FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

MAY 1992

$3.50

THE EARTH SUMMIT

BY WILLIAM A. NITZE

ALSO IN THIS ISSUE: **OKINAWA AND THE U.S. - JAPAN RELATIONSHIP**

U. ALEXIS JOHNSON • MORTON HALPERIN • TOSHIJIRO NAKAJIMA • AND MORE. . .

WE GET LETTERS...

Here are some from our 1991 collection:

- ". . . wrapped and treated it like it was their own"
- ". . . responded immediately to our calls"
- ". . . I was told that Interstate was the best and my friend was right"
- ". . . yours far exceeded others with respect to performance"
- ". . . when I moved this year I wanted the same crew"
- ". . . making sure the precious icons were carefully wrapped, checking with me . . ."
- ". . . sending a copy of this letter to __ in the State Department . . . good work should be recognized"
- ". . . after some 20 Navy moves . . . as smooth a 'pack and load' as Mary and I have ever seen"
- ". . . provided me a great pre-move briefing"
- ". . . nothing they packed was damaged and their box labeling simplified unpacking"

Hundreds of original letters from satisfied customers available. Read about Interstate's *Top Hat Service* at our office.

INTERSTATE

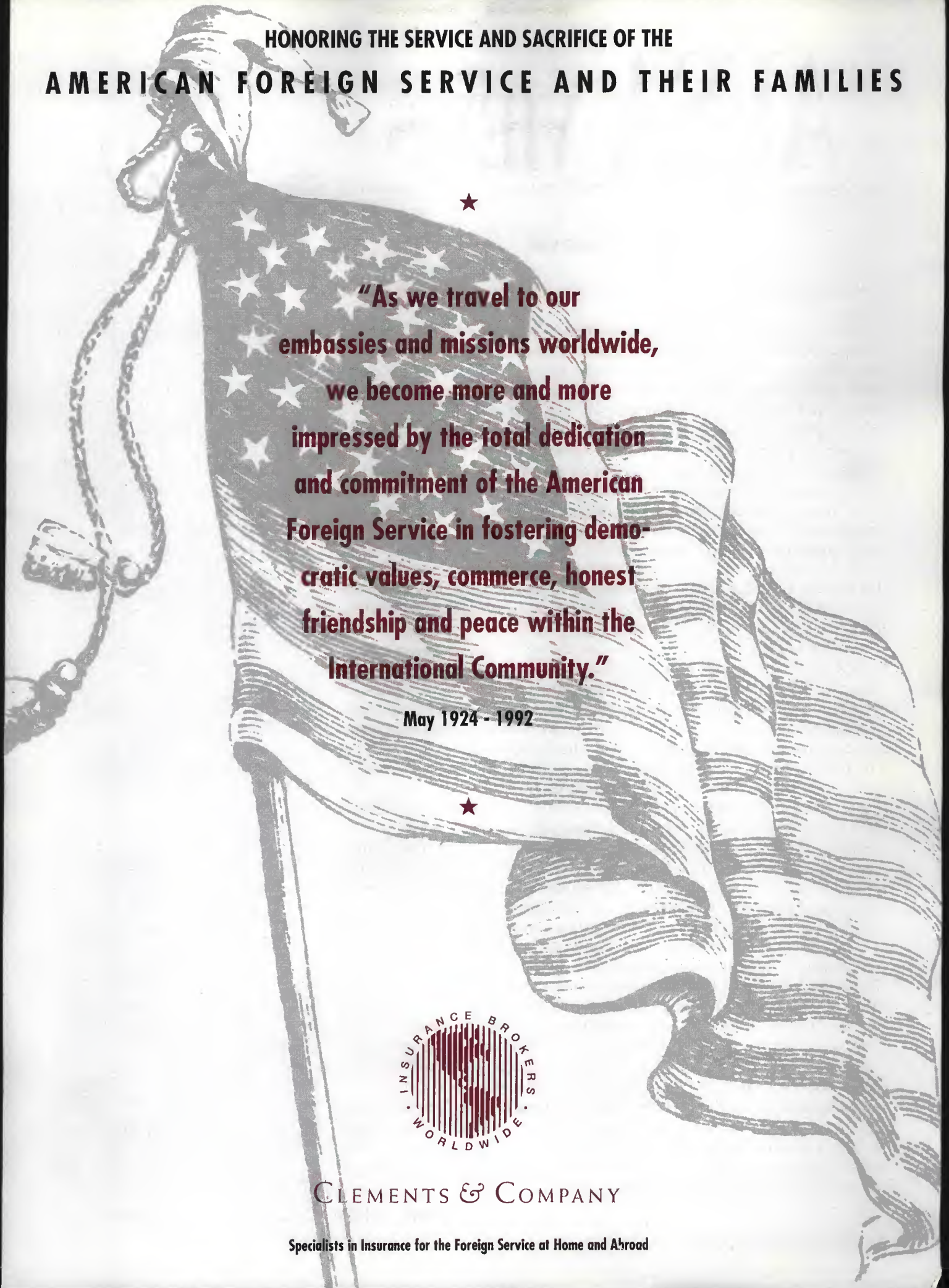
EXCELLENCE IN MOVING & STORAGE

5801 Rolling Road
Springfield, VA 22152

1-800-336-4533, Ext 233
or
(703) 569-2121, Ext 233

HONORING THE SERVICE AND SACRIFICE OF THE

AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE AND THEIR FAMILIES



★

"As we travel to our embassies and missions worldwide, we become more and more impressed by the total dedication and commitment of the American Foreign Service in fostering democratic values, commerce, honest friendship and peace within the International Community."

May 1924 - 1992

★

AFSA VIEWS

HOLY ANOREXIA

Here's a call for more action and less rhetoric on certain Foreign Service issues.

"More bricks! Less straw!" has long been management's answer to pressure on resources. Within a basically flat budget, however, we've lost more (State) FSOs than we have hired for more than five years, the new Immigration and Nationality Act has upped an already crushing consular workload by 40 percent, and everywhere we face a two-month person-in-motion gap. Nevertheless, a new geographic bureau is being created, a special office has opened to handle economic assistance to the former USSR (what's AID for, anyhow?), and 13 new embassies have seen the light of day in the CIS. How did we do it all? By reprogramming. By adding water to the soup. And if Afghanistan, Cuba, or Somalia reopens, or our peacekeeping obligations increase, or new embassies are required in Yugoslavia, or resource demands from the new CIS posts grow, our overseas presence will become even more emaciated and hollow.

"More resources" are not the only answer. And it's to management's credit that it has said clearly that there is no more stretch in our budget (and that it has cut back those odious Performance Pay bonuses). But while management hands down niggling new travel and housing regulations (some now being changed with AFSA's urging), it's done nothing that fundamentally acknowledges the end of the Cold War! It has yet (1) even to consider whether our larger structures—State, AID, and USIA—are best suited to these historic times; or (2) to generate savings by a "ZBB" approach that would cut back a multi-layered, top-heavy organization and push work down toward the shop floor. Incremental savings and improvements only obscure the issue—the problems and answers lie to the left, not the right of the decimal point. Do we need a new Hoover, Carter, or Grace Commission, for such a politically charged job?

At least two other important issues aren't helped by rhetoric. One is export promotion—which clearly does need more emphasis and resources. But management does not help its own case by leading the criticism of our current efforts. Are businessmen persuaded? Does management come across to its own people as fair and supportive? AFSA has sponsored 13 conferences aimed at trade promotion; we've found businessmen had many, many complaints about the U.S. government—but generally praised the support they got from Foreign Service officers in the Foreign Commercial Service and in State.

The other issue is affirmative action. Let it be clearly said: after 25 years of EEO efforts, any shortcomings in minority hiring (and retention) are the fault of management, past and present. The answer? Work with the historically black colleges and universities, but also use to our advantage the outreach of our national universities. In Willy Sutton's words: "That's where the money is." Minorities comprise 52 percent of Berkeley's freshmen, 37 percent of Stanford's, 35 percent of Harvard's, and 34 percent of USC's! But just how do we back up our brave words? Get ready for this: with a recruiting budget (to include travel and advertising) of $62,000 p.a. So to management, AFSA says, "Get serious. Stop the formulaic apologies. Stop blaming the service. Spend money. Get the assistant secretaries out on the circuit. Ed Perkins, diplomats in residence, and the Board of Examiners can't do it all."

— HUME HORAN

FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

MAY 1992 VOL. 69, NO. 5

"The Independent Voice of the Foreign Service"

FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL (ISSN 0015-7279), 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037-2990, is published monthly by the American Foreign Service Association, a private, non-profit organization. Material appearing herein represents the opinions of the writers and does not necessarily represent the views of AFSA or the JOURNAL. Writer queries are invited.

JOURNAL subscription: AFSA Members -$9.50 included in annual dues; others - $40. Overseas subscription (except Canada) - $50 per year. Airmail not available.

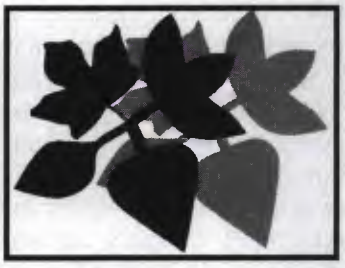
Second-class postage paid at Washington, D.C. and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes to FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037-2990.

Microfilm copies: University Microfilm Library Services, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106 (October 1967 to present). Indexed by Public Affairs Information Service (PAIS). Advertising inquiries invited. The appearance of advertisements herein does not imply the endorsement of the services or goods offered. FAX: 202/338-6820 or 202/338-8244 • TELEPHONE: 202/338-4045 or 338-4054.

THE COVER:

Illustration by Randy Lyhus

Okinawa 18



The Earth Summit 31

FEATURES

FOCUS: ENVIROMENTAL DIPLOMACY

DEPARTMENTS

WHOSE FOREIGN POLICY?

To The Editor:

Let's see if I get this straight. In an August 8, 1991 statement, Foreign Service Review Executive Director David B. Miller argued that affirmative action "may have inadvertently contributed to the invasion of Kuwait" (December 1991 *Journal*, "Despatch"). Wait a second. Does that mean that President George Bush and Secretary of State James Baker are not responsible for the foreign policy of the United States?

Whatever might be one's opinion of Ambassador April Glaspie's actions, they were in accord with the foreign policy of the United States at that time. Indeed, during this same period the president was lobbying Congress to continue subsidizing loans to Iraq.

Mr. Miller also bemoaned the "surprising emphasis on the English test" in the Foreign Service written exam as "necessitated by the women's affirmative action program at State." Holy cow. An English test for Foreign Service officers. What will they think of next?

Pat Schroeder
Congresswoman (D-CO)

IMAGINATIVE POSITION

To The Editor:

Robert A. Fearey (December 1991 *Journal*, "Diplomacy's Final Round") cited the belief of our ambassador to Japan from 1931 to 1941 that "Washington's handling of the U.S.-Japan negotiations preceding the Pearl Harbor attack was unimaginative and inflexible." The reverse is likely to be true.

Significant numbers of Americans in early 1941 might not have cared if a government of a Caucasian country like Germany started to engage in selective killing of minorities such as Jews. "America First" helped to enforce an isolationist policy. Our moving into a war mentality was most difficult. The most imaginative position of key Washington leaders at that time was to decide consciously *not* to meet with the prime minister of a non-Caucasian country like Japan.

The result was the Japanese government's attack on Pearl Harbor, making it far easier to move into a war mentality. Without an incident such as Pearl Harbor, the U.S. government would have found it most difficult to energize the American people to move into the second World War, and the cartography of Europe would have been far different from what it is today.

Morrie K. Blumberg
USAID, retired
Albuquerque, New Mexico

NO DIVISIVE DIVISIONS

To The Editor:

William Morgan's excellent article on the importance of consular work (March *Journal*, "Keeping Our Consuls") succinctly summarizes the significance of this function to our service. Officers who denigrate visa work only highlight their own lack of understanding of its importance. In many countries what happens in the consular section is far more important to the average person than the "substantive" work being performed in the economic or political sections. And if those critics of visa work were honest, they would have to admit that their consular colleagues have often done a better job with their visa mandate than many pol/econ sections have with their reporting responsibilities.

With our small service beset by other far more serious problems, it would behoove us all to stop creating artificial divisions within our own ranks. Instead, let's concentrate on respecting and supporting one another so we can provide all of the services expected of us before more are taken away.

Paul Stephenson
Foreign Service Officer, Hong Kong

TAXING ARMS CONTROL

To The Editor:

Paul Warnke's article, "Quick March to Disarmament" (March *Journal*) triggers the following suggestion:

Link arms control with financing for the UN Peacekeeping Forces. In short, recognizing that arms production and trade in arms are not likely to disappear, agreement might be reached to impose a universally applicable tax on trade in specified arms, for instance the five categories listed in the CFE Treaty. The tax could apply widely and cover both domestic and foreign traffic in the specified items; it could be imposed at the production level or later at the transaction stage. The level or rate of the tax could be set to generate sufficient funds to cover the costs of the Peacekeeping Forces (PKF).

The tax would operate like a "sin tax" and discourage undesirable habits both in the exporter-developed countries and in the developing world. . .

The assurance of a steady flow of funds for the PKF would have a quieting effect on the emergence of local conflicts as the potential disputants would know that the PKF would be ready to pounce to preserve the peace and insist on nonviolent adjudication of disputes.

Many societies are familiar with the idea of obligatory donations of funds, commodities, and labor with those who "put up" having the right to call the shots. This would also remove the United States from the dreadful list of delinquents in respect to funding UN peacekeeping.

Roger Ernst
Bethesda, Maryland ■

CORRECTION

VICTORY PARADE—In the March issue, the story by Perry Laukhuff entitled "Paris Fell—and I Celebrated" misstated the date of the Berlin Victory Parade. The parade took place in 1940, not 1941.

CARTOON—The caricature of Bill Clinton in the April *Journal* omitted the artist's name. It was by Ra'anan Lurie.

YOU'RE GOING A LONG WAY, BUT YOUR FREE GOVERNMENT COVERAGE WON'T.

With only the coverage you get under the U.S. Government Claims Act, if your goods are lost or destroyed, you could find yourself out of the country and out of luck.

What's more, once you're moved in, Claims Act settlements could be even more unsettling. Because, in order to collect on a claim from the Government, you must first proceed against the responsible party, such as a shipping company. This procedure can often take years, making it almost impossible to collect. In addition, you have no coverage when you're not on Government business. There are restrictions and dollar limitations on items such as jewelry, fine arts, cameras, and antiques. And, you'll have no coverage for personal liability.

On the other hand, if you had the AFSA Plan–sponsored by the American Foreign Service Association–your insured possessions would be comprehensively covered for their *replacement value.* You are covered even when you're not on Government business, and you can also purchase protection for personal liability.

The AFSA Plan has been specifically designed for members of AFSA on active duty abroad. It provides "all risk" coverage for personal property, and you can even purchase itemized protection for unique or valuable articles.

So don't wait until you find yourself far from everything with close to nothing. Call or send for your free brochure today.

THE AFSA INSURANCE PLAN

Don't go overseas undercovered.

The AFSA Plan is underwritten by Federal Insurance Company, one of the Chubb Group of Insurance Companies.

AFSA Desk, The Hirshorn Company
14 East Highland Avenue
Philadelphia, PA 19118
Telephone: 215-242-8200.
In Wash. D.C. Area: 202-457-0250

Please send me your free brochure that answers questions about overseas insurance.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

WHO'S RUNNING USAID?

The Washington Post, March 24, 1992
Editorial

By law, the administrator of the Agency for International Development is answerable for much that the foreign aid program does or fails to do. In reality, however, the head of USAID calls few shots on how or where foreign assistance is used. Years of congressional micromanagement have seen to that. Now USAID Administrator Ronald Roskens risks losing more than his nominal authority to direct foreign aid. Employee confidence in his leadership is at risk, says the American Foreign Service Association, because USAID is failing to curb the excesses of the agency inspector general's staff—behavior which they liken to that of a rogue elephant.

The AFSA case against the conduct and operations of the inspector general is now in the hands of Dr. Roskens, and AID Inspector General Herbert Beckington, officials of the OMB, and key congressional committees. The charges are serious enough to warrant a prompt, thorough, and impartial investigation. . . . If, as AFSA charges, the inspector general has failed to properly inform employees of their Miranda rights when required, or has launched investigations against workers "in retaliation for whistleblowing against the IG" or has conducted wasteful and incompetent audits, then it's easy to see why there would be a loss of employee confidence. Dr. Roskens, who acknowledges "a clear sense of unease among employees" about the IG's conduct, has rightly asked for a response from General Beckington before his next steps.

USAID's inspector general staff has achieved a solid record in reporting on acute management weaknesses and in fighting fraud and abuse. However, it should be remembered that most of the leads and information about USAID's shortcomings were provided by employees. Notwithstanding the inspector general's track record, that office is not above the law or accountable only to Congress and an OMB interagency group. . . . The current affair is a situation requiring Dr. Roskens's attention. Otherwise he risks being reduced to the role of spectator within his own agency.

AMBASSADORS BOOST BUSINESS

The Washington Post, March 20, 1992
By Stuart Auerbach

The U.S. Ambassador to India, William Clark Jr., sprang quickly into action early last year when Air India passed over two U.S. companies and awarded a multimillion-dollar contract for jet aircraft engines to Britain's Rolls Royce PLC.

As a result of Clark's strong protests, the government of India reopened the bidding soon after taking office in June and awarded the contract last fall to Pratt & Whitney. . . . "I think we can take credit for getting the file reopened," said Clark.

Clark's action on behalf of U.S. business represents a new wrinkle in American diplomacy, one that Secretary of State James A. Baker III and Deputy Secretary Lawrence S. Eagleburger are making a top priority for American embassies, as global economic competition replaces the Cold War and economic strength becomes a significant part of the currency of power.

The Bush Administration wants to make business promotion a major responsibility of an ambassador's job. Eagleburger called the new policy nothing less than an attempt "to change the culture of the Foreign Service" from politics to business.. He estimated it will take 10 years to accomplish the change.

As a further sign of the new winds sweeping through the State Department, ambassadors to Southeast Asian nations are starting a cross-country tour of the United States in an effort to persuade small and medium-sized American businesses to explore those fast-growing countries for export and investment opportunities. . . .

This new U.S. policy was first sounded by Eagleburger in a 1989 speech [at AFSA's conference "American Business and Government in a Turbulent World"] that was sent to the head of every overseas U.S. mission.

Eagleburger said in a recent interview that the longtime rivalry between the State and Commerce departments . . . has ended and the relationship now is running smoothly. For the first time, Eagleburger invited Susan C. Schwab, head of the U.S. and Foreign Commercial Service, to meetings with U.S. envoys in Europe and Asia to talk about business.

Schwab now praises the support ambassadors offer American businesses. "When an American business needs high-level help with a local ministry, the U.S. ambassador is there," she said. "Ambassadors lend their time and prestige to trade events, support American Chamber of Commerce activities, and intercede on behalf of U.S. bidders for major contracts."

American ambassadors are swamping Schwab's office with requests for more commercial officers even though her budget is stretched to the limits with the opening of new posts in the former Soviet Union and the emerging democracies in Eastern Europe. Clark, for example would like to add commercial officers in India . . . but he doesn't want the size of the embassy staff to grow. "Maybe I'll have one or two fewer political officers," he said—an idea that would have been unthinkable a few years ago.

Now, as Eagleburger noted, "We are going to have to shift away from the stuff we spent the last 40 years doing. . . . The United States will rise or fall in the next 50 years on its ability to compete in international trade, and we had better get in the business of making success possible."

And in case career ambassadors and Foreign Service officers don't get the idea, their promotions and efficiency ratings will depend in part on how they deal with business issues. ■

MOVING TO A NEW COUNTRY SHOULDN'T MEAN STARTING FROM SCRATCH.

Having moved so often, you've probably come to expect damage. We think you deserve better.

At Colonial Storage Co., we not only meet the State Department's stringent packing requirements, we exceed them. We pride ourselves on individually wrapping and meticulously packing your personal and precious possessions to minimize any potential for damage.

Your domestic goods are stored in facilities second to none. Each warehouse has areas dedicated to items with sensitive handling requirements such as overstuffed furniture and carpeting.

But don't just take our word for it. Check our State Department file. You'll find our record is impeccable, because our service is.

COLONIAL STORAGE CO.

We've Built Our Reputation One Move At A Time

9900 Fallard Court, Upper Marlboro, Md. 20772

Phone: (301) 856-6500 Telex: 211038 Cable: Colonial Fax: (310) 856-6530

Foreign Service Metamorphosis

Editor's Column
From the *Foreign Service Journal*, May 1942

[A]s any survey of our foreign posts will show, emphasis today is on matters in the economic sphere. . . . The officer with a broad grasp of economics is the officer who can render the greatest service.

To keep in tune with the needs of a nation fighting with all the resources at its command, the Foreign Service is demonstrating the versatility which is expected of it. The student of economics is the natural leader of the war-time order.

Women in the Foreign Service

Extract from a column by Harold Nicolson appearing in The Spectator, January 23, 1942.
From the *Foreign Service Journal*, May 1942

Some months ago a deputation of women called upon Mr. Eden and asked him to admit women into the Diplomatic and Consular Services on the same conditions as men. Mr. Eden, after prolonged consideration, has replied in negative terms. . . . of all public functions, diplomatic functions are those for which women are least well adapted. In the first place, there are certain practical difficulties which cannot be swept aside. There is, for instance, the problem of marriage. Is perpetual maidenhood to be imposed upon these women diplomatists, and, if not, what happens if they marry their colleagues, or even outsiders? I can conceive few more otiose positions than that of the ambassador's husband.

For many generations, moreover, there will remain posts to which, for climatic reasons or owing to local prejudice, it will not be possible to appoint women envoys or consuls. The more progressive countries would doubtless be glad to receive women as members of the diplomatic and consular bodies, but the more backward countries will be less broadminded. A feeling might arise, therefore, that the more agreeable posts were reserved for the women members of the Service, whereas it was the men who were sent to the back of beyond.

These practical difficulties might well be overcome were it felt that the specifically feminine qualities of zeal, sympathy and intuition were useful qualities for a diplomatist to possess. I assert that these three qualities, unless kept under the firmest control, are dangerous qualities in international affairs. When Talleyrand inculcated into his attachés the motto *"surtout pas de zele,"* he was condensing into four words the lessons which he himself has learned. Sympathy, again, is a quality which tempts people to identify themselves with the passions and causes of the countries in which they live, and thereby to diminish the value of the counsel which they supply to their home government. And intuition all too often leads diplomatists to jump to conclusions which are subsequently falsified by events. . . . The ideal diplomatist should be impartial, imperturbable, and a trifle inhuman. These are not feminine qualities; they are male qualities.

