also have been submitting budget requests that involve no new White House spending. Though the president has now indicated there may be the need for some tax revenue increases to bring the budget deficit down, I do not think it is justifiable to propose those tax revenue increases only to spend them on White House spending increases." In committee action:

• ***House Appropriations Subcommittee (Foreign operations and State, Justice, and Commerce)*** The House has passed the State, AID, and USIA budgets for 1991. The House is waiting for the Senate to act before conference.

• ***Senate Appropriations Committee*** Both the Hollings and Leahy subcommittees were to mark up their bills in September. Under the Senate budget and appropriations allocations, the Hollings Subcommittee for State, Justice, and Commerce was allocated one-half billion less than the House-passed figures for these three departments.

Lease policy change

Amy MacEachin, Member Services Representative

Foreign Service employees enrolled at FSI on temporary duty have been adversely affected by a recent change in practice by the Bureau of Finance and Management Policy (FMP) that effectively denies full reimbursement to employees whose leases show "declining" rents (i.e., "front-loaded" leases). FMP maintains that it has not changed policy but has simply determined that reimbursement for such leases directly conflicts with existing regulations. AFSA disagrees with FMP's interpretation, and has raised the issue in a recent letter to management.

For many years, Foreign Service employees have been able to claim expenses for leases that charge more rent the first month than in subsequent months. This is a widely accepted practice that has long been described to incoming employees. The rationale for leases with declining rents is based on the radical reduction in per diem authorized during temporary duty. Employees receive $93 per day the first month, $47/day the second and third, and $24/day for the duration of the assignment.

In an abrupt break from past practice, FMP recently decided that full reimbursement for declining rent does not conform to applicable regulations. They appear to be relying on 6 FAM 114, which states that employees may be reimbursed only for "actual and real expenses." Although FMP now contends that declining rents do not qualify as "actual and real," many experts on this subject think otherwise.

FMP has been reluctant to issue an official statement regarding "front-loaded" leases, as it is awaiting a final determination from the General Accounting Office. Pending release of a formal decision, FSI officials have offered to provide a practical interpretation of applicable travel regulations. The guidelines have not been cleared by PER and FMP, but FSI is informally advising that employees with front-loaded leases are unlikely to be fully reimbursed.

Reflections on the 1990 Foreign Service awards

Richard S. Thompson, Coordinator for Professional Issues

Reading award nominations each year (one of the privileges of my job) is an exhilarating and humbling experience. The variety and quality of accomplishment recorded in these documents are truly astonishing.

The winners this year demonstrated diversity and a range of accomplishment. Ambassador Robert Pelletreau won the Herter Award for outstanding political work, Patrick McDuffie of AID received the Rivkin Award for relating political insight to development goals, and the Harriman Award went to Patricia Hanigan for accomplishments in economics and trade. The Bohlen Award for volunteer service was conferred on Ruth Wagner for helping victims of an incurable disease, marking the second time the Bohlen Award has gone to a foreign-born spouse.

The nominations described accomplishment in all aspects of Foreign Service work. Nominations applied the criteria of "extraordinary accomplishment involving initiative, integrity, intellectual courage, and creative dissent" to such areas as overall foreign policy; economic policy, including the Latin debt problem and economic sanctions; fisheries issues; terrorism and counterterrorism; human rights; protection of American citizens; reporting on AIDS in Africa; refugees; and administration at posts with special problems. The U.S. intervention in Panama sparked two nominations, which were especially welcome because personnel busy with a crisis often do not have time to think about such matters.

Also striking, and heartening, were a number of good nominations submitted by non-career ambassadors and assistant secretaries. These nominations highlighted the common interest of the career service and political appointees chosen by the president in effective performance by the Foreign Service.

A total of 36 nominations was received, with an outstanding total of 15 for the Rivkin Award, six for the Herter award, seven for the Harriman Award, and eight for the Bohlen Award. We always hope for more participation from agencies other than State; this year three candidates were from AID (which included the winner of the Rivkin Award) and one from USIA. Although there was strong competition in all categories, the 15 candidates for the Rivkin Award included several notably outstanding nominations, which made the final choice particularly difficult.

It was also encouraging that nominators recognized that dealing with the Washington bureaucracy requires initiative and intellectual courage as much as work in the field. Six of the Rivkin nominations and one each of the Herter and Harriman nominations reflected this insight.

Finally, the Bohlen nominations, for outstanding volunteer work with the American and foreign communities overseas, are always impressive. Foreign Service employees are sometimes diffident about nominating their spouses; they should not be, because it is common practice and was true in three cases this year. Community liaison officers can especially appreciate volunteer work and wrote two of the nominations.

But enough brooding about the past. Sharpen your pencils, fill your pens, turn on your typewriters, warm up your word processers, and get ready to submit more outstanding nominations for the 1991 awards. The call will be issued shortly.

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