I am well aware that the [lack of] cultivation of these three qualities produces in the professional diplomatist a habit of colorless skepticism which is highly irritating to all who meet it. He dreads zeal so acutely that he comes to identify it with effort; his mistrust of sympathy becomes so ingrained that his heart is as a despatch-box, to be opened only with a special key; his impartiality is so diffused and equable that he regards even the most impassioned causes as the twittering of starlings in the thorns; and his dislike of intuition makes him slow to accept new ideas. I do not believe, however, that these grave defects can without danger be remedied by the injection of feminine enthusiasm into the Foreign Service. ■

Make a diplomatic statement.

The 1992 Crown Victoria: The sleek full-size with a modular V-8.

Finally, a luxury sedan that combines power and style into a truly impressive statement. The 1992 Crown Victoria. Its sleeker, more aerodynamic design houses a quietly elegant and roomy interior. And with the modular V-8 engine, redesigned suspension, and available anti-lock brakes with Traction Assist, you'll have the authority to handle anything the road hands you.

But Crown Victoria is just one of the many vehicles available at special prices through the Diplomatic Sales Program. If you hold one of the official positions recognized by Ford Motor Company, you can have a new Ford within 60 days. From the Middle East to the Pacific Northwest, the Diplomatic Sales Program offers low prices on vehicles ranging from the luxurious Lincoln Continental to the redesigned Ford Taurus. Ford emphasizes quality and customer satisfaction, so the Diplomatic Sales Program couldn't be more convenient. We can accept orders by mail, fax, or in person. No matter where in the world you are, Ford Motor Company is dedicated to satisfying your needs. For more information, send the coupon below.

Ford NAAO
Export Sales

Please send me information to purchase a new _____

WRITE TO: DIPLOMATIC SALES
FORD MOTOR COMPANY
P.O. Box 600
28801 Wixom Rd.
Wixom, MI 48393-0600
Tel: (800) 338-5759
Fax: (313) 344-6397

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____ STATE _____
COUNTRY _____ ZIP _____
PHONE NO. ( ) _____
area code
FAX/TELEX NO. ( ) _____
area code

THE VIRGINIAN

A WALK TO FOREIGN SERVICE INSTITUTE (F. S. I.)

Packages from $42.00 - $62.00 per day

- *Fully Furnished one-bedroom and efficiency apartments*
- *Cable television with free HBO*
- *Fully equipped kitchens*
- *Free parking on site*
- *Coin-operated laundry facilities*
- *Free utilities*
- *Individual heating and air conditioning*
- *Complimentary donuts and coffee*
- *Outdoor pool and saunas*
- *Maid service*
- *Free local phone calls*
- *All linens provided*
- *24-hour message service*
- *8-minute walk to Rosslyn Metro*
- *Same day laundry and valet service*
- *Excercise facilities*
- *Metro shuttle service*

HOTEL CONVENIENCE WITH RESIDENTIAL COMFORT

(703) 522-9600 Fax (703) 525-4462 (800) 275-2866

1500 Arlington Boulevard, Arlington, VA 22209

DESPATCH

By Anne Stevenson-Yang

Emergency AID

It is exceedingly strange that Richard Nixon could play the role of the nation's conscience. But as the tally rises of oppressive governments that go tumbling—now South Africa has joined the list—only Nixon seems to be reminding the current administration of decades of American promises.

At a conference given by the Nixon Library in Washington on March 11 and 12, Nixon called current efforts to help the states that emerged from the wreck of the Soviet Union inadequate and said we must seize this historical moment before it slips away into chaos and, perhaps, renewed tyranny. Nixon said the cost of aid would pale in comparison with money the West spent to combat Soviet communism, which the *London Financial Times* has estimated at $20 billion yearly.

On March 12, Henry Kissinger gave the conference's closing talk, expanding the exhortation on aid to include all the former Soviet states and Eastern Europe. "The democracies have a major obligation to Eastern Europe," he said, "as well as a major interest."

Across town from the conference, at the National Press Building, State and USAID officials were explaining just what the U.S. government is already doing for Eastern Europe, suggesting valiant but modest programs for desperate economies; Ambassador Robert Barry, who is State's special adviser for Eastern European assistance, said that USAID has requested $450 million for programs in Central and Eastern Europe in 1993.

Carol Adelman, assistant administrator for Europe, outlined the three areas in which USAID is focusing its efforts in Eastern Europe: economic restructuring and support to the private sector; democracy and pluralism; and "quality of life," by which is meant environment, housing, health, vocational training, and other areas. She gave as examples of aid in these areas support for the establishment of business schools, supplying computers and training to legislatures, and training in entrepreneurial skills, to name a few. An AID/AFSA-sponsored meeting on March 16 echoed the themes of the earlier presentations, but speakers emphasized the program's unusual nature. The program is "characterized by being regional in nature and not bilateral, meaning that our program, our budgets, and so on are designed to meet the needs of the region" said Frank Almaguer, director of USAID's regional mission for Europe.

Almaguer enumerated several other significant departures from AID's standard operating procedure: the Eastern Europe assistance program involves the participation of at least 10 different federal agencies, he said, while project design and approval authorities are Washington-based. Finally, he stressed that the aid program is transitional. "[W]e are looking at this process as one of transforming these societies to democracies in a free-market environment."

The excitement over USAID's program in Central and Eastern Europe hardly lightened the pall on the agency cast by attacks on USAID's competence and on its very raison d'être. The latest salvo came from the President's Commission on the Management of AID Programs, which recommended in its action plan in mid-March that USAID be folded into the Department of State. The commission argued that under State, USAID could better conduct its core mission of supporting U.S. foreign policy.

In testimony taking issue with the commission's recommendations, USAID officer Stuart Callison said that the commission's mantra, "supporting foreign policy objectives," could too easily become a Trojan horse for instant political gratification at the expense of the long, hard work of development. "What [the commission] does not seem to realize," Callison said, "is that the benefits of economic policy reform and foreign trade cannot be realized without improving the productive capacity of the human and natural resource base of developing countries—and that this is the task of development. . . . Besides, the promotion of U.S. trade and investment is the direct responsibility of the departments of Commerce and Agriculture and the U.S. Trade Development Program, not of AID."

Thus, USAID's battling groups bared their knuckles over what sort of development the United States is interested in promoting. Both broad goals—promoting U.S. trade and fostering worldwide development—are clearly compatible; the more pertinent question is really who should do what. Should USAID be focused on development or should it be in the business of U.S. export promotion? Can it do both? Should USAID retain the technical capacity to implement foreign aid programs and projects, or should it simply set goals and means, then find private or multilateral institutions interested in doing the job?

In subsequent issues of the *Journal*, development experts will continue to debate the proper direction of the foreign aid program in general and USAID in particular. Meanwhile, despite the president's announcement of an aid plan, delivered grudgingly after a labor induced by more articulate political voices, such as Nixon's, the U.S. political leadership has yet to articulate a will to development in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet states. ■

SPEAKING OUT

By Lee H. Hamilton

A Congressional Perspective on the Foreign Service

Editor's note: This article was adapted from remarks given by Representative Lee Hamilton (D-IN), a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, at a conference, "The Foreign Service 2001," given by Georgetown University's Institute for the Study of Diplomacy in December 1991.

The U.S. Foreign Service is maligned, undercut, and under-utilized. It does not have a strong domestic constituency. Its efforts to promote U.S. national interests are neither well-understood nor highly esteemed by the American public.

Most Americans would probably agree with Will Rogers, who said about U.S. diplomacy that we "had never lost a war nor won a peace." I would guess that many of my constituents have little understanding of, or respect for, the skills and experience of our diplomats. I cannot ever recall receiving a letter praising the Foreign Service or asking me to do more for it.

In my view, you are dedicated, hard-working men and women, many of whom are dangerously situated on the front lines of U.S. foreign and security policy. My recollection is that, in recent years, for instance, more U.S. ambassadors than generals have been killed in the line of duty.

We spend a tiny fraction of the federal budget on the Foreign Service, yet our country is significantly safer and more prosperous, and our understanding of complex events better, because of your efforts. You deserve our praise. You deserve more than that—you deserve increased support. With the money that is spent on one B-2 bomber, for example, we could help you travel more within your host countries, develop language skills far exceeding what you have today, receive better training, and return home more often.

I am always impressed with the importance of people to the implementation of our foreign policy. No matter how good our intentions or our policy, if we do not have good people conducting policy, it will not work. People are the most important part of any organization. We need to keep focused on the quality of our Foreign Service. If we do not attract the best and the brightest, and if we do not keep them once they're in, our policy will fall short.

I admire many things about our Foreign Service officers. You are genuinely interested in foreign countries, cultures, and languages. Foreigners can tell in a moment if a diplomat is not interested in them. You also have exceptional professional skills. What worries me is not whether our diplomats have talent, but whether our government is using these talents effectively.

You have a high degree of adaptability. You are skilled at dealing with unpredictable, ambiguous, and apparently irreconcilable developments and perspectives. I also admire your durability and resolve, and that of your families. In the course of your work, you often suffer unusual health problems, with good medical care not easily available, and you often must put up with poor schools for your children and inadequate career opportunities for your spouses. Your living conditions are often difficult. You face the risk of violence committed by people who oppose the U. S. policies you represent. You must deal with the dislocation of frequent moves. You are probably not paid as much as you should be. Within your ranks, you face tough competition for assignments and promotions. Your official position sometimes puts you in difficult spots: whether or not you agree with a particular policy—and it may not even be clear what that policy actually is—you are charged with carrying it out and making it work.

Silver spoon bunch

It will come as no surprise to you that not all of my colleagues in the Congress share my views on the Foreign Service. Most members of Congress consider U.S. diplomats intelligent and professional. But members also sometimes view U.S. diplomats as privileged bureaucrats who are prone to arrogance. Their image is of striped pants, cookie pushing, and endless cocktail parties. Politicians often seek to cut your budget and allowances, hold up ambassadorial appointments, and use the Foreign Service as a political pawn. On more than one occasion I have seen your competence, your integrity, and even your patriotism attacked in hearings and in statements in the *Congressional Record*. A colleague of mine once said that being called a "former Foreign Service officer" was a compliment, since it showed that one had the intelligence and talent to get in but also the initiative and good sense to get out.

Some congressional criticism of the Foreign Service may be due to the difference between the professional worlds in which politicians and diplomats operate. These professional differences lead to divergent perspectives, and sometimes tension:

- Most politicians are not very subtle. You, as diplomats, however, are trained to understand and manipulate subtle differences in substance and form.
- You frequently deal with ambiguity; politicians dislike it.
- You are responsible to your superiors and to the president. Members of Congress are accountable to their constituents.
- Politicians instinctively dislike secrecy. They want to expose issues and differences most of the time. Much of your work is conducted in secret. You avoid reporters and cameras. Politicians seek them.
- Members of Congress operate in the messy, adversarial world of politics, in which straight answers are highly valued, sharp disagreements are frequent, and the ability to use the media is an important tool of the trade. Diplomats operate in the more suave, orderly, and polite—but no less difficult—world of diplomacy, in which the pursuit of objectives often involves less direct, more nuanced action.

These and other differences lead to a suspicion among members of Congress that U.S. diplomats often "go native" abroad and thereby "go soft" on American interests. When you interact with Congress, you operate in an unfamiliar environment. If you fail to perform the way many of us expect, you are viewed as hesitant, indecisive, or deliberately vague. Members sometimes conclude from this that you are unable to articulate U.S. interests, either at home or overseas.

We need to work to resolve these tensions between our professional cultures. We need to improve communication. We need to improve our understanding of each other's jobs and respective roles in our system of government. We need to become more tolerant of the differences I have noted. This is one reason I make it a point always to have Foreign Service officers serving as Pearson fellows in my office. I hope these fellowships are valuable to them; I know they're valuable to me. Not only do I get a lot out of it, but, I hope, these officers return with a feel for the interrelationship of foreign and

DEPARTMENT OF STATE PEOPLE SAY WE ARE ON OUR TOES WHILE MAKING THEIR MOVES EASIER!

So many Department of State people have said they like our moves.

They like the attitude that is reflected in Guardian International's careful attention to their valuable possessions.

They like the fact that we arrive on time and finish on time. They like our professional movers and packers who keep you in charge when you want to be.

They especially like the reliable advice and information about how best to manage their move that is contained in Guardian's current Guide to An Easy Move.

The Guide is full of tips and ideas to take you through your move. For example, it tells you things to do *first* to make your move easier.

Pick up a free copy from the Guardian International Reading File in the Transportation Department, or call us and we will send you a copy.

For advise, information and assistance regarding your upcoming move call Guardian International at 301 568-8800.

Great ballet stars make moves that separate them from the rest. Guardian International's professional moves separate us from the rest of the packers.

GUARDIAN INTERNATIONAL
Combining the Resources of
• District Moving & Storage •
• Guardian Storage •
• Quality Transport Services •
• 301 568-8800 •

domestic policy that they could not have obtained while serving in the department. The payoff is similar for officers who spend six months or a year with firms doing international business, or at universities in various parts of the country. To become aware of professional concerns outside normal Foreign Service assignments, there is no substitute for spending weeks and months with the people who deal with them full time.

Tattered pinstripes

I have several concerns about the Foreign Service today. These concerns are based upon the impressions I have gained through several years of interaction with the Foreign Service. These concerns may or may not be valid, but I think they deserve some consideration.

- I am concerned that morale may be too low in the Foreign Service. If this is the case, we should take steps to understand the reasons and improve morale—not only because we want our dedicated and talented diplomats to be as productive as possible, but also because poor morale affects America's ability to cope with new international challenges.
- I am also concerned about working conditions which may be undermining performance—and morale—of our Foreign Service officers.
- Foreign Service pay is too low. You are paid less than you can earn in the private sector.
- The conditions in which Foreign Service officers operate abroad are often unnecessarily difficult. Modest additional expenditures could bring significant improvements in living and working conditions.
- Families are not adequately supported. The Foreign Service has not fully adjusted to two-career families. Your spouses are often required to settle for jobs beneath their qualifications. Your children do not always attend adequate schools.

I also have several concerns about the management of the Foreign Service:

First, the management of the State Department appears to be perennially in turmoil. The personnel system comes in for endless tinkering, for example, but I doubt you will find many Foreign Service officers who have not, at some point, found themselves frustrated by the system's Catch-22-like inflexibilities.

Second, I am aware of the concern of many Foreign Service officers with the department's "up-or-out" promotion system. This system appears to undermine morale and diminish the quality of the Foreign Service. The department needs to give serious thought to whether experience has justified the continuation of the existing promotion system.

Third, along with some of my colleagues on the Foreign Affairs Committee, I am concerned about fragmentation of responsibility for the implementation of foreign policy. Functions previously carried out by the Foreign Service, in which other agencies play a part, have been given up or taken away. The State Department now has to compete for bureaucratic influence with the Commerce Department, the Agriculture Department, EPA, and others. Many U.S. government agencies have a legitimate interest in our foreign relations, and the Foreign Service cannot always match the expertise of specialized agencies. But a proliferation of responsibility makes coherent and coordinated policy-making and policy execution much more difficult.

Another concern of mine has to do with the department's current system of making overseas assignments:

- Foreign Service officers seem to have too little control over where they are sent.
- Too often, officers are not sent to the regions on which they have expertise.
- Overseas assignments also sometimes seem to be too short. Soon after our diplomats have acclimated themselves to a new country, they may be reassigned.

Dollar sense

Another concern, which is widely shared in the Congress, is that U.S. embassies are not doing enough to promote aggressively American economic interests abroad. We understand that much of the responsibility for this falls to the Commerce Department. Yet economic issues are taking an increasingly prominent place on our bilateral agenda with many countries. Pressure will grow for the State Department to provide more effective leadership on economic—as well as political and military—issues.

Like many of my colleagues, I am also concerned about the growth during the 1980s in the proportion of ambassadors who are appointed from outside the Foreign Service. There is disagreement over whether this trend has diminished the effectiveness of our diplomatic corps. Certainly many political appointees have been outstanding ambassadors. My sense, though, is that this trend has harmed morale in the Foreign Service. Finally, many of my colleagues and I are also concerned that the language skills of our Foreign Service are inadequate. I believe our diplomacy is at a disadvantage if our embassies are not staffed by people who speak the language of their host countries.

Informed consent

There is misunderstanding and disagreement on Congress's role in foreign policy, and I believe this contributes to some of the clashes between diplomats and Congress. Most members of Congress acknowledge that the president is the principal architect of foreign policy, and that responsibility should be carried out in consultation with the Congress. The policies of the United States clearly work best when the president and Congress work together.

There are several aspects of the current debate on which the president and Congress can agree. First, under our constitution, both Congress and the executive are given specific foreign policy powers. Second, the power of the president, despite the role played by Congress, is formidable. Third, notwithstanding the key role of the president, most of the foreign policy powers enumerated in the constitution are with Congress. Fourth, the important role of Congress in the foreign policy process is recognized here and abroad.

In the past two decades, Congress has played an increasingly active role in

the formulation of U.S. foreign policy. My view is that members of Congress will continue to demand an active role in foreign affairs. Members view the foreign policy debate as essential to making informed consent on foreign policy issues and are unwilling to defer all authority to the president on issues of war and peace. Every tough decision hammered out in the Executive Branch and hotly debated there will also face a similar debate in Congress; it cannot be avoided.

Congress brings both strengths and weaknesses to its involvement in foreign policy. Its weaknesses are well known:

- Diplomacy requires speed. Congress moves too slowly.
- Diplomacy requires flexibility, tact, and nuance. Congress acts bluntly. It votes yea or nay and may insult other nations in its debates. Congress's power of the purse can be wielded only very imprecisely. We grant the aid, or we take it away.
- Diplomacy requires secrecy. Congress leaks.
- Diplomacy requires a long view of the national interest. Congress is influenced by short-term interests. Its members are parochial and overly concerned with reelection.
- Diplomacy requires expertise. Congress is often ignorant of foreign affairs, changes its membership frequently, and is already too burdened with a heavy schedule.
- Diplomacy requires sustained interest. Congress's approach to foreign policy is usually sporadic, eclectic, and tends to focus on immediate issues and "flash points."
- Diplomacy requires attention to complex and interrelated problems on many levels. Congress tends to concentrate on narrow problems and often sees broad problems in terms of a single aspect.
- Diplomacy requires strong leadership. Power is diffused in Congress and Congress cannot organize itself quickly or effectively.

However, Congress' known strengths balance some of these weaknesses. Congress is a deliberative body, and deliberation may prevent error. Congress can act quickly when it must. Congress, given its separate but co-equal status, can often bring flexibility to diplomacy. A contact with Congress is official, but it is not a contact with the government. Many, if not most leaks come from the Executive Branch. Congress can tighten itself up when it must. Although parochial, Congress is also more accessible and representative, and special interests do need to be given a voice in foreign policy. Congress plays a valuable educational role. Individual members of Congress have developed skill in foreign affairs, and they have competent staffs to help them. The committee systems serve to focus congressional debate. Finally, Congress can help lead in the sense that its approval makes the president much stronger. Public debate gives legitimacy to policy.

Congress' strengths in foreign policy-making should not be minimized. Its assertiveness in foreign policy should be viewed positively. The accessibility and representativeness of Congress are deep wells of strength. They guarantee that the people will have input into foreign policy-making. Congress must balance its role as adversary against its role as partner, its role as critic against its role as supporter, its policy responsibilities with its political concerns, and its eagerness to assist in policy formation against its uneasiness in standing back and watching policy execution, especially when it does not agree with the manner of execution.

Put up and shut up

Usually when the subject of the problems of legislative-executive relations are discussed, there are calls for bipartisanship. We all want to see more bipartisanship in foreign policy. We all see the advantages of this nation standing united, speaking with one unambiguous, firm voice. Often, however, these calls for bipartisanship are little more than an appeal for Congress to go along with the president, to be more supportive of stated administration policy. I remain skeptical of such calls. In the final analysis, I am convinced that within the framework of effective prior consultation, the president should, and will, be given the initiative on foreign policy matters.

What is essential today is greater mutual respect between the two branches. Congress must show a greater sensitivity to the difficulty of trying to legislate foreign policy. For its part, the Executive Branch should do more than "touch base" with legislators—or placate them—on issues of foreign policy. The two branches must engage in genuine dialogue on the problems which concern them most.

The Executive Branch is often reluctant to realize that Congress has a genuine place in the formulation of foreign policy. Congress is often reluctant to realize that the Executive Branch has a need for flexibility in the execution of foreign policy day to day. Effective prior consultation and a deep respect for the shared powers over foreign policy provided for in the constitution are the best ways to "lubricate" the foreign policy process.

The separation of powers produces a healthy and creative tension between the executive and legislative branches. The process of making foreign policy will never be tidy and clear-cut, with each step in the process clearly delineated. The foreign policy-making process provided in our constitution works—if we understand it, and use it with prudence and discretion.

In the coming years, the effectiveness of U.S. foreign policy will depend less upon our military strength and more upon the quality of our diplomacy and the strength of our economy. Solutions to the problems that we are likely to face in coming years—arms proliferation, environmental degradation, extreme deprivation—will require innovative thinking and new levels of international cooperation. We will need an exceptional Foreign Service to develop the new policies and conduct the complicated diplomacy that will be necessary to meet these new foreign policy challenges. And we will need Foreign Service officers with a sophisticated understanding of how foreign policy is made in our system. The quality of our Foreign Service is high. However, it can be even better. Improvement will require joint action by the Executive and the Congress. ■

"I spent 32 weeks out of town on special assignment last year and saved $6,600 in hotel bills!"

When TRW and 25,000 other corporations need to house their employees temporarily for special assignments, training or relocation, they use Oakwood Corporate Apartments. For an average of $55 a night, half the cost of a hotel room, they receive a full sized apartment, fully furnished with all the comforts of home. Plus the recreational amenities of a resort: swimming pools, spas, tennis and fitness centers. In 50 locations in business centers across the country, Oakwood Apartments is the choice of 300 of the Fortune 500 for cost, comfort and convenience.

You could spend more...but why settle for less?

Oakwood[sm]
Corporate Apartments
Half the cost of hotels.
Twice the space and comfort.

For reservations or information at any of our five Washington Metropolitan locations call: **703-751-0870** or **800-832-8329**.

THE OKINAWA REVERSION:

Ending the Post-War Period

Editor's Note: May 15 marks the 20th anniversary of the "reversion" of Okinawa and the other Ryukyu Islands to Japan, after decades of U.S. administration. Definitively ending the U.S. occupation of Japan, the Reversion Agreement consolidated the Japan-U.S. security relationship, which otherwise might have ended in the mid-1970s.

The reversion required years of complex negotiations over issues ranging from the disposition of U.S. military installations and weapons to the rights of American lawyers practicing in Okinawa. The diplomatic complexity of the transfer was tremendous and involved a small army of politicians, military officers, and Foreign Service officers. In the following pages, some of the key participants in the reversion negotiations reflect on the agreement and its effect on Japan-U.S. relations.

The History

BY EDWARD M. FEATHERSTONE

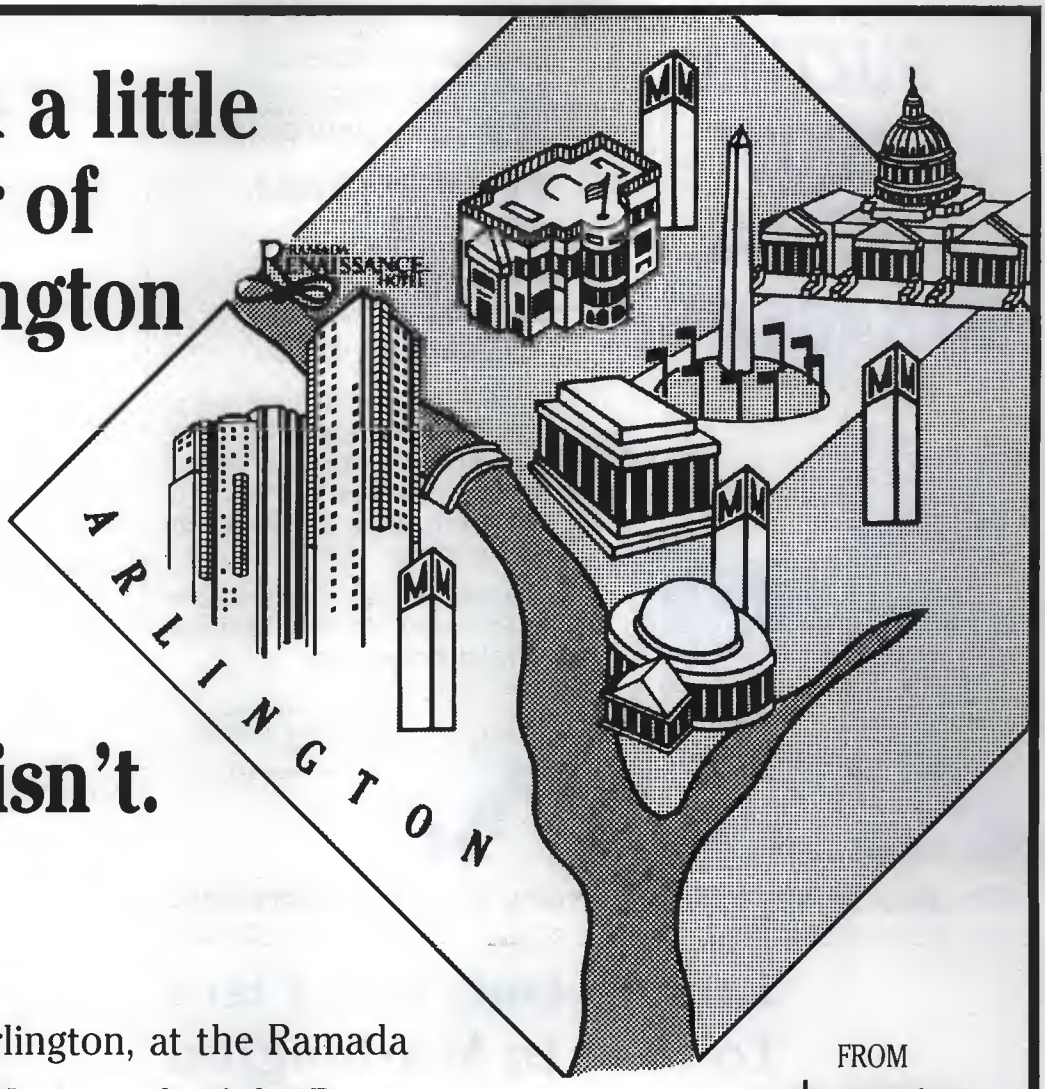
Ambassador Armin Meyer and Foreign Minister Aichi listen to a 1971 address by Prime Minister Sato marking the reversion agreement.

When the Ryukyu Island chain, including and often referred to as Okinawa, returned to Japanese control on May 15, 1972, it marked the peaceful transfer of a territory acquired through conflict and held for almost three decades.

The Ryukus actually consist of about 100 islands stretching from Okinawa, about 1,000 miles southwest of Tokyo, to Yonaguni, a small island within sight of Taiwan. The people of this former island kingdom have always been ethnically Japanese, although for many centuries they existed as an independent and quite wealthy shipping and trading kingdom, dealing profitably with imperial China, Southeast Asia, the Philippines, and even countries on the east coast of Africa.

The early 17th-century decision of the shogun to preserve Japan's culture by sealing it off from the rest of the world was a fateful one for Okinawa. With trade based in Japan proper becoming illegal, the lord of Satsuma (in southern Kyushu) turned his eyes to Okinawa and saw gold. The Okinawans were no match for the military might of the Satsuma people, reputed to be the fiercest warriors in Japan. In 1609 Satsuma took control of Okinawa after a brief conflict. Trade continued, only this time Satsuma skimmed off most of the profits, leaving the

Stay in a little corner of Washington



...that isn't.

Stay in Arlington, at the Ramada Renaissance. Just south of the Potomac, in what once was part of Washington, you'll be 10 minutes from the monuments and museums by Metrorail. Yet comfortably outside the District—with all the comforts of home.

FROM
$65*

RAMADA RENAISSANCE™ HOTEL ARLINGTON

*Per room, per night. Subject to availability. Not valid with groups or other discount programs.

950 North Stafford Street • Arlington, Virginia 22203
Alington (703) 528-6000 • Telefax (703) 528-4386
(800) 228-9898

Okinawans impoverished. The Okinawans endured until the kingdom was absorbed as a prefecture of Japan in 1878.

Rule from Tokyo was more humane, but Okinawa's lack of resources, small size, and cultural distinctiveness (centuries of trade with China meant the absorption of many Chinese customs alien to the Japanese) soon led to its becoming a backwater island group. Its strategic position guarding the approaches to Japan proper was long apparent, and it was heavily fortified by the Imperial Army and Navy.

Toward the end of World War II, the United States saw Okinawa as a potential base from which to launch an assault on the main Japanese islands. A massive U.S. force invaded on April 1, 1945 and took control after a bloody, three-month battle that devastated much of the main island and saw U.S. losses on the order of those at Gettysburg. Most of the Imperial Army defenders died in the battle, along with a great many Okinawans, most of whom were noncombatants.

The United States formed a separate command structure for the Ryukyu Islands, and, with the start of the Cold War, constructed a system of ground, air, and naval bases in the southern portion of the main island, where most of the 1 million Okinawans lived. Early on, the United States recognized Japan's "residual sovereignty" over Okinawa, but asserted that security considerations required continued U.S. administrative control for some time.

Okinawa again became a heavily fortified, "unsinkable aircraft carrier" and served well the United States' forward defense policy of that period. It was a key support base for both Korea and Vietnam, providing training, processing, and support facilities as well as one of the largest air bases anywhere in the Pacific.

Initially, the Okinawans welcomed the Americans, who did their best to attend to the welfare of the people and to rebuild the shattered island. But frictions developed, hardly surprising given the existence of massive bases in a densely populated area where land was scarce and exceedingly valuable, even in ancient times. Aircraft noise, oil

leaks, accidents resulting from parachute drops and live fire training became increasingly the focus of public criticism and local politics.

Cultural differences between Americans and Okinawans also caused friction. Americans often failed to comprehend the sensitivities of a consensus society, and the Okinawans frequently were unable to convey their concerns to a United States increasingly seen as preoccupied with security and military concerns. The Okinawans never understood the security rationale motivating the United States.

Japan's rapid economic growth from the Korean war period through the 1960s led to increased Japanese self-confidence and to political pressure from Tokyo for the reversion of Okinawa. Although wary of the Japanese, the Okinawans began to feel that their economic future would be far brighter with Tokyo than as an undefined territory under U.S. administration. An Okinawan desire for reversion acquired momentum and gradually became the consuming issue of the 1960s for most Okinawans and Japanese.

President Richard Nixon and Prime Minister Sato met in 1969 and essentially agreed that Okinawa should be returned to Japan with the details to be worked out between the two countries within a reasonable time period.

These included:

- A means of retaining the U.S. base structure and its supporting labor force;
- A means of compensating the United States for infrastructure that would be transferred to Japan or Okinawa (power plants, roads, telecommunications facilities, airports, etc.);
- A means of replacing the U.S. dollar (which was the currency in U.S.-administered Okinawa);
- A means of compensating, permitting, or otherwise dealing with the continued residence of hundreds of U.S. citizens in Okinawa, many of whom possessed real estate and other assets;
- The replacement of the U.S. legal and court systems with those of Japan and the concomitant disposition of judgments, cases, etc.;

The First Steps

BY U. ALEXIS JOHNSON

During the period from 1966 to 1969 when I was ambassador to Japan and then under secretary for political affairs, the unique political status of Okinawa emerged as an increasingly serious problem in our relations with Japan and the people of Okinawa. This arose from the specific exclusion of the Japanese Prefecture of Okinawa from the Japanese Peace Treaty and related mutual security treaty. These exclusions permitted us to continue our military occupation and civil administration of the island. Of course, the arrangement also included civil administration of the local inhabitants, trade, finance, travel, etc., for which we established a high commissioner, appointed by the Army. All of this left the local inhabitants in a political and international lacuna, with no representation or right to travel, even elsewhere in Japan.

Able American generals with able Foreign Service officers in the positions of political advisers and civil administrators, together with guidance from Washington in which the State Department participated, mitigated some of the more glaring injustices and lack of logic in the system.

As time went on and as security concerns in the area diminished, however, the inequities of U.S. administration of Okinawa became a political issue in both Okinawa and Japan proper. The problems could be resolved only by returning or "reverting" Okinawa to the same status as the rest of Japan. Militant minorities began to organize demonstrations, which became increasingly difficult for the small civilian police force to control. Their ultimate objective was to force the high commissioner to call in U.S. troops to protect a sensitive base installation. We knew that if those events unfolded, we could not long maintain any U.S. military presence on Okinawa, and the days for our military installations would be numbered. It was in our interest to have the large and professional Japanese national police force responsible for maintaining order.

In 1967 President Johnson and Prime Minister Sato set forth in a communique the intention of the United States to return the administration of Okinawa to Japan. The communique also jointly set forth the importance of the American bases there to Japanese security, and the intention of both governments to keep the status of the island "under joint and continuous review."

In November 1969, Prime Minister Sato and President Nixon issued a forward-looking communique in which the Japanese government recognized that its security was directly linked to the U.S. defense posture in the Far East—for which we needed bases in Japan. Furthermore, Japan for the first time called the security of South Korea "essential" to its own security and the security of Taiwan an "important factor" in Japan's.

On June 17, 1971 I stood with Secretary Rogers in the State Department, and Ambassador Armin Meyer stood with Foreign Minister Aichi in Tokyo as they joined in signing the complex of documents "reverting" Okinawa to Japanese control. The ceremony was witnessed by the first simultaneous TV transmission across the Pacific.

Among Ambassador Johnson's posts in the Foreign Service were those of ambassador to Japan, 1966 to 1969, and under secretary for political affairs, 1969 to 1973.

- The disposition of U.S. cemeteries, monuments, private clubs (eg. VFW, American Legion, etc.).

The High Commissioner of the Ryukyu Islands, Lieutenant General James B. Lampert, ordered the formation of a Reversion Issues Committee to produce viable solutions, and that committee prepared position papers for issues discussed at a Reversion Planners' Meeting in 1970. The conference was reasonably successful and, I hope, provided our negotiators in Tokyo and Washington with a clearer view of what it was that the United States needed to do before it could relinquish control of Okinawa.

The reversion of Okinawa to Japan was probably one of the smoothest and best-negotiated pieces of work in Foreign Service history. It was also the most satisfying project of my career.

Edward M. Featherstone served as a Foreign Service officer from 1961 to 1987. He was consul general on Okinawa from 1982 to 1986.

The Strategic Considerations

BY MORTON H. HALPERIN

The American government's consideration of Okinawa reversion in the late 1960s perfectly illustrated the need for agencies to overcome their habit of deferring to one another.

The State Department took the position that as long as the Defense Department described Okinawa as an "island base" whose retention was "necessary" for American security, it had no choice but to inform the Japanese government that reversion was impossible. The military, thus, felt no pressure to reexamine its position that reversion would be possible only when there were no threats to the security of Asia.

It was only a close working relationship between officials in the State Department and in the Office of the Secretary of Defense, in particular between Japan expert Richard Sneider and me, that made movement possible. We shared the view that, unless reversion was agreed to before 1970, when the Security Treaty would be subject to cancellation, there was a grave risk of domestic turmoil in Japan. Such turmoil would threaten the continuation of the security relationship. The Japanese government had to be brought to state its need for a commitment to reversion so that the Joint Chiefs of Staff would, with prodding from the secretary of Defense, take a hard look at the possibility of operating from bases on Okinawa that would be subject to the restrictions applying to bases in Japan itself.

The most critical issue was nuclear weapons. After a series of exchanges between the secretary and the Chiefs, the military came around to the view that withdrawal of nuclear weapons from Okinawa would produce no more than an administrative inconvenience. Thus, while the issue was reserved for the president at the end of the negotiations, the bureaucracy understood from the beginning that nuclear weapons would have to go.

The second critical issue concerned operational use of the bases on Okinawa for the Vietnam War and for possible future conflicts in Northeast Asia. Here concessions were needed from the Japanese. Unless we could be sure that we could continue current military operations from Okinawa, the United States could not be expected to proceed to reversion before the Vietnam conflict ended.

More difficult was the question of our ability to operate from bases in the case of renewed hostility in Northeast Asia. Here our goal was to clarify our right to use bases throughout Japan when necessary, rather than to seek different, permanent rules for the Okinawan bases. We needed to find solutions that would be consistent with American security needs.

With critical support from Alex Johnson, the American ambassador to Japan, the Joint Chiefs were convinced that the risks of stonewalling on reversion were too great and that American security needs could be met with these understandings. Having been included in the discussions from the beginning and kept fully informed about negotiations with the Japanese government, the Joint Chiefs were prepared to accept a presidential decision to go forward with reversion.

Prime Minister Sato at the 1971 signing ceremony smiling at the appearance of Secretary of State Rogers in Washington on the television monitor.

Morton H. Halperin served as deputy assistant secretary of Defense from 1967 to 1969. In 1969 he was on the Staff of the National Security Council.

PRIORITY ASSIST: AUTOMOBILE PURCHASE PROGRAM

Call Us and Save More Than Money. Save the Hassle, Too!

Priority Assist is *the* automotive resource for Diplomats and other distinguished customers living abroad.

Just one call accesses a wide range of popular American, European and Japanese vehicles. *Even makes not shown in the illustration below.* We've got sedans, vans, minivans, sports cars, and trucks in stock now. If you're not in a rush, certain makes can even be custom ordered direrctly from the factory.

Our low prices are pre-negotiated and fixed in dollars. And the price quoted is what you'll pay — even if factory prices change and your actual delivery date is months away. Also, *depending on the vehicle purchased, any applicable rebates will be credited to your purchase even if they're announced after you order.*

We can deliver almost any vehicle, anywhere.

For details about product availability in specific locations, please call or fax our Personal Advisors at the numbers below.

	PHONE	FAX
BONN:	0028-376550	0228-373940
PARIS:	01-4766-5753	01-4754-0030
BRUSSELS:	068-275367	068-455875
LONDON:	0895-622225	0895-622738
TOKYO:	0425-53-5755	04625-24554
ATHENS:	01-991-7407	08-123-6879
SEOUL:	02-794-1063	02-7960175
U.S.A.:	516-496-1806	516-677-3701

If you're calling the States, call 8 a.m. to 6 p.m. EST and ask for Anne Morgan. If you're in the States, call her at 1-800-877-7083 toll-free, same hours.

Attn.: Diplomatic Sales
Worldwide Automotive Resources
100 Crossways Park West
Woodbury, New York 11797-2084
U.S.A.

Priority Assist — Car Buying as it Should Be

Working Out the Details

BY CHARLES A. SCHMITZ

There were thousands of details that needed to be addressed and somehow resolved before reversion could take place, and several hundred of them had to be negotiated and put into the treaty itself, its related executive agreements, implementing documents, or less formal documents.

One issue was the treatment of a small group of uninhabited islands (the Senkakus in Japanese, Chongsheng in Chinese), which threatened to produce a major argument among Japan, the two Chinas, some major oil companies, and the United States. Since the Senkakus were uninhabited and used only for the occasional gathering of bird eggs (mostly by Chinese fishermen from Taiwan), fixing the islands' nationality had not been important or even necessary—until the advent of deep-sea oil drilling. Both Chinas claimed the shelf adjacent to the Senkakus, and the Republic of China had sold exploration concessions there to several oil companies. Japan believed that the Senkakus should be considered part of the Okinawa archipelago, although geologically they are clearly separate, since they lie on the other side of the deep Ryukyu ocean trench.

Treaty Affairs Director Nakajima, Foreign Minister Aichi, Foreign Service officer Charles Schmitz. Aichi signs the Japanese version of the 1971 treaty that would be flown to Washington by special courier that afternoon.

The stakes were high: the undersea oil resources alone might have been worth hundreds of millions of dollars, and other continental shelf resources were quite likely. The Japanese wanted a clear statement somewhere in the reversion documentation that the United States was restoring the Senkakus to Japan as a part of Okinawa Reversion. The Chinese, of course, wanted no such thing and argued for a clear exclusion of the islands from the treaty. U.S. oil companies generally sided with the Chinese. Historical records were little help: for the most part the Senkakus were not mentioned; and the Chinese references were simply to good places to find bird eggs, but made no territorial claim to the islands. The U.S. negotiators felt stuck and vulnerable to attack from all sides.

After much research, internal discussion, and diplomatic argument, the United States developed a legal theory that, we felt, neatly extracted us from the middle of a Japanese-Chinese set-to and was, moreover, nicely defensible. It was a "quit claim." We said, in effect, "We have been the temporary administrators, and now we are going to stop. Whatever it was that we got, we now give up." We took a middle road and hoped that a future International Court of Justice case would back us up. The Chinese still today maintain their claim to the islands.

Several sets of problems threatened to torpedo the reversion negotiations, because the positions on both sides were firmly held yet went to the essence of reversion. The countries collided notably over the Okinawa relay transmitters of the Voice of America and civil airline operations.

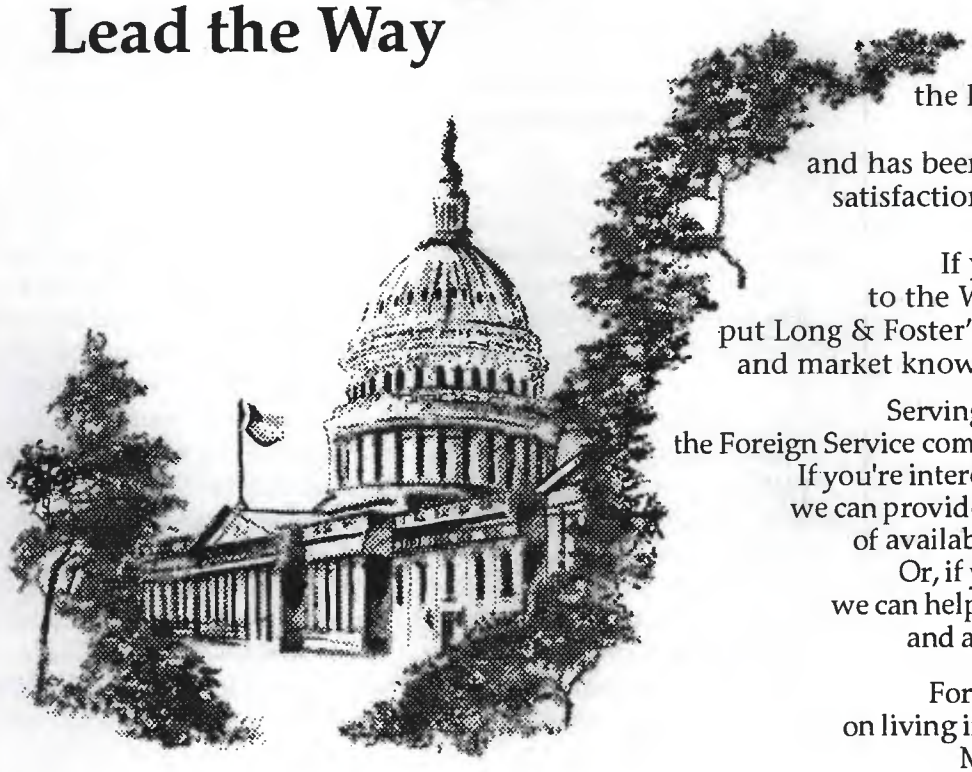
In the case of VOA, broadcasting from Okinawa was essential to reach the mainland of China with the American message, yet the Japanese were obdurate in their position that foreign-government broadcasting from Japanese territory was a derogation of sovereignty, an unwarranted interference in the foreign broadcasting monopoly held by NHK, and a political risk, since the foreign policies of Japan and the United States were not identical respecting China. They insisted that the broadcasts cease with reversion. The big problem with that was the insufficient time to set up another VOA relay station elsewhere to pick up the broadcasting schedule.

Civil aviation was triply affected by reversion. By changing the landing points in Okinawa from the United States to Japan, traffic from the homelands to Okinawa would suddenly become cabotage (internal Japanese routing); Japan would have the right to withdraw operating privileges from the U.S. carriers operating from Okinawa; and, in the complicated balancing of benefits that takes place in international aviation negotiations, the value of the routes ending on Okinawa would be subtracted from the United States and added to Japan, thus affecting landing rights negotiations in places like Chicago and Osaka.

Close to the end of the reversion discussions, we resolved both civil aviation and VOA issues by applying five-year grace formulas: VOA could continue to operate for five years on specific frequencies at specific times while replacement facilities were being pre-

Destination Washington, D.C.?

Let Long & Foster, the Area's Largest Real Estate Company, Lead the Way



Long & Foster is the leading real estate firm in the nation's capital and has been rated #1 in customer satisfaction by America's leading consumer magazine. If you are being assigned to the Washington, D.C. area, put Long & Foster's expertise, experience and market knowledge to work for you.

Serving the real estate needs of the Foreign Service community is our specialty. If you're interested in **buying** a home, we can provide you with all the details of available housing alternatives. Or, if you are leaving the area, we can help sell your home quickly and at the best price possible.

For up-to-date information on living in the Washington, D.C., Metropolitan area, fax or mail the coupon below.

LONG & FOSTER®
REALTORS®

EVELYN COTTERMAN
will give you the benefit of over 14 years of specialized experience.

Phone: (703) 573-2600
Fax: (703) 641-9524

DESTINATION WASHINGTON, D.C./ ATTENTION EVELYN COTTERMAN

Name_____
Address_____
_____
_____
Phone_____
Please call: ____ AM ____ PM

I'm interested in:

☐ Information on buying a home in
___ Virginia ___ Maryland ___ D.C.
☐ Selling my present home
☐ Free Home Buyers Guide
☐ Free Home Sellers Guide

FAX OR MAIL TO: EVELYN COTTERMAN, LONG & FOSTER, 3918 PROSPERITY AVENUE, FAIRFAX, VA 22031

pared elsewhere, and specified U.S. air carriers could operate for five years on specified routes from Okinawa without the value of those routes being accounted for in the overall balance of benefits. The United States yielded on cabotage, and Japan agreed to be considerate later if we could not get a new VOA relay station built within the five years.

The proof of the bargain lay in the eventual approvals by both the Diet and the Senate. The Diet had far more difficulty, and the United States spent the next year assisting the Foreign Ministry in interpreting the treaty and its related agreements and in arranging things on Okinawa to draw the heat from the many issues that engaged the opposition parties. The Senate heard from American businesses, airlines, missionaries, veterans, and a baker's dozen of executive agencies and satisfied itself that no important U.S. interest had been unprovided for.

Charles A. Schmitz, an international lawyer and former Foreign Service officer, was attorney/adviser in Embassy Tokyo during the Okinawa negotiations. He is now chairman of Global Business Access Ltd. and vice president for retirees of AFSA.

Ending the Post-War Period

BY TOSHIJIRO NAKAJIMA

Article 3 of the Treaty of Peace signed between Japan and the United States of America in San Francisco in 1951 contains an agreement that the United States would enjoy the right to exercise all and any powers of admin-

The Bonins and Iwo Jima

BY RODNEY E. ARMSTRONG

During my three years in Embassy Tokyo in the late 1960s, I had the lead in negotiating the agreement for reversion of the Bonin-Iwo-Marcus Islands—an agreement that served as the model in miniature for the Ryukus Agreement of 1972. I was also able to contribute to preparations for the reversion of Okinawa. I developed the advisory commission system whereby Japan was allowed to join the U.S. and Okinawan authorities in planning for reversion. I worked to reintegrate Okinawa into the Japanese local politicial system and fought to improve Japanese subsidies to the islanders.

Perhaps because of the terrible symbol of Mount Suribachi, the 1968 reversion of Iwo Jima was closely tied to American emotions. After all, in addition to the memories of the battle, there are many layers of historical connections, from whaling days, Commodore Perry's visit, down to the Pacific War. It was off Chichijima that President Bush met his youthful trial of fire and water.

The Bonins define the word exotic. With their magnificent harbor and their plant, bird, and aquatic life, they are now a protected natural preserve. Their inhabitants were the Caucasian/black descendants of five American, Portuguese, and British castaways of the 19th century. I was privileged to meet people like Nathaniel Savoury, then in his eighties, the descendant of Newburyport whalers, who still spoke through his magnificent handlebar moustache in accents redolent of Melville. There was Johnnie Washington, in his nineties, the descendant of a black cabin boy, who had astonished a judge in San Francisco by interpreting for the crew of a Japanese whaler when they were tried for poaching at the turn of the century.

All of the Bonin-Iwo islands had been evacuated of civilians by the Japanese just prior to the end of World War II. About 150 descendants of the pre-Japan islanders had been permitted to return to Chichijima, where they lived as wards of the U.S. Navy. I was told that their return was to protect them, since several of them had testified for the prosecution in a trial that held several Japanese officers guilty of cannibalism against downed American flyers.

I flew to Chichijima through Guam several times to meet groups of former Japanese islanders for visits to their family graves, returning with them to Japan on the old Japanese Coast Guard icebreaker *Soya Maru*. There was no landing strip to match the enormous harbor (which was used for fleet reviews by the Imperial Navy). Seaplanes had been phased out by the U.S. Navy, and the few decrepit planes used for the Guam-Chichijima run were terrifying transport. One landed the then-CINCPAC, Admiral U.S. Johnson, but sank softly into the shallows, forcing him to wade in for his state visit. Without this demonstration of the uselessness of this "strategic" base, all the best efforts of the two governments would probably never have gotten the islands away from the Navy.

Iwo Jima was a grim contrast to the lovely Bonins. Mount Suribachi, with its perpetually flying American flag, loomed over "Sulphur" Island, which stinks of its native element. The soil is warm to the touch, and the small Air Force weather detachment had to keep its water pipes above ground to avoid

PHOTOGRAPH BY PVT. BOB CAMPBELL

PHOTOGRAPH BY JOE ROSENTHAL, ASSOCIATED PRESS

U. S. Marines take Iwo Jima in 1942.

producing geothermal energy. I wandered just a few yards from the end of the runway into the remains of a Japanese field hospital, complete with unexploded grenades, as well as skulls and femurs.

The Japanese were so sensitive to American feelings about Iwo Jima that they originally thought of letting the United States keep title to a spot for a flagpole on Mount Suribachi. But Foreign Minister Takeo Miki rightly saw this as unacceptable to Japanese opinion, and the idea was floated of a bronze replica of an American flag. Ambassador U. Alexis Johnson wisely flew to Hawaii to prevail upon General Krulak of the Marines to announce the end of the perpetual display on Suribachi ("difficulties of resupply"). There are now simple monuments to the valor of both sides at the spot where the Marines raised their flag.

Rodney E. Armstrong is a Northern Virginia businessman. He was second secretary in charge of the Okinawa/Bonin-Iwo Islands issue in the Political Section of the American Embassy in Tokyo, 1966 to 1969.

istration, legislation, and jurisdiction over certain Japanese territories, including Okinawa, with Japan retaining only residual sovereignty. From that time, it was a persistently pursued objective of Japanese diplomacy to achieve the reversion to Japan of administrative rights over Okinawa.

Once the reversion of the Amami Islands and Bonin Islands, which had also been under American jurisdiction, became a reality, the way was cleared for initial steps toward the reversion of Okinawa to Japan. The continued occupation by the United States of Okinawa for more than a couple of decades after the war clearly represented a serious obstacle to the development of a sound relationship between the United States and Japan. This led Eisaku Sato, the then prime minister, to state, "The post-war period will not have ended for Japan until Okinawa has been returned to the motherland."

Sato was resolved to urge the United States government to work toward the reversion of Okinawa. But at the time, it appeared politically and diplomatically unrealistic to announce such a domestic policy objective without any clear prospect for success. The United States was fully committed militarily, politically, and economically to pursuing the war in Vietnam. Thus, it was obvious that Okinawa was indispensable as a frontline base for American military activities. Under these circumstances, to have the Okinawa problem put on the agenda for Japan-U.S. diplomatic negotiations meant to the United States a major political decision and a significant military risk. For the Japanese government, it was a sensitive proposition that would require careful handling in relation to domestic public opinion. Diplomatically, it was a high-stakes endeavor that had to be pursued under unfavorable negotiating conditions.

The discussions between the two countries paving the way for the Japan-U.S. Joint Communique in November 1969 involved many difficult problems, including the question of nuclear weapons on Okinawa, the use of U.S. military bases in Japan, and the implementation of the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and

Security. Subsequent negotiations over claims, financial matters, and the transfer of civil and criminal jurisdiction were no easier. The success of the Joint Communique and the Okinawa Reversion Agreement was achieved through the outstanding political wisdom and the longterm vision of the leaders of both countries, together with the warm and solid bonds of cooperation and trust at the working level among those involved in the negotiations.

Thus, a rare example of the peaceful return of territories lost in war was realized. During the Cold War, the Japan-U.S. security regime and the relationship of friendship and trust had been firmly rooted between the two countries. It struck a sharp contrast with the continuing unsolved problems in the Northern Territories between Japan and the Soviet Union.

A most important consideration for both sides was implementation of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty and related agreements after the reversion. Experience acquired during the negotiations for the conclusion of the Security Treaty and related agreements 10 years earlier proved very useful, and many of the Foreign Ministry staff who had participated in these negotiations found themselves, a decade later, recruited for the negotiations for the reversion of Okinawa. Having been in the Treaties Division of the Foreign Ministry as a member of the negotiating team in 1960, I was able to participate again in these negotiations. Now, 20 years on, looking back on my 40-year career in the Foreign Service, I find it an unforgettable challenge and, at the same time, my good fortune to have been able to take part in these negotiations.

Toshijiro Nakajima is a member of Japan's Supreme Court and former ambassador to China and Australia. During the Okinawa negotiations, he served as chief of the Treaties Affairs Division in the Foreign Office.

Okinawa and American Diplomacy:

The Moral Legacy

BY TATSUO ARIMA

As we approach a new millennium, the reversion of Okinawa is still a cause for me of optimism about the future of American leadership in the world. Of course, as seen from the American side, the decision was taken on the basis of the long-term strategic consideration to place U.S. relations with Japan on an even more stable basis. Still, the reversion transcends a mere strategic vision; it testifies to the enduring moral quality of American diplomacy. Today, as we expend so much of our intellectual and emotional energy in trying to solve our bilateral trade problems against the background of mounting tension between us, it is with nostalgia that I look upon the days of our reversion negotiations, when American and Japanese diplomats worked so closely together to realize a shared objective. We were drained and exhausted always, but a sense of mutual respect and satisfaction prevailed throughout.

If we are to make the coming millennium more than a calendar event, Japanese and American diplomats must become more intensely involved in working on problems together. This time, however, the problems ought not to be of bilateral but of a global nature, so that we may secure a better future for humanity. ■

Tatsuo Arima is chief Cabinet counselor for external affairs in the prime minister's office. From January 1970 to July 1972 he was deputy director of the Treaties Affairs Division in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION

Mutual of Omaha Companies
Group Operation

Nursing Home Care can Cost $30,000 a Year

If you or a family member should need long-term care services, would you be able to afford this expense? Many cannot.

People frequently believe their health insurance or Medicare covers long-term care, which will be needed by almost half of Americans age 65 or over. The fact is, traditional health insurance is not designed to cover this type of care.

Americans are living longer, but not necessarily independently. Many elderly Americans are not able to care for themselves or live without assistance in their own homes.

With AFSPA's Long-Term Care Plan from the Mutual of Omaha Companies, you are covered for nursing home care and health care in your own home.

For over 60 years, the Protective Association has specialized in providing insurance coverage for the Foreign Service. AFSPA understands the needs of Foreign Service members like you, and provides personalized service whether you're in Washington or Windhoek.

Our Long-Term Care Plan offers:

- Coverage for spouses, parents and parents-in-law.
- Coverage for confinement (nursing care facility) and nonconfinement (home health or adult day care) services.
- Return of Premium.*
- Automatic Inflation Protection.

Because you are a past or present member of the Foreign Service, you can take advantage of this important Long-Term Care Plan at reasonable group rates.

Prepare for your future today.
Enroll now to take advantage of guaranteed eligibility and group rates. To receive enrollment information, call AFSPA at (202) 833-4910.

Toll-free Hotline.
The Mutual of Omaha Companies have set up a hotline to answer your questions about the AFSPA Long-Term Care Plan. Call 1-800-877-1052

LTCare®
Long-Term Care Insurance

*Not available in Texas.

afsa news

Revised city-pair policy issued

by Chris Perine
Member Services Director

In mid-March, State, USAID and USIA issued joint guidance to employees explaining that the city-pair contract travel policy had been revised to clarify the policy and make more explicit its intended flexibility.

Employees of all three agencies had expressed confusion about the application of the policy. Prior to the revision, AFSA provided management with a package of cables from AFSA representatives in the field responding to our request for comments. AFSA believes the revisions represent a positive change. The revisions state:

- Use of city-pair rates is not required when the origin city does not have such service.
- Travelers are not required to use indirect routes in order to use city-pair service.
- Travelers are not required to reticket to city-pair fares at points en route.
- Employees may fly using a higher than city-pair rate even when a city-pair rate is available as long as they pay the difference between the city-pair rate and the rate used.
- The right to a stopover at the midway point of flights in excess of 14 hours total overrides the requirement to fly using city-pair rates.

State management will be sending additional guidance to the field. AFSA will continue its dialogue with management on this issue in order to secure further improvement of the policy, and we welcome additional employee comments.

AFSA salutes 1992 award winners

Winners were to receive their AFSA awards at Foreign Service Day, May 1.

Christian A. Herter Award

Robert L. Earle, minister-counselor for public affairs in Mexico City, for outstanding leadership, initiative, and creativity in advancing U.S. - Mexico relations.

William R. Rivkin Award

Gerald Wesley Scott, political counselor in Kinshasa, for extraordinary accomplishment, initiative, and constructive dissent in a time of crisis.

W. Averell Harriman Award

Colin M. Cleary, a political officer in Kampala, for extraordinary accomplishment and integrity in analyzing an African nation's progress toward democracy.

Delavan Award

Phyllis Ann Finkelstein, secretary to the administrative counselor in New Delhi, for unusual initiative and leadership that improved management and morale.

Avis Bohlen Award

Margie Howell, spouse of the American ambassador in Kuwait, for extraordinary contributions to the American community in Kuwait and to relations with the Kuwaiti government and people.

Matilda Sinclaire Awards

For achievement in the study of hard languages and their associated cultures:

Gregory D. Chapman, Lao; **Howard D. Clark**, Hungarian; **Frank Collins III**, Greek; **Peter S. Hinz**, Polish; **Joseph Evan LeBaron**, Persian; **Jonathan M. Moore**, Serbo-Croatian; **Dianne Markowitz**, Polish; **James A. Pierce**, Korean; **Monique V. Quesada**, Greek.

Assessing evaluations at USAID

by Deborah M. Leahy
Member Services Representative

AFSA has begun negotiations with USAID management on the EER form and corresponding regulations. Management proposed several changes on which the negotiating team has requested input from USAID employees before continuing discussions.

The first proposed change concerns employee evaluation reports. Memoranda of Performance, currently used to record performance of 30 to 120-day periods would be eliminated. A new, abbreviated EER form would be prepared for a rated period of 90 to 149 calendar days. This abbreviated EER would be the same as a regular EER except that the "potential" section, including areas for improvement would not be completed by the rater. Assessments for periods of less than 90 days would be included in the full EER for the rating period, with the rater responsible for soliciting information concerning the employee's performance during these periods of TDY assignments. This will not, however, preclude the inclusion of letters of commendation for specific achievements during these periods.

The second change proposed by management is the compression of the core skill areas from seven to five. Professional/technical skills and program skills have been incorporated into the remaining skill areas, which are: professional skills, leadership skills, operational skills, interpersonal skills, and supervisory skills.

The third proposed change is the addition of the following statement about language proficiency, which is now mandated by law: "IMPORTANT: In accordance with legislative requirements, an employee tested at the S3/R3 level and incumbering a position requiring the use of the tested language, is to be evaluated on his/her effectiveness in using the foreign language in his/her work where the rater is capable of doing so, i.e., where the rater has sufficient opportunity to observe the ratee and the rater possesses an S3/R3 or higher rating in the language."

The final proposed change is the requirement that all career candidates have mission directors, USAID principal officers or deputy mission directors act as their reviewing officers. Normal reviewing officers would be by-passed to ensure this senior level of review for tenure candidates.

AFSA will continue discussion with USAID management in mid-April once views on the above changes have been received from employees. It is important to note, however, that these changes, when finalized, will not be implemented until the 1992/1993 or 1993/1994 rating period.

Living with the pouch

by Julie Smithline
Member Services Representative

AFSA receives many inquiries about pouch policies and continues to work with pouch officials to improve the effectiveness of the pouch system. The following are some of the most frequent concerns relayed by AFSA to pouch officials.

• **Misdirected mail.** The department has recently implemented a new procedure of periodic, random checks to identify misrouted mail. The department stresses that individuals should use the following format when addressing packages:

Name of Individual/Organization
Post, Country
Department of State
Washington, DC 20521-XXXX (appropriate 4-digit zip code extension)

• **Packages returned to sender.** Many packages are returned to the sender because they contain prohibited items or are oversized. A complete list of prohibited items is in 5 FAM 520. If a package is returned to the sender, a cable is sent to the addressee informing him/her of the package's return along with the reason. However, when an address is incomplete (no post is specified), no telegram can be sent. Any registered, insured or other special handling package is automatically returned to the sender by the U.S. Postal Service before it reaches the pouch. Therefore, these packages are also returned to sender without any telegram being sent to the addressee.

• **Liquid items.** One of the many prohibited items that may be returned to the sender is a liquid item. Even common liquids like shampoo and soda will be returned, as a package containing liquid could open or burst in transport and damage other mail in the pouch. Liquid spillage in a pouch may also cause up to a two-week delay in forwarding the pouch until the airline can determine that the liquid is non-hazardous.

• **Opened or damaged contents.** Many packages arrive at U.S. Post Office or pouch facility opened or damaged in transit. Humidity and the weight of the package can weaken the seal, causing it to open. Both offices have a policy of marking damaged packages and processing them, whenever possible. In some cases a package may be opened for inspection by pouch officials. The package would then be sealed with green tape and marked. If a package is open and has lost its contents, the packaging will be properly marked and processed. The contents of the package, if they arrived at the pouch facility, will be held for 90 days before they are donated to a charity. It is the responsibility of the individual to call the pouch facility and inquire about lost items.

• **Pilferage.** The U.S. Postal Service, the Office of the Inspector General (OIG), and Diplomatic Security are working to address this problem. OIG and Diplomatic Security have recently arrested two employees in connection with missing property. The department has also increased the number of security guards in the Dulles Airport Pouch Room.

AFSA will continue to monitor the function of the pouch facility. We welcome additional employee comments and concerns.

John Rogers on management

Separating fat from lean

by Richard S. Thompson
Coordinator, Professional Issues

Under Secretary of State for Management John Rogers warned a capacity Foreign Service Club audience March 19 that budget restrictions force us to take a rigorous look at our operations and "recognize that some things we have always done will have to give way to what must be done." To succeed, State must focus on priorities and be prepared to shift personnel and resources, as is now being done with the emerging democracies of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. A close look must be taken at downsizing and closing posts, as well as at the possibility of regional embassies. However, Rogers asserted that the State Department, with its emphasis on reporting, area expertise, and flexibility is well-positioned to cope with new international circumstances.

Turning to personnel issues, Rogers

noted we are now midway through phase one of implementing the Thomas and Bremer recommendations: State has slowed the promotion cycle, speeded up the hiring process, lengthened the pre-tenure period, and moved to multifunctionality. In phase two Rogers would like to move toward complete elimination of the cone system, lengthening tours of duty, and a greater management role in assignments including increased linkage of assignments with skills. The Foreign Service specialist system also needs a careful look. Rogers stressed that the career prospects of the Civil Service must be improved through dual designation of some senior positions, more training, and perhaps overseas tours.

He emphasized that the department must become more representative of American society, and women and minorities not only recruited but retained and rewarded. The service is fairly representative at the lower levels but not at higher levels, and if necessary, mid-level entry programs should be re-energized. He noted a new program of scholarships to minority university students aiming for the Foreign Service.

Opportunities for spouses are another important issue, and Rogers noted the establishment of the American Family Members Associate Program, which supports employment at posts; a new initiative to permit spouses to issue visas after proper training; and further negotiation of bilateral agreements that permit spouses to work in local economies.

On other management issues, Rogers said the department will review the Inman findings to see if security conditions have changed, and move away from constructing new embassies toward repairing and rehabilitating existing buildings.

During the discussion period Rogers reiterated the importance of the Foreign Service supporting and guiding minorities and women once they are hired. Responding to an expressed concern that mid-level entry for women and minorities would disadvantage those already in the service, he said State must look at mid-level entry if progress in recruitment and promotion is not sufficient. Statistically the picture is not good, and there cannot be much delay.

Under questioning Rogers agreed that reprogramming would not be sufficient to cover peacekeeping expenses or other needs that are likely to develop. He noted that there is no specific plan to implement regional embassies anywhere at this time.

He also stressed that, if State does not take the lead on key structural questions, Congress will. The department should study and develop positions on bringing USAID and other foreign affairs elements back into State.

Hail and Farewell

With regret, AFSA has bid farewell to longtime employee Bob Beers, AFSA's Retiree Liaison. Beers originated the retiree newsletter and kept AFSA members abreast of congressional assaults on retiree issues ranging from pensions to medical care. As Mr. "Retiree Desk," he was always available to help solve the predicaments of hundreds of Foreign Service retirees and attacked their problems and the bureaucracy that tormented them with vast knowledge and unfailing energy. Beers initiated the annual publication of the AFSA Retiree Directory and the Congressional Directory. His unfailing good humor and extensive knowledge of retiree issues will be sorely missed. AFSA's profound thanks go with him in his retirement.

We welcome Ward Thompson to the Retiree Desk. A State Foreign Service alumnus, Thompson retired in 1991 after 25-year career as a political and labor officer, with a focus on the Nordic countries. He served as political counselor in Helsinki and Copenhagen and was the last American Consul general in Gothenburg. In Washington he was director of the Office of Human Rights Policy. Thompson will continue to communicate with retirees through the retiree newsletter and to deal with retiree problems. He will also support retiree chapters around the United States and oversee the establishment of the Foreign Affairs Reserves.

Other recent staff changes have included Julie Smithline who moved to the Member Services Department under Director Christopher Perrine. We also welcome Laurie McMichael as membership assistant, Sheree Edmonds as accounting assistant, and Patty Malone as law clerk.

from the USAID vice president

Pulling out the rug

by Priscilla del Bosque

A mission director once remarked that USAID employees are so committed to development that they don't bother to object to the relatively little value that the agency gives to career enhancement. Sad, but true. USAID employees at every level say that they need a clearer idea of the agency's direction, that they need to know that the agency values their careers and recognizes the quality of their work. Employees often do not know why awards are given; they see that the same people receive awards or are promoted even when others are viewed as more deserving; and they are painfully aware of inequalities in awards across services and levels. Many who make significant contributions to the agency do not receive any recognition from their supervisors except more work.

Right now, USAID is in the midst of making major changes in management systems to improve our programming and procurement processes and our accounting and reporting systems. But changes in processes and procedures are not enough. There are too many conflicting management signals. We are told, "We want you to be innovative risk-takers." But when someone takes a risk, he or she is out on the limb alone, and that limb may be cut off by superiors. We are told, "We want you to be accountable for results." On the other hand, we are not given adequate support—in terms of staffing, equipment, travel funds—to get the job done. We are told, "Do a good job and you'll be promoted." In reality, promotions are far too few and, in order to get promoted, you have to give up doing what you may do best and become a manager of people. Technical excellence used to be the hallmark of USAID; now it seems to be a luxury, no longer affordable. It is truly remarkable that so many employees continue to work so hard and with such dedication to achieve development results. It is a wonder that cynicism and despondency have not vanquished our spirits for good.

Since last fall many good people have been looking at USAID's incentive system. They canvassed many employees, both in Washington and overseas. Their report and proposal for reforming how the agency treats its people is right on the mark. Let us hope that management endorses it fully and gives it the priority it deserves. The signals management gives to employees on this subject will be telling.

Meriting honor

The 1992 AFSA/AAFSW Merit Awards will honor Carol Laise Bunker, a stellar figure in the U.S. Foreign Service.

Laise began her State career in 1948, working as an international relations officer with the U.S. delegation to the UN until 1956. Following several years in the Political Section in New Delhi, she became deputy director for South Asian Affairs in 1962 and director in 1965.

Bunker served as ambassador to Nepal from 1966 to 1973 and was appointed director general of the Foreign Service in 1975. She retired from the service in 1977 and served on the boards of many institutions, including Mt. Holyoke College, American Academy of Diplomacy, Experiment in International Living, and DACOR. She died in July 1991.

The AFSA Committee on Education finds it fitting to recognize her exemplary diplomatic career and wide range of interests during the Foreign Service Day awards ceremony.

In preparation for Foreign Service Day awards presentation, the following scholarship panels, composed of State, USIA, USAID, AAFSW, and retired members, met to review the Merit Award applications on April 8 -9:

Panel I: Jim Casey (Chair), Wendy Chamberlin, Chris Fitzgerald, Mitsie Likar, Priscilla Becker, George Barbis.

Panel II: Ed Costello (Chair), Nancy Stack, Herman Henning, Stacy Rhodes, Sarah Sandberg, Patricia Byrne.

Panel III: David Jones (Chair), Sidney Reeves, Gloria Lloyd, Dave Fredrick, Anita Schelp, Robert Miller (AFSA Committee on Education chair).

Panel IV: Janet Biggs (Chair), Hartford Jennings, Joanne Cotter, Christine Schoux, Marjorie Morris, John Helble.

news*briefs*

Honoraria ban struck down. On March 19 D.C. District Court struck down the ban prohibiting federal employees from accepting payment for articles, speeches, and appearances. Calling the ban unconstitutional, Judge Thomas Penfield Jackson criticized it for limiting free speech. The ban will remain in effect for 60 days to allow time for an appeal.

Parking renovation update. Responding to concerns about the ongoing renovation in the State parking garage, the department recently briefed AFSA on the work being done. AFSA previously reported that the creation of 66 "park and lock" spaces for designated senior officials necessitated a reduction in the number of parking spaces. The department insists that the cause of this reduction (which the department has revised from 110 to 90 spaces) is the creation of an additonal entry and exit lane to facilitate better traffic flow within the garage, thereby improving overall safety and security. All but five vechicles displaced by these changes will receive access to parking at Columbia Plaza, which we are assured will be free of charge and will entail a "park and lock" capacity.

USIA housing issues discussed

by Lauren Hale
USIA Representative

The USIA standing committee has been considering issues ranging from the mission of the Foreign Service to overseas housing policy. Anne Stenzel and Jean Hudder completed their study of the new housing regulations. Among the ideas AFSA may propose are changing the current space maximums and disallowing the mention of representation in EERs unless an employee has adequate space and financial resources for these duties. A letter has been sent to all USIA Foreign Service members outlining the proposed changes and asking for input from the field. The current policy actually has more flexibility than many post housing boards realize, and AFSA would like all personnel to be better informed about the policy and how it can be adapted to local conditions.

- Greg Garland and Dan Sreebny are preparing a position paper on the future of international broadcasting. The relationship between USIA and VOA was the subject of an AFSA USIA meeting in March.
- Lynn Cassel organized USIA participation in two AFSA dinners at which Hill staffers and Foreign Service members discussed the mission and structure of the Foreign Service. The ideas generated by the discussion will be included in an AFSA white paper on the future of the foreign affairs agencies.

AFSA retiree members receive multiple benefits

by Laurie McMichael
Membership Assistant

AFSA has an active and growing retiree constituency and those who are preparing to retire should be aware of the many benefits of continued AFSA membership. Dues for retired members are less than half the active rate and retired members continue to receive the *Foreign Service Journal*. Additionally, they are listed in and receive the annual Directory of Retired Members and our bimonthly newsletter focusing specifically on retirement issues.

Ward Thompson, AFSA's Retiree Liaison, edits the newsletter and oversees relations with Foreign Service retiree organizations including the emerging Foreign Affairs Reserve Corps. He is also available to consult with retired members on administrative and benefit questions. Retirees are welcome to attend any of AFSA's speaker luncheons at the reduced member rate and to visit the Foreign Service Club for lunches during the week.

In addition to member discounts on magazine subscriptions, mail-order books, Hertz rental cars, automobile and furniture purchases, AFSA's retired members may take advantage of the group insurance plans we offer, including disability, hospital, personal property, transit, and long-term-care insurance. The foreign affairs agencies do not inform AFSA when members retire, and individual members should notify us directly. Write or call the Membership Department at 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037, (202) 625-7153, to arrange for retiree membership.

AFSA Fund Contributors 1991

AFSA would like to express its thanks to the following contributors. Names of remaining 1991 contributors will be published in a later issue.

Margaret E. Abraham
Martin Ackerman
Lottie Adamek
Cliff & Isabel Adams
Eugene J. Adams
Michael J. Adams
Madison Adams, Jr.
Robert W. Adler
Harold Aisley
David A. Alarid
Leslie M. Alexander
Charlotte Allen
Thomas G. Allen
G. William Anderson
Lester C. Anderson
Sarah L. Andren
Robert F. Andrew
Carlos E. Aranaga
Julio J. Arias
John Armitage
Lois Aroian
James H. Ashida
Laurin B. Askew
Alfred L. Atherton, Jr.
Marshall F. Atkins
Anne P. Backus
Robert O. Blake, Jr.
Slator Blackiston, Jr.
William D. Blair, Jr.
John Blane
Robert R. Bliss
V. H. Blocker
Peter Bloom
Richard J. Bloomfield
Evelyn Blue
William Bodde, Jr.
Leslie M. Boggs
Richard W. Bogosian
Deborah Bolton
Richard T. Booth
Margaret Bourgerie
Norman M. Bouton
John Bovey
Barbara A. Bowen
Thomas D. Boyatt
Alice F. Boynton
Virginia L. Braddock
Robert M. Brandin
Ola M. Branscum
Robert Bravo
William H. Bray
Charles H. Brayshaw
Jack M. Carle
C. Carpenter-Yaman
Charles C. Carson
Annie M. Carter
James W. Carter
Helen E. Cartmill
Elizabeth Carver
Hubert E. Carver
Anne Cary
Amy Holman Casey
John M. Cates, Jr.
John Caulfield
Philip Chadbourn, Jr.
Robert Chamberlain
Stephen M. Champlin
James B. Chandler
Robert C. Chase
James R. Cheek
Mark & Martha Cheng
Timothy W. Childs
Fanny S. Chipman
Alvin K. Chock
William Christensen
Charles C. Christian
Bruce Christopherson
Joy Churchill
Dan Cushman
Leo G. Cyr
Antoinette J. Daggett
Matthew P. Daley
James J. Dalton
Lois Daris
John R. David
Paula J. David
Donald M. Davies
Richard T. Davies
Guy J. Davis
Helen Winkler Davis
Nathaniel Davis
Richard S. Dawson, Jr.
Robert W. Day
Ceslie Dean
Rose Marie Deep
Alice Dekang
Velia DePirro
James A. Derrick
Angela Dickey
Colette Dickey
Richard F. Dienelt
John R. Diggins
Arthur V. Diggle
John T. Dougherty
Flavio A. Esposito
Thomas S. Estes
Raymond C. Ewing
Betty Morris Facey
James R. Falzone
Thomas M. Farley
Robert J. Featherstone
Edward Feehan
Oldrich Fejfar
Harvey Feldman
Arthur M. Fell
C. Richard Fenger
Gregory G. Fergin
Judith R. Fergin
Jack E. Ferguson
Russell Fessenden
Elizabeth F. Figura
Blyth Foote Finke
Charles E. Finn
Dean H. Finney
Richard V. Fischer
Robert L. Flanegin
Terence Flannery
Jack M. Fleischer
Maurice E. Fleming
John E. Fochs
William J. Gill
Alan A. Gise
Ralph N. Gleason
Dorothy N. Glenn
William H. Gleysteen
Ruth Godson
R. Goeckermann
Gerald Goldman
Frank G. Golino
William W. Gonz
Benjamin C. Goode
Andrew Goodron
Ann Gordon
George Grande
Roderick N. Grant
Stephen H. Grant
Theodore Grant-Katz
Thomas P. Gratto
Gordon Gray
M. Elizabeth Gray
Charles B. Green
H. E. Green
Marshall Green
Christa U. Griffin
John C. Griffith
Carl J. Grip

AFSA Fund contributors (continued)

P. Backus
John E. Bagnal
Jane W. Bain
Gregg R. Baker
James E. Baker
John A. Baker
Charles R. Bakey, Jr.
Webster Ballance
Irene M. Barbeau
Grace Barcroft
Robert F. Barnes
Elizabeth Barnett
Martha Barnhill
William Barnsdale
Lucius Battle
Niels C. Beck
John P. Becker
Robert W. Beckham
W. Elizabeth Beers
Burt Behrens
Helen E. Beko
Marianne C. Bel
Leila S. Belaval
Genevieve Scott Bell
Igor N. Belousovitch
William Belton
Robert A. Benedict
Helem Bertot
Gordon Beyer
Paul A. Bialecki
Peter P. Bielak
Marie E. Bierau
Vernon E. Bishop
James J. Blake
Charles Breitenbach
Edward T. Brennan
Patrick W. Brennan
William D. Brewer
Robert C. Brewster
Lena P. Bridges
Madison Broadnax
Anne S. Brooks
David Brown
Donald S. Brown
Lawrence M.E. Brown
Robert A. Brown
James D. Browning
Stephen W. Buck
Doreen Burden
Philip M. Burnett
Findley Burns
Alanson G. Burt
Frank P. Butler
Wayne J. Butler
Samuel H. Butterfield
James G. Byington
William H. Byrd
Patricia M. Byrne
Harry Cahill
Richard A. Calfee
John A. Calhoun
Michael Calingaert
Howard W. Calkins
Jennie M. Callahan
Kenneth W. Calloway
Lucy Calloway
Martha Campbell
Charles A. Cariddi
Albert J. Ciaffone
Barbara N. Cicerelle
Howard D. Clark
K. Clark-Bourne
Dean Claussen
Alice W. Clement
Harlan Cleveland
Florence F. W. Coey
Herman J. Cohen
Louis A. Cohen
Irvin D. Coker
Philip R. Cook, Jr.
Mark A. Cole
Harold W. Collamer
Stephen Comisky
Mary Sue Conaway
Wayne Conner
William B. Connett
John O. Cook
William W. Copeland
George Corinaldi, Jr.
Edwin G. Corr
M. Lee Cotterman
Millard S. Cox
Earl T. Crain
Dwight M. Cramer
David L. Crandall
Maurine Crane
John Hugh Crimmins
Kennedy M. Crockett
Charles T. Cross
Bette & Michael Cruit
Virginia I. Cullen
John M. Curry
Stephen Dobrencuk
Buddy K. Dodson
Richard H. Donald
Mary E. Donovan
Arthur R. Dornheim
Leon G. Dorros
William Douglas
Morris Draper
Margaret Clark Dray
Richard Driscoll
Chloe Z. Duckett
R. W. Duemling
Edwin M. Duerbeck
Jolke Y. Duffield
Dorothy J. Dugan
Gilda R. Duly
James J. Dunlap
Thomas P. H. Dunlop
Paxton T. Dunn
Thomas J. Dunnigan
Philip F. Dur
Elbridge Durbrow
Michael J. Dux
Jake M. Dyels, Jr.
William Eagleton
Frank Eakin
William F. Eaton
William Edmondson
Carlyn J. Elliot
Howard Elting, Jr.
Mary Parker England
Sharon Epstein
Nels Erickson
Martha C. Erwin
Ruth L. Fonfrias
Barkley Ford
William J. Ford
William N. Fraleigh
E. D. Frankhouser
W. H. Frayne
Loretta Freedman
Fulton Freeman
George Freimarck
Richard B. Freund
Carl R. Fritz
Julian P. Fromer
Margaret H. Fulton
Suzanne J. Fuss
Gerald G.Jones
William R. Gaines
Fred Galanto
Pirie M. Gall
Michael Galli
Thomas Gallo
Daniel Garcia
Frank V. Gardner
David J. Garms
Cornelia E. Garniss
Carmela E. C. Garufi
Jose Garzon
Julia De M. Gatewood
Coradino Ernest Gatti
Ellen Gavrisheff
F. Louise Geigan
Dale Claire Gibb
Lee P. Gibson
Roger G. Gifford
Jay W. Gildner
Kathryn J. Groot
Thompson Grunwald
Margaret L. Guise
Helen Gunther
James R. Gustin
Leona M. Haase
Betty Ann Hagander
Charlie Hageman
Zachary M. Hahn
James H. Hall
Winifred T. Hall
Elinor Halle
Michael L. Hancock
Olive Hanscom
Robert R. Hansen
Wesley C. Haraldson
John H. Hardridge
Robert H. Harlan
Philip J. Harrick
F. Allen Harris
Constance R. Harvey
Charles T. Hash
Stella G. Hatala
Tom S. Hatsukano
Roy T. Haverkamp
Guy L. Haviland, Jr.
Maurice Hawes
Walter A. Hayden, Jr.
William A. Hayne
Martha Hayward
Theresa A. Healy
Charlie Hefferman
Hugh M. Heighbor
Colin Helmer

To be continued

PROPERTY MGMT.

J.P. PROPERTIES: Complete professional dedication to the management of residential property in Northern Virginia. Brokers with Foreign Service overseas living experience and 13 years in residential real estate. We work for you. **JOANN PIEKNEY OR JAMES GOLDEN,** 301 Maple Avenue West, Vienna, VA 22180. Tel. (703) 938-0909, Fax: (703) 281-9782.

PEAKE PROPERTIES LTD: Specializing in leasing and management of your Northern Virginia home. Caring, personal attention. Nearly 20 years of experience in serving the FS community's property management needs. **MURIEL PEAKE,** Broker. 1350 Beverly Rd., Suite 220B, McLean, VA 22101. (703) 448-0212, Fax (703) 448-9652.

FAHEY & ASSOCIATES: Professional, residential, property management service for Northern Virginia properties. Expertise and personal attention to detail are the hallmarks of our established firm. References provided. **JIM FAHEY,** 9520B Lee Highway, Fairfax, VA 22031 (703) 691-2006, Fax (703) 691-2009.

WASHINGTON MANAGEMENT SERVICES: Residential property management is our only business. Call, write or Fax **MARY BETH OTTO,** 2015 Q St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20009. Tel. (202) 462-7212, Fax (202) 332-0798.

MANOR SERVICES: Former federal law enforcement agent letting his 10-year residential management company expand upon retirement. Best tenant screening. Frequent property inspection. Mortgages paid. Repairs. Close personal attention. We're small but very effective. FS and military references. Lowest rates. Best service. **TERSH NORTON,** Box 42429, Washington, D.C. 20015, (202) 363-2990.

REAL ESTATE

FALLS CHURCH Arlington: Three bedroom house available for rental, preferably furnished, beginning July 1, probably for one year. Contact: Charles A. Moser, 2029 Freedom Lane, Falls Church, VA 22043,Tel. H (703) 534-1821, W (202) 994-7082.

WASHINGTON, D.C. ARLINGTON, VA. Personalized relocation, short, or long term. We specialize in walk-to-Metro sales and furnished rentals. Arlington Villas, 1-1/2 blocks from Metro, luxurious studio, one, two, three bedroom. Fully furnished. Washer/dryer, microwave,

cable, linens. **AMERICAN REALTY GROUP**, 915 N Stafford St., Arlington, VA 22203. (703) 524-0482 or (703) 276-1200. Children welcomed. Pets on approval.

BACK FOR TRAINING? LEAVE? D.C. TOUR? We are the Washington Metro Area short-term rental specialists. Excellent locations. Wide price range. In Virginia walk to FSI. In D.C. and Maryland walk to Metro. Large selection of furnished and equipped efficiencies, one-bedrooms, two-bedrooms and some furnished houses. Many welcome pets. For brochures & info: **EXECUTIVE HOUSING CONSULTANTS, INC.**, Short Term Rental, 7315 Wisconsin Ave., Suite 1020 East, Bethesda, MD 20814. (301) 951-4111. Reserve early! Avoid disappointment!

WILL YOU NEED A FULLY FURNISHED apartment five minutes' walk from FSI and Rosslyn subway? We have first class efficiencies, one-bedrooms, and some two-bedrooms and penthouses in River Place. They are completely furnished including CATV, all utilities, telephone, linens, etc. Short-term leases of 2+ months available. Write **FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATES**, P.O. Box 12855, Arlington, VA 22209-8855. Call or Fax 1-703-636-7606. Children welcome. Please send us dates.

EXECUTIVE CLUB ARLINGTON AND OLD TOWN ALEXANDRIA. Immaculate and beautifully furnished apartments with full hotel services. One, two-bedrooms, some with dens, all with equipped kitchens. Complimentary shuttle to Metro, Rosslyn, and Pentagon. Health Club and outdoor pool. Many extras. Rates within your per diem. Shorter or longer terms available. **EXECUTIVE CLUBS**, 610 Bashford Lane, Alexandria, VA 22304 (703) 739-2582, (800) 535-2582.

AUSTIN, TEXAS: Lakeway homes and homesites outside of Austin on 65-mile-long Lake Travis. Three 18-hole golf courses, World of Tennis Center, 400 slip Marina, 4000 ft. air strip. Contact **ROY & ASSOCIATES** for information, 2300 Lohmans Crossing, Suite 122, Austin, TX, 78734 (512) 263-2181.

FARA APARTMENT RENTALS: Fully furnished efficiency and one-bedroom apartments. Two blocks from State Department. Within per diem rates. Call (202) 463-3910. Fax (202) 467-4871. Write **FARA HOUSING**, Rm 2928, Dept. of State, Washington, DC 20520.

ELEGANT APARTMENTS AT RIVER PLACE

Arlington, VA; Efficiencies one-two bedrooms, two blocks from metro, FSI. Bike or Metro to Pentagon. Superior furnishings, immediate phone and CATV, microwave, linens and many amenities. Site has spa, rates within your per diem. Call or fax **SOJOURNER HOUSING** at (301) 762-7692 for brochure or reservations.

ARE YOU BUYING A HOME? Unless you are working with a buyer broker in each transaction the realtor is representing the seller. Don't you think the realtor should be working for you? Shouldn't you get the right house at the best possible price? Don't make another real estate transaction without knowing all of your options. Write for a special report detailing the benefits to you in working with a buyer broker. Contact Marilyn Cantrell, GRI, Associate Broker, at Mary Price-Howell Properties, 6402 Arlington Boulevard, Falls Church, VA 22042. (703) 533-3333, (703) 538-6092.

CAPITOL HILL townhouse, sunny semi-detached in superior condition on wonderful block near Eastern Market Metro, three BR, two and one half BA, FP in LR, large kitchen, separate DR, 2 decks, storage in basement & attic. Save from owner $265K. 1118 C St., SE DC 20003. Tel: (202) 547-1870.

COMING BACK ON HOME LEAVE? TDY? Need a temporary address to receive mail/packages? Don't burden your friends, use our mailbox service until you're settled. MAIL BOXES ETC. 2200 Wilson Blvd. Arlington, VA 22201 Tel: (703) 358-9500 Fax (703) 358-9242 Tlx 7101104032.

HOTEL, HI-RISE ALTERNATIVE: Abingdon Cottage short term rental: fully furnished two bedroom private house with fenced backyard for volleyball & croquet. Enjoy your own living room with fireplace, TV, VCR, dining room; kitchen with dishwasher, microwave; washer/dryer; roofed deck; off-street parking. Walk to Ballston Metro and shops. Pets Welcomed. $1500 @ month, includes all linens, utensils, utilities, phone. Call Kate at (703) 527-2542.. Send for photos. Abingdon Cottage, 4720 N. Glebe Rd., Arlington, VA 22207.

JUNE/JULY AVAILABLE. Spacious home in VIENNA, VA., four bedrooms, rec. room with fireplace, two car garage, sun room, swimming pool. Great home for entertaining. Minutes to top schools/Metro to D.C. 1-3 year lease. $1600 month. Call Mac McGovern (703) 359-7177 Fax (703) 691-7692. ESQUIRE PROPERTIES. Video available.

IS YOUR PROPERTY MANAGER FROM SIBERIA?? (and you paid him!) ESQUIRE PROPERTIES is there all the time. We guarantee to physically inspect your property at least six times a year. We go above the rest, we provide a video before it's rented and after it's vacated. Do they?? Call: Mac McGovern **ESQUIRE PROPERTIES** (703) 359-7177 Fax (703) 691-7692 NORTHERN VIRGINIA.

WHATCOM COUNTY, Washington: The perfect retirement locale, located halfway between Seattle and Vancouver, BC in a dazzling scenic setting with islands to the west and mountains to the east. Whether your pursuits are physical or intellectual, Whatcom County can provide them: golf, tennis, boating, fishing, biking, skiing, theatre, university courses, etc. Contact Kathy Shropshire of Fairhaven Realty for information at 592 Trout Lake Dr., Bellingham, WA 98226. Tel: (206) 676-4683.

TAX RETURNS

COMPLETE TAX AND ACCOUNTING SERVICES- Specialize in Foreign Service and overseas contractor situations, **VIRGINIA M. TEST**, CPA 6250 Mountain Vista, #L-3A, Henderson, NV 89014, (702) 458-9315.

FREE TAX CONSULTATION for overseas personnel. We process returns as received, without delay. Preparation and representation by enrolled agents, avg. fee $195 includes return and TAX Trax, unique mini-financial planning review with recommendations. Full planning available. Milton E.

Carb, E.A., and Barry B. De Marr, E.A.CFP, **FINANCIAL FORECASTS**, metro location 933 N. Kenmore St. #217 Arlington, VA 22201 (703) 841-1040.

AFSA TAX COUNSEL: Problems of tax and finance: Never a charge to AFSA members for telephone guidance. R.N. Bob Dussell (ex-A.I.D.) at tax work both within and without I.R.S. since 1937. Now solely in practice to assist Foreign Service employees and their families. Also lectures on TAX LAW at FSI every month since 1970 at Rosslyn, VA. Phone (703) 841-0158 and Fax (703) 522-5726. Office is 100 feet from Virginia Square Metro station at 3601 Fairfax Drive, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

ROLAND S. HEARD, CPA has worked overseas and is familiar with Foreign Service and contract employee situations, computerized tax services, financial planning, member AICPA, Tax Division and Personal Financial Mgmt. Division. (703) 242-8559. P.O. Box 1144 Vienna, VA. 22183

ATTORNEYS specializing in tax planning and return preparation for the Foreign Service community available for consultation on the tax implications of investment decisions, business-related deductions, separate maintenance allowances, real estate purchases and rentals, home leave deductions, audits, etc. Contact Susan Sanders or Paul Clifford, **CLIFFORD, FARHA & SANDERS**, 1606 New Hampshire Ave., NW, Washington, D.C. 20009 (202) 667-5111, Fax: (202) 265-1474.

ATTORNEY, FORMER FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICER: Extensive experience with tax problems peculiar to the Foreign Service. Available for consultation, tax planning, and preparation of returns. M.BRUCE HIRSHORN, **BORING PARROTT & FOUST, P.C.**, Suite D, 307 Maple Avenue, West, Vienna, VA 22180. Tel. (703) 281-2161, Fax: (703) 281-9464.

MAIL ORDER

AVON for free catalog mailed to you, write: **STEPHANIE Y. HUGHES**, 713 Grandview Drive, Alexandria, VA 22305.

BOOKS

BOOKS, BOOKS, BOOKS! We have thousands in stock, do special-orders daily, search for out-of-print books. "Free book reviews." Visa, Discover or Mastercard. **THE VERMONT BOOK SHOP**, 38 Main Street, Middlebury, VT 05753.

YOUR PERSONAL BOOKSTORE AWAY FROM HOME: Order any U.S. book in print. Store credit available. **SALMAGUNDI BOOKS Ltd.** 66 Main Street, Cold Spring, NY 10516.

ATTORNEYS/WILLS

FORMER FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICER NOW PRACTICING LAW in D.C./Maryland, general practice, estate planning, real estate, domestic. Gregory V. Powell, **FUREY, DOOLAN & ABELL**, 8401 Connecticut Ave., PH-1, Chevy Chase, MD 20815. (301) 652-6880.

WILLS/ESTATE PLANNING by attorney who is a former Foreign Service officer. Have your will reviewed and updated, or a new one prepared. No charge for initial consultation. M.BRUCE HIRSHORN, **BORING, PARROTT & FOUST, P.C.**, Suite D, 307 Maple Avenue, West, Vienna, VA 22180. Tel. (703) 281-2161, Fax (703) 281-9464.

SPECIALIZING IN SERVING FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICERS AND THEIR FAMILIES – Our firm can assist you in drafting wills and powers of attorney, administering estates, establishing conservatorships and guardianships and providing advice on real estate matters. Prompt response to your inquiries. **CLIFFORD, FARHA & SANDERS** 1606 New Hampshire Ave., N.W. Washington, D.C. 20009 Fax: (202) 265-1474 Tel: (202) 667-5111.

MISCELLANEOUS

WANTED: HOST FAMILIES. Welcome French students in your home this summer, July/August. Call (703) 241-8155.

AIR ANIMAL, "the pet movers" an IATA air freight forwarder USA origin pet shipping services 4120 W. Cypress-Tampa, FL 33607. Voice 813/879-3210, Fax (813) 874-6722. USA/Canada 1-800-635-3448. Contact Dr. W. Woolf-Veterinarian.

SCHOLARSHIPS AVAILABLE. Write EARS #111, 5429 Mapledale Plaza, Dale City, VA 22193.Toll Free: 800-USA -1221 EXT 3034.

REUNION-JULY 1992: American High School, Ankara, Turkey; class years 1965-1972; contact: Fran Archibald Mahaffey, 3975 Wilcoxson Dr., Fairfax, VA 22031, (703) 425-2345.

JUNE -AUGUST, (flexible). Newlywed law school couple seeks housesitting opportunity while studying for the Bar. Non-smokers, neat, responsible. Will care for pets and lawn. Excellent references. Call Chris at (202) 223-4765 or (703) 524-3424.

RESORTS/TRAVEL

KIAWAH ISLAND, SC- Thirty minutes from historic Charleston, 10 miles of continuous beach, golf, tennis, boating, children's programs. Select one- to five-bedroom accommodations. **PAM HARRINGTON EXCLUSIVES,** P.O. Box 1437, Charleston, SC 29401.

VACATION RENTALS

BLUE RIDGE MOUNTAINS Large, comfortable chalet next to historic sites near Asheville, NC. Week/month. Gilboy, Box 761, Flat Rock, NC 28731. (704) 693-4781; Fax (704) 693-7588.

HEALTH CARE

MENTAL HEALTH RESOURCES. A network of mental health professionals with overseas experience who understand the special needs and circumstances of Foreign Service officers and their families. We provide a range of services including individual psychotherapy with adults, adolescents and children, family therapy, marriage counseling, psychological testing, and group psychotherapy. We will help you find the right mental health professional from within our group or in the larger Washington area community. Kathryn A. Ford Ph.D., (703) 790-5082, Ellen P. Heyman., Ph.D., (703) 451-4169, Patricia S. Rendahl, LCSW, (703) 620-6228.

THE EARTH SUMMIT

A guide to all that is UNCED

Expectations for the upcoming United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) differ widely. Some expect (or at least hope) that UNCED will produce far-reaching commitments to work toward sustainable development. Others expect (and may even hope) that UNCED will not only fail to produce such commitments but will instead highlight conflicts between countries and underlying weaknesses within multilateral organizations. The actual outcome of the conference will undoubtedly fall somewhere in between. Its real significance, however, will lie less in the specific agreements reached in Rio de Janeiro than in accelerating revolutions in economic decision-making and industrial and political organization that are already under way.

UNCED will open in Rio in early June after a long and elaborate preparatory process. The conference will produce a statement of principles about how environmental and developmental goals must be reconciled, called an "Earth Charter;" an environmental plan for the 21st century called Agenda 21; initial agreements on reducing the threat of global climate change and loss of biodiversity, and joint commitments with respect to technology transfer, financial assistance, and institutional change. A small army ranging from heads of state to representatives of local youth groups will attend.

BY WILLIAM A. NITZE

UNCED will be the most ambitious international conference ever held. Its stated objective is to make fundamental changes in the way people conduct themselves in every sphere of human activity. In the past, governments, industry, and individuals have pursued territory, wealth, power, and other goals with little concern about the impact of their activities on either the larger natural world or future generations. Only when actions directly harmed human health or the quality of air, water, or other resources was behavior modified. Otherwise everyone passed on the external costs of their activities to others or to the global community. Only recently have we come to the realization that the cumulative total of those external costs may be threatening the survival of the basic natural systems and species upon which we depend. It is this realization that has put us on the road to Rio.

The great theologians, philosophers, and political theorists of the West have created powerful tools for the weak to challenge the strong in the form of the doctrines of natural rights, political equality, and distributive justice.

The green vs. the growing

This journey began years ago, but can be directly tied to the formulation of the concept of sustainable development in *Our Common Future*, the 1987 report of the World Commission on Environment and Development chaired by Norwegian Prime Minister Grö Brundtland. The report articulated a vision reconciling the legitimate need to develop with the accelerating degradation of natural systems. The report eloquently demonstrates the need to bring economic development and protection of the environment into harmony, if our children and grandchildren are to enjoy lives as good as our own. The term "sustainable development" has become shorthand for this vision.

UNCED was initially conceived by its developed-country proponents as a purely environmental conference that would follow the model of the Stockholm Conference 20 years earlier. Sweden, Norway, and other European countries with strong green movements in particular saw the conference as an opportunity to negotiate far-reaching agreements on climate change, forests, and biodiversity, building on the Montreal Protocol and the Brundtland Report. The United States, the United Kingdom, and Japan, on the other hand, were more cautious about making far-reaching commitments to address climate change, but agreed on the need to take further steps to slow the accelerating rate of environmental degradation around the world. The United States, in particular, was anxious to make progress on international environmental issues such as tropical forest protection, biodiversity, and ocean pollution that did not run afoul of powerful domestic constituencies.

It soon became apparent, however, that the developing countries were not going to participate in such a conference unless their development concerns were addressed. When the first full discussion of the conference agenda took place at the United Nations Enviroment Program Governing Council meeting in Nairobi in June 1989, the developing countries insisted that the issues of poverty, debt, financial and technical assistance, and inequitable patterns of trade and investment be included in the conference agenda. In particular, they insisted that their development needs be given priority over protection of the global environment. If the two conflicted, the environment would have to be sacrificed, unless rich countries were willing to pay the costs of making development more environmentally sustainable.

The position taken by the developing countries is in part a continuation of the post-colonial politics that culminated in the "New International Economic Order" rhetoric of the 1970s. In part, it reflects the harsh economic conditions many developing countries had experienced during the 1980s, when escalating foreign debt, high dollar interest rates, and the recession of the early 1980s led to low or negative growth rates, high unemployment, and negative capital flows. The trauma of this experience was exacerbated by the perception that Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) aid and investment that might otherwise flow to the developing countries would be diverted to Eastern Europe following the revolution of 1989.

At bottom, however, the demands of the developing countries reflect their best bargaining chip. With the end of the Cold War, the environment has become the principal lever for the developing countries to obtain the levels of aid, investment, and access to rich-country markets to which they have always felt entitled. Just as Khrushchev once threatened to bury the West through the inevitable triumph of socialism, the major developing countries are threatening to bury the North with the pollution from their economic development.

Moral showdown

Behind this change in political leverage lies a more profound change in moral leverage. The great theologians, philosophers, and political theorists of the West have created powerful tools for the weak to challenge the strong in the fonn of the doctrines of natural rights, political equality, and distributive justice. For the last two generations the rich countries have been able partially to deflect the claims of the poor by pointing to the need to defeat godless communism. Now that communism has finally fallen, we must address those claims on their merits. Failure to do so would represent a denial of our deepest values.

The OECD countries, therefore, had no choice but to accommodate the basic demands of the developing coun-

tries in framing the Governing Council's recommendations to the UN Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly. The agenda was broadened to include development-related issues, and "Development" was added to the conference title. In long and arduous debates at the United Nations in New York later that fall, the language agreed upon in Nairobi was further modified to stress the agenda of the developing countries. By the time the language of the final resolution authorizing the conference was hammered out in December 1989, the needs of development were given at least as much weight as those of the environment.

The formal apparatus for preparing for the conference was put into place early in 1990. Stockholm Conference chair Maurice Strong was appointed secretary general and began building a secretariat in Geneva. Ambassador Tommy Koh of Singapore was selected to chair the Preparatory Committee (PrepCom). The six elements of the UNCED agenda—the Earth Charter, Agenda 21, conventions (i.e., climate change, biodiversity), technology transfer, financial assistance, and institutions—were proposed by the secretariat and accepted by the PrepCom.

The appointments of Strong and Koh have worked well. Strong has been able to use his experience with Stockholm, his intimate knowledge of the UN system, and his connections with the business community to pursue opportunities that others could not have so clearly identified. In particular, his emphasis on the need for fiscal and other policy reforms to internalize the costs of economic activity, his commitment to construct a worldwide network to collect, analyze, and disseminate environmental information, and his creation of the Business Council for Sustainable Development all reflect his unique background. Tommy Koh's decision to let the PrepCom go its own slow and cumbersome way, rather than attempt to impose his own vision or agenda, has probably been wise, given the breadth and complexity of the issues involved and the deep differences between developed and developing countries.

At meetings in late 1989 and early 1990, the decision was made to negotiate the climate change and biodiversity conventions to be signed at UNCED separately from the UNCED preparatory process itself. Negotiation of the climate convention was assigned to the Intergovernmental Negotiating Committee for a Framework Convention on Climate Change (INC) created by the UN General Assembly. Negotiation of the biodiversity convention was entrusted to a separate negotiating process under UNEP. The determination of Brazil and other developing countries to take climate negotiations away from UNEP and put them under the control of the UN General Assembly again reflected their strong pro-development agenda. Mustafa Tolba, executive director of UNEP, had become suspect in their eyes because of his ardor in pursuing an environmental agenda even at the expense of short-term development, as well as his perceived tendency to pay more attention to the United States and other large industrialized countries.

Developing countries expressed similar distrust for several multilateral participants in the preparatory process, including the Global Environment Faculty (GEF), a pilot facility under World Bank, UN Development Program, and UN Environmental Program management. Less developed countries, believing that these institutions—particularly the World Bank—are controlled by the United States and other large OECD countries, made a sustained push to establish new funding mechanisms. Despite their resistance, however, the GEF will almost certainly be the primary vehicle for disbursing additional funds committed to address climate change and other global issues. It may also become a catalyst for ongoing reform within the World Bank, UNDP, and other development institutions that have not adequately assessed the environmental impact of their projects.

Consciousness-raising

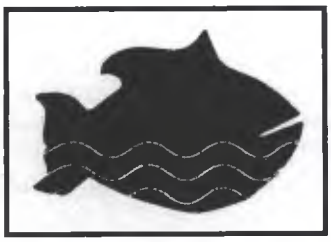
An unprecedented level of participation by private organizations in the preparatory process will add to the depth of the conference's later impact on public policy. The Business Council for Sustainable Development is finalizing a report entitled *Changing Course* for presentation at UNCED that will state in extremely strong terms the responsibility of industry to conduct its business in an environmentally sustainable manner. Created by Maurice Strong with the collaboration of the Swiss business leader Stephan Schmidheiny, its current chairman, the Business Council consists of business leaders from Europe, the United States, Japan, and a number of developing countries. It is already helping to raise the consciousness of others in industry who may not be so aware of the importance of sustainable development.

In the longer term, the council could get business leaders more involved in the public policy process within their own countries as agents for positive change. Council members from Brazil, for example, have already established the Brazilian Foundation for Sustainable Development to fund forestry, conservation, and other environmental projects that are not sufficiently profitable in the short term to attract private capital. It is hoped that the council's work will inspire industry leaders to lobby at the national and local levels for new fiscal and regulatory policies, such as pollution taxes and investment incentives that will promote deployment of more environmentally sustainable technologies.

In addition to business groups, environmental groups, indigenous peoples' organizations, women's groups, and children's and youth organizations have all pursued separate preparatory processes leading up to Rio and will hold separate events parallel to the conference itself. This activity has already challenged millions of people to think about sustainable development, created new international networks, and mobilized new political constituencies, particularly in developing countries. After an address by Strong, for example, an international association representing 8 million engineers around the world resolved to make sustainable development a central principle in its members' professional work.

The proving ground

With the players assembled, the drama is ready to begin. Now it remains to be seen whether UNCED can live up to its promise. I will attempt to answer this question by addressing each major element of the UNCED agenda.



The Earth Charter and Agenda 21

The Earth Charter is a basic statement of principles that has been approved by the PrepCom in draft form under the rubric of the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development. The draft declaration incorporates controversial principles such as "the right to development" and the special responsibilites of the rich countries due to their disproportionate contribution to environmental degradation. Both have been strongly advocated by the developing countries but opposed by the United States and certain other industrial countries. It also incorporates the "precautionary principle," which has been supported by both European countries and the island states most threatened by climate change, but resisted by the United States. In all three cases and elsewhere throughout the document, however, the language has been carefully crafted to avoid specific commitments or expressions of responsibility that would be unacceptable to the United States or other industrialized countries.

Climate Convention

Progress toward a climate convention containing binding commitments to reduce manmade emissions of carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases has been slowed by the refusal of the United States to join other OECD countries in committing to stabilize their CO2 emissions at 1990 levels by 2000. The U.S. refusal to commit to even a modest front-end contribution to a global emissions-reduction strategy has made it much more difficult to convince developing countries to consider appropriate commitments. It has also provided cover for other countries that are concerned about the economic costs of meeting their political commitments.

The insistence of the developing countries on making any commitments on their part contingent on "new and additional" financial assistance has also slowed the pace of the negotiations. If China, India, and Brazil had taken a more flexible position, emphasizing inexpensive first steps and pushing for accelerated disbursement of funds that are already available, they would have been able to make common cause with the more progressive OECD countries. Their determination to use the negotiations as a lever to gain new transfers has alienated the island states most threatened by global warming and helped to split the "Group of 77" developing countries that often vote together in the General Assembly.

Nevertheless, the positions of the United States and major developing countries have something in common: both are refusing to acknowledge their long-term self-interest in reforming domestic policies to reduce greenhouse gas emissions. In the case of the United States, this refusal could carry a heavy economic price. U.S. competitors in Europe and Asia are already beginning to implement tax, regulatory, and other policies that will lead their industries to develop and produce the environmentally friendly processes, goods, and services of the future. Germany's new packaging ordinance, for example, is already forcing German companies to rethink the design and marketing of many different products, including consumer electronics appliances and cars.

If the United States refuses to make similar changes in order to protect the short-term interests of certain industries, it will lose markets at home and abroad and the associated jobs and income. Likewise, developing countries will slow down their own economic progress if they wait for additional aid before implementing reforms that make sense irrespective of global warming.

That said, it was probably unrealistic to expect the INC negotiations to produce a convention with detailed, top-down, quantitative targets like those of the Montreal Protocol on controlling ozone depleting substances. In the ozone case, it was necessary to control the production and consumption patterns of only a limited number of large firms in the OECD countries. In the climate case, it is necessary to consider almost every phase of human activity.

Nevertheless the climate convention does show promise in establishing a continuing process for negotiating more far-reaching emissions-reduction commitments. The conference of the parties to the convention and subsidiary groups will continue to meet on a regular basis, aided by a permanent secretariat, to negotiate further agreements in the light of new information. An important source of this information will be the national plans for reducing greenhouse gas emissions that each party will be obligated to prepare. The process of preparing such plans at the national and regional levels will in itself help to build consensus on the desirability and cost-effectiveness of further steps as evidenced by the energy tax proposal being considered by the European Community.

Biodiversity Convention

Negotiations on the biodiversity convention have focused on how developing countries can receive a fair share of the economic and other benefits from the use of their genetic resources. The de-

veloping countries have pushed for a mandatory fund to which drug companies and others benefiting from the use of such resources would be required to contribute through royalty or other arrangements. The OECD countries have resisted such a scheme and are unlikely to agree to even a voluntary fund. The convention will, however, establish new mechanisms whereby governments and non-governmental organizations can collaborate in inventorying genetic resources and protecting threatened areas and species.

One critical issue that will not be covered in the biodiversity convention itself is the protection of tropical forests and other areas that are particularly rich in species. Working Group I of the PrepCom is working on a separate set of forest principles that will encourage better management of all forests, including protection of areas that are particularly important for preserving biodiversity. These principles will not be legally binding, but they will at least provide a road map for specific projects jointly supported by donor and host countries to preserve critical areas and slow the rate of deforestation.

Ultimately, both the preservation of biodiversity and the shift from net deforestation to net afforestation will depend on the success and critical mass of these projects. Environmental groups such as the World Wildlife Fund, individual governments, and the GEF have made a good start in initiating such projects through debt-for-nature swaps and other mechanisms, but a far greater commitment of resources is urgently required. This is one issue on which new financial commitments made at UNCED could make a real difference.

Technology Transfer

The two conventions and other documents approved at UNCED will provide funding and other resources for transferring information about environmentally friendly technologies and implementing specific projects. Much of this activity will occur within the GEF, which is already funding a number of such projects within its existing $1.3 billion of commitments. Current technology transfer programs within the World Bank, UNDP, and bilateral assistance agencies will be expanded and better coordinated. Industry and nongovernmental environmental organizations will be given a larger role in developing and implementing projects to deploy new technologies, such as renewable energy.

Discussion of technology transfer has been overly focused on intellectual property rights and has not paid enough attention to improving the actual mechanisms for technology cooperation. Intellectual property rights are largely a red herring, because so much technology, particularly operating and management techniques, is already in the public domain and because much of the truly proprietary technology will be transferred as part of cooperative projects without additional charge by private firms. It is more important to focus on developing a technology information network that gives local decision-makers up-to-date information about appropriate technologies and enables them to feed their experience back into the system.

Financial Assistance

The developing countries are laboring under the misperception that there are insufficient funds available for sustainable development projects. With the partial exception of biodiversity, the immediate constraint is not a lack of money but a dearth of well-designed projects and an unwillingness to make the policy reforms necessary to make those projects cost-effective. The World Bank alone has $61 billion in undisbursed funds already committed to development loans. It also has the capacity within existing capital to authorize another $50 billion. In the electricity sector, for example, billions of dollars of World Bank loans are being held up because the recipient countries are refusing to reform their pricing and other policies to encourage the more efficient use of electricity. If a portion of the effort expended in debating whether additional aid should be provided were devoted to designing good projects and supporting policies, this would be a non-issue at UNCED.

Agenda 21 itself estimates that the measures it proposes will cost approximately $675 billion per year to implement, of which $550 billion would come from existing, primarily domestic sources and $125 billion from newly available international financing. Aside from the inherent difficulties in costing out such a broad program, these estimates are based on the assumption that sustainable development is more expensive in traditional economic terms than unsustainable development. This assumption is highly questionable. In the energy sector, for example, the full life-cycle costs of modern, efficient systems for producing, transporting, and using electricity are clearly much lower than the costs of the less efficient systems currently being used in most developing countries. The challenge is to develop financing mechanisms that can give potential sources of front-end investment a sufficient share of the back-end savings to attract the necessary capital.

Despite the imperative for solutions other than new fund transfers, the United States may find itself left behind on the funding issue. The Japanese are considering a pledge of as much as $10 to $15 billion a year to support sustainable development in the developing world. Such a pledge would pose a major foreign policy challenge to the United States by putting the Japanese in a leadership position on global environmental issues and giving their industries consider-

able leverage in gaining new markets. If the United States does not develop a more effective strategy for approaching UNCED, the conference may accelerate the transfer of power and influence to Japan and Europe.

Following through

UNCED will undoubtedly create new institutions within the UN system to oversee the implementation of Agenda 21. A leading possibility is a high-level sustainable development council supported by a permanent secretariat. Maurice Strong has already floated the idea of a separate Earth Council comprised of leading figures from the public and private sectors who would promote specific steps to carry out the commitments made at UNCED. The conference may also address the need for better coordination and integration of the activities of UNEP on the one hand and UNDP and the other development agencies of the UN on the other.

Fortunately, the world is already undergoing bottom-up industrial and political revolutions that together have the potential to make human behavior far more environmentally sustainable than it is today.

UNCED's greatest potential contribution to institutional development, however, will be from the bottom up rather than from the top down. If the implementation of Agenda 21 depends on some worldwide version of the old Soviet State Planning Commission, sustainable development will not have a chance. Fortunately, the world is already undergoing bottom-up industrial and political revolutions that together have the potential to make human behavior far more environmentally sustainable than it is today.

The current industrial revolution involves the spread of lean manufacturing, wherein teams of trained workers make small batches of customized products following techniques of statistical quality control and continuous improvement. These techniques, which were initially formulated by Dr. W. Edwards Deming and other American engineers and have been refined in Japan over the last 40 years, will be adopted by every firm that hopes to be internationally competitive and are applicable to almost every sphere of human activity from agriculture to primary education. Their immediate benefit is to eliminate waste, whether in the form of defective products, excess energy or material inputs, or residuals discharged into the environment. Their more profound benefit is the empowerment of individual workers to an extent unimaginable in the era of mass production.

The parallel political revolution involves the rise of participatory democracy in Eastern Europe and the developing world. This revolution has even more profound implications for sustainable development. The great environmental disasters of the 20th century have all been the result of decisions made by central authorities with little knowledge of, or concern for, the interests of the local people directly affected. If the farmers of Uzbekistan or the rubber-tappers of the Amazon had been given the final say over development plans for their homelands, the Aral Sea would not be a salt desert and millions of acres of rainforest would not have been destroyed. By empowering millions of people simply to say no, the political revolution is already beginning to turn the tide of environmental degradation in Eastern Europe and many developing countries.

In both of these revolutions people are empowered by information. It is here that UNCED may make its greatest contribution. However limited the specific commitments made to reduce carbon dioxide emissions or protect biodiversity or provide new financial assistance, UNCED is sure to act as a catalyst in channeling additional resources into the creation, transmission, and analysis of information about the impacts of human activities on the environment and about hard and soft technologies for minimizing those impacts. UNCED will cause research programs to expand, environmental monitoring to increase, new centers and programs to be created, and thousands of people from the developing world to be trained in new technologies and techniques and given the resources to use that training. The resulting networks and feedback mechanisms will immediately begin to affect millions of individual decisions throughout the world.

Much of this activity will take place without the intervention of governments. There is one critical role, however, that only governments can play. Only the state can internalize the social costs of pollution and the destruction of natural resources, through pollution taxes and other fiscal and regulatory mechanisms. UNCED will not be able to produce agreements on international carbon taxes, tradeable pollution permits, or similar schemes. It may, however, be able to move governments toward introducing such measures at the national level. In this respect the national plans that governments will be required to produce after UNCED may be powerful catalysts for policy reform.

In the end, UNCED's greatest achievement may be its success in accelerating bottom-up processes that are already under way, by creating or strengthening information networks. Once people around the world have the information to understand the consequences of their behavior and the options for constructive change, we will be well on the way to sustainable development. ■

William A. Nitze is currently president of the Alliance to Save Energy, a non-profit coalition of government, business, consumer, and environmental leaders. From 1987 to 1990, he served as deputy assistant secretary of State for environment, health, and natural resources, in which capacity he acted as chief U.S. negotiator on a variety of international environmental issues, including ozone depletion and climate change. This article is being simultaneously published by the Enviromental Forum.

THE NAMELESS STREAM

One FSO's path to ecological awareness

If I hadn't been in the Foreign Service, I would probably not have settled in Bethesda. If I hadn't settled in Bethesda, I probably would never have known about that nameless stream, not much deeper than a few inches nor wider than a few feet, that flowed into a larger stream, which in turn, joined the Potomac. The stream ran through the woods behind our house.

I got intrigued with protecting the stream and, with the cooperation of some of the neighbors, got it adopted under Maryland's Save Our Streams program. Testing showed that the water was surprisingly pure, which made me all the more determined to help keep it that way. I also began to learn a little bit about how to keep streams healthy and found great excitement in spotting an occasional crayfish-like creature in the water. I even thought of trying to stock the small stream with some fish.

By the time we came back to the United States some years later, the street was no longer dead-end and a number of new houses had appeared. I also learned that, adopted though it was, the stream wasn't really protected. That could come only from an environmental easement, which, in turn, required the agreement of seven neighbors. All agreed, save one, so the stream had to remain "saved" but not safe.

BY HARRY G. BARNES JR.

Aside from making me more aware of the environment, that experience taught me something else—the importance of education as a prerequisite to being alive to what goes on around us and then of caring enough to seek solutions to problems. When I next was assigned overseas, to Romania, I saw the effects of uncontrolled industrialization, where bigger was always better, and the old was almost automatically torn down to make room for the new and "improved." About two hours north of Bucharest, in the town of Sinaia, there was a house which the embassy employees' association rented as a country getaway spot. The location was beautiful. But going to and from Sinaia meant passing through a dismal town that was covered in a permanent shroud of gray from its cement plant. The dust was pervasive; leaves in the spring never really stayed green for more than a day before they too assumed a chalklike color. The beauty of parts of Romania was all the sadder, because clearly no one could stop the environmental and cultural devastation; it could only be slowed somewhat.

When I next was assigned overseas, to Romania, I saw the effects of uncontrolled industrialization, where bigger was always better, and the old was almost automatically torn down to make room for the new and "improved."

Several years later, in India, I had the chance to look for ways in which scientific cooperation might offer an increasingly useful vehicle for work on environmental problems. India, of course, has a large number of talented scientists, as well as a large share of ecological problems, ranging from preservation of endangered species to flood and erosion control. Work that was started at that time, under what we called the Science and Technology Initiative, had as an important component a joint project on the monsoon as part of the world weather system. Another was in promoting the development and use of biomass as alternative fuels.

In the mid-1980s, prior to going to Chile, I looked for areas in which it might be possible to promote scientific and technological cooperation without over-identification with the Pinchoet regime. Having heard a lot about the air pollution problems of Santiago, I went to see the then head of the World Wildlife Fund, Bill Reilly, together with Jeff Leonard, one of WWF's vice presidents. I also talked with the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA). Out of these conversations came some backing from WWF for the work of CIPMA, the principal nongovernmental environmental organization in Chile, and some technical advice from an EPA expert for the Santiago area's anti-air pollution efforts. Strangely enough in that authoritarian state, however, polluters had political clout. When the governor of the Santiago region decided to impose some emissions controls on the "micros," the ubiquitous small, privately owned buses that serve the mass of Santiago's commuters, the "micro" owners struck in protest, and the governor was told to drop his plans. Perhaps memories of the transport strikes that helped bring down former President Allende were in someone's mind.

Despite such problems, these experiences during my Foreign Service career brought me to a keener awareness of environmental issues. Now, after retiring from the service, I am serving as a senior fellow at the U.S. WWF and recently chaired a conference at the Rockefeller Foundation Center in Bellagio, Italy on technology transfer. The conference itself grew out of discussions with Jeff Leonard, who has written much about the environmental problems of developing countries. Jeff and I were looking at approaches that nongovernmental organizations like WWF might take that would be helpful to the development needs of many countries. In the process, we came across a report done for the House Foreign Affairs Committee on restructuring U.S. foreign assistance. Not only did the report recommend using the environment as one of four major emphases for foreign assistance, but it urged particular focus on "advanced developing countries." The authors of the report had in mind countries like India, China, Brazil, Mexico, Nigeria, and Indonesia as particularly important for achieving successful development. That was not only because of the size of their populations but also because they possessed substantial scientific and production bases.

Jeff and I hypothesized that these same countries might also be especially good channels for transfer of environmentally relevant technologies. It wasn't that technologies shouldn't move directly from developed to developing countries as they had been, but that the enhancement of the capabilities of the advanced developing countries in the area of environmental technologies would benefit not only their own countries but less developed countries as well. Electricity fluctuations and outages in many less developed countries provide a simple example: advanced developing countries are far more likely to develop equipment capable of handling these stresses than are the less developed countries.

The next step was to ask knowledgeable individuals from some less developed and relatively advanced developing countries to assess our hypothesis. This was done in the fall of 1991, when, with the sponsorship of the Rockefeller Foundation, WWF-U.S. held a conference focusing on the potential role of advanced developing

countries in supporting technology cooperation in climate change. The group of 19 representatives from nine countries recommended that relatively advanced developing countries (RADCs) should serve as focal points in this technological cooperation. At the same time they stressed that virtually every developing country has the capability of functioning as an RADC in some sector of the economy.

The conferees believed that few new and successful technologies received sufficiently broad exposure in developing countries. They recommended establishing a system of regional technology centers in RADCs comprised primarily of existing private and public institutions. These centers would focus on development, acquisition, transfer, adaptation, and local use of environmentally pertinent technologies. Technologies that have been tested in an RADC (whether developed domestically or adapted from imported technology) would be disseminated through the centers and private-sector channels to promote their adoption and further adaptation in various less developed countries. There could be a research component as well in improving technologies as well as in evaluating their effectiveness. By demonstrating the success of various technologies, the centers would provide a comfort zone around their use.

WWF-U.S. is now working with some of the Bellagio participants to design a pilot program that would test in still more concrete terms the validity of the RADC hypothesis. The approach will involve:

- selecting a small number of technologies relevant to ozone depletion or global warming;
- supporting specific relevant research; and
- facilitating meetings and organizing information exchange to help diffuse these technologies within a test group of countries.

For the program to work, selection, research, and development time for any given technology must be rapid so that countries can determine the technology's viability and its transferability. Strong private sector involvement is crucial. The likely location for the first pilot program is India, which combines private sector strength, broad research capability in and out of government, and also a key WWF office. The time frame for the pilot phase would be about 18 months, with possible test projects in coal washing, refrigeration, and the financing of energy conservation in the private sector.

India presents urgent environmental problems that are shared by many other countries of what used to be called the Second and Third World, and it is also well situated to disseminate technologies downward, to the less developed countries. For example, India relies on coal for power generation and will continue to do so until cost-effective alternatives are developed. But the country's coal consumption could be reduced by proper preparation, which increases burning efficiency. Unwashed Indian coal contains so much ash that much of the transport cost goes to pay for the unusable ash. Hence, a trip over 600 kilometers represents a net loss.

Refrigerator efficiency in India is only about half of that in Thailand, because of high ambient temperatures, voltage fluctuations, and humidity. So aside from the importance of eliminating the use of CFCs, there is an urgent need to increase design efficiency.

Refrigerator efficiency in India is only about half of that in Thailand, because of high ambient temperatures, voltage fluctuations, and humidity. So aside from the importance, as elsewhere, of eliminating the use of CFCs, there is an urgent need to increase design efficiency.

Technology is not only a matter of machines and processes, however, but also of organizing activities in cost-effective ways. The role of private firms in most developing economies is growing, and this sector can make a strong impact by increasing efficiency. A combination of energy audits and cooperative assessments by company engineering staff and financial institutions could help develop accessible financing for energy conservation measures.

In June an international agreement on global warming is expected to be signed in Brazil at the UN Conference on the Environment and Development. Whatever form such a treaty takes, it wil create an unprecedented challenge for technology cooperation by involving a great number of countries, and, importantly, creating a greater sense of urgency.

As the need to slow the pace of environmental contamination becomes more pressing, new forms of technology cooperation and new channels for transfer are needed. The greater the involvement of developing countries in technology transfer, the more relevant—and therefore effective—the results will be. At WWF, we hope that the RADC project can be part of that expanded cooperation. For myself, although it may be a fair distance from a nameless stream in suburban America to an RADC pilot project, it's all part of realizing, as I did through my Foreign Service experiences, that what happens on one part of the earth affects much of the rest. ■

Harry G. Barnes Jr., former director general of the Foreign Service, is currently a senior fellow with the World Wildlife Fund-U.S.

Thoughts from the Foreign Service Grievance Board

BY
EDWARD J.
FINDLAY

Dear board, I pray, deliver me
From all forms of iniquity
Associated with the Foreign Service
Including, but not limited to:

Travel vouchers overdue
Family's luggage lost in transit
En route from Bonn to Narragansett,

Upper teeth all going bad
From food (and drink) in Trinidad
And exotic meals in Chad.

Hair gone from black to white to nil.
Passport fraud in Guayaquil,
Black marketeering in Brazil.

Eyesight growing ever weaker,
Promotion prospects ever bleaker,
Hearing worse than heretofore
From foreign language tapes galore.

Other woes have come my way
In service to the USA:
My books all lost, per diem denied,
Cone change pleas were thrust aside.
Clothing purchased in Sri Lanka;
Orders changed to Casablanca.

Let's for Hong Kong give three cheers
And one, perhaps, for Algiers.
More for Bujumbura, Burundi
Where consular duties are essential
At twenty-five percent differential.

Oft have I traveled with CODEL
Interpreting for Representative Fascell,
Dispensing Foreign Service zeal
In golf, of sorts, with Tip O'Neil.

Mr. Chairman, compensation
For selfless service to my nation
In Lebanon, in Nicosia,
Nicaragua, South Korea
Seville, Somalia, Singapore,
Briefcase duty, seventh floor,
ECON course at FSI,
Beirut, Conakry, Dubai,

Secret missions to Havana,
Baghdad, Leningrad, Botswana,
Mauritius and Mauritania,
Prague and Bucharest, Romania,

Can your members make me whole
For corpulence acquired in Seoul
At dreadful embassy receptions?
Attendance ordered, no exceptions.

Expunge, dear board, from EER
This, from the DCM, Dakar:
"He would be well advised, meanwhile,
To sharpen up his writing style."
And this: "He will move up, we all expect,
But not this year, and not the next."

Despite the glowing forecasts made,
I now have seven years in grade.
The opening of my six-year window
Gave me pause, and grief and pain.
I slammed the window shut again.

In the boardroom members move about
Talking of selection out.

I think that I am getting sick.
Relentlessly advancing TIC.

RECESSIONAL
The tumult and the shouting die;
Ambassadors and DCMs depart
I beg, dear board,
Be with me yet.
Luang Prabang, Savannakhet.

Edward J. Findlay recently retired from the Foreign Service. He served for several years as Executive Secretary to the Grievance Board.

Now, America's most experienced overseas mover is an approved Department of State contractor.

In 1927, *Security introduced the first all-steel shipping containers and spearheaded the first network of overseas agents.* **In 1932** *(shown above), Security shipped the household goods and art collection of* Andrew Mellon, *the* U.S. Ambassador *to the Court of* St. James.

Security began moving Presidents *into the* White House *in* 1897. *And, the tradition continues to this day.*

Move with Security. You'll enjoy expert planning and packing—for shipment to all posts abroad.

Store with Security. You can store household goods left in Washington—at Government expense. Also, when approved, temperature-controlled storage is available for your art, rugs, furs and clothing.

Insure with Security. Our Government Service Policy offers special low rates for your belongings—in-transit or at your residence outside the U.S.

Now, you can choose to move, store and insure with Security, backed by over 100 years' experience. Call (202) 234-5600 for information.

Since 1890
Security
STORAGE COMPANY

Our 2nd Century of Quality Service.

1701 Florida Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20009-2697 Telephone: (202) 234-5600

FAX: (202) 234-3513 · TELEX: 197901 or 197931

THE FORGOTTEN CONSUL

BY JACK H. SHELLENBERGER

"How many of you can recall the name of the American consul in Vladivostok at the turn of the century?" asked a Soviet historian at a symposium held at the State Department in 1990. None of the distinguished historians and diplomats in attendance knew the name of Richard Theodore Greener, the first black graduate of Harvard University, who served not as consul, but as the U.S. commercial agent in Vladivostok from September 20, 1898 to November 20, 1905.

Little has been written about Greener's seven years as the ranking American official in eastern Siberia, where he opened the first consular office in that area, even though his title of consul was never approved by the Czarist government. But Greener's regular and comprehensive dispatches to the department, now available on microfilm at the National Archives, offer details of his life in a remote, one-person Foreign Service post—trials and tribulations that are as familiar to Foreign Service officers in the 1990s as in the 1900s.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Richard Theodore Greener

His dispatches do not reveal what motivated a 54-year-old former Howard University Law School dean, lawyer, and New York Civil Service examiner, whose family included a wife and seven children, suddenly to accept a political appointment and proceed alone to Siberia at a salary of approximately $200 a month. Nor do they reveal what motivated his departure from Vladivostok in 1905, which seemed as ill defined and unceremonious as were the final 17 years of his life in Chicago.

Travels to his post were well documented. He stopped for several weeks in Japan, traveling, he writes, "over 1,200 miles . . . eating, sleeping, and living *à la Japonaise* all the time. . . . Phases of Japan home life not often revealed to foreigners have been opened to me, and I have made some dear friends."

Recording his first impressions of Vladivostok, Greener notes: "One would call it a western town. Streets all hilly no matter which direction they run." He notices "coolies—Chinese, Korean, and Japanese," barracks full of troops and sailors. Five Russian men-of-war were in the port and torpedo boats were "in gala dress, as the cousin of the czar, Prince Henry, is expected tomorrow."

As is typical for any Foreign Service post opening, Greener found rents high and office and residence space scarce, the food market small and its stocks meager. But hotels were springing up everywhere. Travel from Moscow to Vladivostok could take more than a month, but Greener reports, "The new railroad across Siberia will reduce that journey to 12 days. I visited the station today, a solid, substantial structure, and inspected the cars, particularly Russian in make-up, but built for all time."

Greener's official courtesy call on the governor general lasted an unexpected 45 minutes and was conducted in French. (Greener also knew Greek and Latin.) "Neither governor nor acting governor understands English; very few here do, and it is considered of little account," he wrote.

After finding office and residential space at "the west end of the city and commanding a fine view of the harbor," he constructed a flagpole and unfurled his country's banner in defiance of the condition that he first must be recognized as a consul.

Greener's priority was to hire a clerk/messenger/interpreter. He found the messenger, an American, "hailing from New York, who has been already over two years on his way 'round the world on a bicycle. He reached Vladivostok about two months ago via St. Petersburg, Moscow, Manchuria, with bicycle broken, and lame from a bad fall." As soon as the messenger got his bike fixed, his work suffered, so Greener fired him. That was the opening chapter of a series of misadventures with locally hired staff who came and went after brief stays, usually in rancor.

Greener was continually outraged that the State Department would forward to Vladivostok the claims of a creditor dunning him for an alleged "private debt incurred prior to government service." This creditor's letters seemed to clutter his diplomatic pouch throughout his Russian sojourn. "I am not a debt clerk but a personal appointee of the late President William McKinley, after 25 years of unrequited service in the Republican Party" he seethed.

After more than three years on the job, Greener finally took his oft postponed leave, to Nagasaki, for exactly one month. That same year he was decorated by the Chinese government with the Order of Double Dragon for his services during the Boxer War and the Shanxi Famine—an event oddly omitted from his dispatches.

Rumors of a Russo-Japanese War greeted his return, but in the meantime there were maritime cargo disputes to report, as well as the effects of the czar's pogrom against the Jews in 1903. When war finally ensued in 1905, Greener was instructed to look after Japanese interests in a city flooded with refugees. In the midst of all this confusion, he was notified that one Roger Greene had been appointed to succeed him. On November 20, 1905, "the services of R. Greener ceased." *The Journal of Negro History* writes of Greener and other minorities: "Their appointment was very likely a thinly veiled cul de sac for their careers, and as one consequence diverted their ability from any kind of political leadership role at home."

One of the last items on the microfilm is a detailed inventory of his office and residential furniture, many of the items in disrepair, as if this American had spent his diplomatic career in near penury. His closing career was as a self-employed Chicago lawyer and insurance agent whose death at the age of 78 provoked little if any public comment, no obituary, just a death notice and a tombstone at Graceland Cemetery, with his name and dates etched above the name PLATT. The 1920 census shows that Richard Greener was a boarder at the home of Amelia Platt and her sister, Mary. The Platts were both listed as single, but Greener was listed as married, and identified as "lawyer, ex-consul."

Jack H. Shellenberger is a retired Foreign Service officer.

BOOKS

The Puritan President

WOODROW WILSON
by August Heckscher, Charles Scribner, 1991, $35 hardcover

WOODROW WILSON: A LIFE FOR WORLD PEACE
by Jan Willen Schulte-Nordholt, University of California Press, 1991, $34.95 hardcover

Reviewed by Charles Maechling Jr.

Woodrow Wilson was one of the great presidents of the United States. Presiding over American entry into World War I, he brought the United States onto the world stage as a major power. He was hailed as a political messiah by the war-weary peoples of Europe. For a brief period in 1919 he became the arbiter of the peace settlement that redrew the map of Europe.

Yet Wilson himself was one of the most remote and apolitical figures ever to occupy the White House, and, with his disabling stroke and the Senate's rejection of the Versailles Treaty, his presidency ultimately ended in tragedy and failure.

These two new biographies take advantage of the Wilson papers, whose 60-odd volumes edited by Arthur Link are nearing completion at Princeton. Both biographies seek to penetrate a personality that led some biographers (including, of all people, Sigmund Freud) to portray Wilson almost as a psychological or physical wreck. Neither book is a substitute for Lord Devlin's *Too Proud to Fight* (1978) covering Wilson's struggle to keep the United States out of war, or Harold Nicolson's *Peacemaking 1919* (1952) about Wilson, Clemenceau, and Lloyd George at the peace conference. The Heckscher book is a comprehensive biography of both the man and the statesman, while Schulte-Nordholt's book, by a Dutch historian and journalist, is an interpretative study of how Wilson's background and personal history influenced world events. Heckscher's book is admiring and sympathetic; Schulte-Nordholt takes a more critical view.

There is no question that Woodrow Wilson had periodic adjustment problems throughout his life. He could not stand the limited horizons of provincial law practice and had to give it up. Although a brilliant success as a writer and college lecturer and the author of two outstanding works on American government, his tenure as president of Princeton was marked by unseemly feuds with faculty colleagues and alienation of early admirers among the alumni. Later in life his collision with the Republican leadership in Congress, and his refusal to include a single one in the U.S. delegation to the Paris Peace conference, led to disastrous consequences for the United States and Europe.

Wilson's tendency to feuds and grudges did not prevent him from first becoming governor of New Jersey and then president of the United States. But politics never came easily to him. In New Jersey he was the long-shot choice of a local political boss looking for a respectable candidate. In the 1912 presidential election he was nominated only on the 46th ballot after the two front runners had canceled each other out; he would never have won the election itself if the Republican Party had not split between Theodore Roosevelt and William Howard Taft.

The 1916 election, when Wilson was the incumbent, was so close that he went to bed convinced he had lost.

Wilson's first term was distinguished by a successful domestic reform program that saw the establishment of the Federal Reserve Bank and Federal Trade Commission, enactment of the Clayton Anti-Trust Act and child labor laws, and the lowest tariff rates since the Civil War. But almost from the start, Wilson was bedeviled by one foreign crisis after another—at least two of his own making. First came a crisis with Japan over state exclusion laws, then two military interventions in Mexico that continue to rankle in that country to this day. Overshadowing both was the cataclysm of the first World War.

Despite his academic background, or possibly because of it, Wilson was singularly unprepared to play a leading role on the world stage. Reared in the exclusively Anglo-Saxon culture of the old South, steeped in Anglo-American law and political tradition, Wilson not only knew little of Europe and less of Latin America and Asia, but deplored what little he knew. He shared the conviction of the Eastern establishment in the superiority of the English-speaking peoples to govern themselves and others. He tended to view political skills in terms of lofty ideals and soaring rhetoric rather than negotiation and compromise behind closed doors. Once he had staked out a political position, he invested it with such moral rectitude that he viewed compromise as a form of betrayal.

Despite his academic background, or possibly because of it, Wilson was singularly unprepared to play a leading role on the world stage. Reared in the exclusively Anglo-Saxon culture of the old South, steeped in Anglo-American law and political tradition, Wilson not only knew little of Europe and less of Latin America and Asia, but deplored what little he knew.

Wilson had difficulties with his subordinates during two important episodes: his initial struggle to keep America neutral in World War I while enforcing its rights on the high seas, and his negotiations with the Allies over the peace settlement. His first Secretary of State, the "Great Commoner" William Jennings Bryan, knew nothing of foreign affairs and was a convinced isolationist who resigned over Wilson's determination to enforce neutral rights. His second Secretary of State, Robert Lansing, was a stickler for international law who concealed a shrewd and realistic view of foreign governments and their objectives under a prim exterior. Lansing was exemplary in his loyalty but did not share Wilson's vision of a new world order: he communicated with his chief—from next door in the Executive Office Building—principally through lengthy, closely reasoned letters and memoranda.

Throughout Wilson's presidency, his principal foreign affairs adviser and unofficial emissary overseas was Colonel Edwin M. House, a quiet but influential amateur, whose behind-the-scenes political skills had helped to put Wilson in the White House. Colonel House resided in New York City and rarely came to Washington. In the beginning he was almost as ignorant of the complexities of Europe as Wilson himself, but such was his tact and good judgment that he quickly won the respect of European leaders. Had not Wilson broken with him during the Paris peace conference, House would undoubtedly have guided Wilson to successful Senate approval of the Versailles Treaty. House stunned the president by making unacceptable promises to Clemenceau while Wilson was back in Washington for a visit; but the real reasons for the break were probably House's increasing visibility and prestige coupled with the second Mrs. Wilson's long standing distrust.

When the European war broke out in 1914, Wilson overrode his own sympathies for the Allied cause and adopted a policy of strict neutrality. The division of domestic sentiment reinforced this policy, at least for a time. The East Coast establishment,

rooted in British cultural tradition, was strongly pro-Allied. But the Middle West, with heavy recent immigration from Germany and Scandinavia, was isolationist.

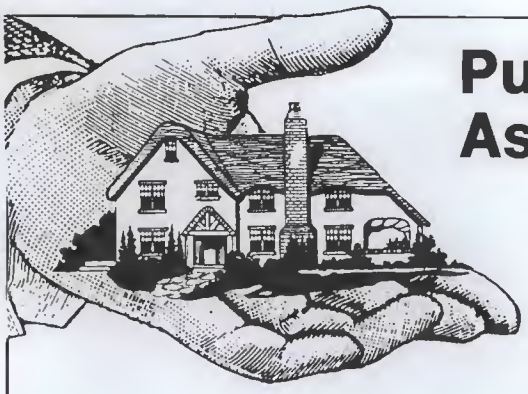
The drift to war was started by German submarine warfare against allied shipping and the inability—or unwillingness—of the German high command to refrain from sinking merchant ships without warning. Unbelievable though it may seem today, President Wilson and his advisers took the position that, under international law, American citizens, as neutrals, had the right to travel on belligerent ships in wartime even in well-advertised war zones. The submarine sinking in May 1915 of the Cunard liner *Lusitania*, with the loss of 1,100 civilians, including American women and children, shocked the country and set off two years of tense diplomatic exchanges between the United States and Germany. Throughout this period, Wilson, seconded by Lansing, took rigid positions that made retreat impossible and war inevitable after Germany finally resumed its policy of unrestricted submarine warfare.

Heckscher's treatment of Wilson's personal life, including the possible affair with Mrs. Mary Peck and courtship of his second wife, Edith Galt, is tasteful, even demure; indeed, the brief passages depicting the elderly, high-collared, Puritan in the role of passionate swain are positively embarrassing.

At the 1919 peace conference Wilson was unable to translate his Fourteen Points into a "just and lasting peace," but did succeed in embodying a League of Nations in the Versailles Treaty. On this score he encountered stiff opposition from a die-hard group of Republican senators, but this in itself would not have killed the treaty when it came up for Senate approval. Heckscher ignores the fact that Wilson's nemesis, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts, was on record as favoring approval of the treaty—provided the United States attached reservations making it compatible with the war-making provisions of the Constitution. He omits mentioning that the European leaders considered the reservations a perfectly acceptable price to pay for binding the United States to the peace settlement. But Wilson was so inveterate in his hatred of Lodge and intransigeant on the reservation issue that the treaty was rejected.

Heckscher, a founder and former president of the Woodrow Wilson Foundation, sees Wilson through idealistic American spectacles and tends to regard him as a prophet doomed to go unappreciated by lesser mortals. He is hostile to House, to whom Wilson owed so much, and he portrays House as a vain intriguer who, on

Our best to you.



Put Your Most Valuable Asset In *Our* Hands.

A member of the Sears Financial Network

COLDWELL BANKER

(703) 556-6100

Coldwell Banker, one of America's largest real estate companies, has provided superior leasing and property management services to absentee home owners since 1933. Our full-time staff of expertly trained property managers is ready to serve **your** needs.

—*Our Services Include*—

- COMPLETE TENANT SCREENING
- ON-SITE PROPERTY INSPECTIONS
- MONTHLY STATEMENTS
- YEAR-END TAX STATEMENTS
- PROMPT DISBURSEMENT OF PROCEEDS TO OWNERS
- DEPENDABILTIY AT COMPETITIVE RATES

Call us today!
or mail the enclosed coupon

☑ **YES!** I would like more information on Coldwell Banker's Property Management services and related fee structure.

NAME: _____

ADDRESS: _____

_____

RENTAL PROPERTY: _____

_____

TELEPHONE #: (____) _____

Mail to: Coldwell Banker Residential Property Management Department c/o Executive Offices, 1953 Gallows Road, Suite 650, Vienna, VA 22180

Affordable Luxury

If you are relocating, a business traveler or need temporary housing, we offer the comforts of home.

- Located minutes from Pentagon, Washington, DC and National Airport.
- Luxurious one and two bedroom apartments completely furnished and accessorized with fully equipped gourmet kitchens and washers and dryers.
- Weekly maid service, free cable TV with cinemax.
- Free underground parking.
- Within walking distance of department stores, specialty shops and restaurants.
- Adjacent to bike/jogging trail.
- Controlled access entry throughout building.
- Complete Nautilus fitness center, lighted tennis court, and a spacious outdoor swimming pool.
- Cats welcome.

FOR INFORMATION CALL 703-516-4320
or FAX 703-516-4369

THE CHASE AT BALLSTON

The Service You Deserve
4650 N. Washington Boulevard, Arlington, Virginia 22201

emerging from Wilson's shadow at the peace conference, took advantage of his chief's temporary absence from the conference to make concessions that would give him and not Wilson the credit. Lodge and the Republicans emerge as the villains of this political morality play.

Heckscher's treatment of Wilson's personal life, including the possible affair with Mrs. Mary Peck and courtship of his second wife, Edith Galt, is tasteful, even demure; indeed, the brief passages depicting the elderly, high-collared, Puritan in the role of passionate swain are positively embarrassing. But these are points with which other readers may disagree. The book is well worth the purchase price.

Schulte-Nordholt is a European whose view of Wilson ranges from the amazed to the incredulous. Unfamiliar with the American Puritan heritage, he cannot accept that so rigid and narrow a personality should have been entrusted with the fate of nations. His language is sometimes overcharged—e.g., Lodge and Wilson were "living in two worlds that could not tolerate each other;" Wilson was "devoured by pathological hatreds." But Schulte-Nordholt's coverage of the peace conference contains reports and observations of foreign observers not found in Heckscher. He is also more complete in his coverage of the Senate hearings and of the roles played by subsidiary members of the cast, like Robert Lansing and William C. Bullitt. The Hecksher book will probably be the definitive one-volume biography for some time to come. Schulte-Nordholt's work is more for the specialist.

This book provides a fascinating insight into the West's early approaches to the Indochina peninsula in search of commerce and trading concessions, details the French diplomatic and military tactics designed to turn Vietnam into a colony, and underscores the difficulties of East-West diplomacy. . .

Charles Maechling Jr. is an international lawyer and former law professor who has lectured and written on maritime neutral rights in wartime at the University of Virginia and Cambridge University.

Cochin Chronicle

The United States and Vietnam 1787-1941

By Robert Hopkins Miller, National Defense University Press, 1990, $10.00 softcover from the Government Printing Office (008-020-01213-1)

Reviewed by Howard R. Simpson

Many Americans still equate America's involvement in Vietnam with the arrival of U.S. combat troops there in the 1960s. But, as Ambassador Miller's well-documented book makes clear, Thomas Jefferson was seeking rice seed from the region of southern Vietnam called Cochin China as early as 1787, and the Marines who waded ashore near Danang in March 1965 were following in the footsteps of U.S. naval personnel who landed in Indochina as early as 1819. Seventeen years earlier, the first Yankee trader had arrived in Cochin China, and others soon followed.

This book provides a fascinating insight into the West's early approaches to the Indochina peninsula in search of commerce and trading concessions, details the French diplomatic and military tactics designed to turn Vietnam into a colony, and underscores the difficulties of East-West diplomacy as the United States attempted the hopeless task of making peace between the freewheeling Gallic empire-builders and China.

Students of international affairs will find the quoted diplomatic dispatches of particular interest. These hand-tooled reports, destined to spend many days

in transit over sea and land, were couched in diplomatic language we'd hardly recognize today; they were also well written, personal, and surprisingly detailed. In one document, the U.S. minister in Peking, trying to convince a French minister that force should not be used against China, reported telling his colleague, "I was too much interested in France to believe that the country which had won Austerlitz and Wagram would go to war for a question of money. I could see no glory in that." The French minister responded with a half smile: "My dear colleague, do not forget that our assembly is an assembly of tradesmen, and you know that tradesmen are fond of money."

Foreign Service readers will find a certain wry amusement in Washington's officious delay over a period of many years in authorizing the establishment of a consular post in Saigon despite the repeated pleas of its Southeast Asian-based diplomats and American traders. It's ironic that the same foot-dragging is taking place today in removing our trade embargo on Vietnam and re-establishing diplomatic relations.

The closing chapters of Miller's book, outlining Japan's imperial expansion into Vietnam, furnish a sobering picture of Japan's diplomatic duplicity and Washington's pre-war naivete in grasping for peace straws, as Nippon's march to the south was already under way.

This book adds new dimensions to our understanding of Vietnam and belongs in the library of all those interested in Indochina, past and present.

Howard R. Simpson's memoirs of his Foreign Service years in Vietnam,* Tiger in the Barbed Wire, *will be published by MacMillan in the late summer.

Why Freedom Spreads

The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century

By Samuel P. Huntington, University of Oklahoma Press, 1990, $24.95 hardcover

Reviewed by Joe B. Johnson

It is a sign of the times that Samuel Huntington is writing about democracy. Exactly 30 years ago, in *The Common Defense*, the veteran Harvard professor was tracing the development of the United States' national security establishment after World War II. Times change, and strategic deterrence seems yesterday's problem. At the moment, more attention is going to the establishment of democracy by our

former adversaries and other countries around the world. That phenomenon is Huntington's Third Wave.

Known for his studies of comparative politics (*Political Order in Changing Societies*, 1968), Huntington classifies political systems of countries around the world and reviews 30 conversions from authoritarian to democratic government since 1974, when Salazar was overturned in Portugal. During that period, very few nations moved the other way, leading the author to postulate a "wave" of democracy—the third one in modern history.

Previous democratizing "waves" took place in the 19th century after 1828, and in the period from 1943 to 1962. Between each pair of waves, a "reverse wave" of coups and takeovers snuffed out a portion of the democratic regimes. But each wave left more democracies on the geopolitical beach than ever before. In 1973 Huntington counts 29 democratic countries; in 1990, 58.

If arbitrary categories annoy you, don't pick up this book. For Huntington's purposes, the selection of government leaders in fair and competitive elections qualifies a nation as a democracy.

If arbitrary categories annoy you, don't pick up this book. For Huntington's purposes, the selection of government leaders in fair and competitive elections qualifies a nation as a democracy. The United States became a democracy in 1828 with Andrew Jackson's election, when at least half the male population was eligible to vote, beginning the first wave. El Salvador joined the ranks in May 1984, with the election of Napoleon Duarte as president. Mexico still may not qualify.

Individual cases may prompt argument. But Huntington is looking for patterns that can show why freedom spreads or it doesn't. He identifies five factors that have helped to bring down those 30 nondemocratic regimes.

- Their poor economic performance and, sometimes, military defeat
- The growth of the middle class during the 1960s boom
- The Catholic Church's support for reform after Vatican II
- Pressure from the United States, the European Community, or the

Soviet Leader Gorbachev

- Late in the cycle, the very example of freedom, spread by burgeoning international communication

Conversely, Huntington lists 27 different variables that contribute to the establishment of democracy. Conditions like a strong middle class and the Christian religion help; three-fourths of nations in the Third Wave were Catholic.

Much of the book analyzes the process in these 30 countries, breaking them down by the type of regime—military, despotic, one-party state—and by how the conversion to democracy took place. As Huntington points out different types of transition, offering copious examples, he periodically sets out "guidelines" for democratizers: how to negotiate the dictator out of office, how to curb the power of the military, how to deal with their past human rights violations.

One good way to oust a dictator is to press him into holding an election. Huntington reminds us that a lot of them lost power after calling elections they were sure they would win. (Kenneth Kaunda is only the latest example.) By all means, don't boycott the elections. Try to unite with other opposition groups. While you're at it, cultivate businessmen, army generals, and the international news media.

Huntington's bean counting permits a hard-eyed look at where nondemocratic regimes remain, and how difficult their conversion will be. About two-thirds of the world's nations remain without a democracy, by his count. Most are located in the Middle East, the sub-Sahara, or East Asia. Few have much experience with democracy, and cultural traditions like Islam or Confucianism that seem alien to the system. In Africa, the level of economic development remains far below that associated with democratic conversions.

So experienced a writer as Huntington is not about to predict that the third democratic revolution is over and its Thermidor ready to begin. Yet his book ends with a gaze forward toward the next wave. "Buoyed by a rising tide of economic progress, each wave advanced further and ebbed less that its predecessors." Perhaps by choosing this moment to scrutinize the Third Wave, Huntington is performing his autopsy.

Joe B. Johnson is a Foreign Service officer in USIA and a member of the Journal Editorial Board.

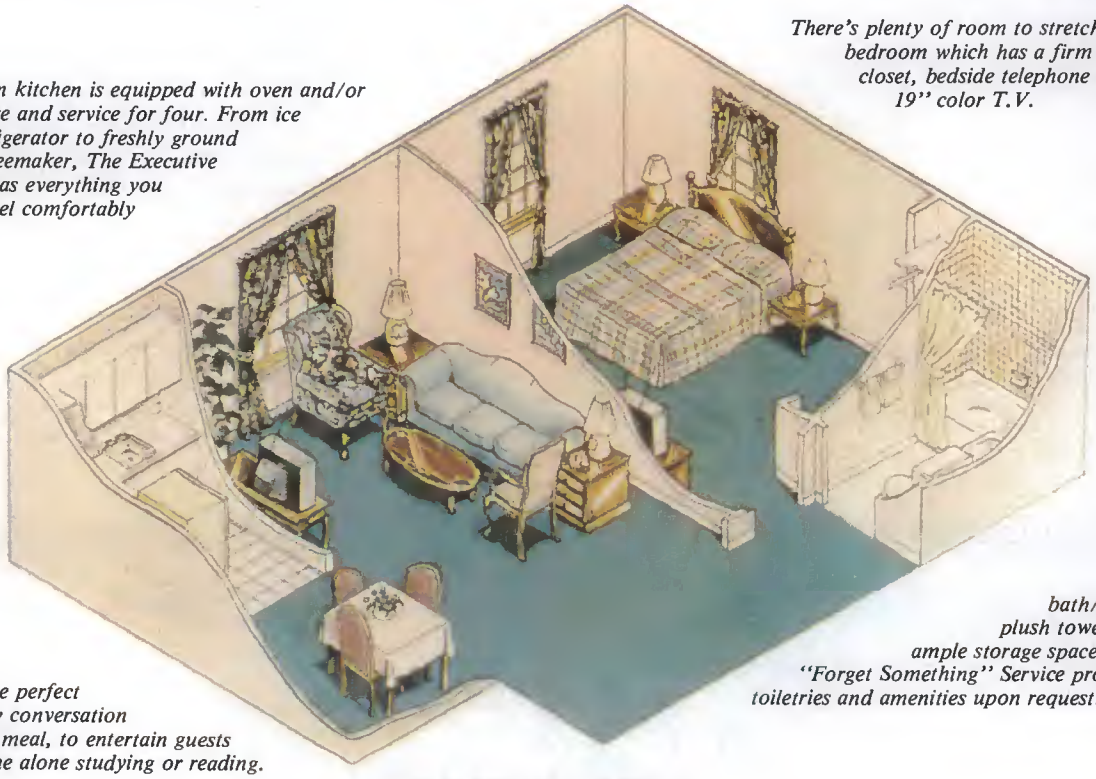
FOREIGN SERVICE

WASHINGTON, D.C.
TEMPORARY HOUSING

At The Executive Club The Suites Are . . .

Our spacious modern kitchen is equipped with oven and/or microwave, cookware and service for four. From ice in your full-size refrigerator to freshly ground coffee for your coffeemaker, The Executive Club Suite kitchen has everything you need to make you feel comfortably "at home."

There's plenty of room to stretch out in the attractive bedroom which has a firm queen-size bed, large closet, bedside telephone and a remote control 19" color T.V.



Every suite features a private bath/shower combination, plush towels, quality linens and ample storage space. The Executive Club "Forget Something" Service provides complimentary toiletries and amenities upon request.

The dining area is the perfect place to enjoy family conversation over a home-cooked meal, to entertain guests or to spend quiet time alone studying or reading.

Relax and unwind in the spacious, comfortable living room. Each room is tastefully decorated to make our guests feel right at home, and includes such conveniences as a telephone, remote control 19" color T.V. and a queen-size sofa bed.

GOVERNMENT PER DIEM RATES ACCEPTED FOR 1-90 DAYS.
CALL OR WRITE TODAY
610 BASHFORD LANE
ALEXANDRIA, VA.
1-800-535-CLUB

Our suites offer rentals nightly, by the week or by the month. Perfect for training, for reassignments at F.S.I., special assignments in the Washington, D.C. area or "coming home or home leave". We feature a warm, hospitable setting complete with daily maid service, a fully equipped kitchen with all appliances and dinnerware, separate bedroom, 2 televisions, outdoor swimming pool, and complimentary continental breakfast Mon.-Fri. A complimentary shuttle to the metro, makes Rosslyn and Foggy Bottom only minutes away. All this in beautiful, historic Alexandria, Virginia. These are some of the reasons why we truly are,

"Your Home Away From Home!"

The Executive Club

The Real Suite Hotel

ARLINGTON
Adjacent to Fort Myer

ALEXANDRIA
1 mile south of National Airport

ROSSLYN
Arlington, Blvd.

FOR RESERVATIONS AND INFORMATION CALL: 1-800-535-2582

MARKETPLACE

Another Great *Victory*

Heinz Kluetmeier/Sports Illustrated

Congratulations to all the countries whose athletes competed in the XVI Olympic Winter Games

International Relocation and Storage Specialists

VICTORY
Serving the Washington, D.C. Area

Telephone: [703] 751-5200
Telefax: [703] 461-6400
Telex: 1440019 VVC ALEX

Chrysler LeBaron Convertible

The Foreign Service Advantage.

You want service. You demand quality. But you need affordability. As a member of the Diplomatic Corps, you are eligible for special privileges through Chrysler's Diplomatic Purchase Program. That means professional service and preferred savings on a full line of 1992 Chrysler Motor products. Choose from Chrysler, Plymouth, Dodge and Eagle cars, or Jeep and Dodge Truck vehicles. Delivery can be arranged for the United States or most overseas locations.

To get these special privileges, just mail in the convenient response card on Page 7 and we'll send you a catalog plus complete information on the Diplomatic Purchase Program. Or call (313) 978-6526 or telefax (313) 978-6969. And find out what we mean by Advantage: Chrysler.

CHRYSLER CORPORATION

INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS