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JOURNAL

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THE MAGAZINE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS PROFESSIONALS



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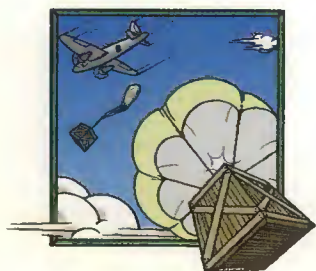


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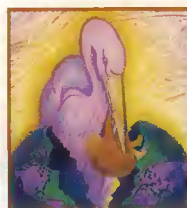
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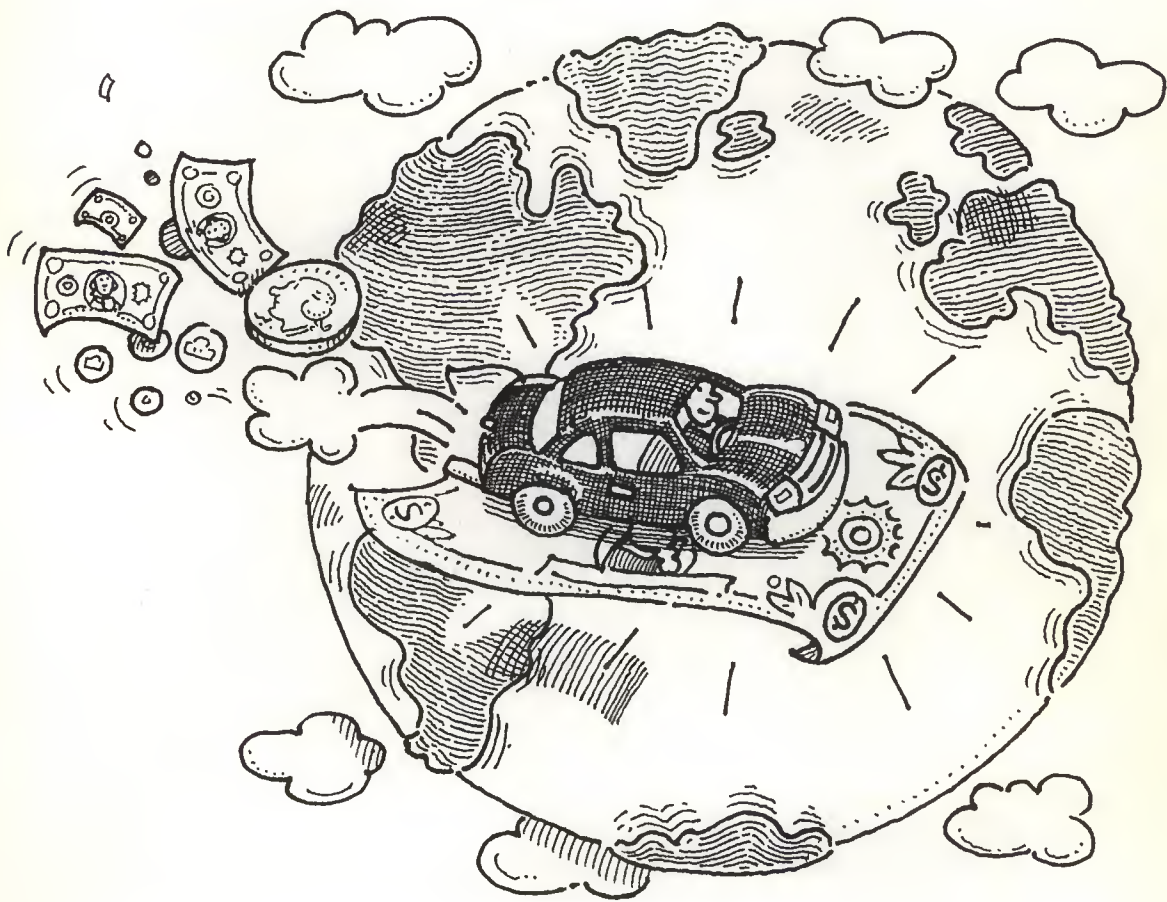
ANNE SIGMUND

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PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

Clinton Should Honor the 3-Year Tour Rule

BY F. A. "TEX" HARRIS

In deciding to oppose the White House's nomination of a new ambassador to Tanzania, AFSA has chosen once again to fight an uphill battle in defense of principle. Our reasons for doing so, however, are quite different from those that motivated us last fall to testify before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee (SFRC) in opposition to the nomination of M. Larry Lawrence as ambassador to Switzerland.

We opposed Mr. Lawrence — unsuccessfully, as it turned out — on the grounds that he lacked the requisite experience in foreign affairs that would qualify him to serve in a sensitive and complex diplomatic post, and that he was being given the job primarily as a reward for heavy campaign contributions and fundraising activities.

Our opposition to the nomination of Brady Anderson for Dar Es Salaam has little to do with his experience or qualifications for the job. In fact, as someone who has worked for several years in East Africa, is well-connected in the region and even speaks Swahili, (and is, incidentally, an old friend of President Clinton's), he would seem to be the model of an appropriate non-career appointee who, under routine circumstances, we would support.

The problem is that we already have an outstanding career ambassador in Tanzania whose tour is being curtailed after barely a year at post in

F. A. "Tex" Harris is president of AFSA.

*We cannot
afford to be sending
rookies abroad.*



order to make way for Mr. Anderson. This is, we believe, a pernicious and unwise practice for several reasons.

More than a decade ago, in the interests of both efficiency and predictability, the State Department adopted three years as the standard length of tour for ambassadors, career and non-career alike. The costs of preparing a new ambassador, moving him/her and his/her household to a new post and moving the predecessor out, can be hundreds of thousands of dollars. There is an additional high penalty incurred for breaking in a rookie, while losing the incumbent's hard-won local expertise.

To break the three-year rule simply to create a job for a friend of Clinton's, even an otherwise well-qualified one, is another blow to the already battered morale of the Foreign Service. Yet, this is the third time in the last year that a career officer has been bumped this way and it's almost certainly not the last time. It is a practice we believe we must oppose on principle.

Moreover, there is an equally compelling case for opposing this appointment at this time on substantive

grounds. The nightmarish carnage and disintegration of Rwanda have generated a tidal wave of refugees into the surrounding countries, primarily Tanzania. With the U.S. Embassy in Kigali shut down, Embassy Dar Es Salaam has become a key base for dealing with the Rwanda crisis and reconciliation.

As fortune would have it, the incumbent ambassador, Peter de Vos, is probably the Foreign Service's pre-eminent crisis manager in Africa, having served successive tours as chief of mission in war-racked Liberia and Mozambique and chief trouble-shooter in Somalia. To prematurely replace this seasoned professional at this critical juncture with an untested novice simply makes no political or operational sense.

It is for these reasons that I will seek to appear before the SFRC to oppose an ambassadorial nomination. Although the specific grounds for our opposition are quite different from the Lawrence case, the underlying principles are the same.

With the relentlessly tightening resource squeeze under which we are operating, we cannot afford to be sending rookies abroad, neither to manage crises in Africa where experienced crisis managers with uncompleted tours are already in place, nor to multifaceted European posts where they will be "carried" by their Foreign Service staff for months or years while they learn the ropes.

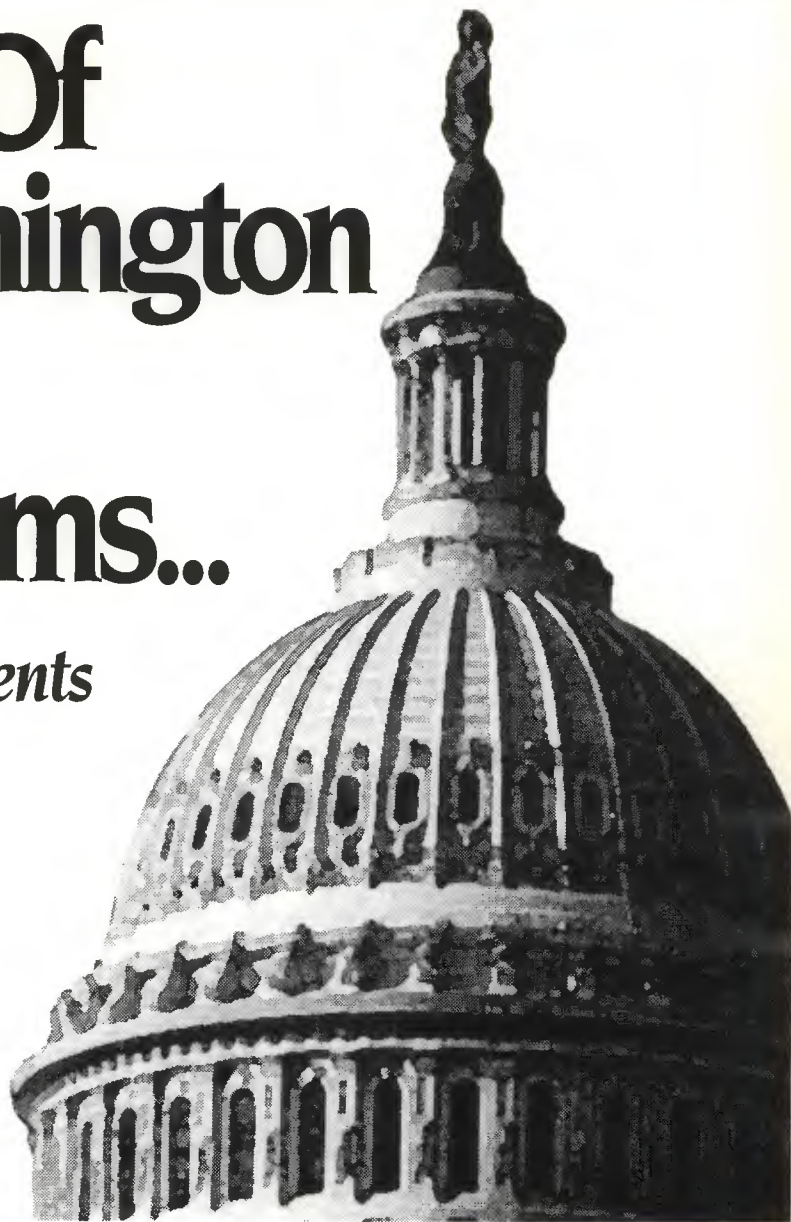
Once again I will ask the senators, "Why not the best?" ■

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DESPATCH

The Journal's New Uniform

BY KAREN KREBSBACH

If you're five pages into this month's *Foreign Service Journal*, have you noticed that something's different? Very different?

Yes, it's the same magazine, but it has a new look. In honor of its 75th anniversary this year, we decided to give the *Journal* a facelift that will allow it to age gracefully into its next 75 years.

We hope the magazine's new format, designed by Art Director Anne Bullen of The Magazine Group, will provide a more readable and visually appealing *Journal* that better captures the modern Foreign Service.

The redesign was undertaken to give the magazine a more consistent format and to make it more visually inviting and, therefore, more readable.

"AFSA News" now has a bolder, livelier format and features a new column, "AFSA Dateline," highlighting the American Foreign Service Association's plans and successes, to be edited by AFSA President F.A. "Tex" Harris.

The *Journal's* editorial balance will be changing as well. Issues will continue to feature a focus collection of pieces, a "Speaking Out" column, a "Postcard from Abroad," "Letters" and "Books" sections. But now the magazine will strive for more editorial balance, attempting to include at least three additional unrelated articles, from historical pieces and memoirs to lively features and hard-news reports

Karen Krebsbach is the editor of the Journal.

*We decided to give
the Journal a facelift
that will allow it to
age gracefully into
its next 75 years.*



and analyses on critical foreign affairs issues.

This month's editorial smorgasbord includes Antonia Stearns's beautifully written memoir, "Haunted by the Moon," on page 26; Shawn Dorman's frolicking "Coping in Bishkek," on page 50; and a heartwarming excerpt on page 20 from Jewell Fenzi's new book, *Married to the Foreign Service*, which chronicles the experience of Foreign Service officer John Stewart Service, one of the "China hands" ousted during the McCarthy era, as seen through the eyes of his wife, Caroline.

The redesign was championed by outgoing Editorial Board Chairman Brandon Grove Jr., who has been an inspiration to the staff and fellow board members. Ambassador Grove, who retired in April, will be succeeded as chairman by Sheldon Kryz, who has served as ambassador to Trinidad and Tobago, and as assistant secretary of state for administration and informa-

tion management, and subsequently, diplomatic security.

The redesign was also backed by the Editorial Board, a volunteer advisory group who represent the State Department, the Agency for International Development, the U.S. Information Agency, Foreign Service retirees, and the working media. The board's long-standing members include State's Susan Keough-Fisher, AID's John Eriksson and Phyllis Dichter-Forbes, retiree representative Daniel O. Newberry, and Donald Norland, the liaison to AFSA's Governing Board.

Editorial Board members who have recently left include USIA representative Kathleen Brion, State Department representative Janet Bogue and media representative Bob Toth of the Times-Mirror Corp. USIA's Hans N. "Tom" Tuch and State's Phyllis Oakley both are leaving this summer. Replacements include State Department representative Dan Mozena, USIA's Anne Sigmund and David Hitchcock, and media representative Doyle McManus, a *Los Angeles Times* national correspondent.

Together as a team, we look forward to taking the *Journal* into a new era, into its next 75 years as the independent voice of the Foreign Service.

Readers, please remember that the *Foreign Service Journal* is your magazine. We hope you continue to contribute to "Letters," "Speaking Out" and other departments. We also hope that responding to the monthly "Readers' Poll" question becomes requisite. ■



LETTERS

To the Editor:

I have become increasingly annoyed at the whining of white males due to their perception of an unfair "quota" system.

In each of the six posts at which I have served, there have been egregious examples of the subtleties of the "old boy network." The way the deck is systematically stacked, any comparison based purely on "merit" is biased from its inception.

In one large post, several consular officers had impressive credentials. Only one, however, was ever offered the opportunity to write speeches for the consul general. No rotation. No comparison. No competition. Only the preconceived assumption that the one white male could do the job better. In addition to the additional overtime pay, that officer automatically had something on his EER (employee evaluation report) that now will help distinguish him "on merit" further down the line.

Similarly, I have watched as white males are consistently given more opportunities to do out-of-cone rotations and extra tasks which, if done well, make them stand out when evaluation time rolls around. The examples of systematic bias are too numerous to cite. And it still occurs on a daily basis.

Evaluations themselves are a case in point. The pattern with women and minorities is consistent and provable. When you see descriptive adjectives, without concrete examples, such as "eager," "industrious,"

"pleasant" ... you need not ask the gender or race. Look at the boxes checked and the recommendations for advancement. The glass ceiling will jump out at you. Its creation and maintenance are often not intentional, conscious or malicious, but its reality is consistent, predictable and overwhelming.

Now, I dare you to actually play the numbers game. Count who is at the top and in real decision-making positions. Does your ego really tell you that this is based upon merit or that this group does not protect its own?

The old trick of saying everybody must run the same race after you have bound one foot of some of the runners simply does not wash. As a black female, I have hit this wall too many times to feel any sympathy whatsoever for allegations of so-called race and gender discrimination against white males.

Judith Francis
U.S. Embassy Dakar



To the Editor:

I would like to bring to the attention of your readers a little-known section of the foreign affairs manual (FAM), quoted to me when I applied for reimbursement of childcare expenses for my son upon joining the Service two years ago. As a single mother, I had no option but to utilize childcare in order to attend

A-100 and CONGEN, the consular course at the Foreign Service Institute (FSI).

Richard Heffern of FSI/BM denied my request based upon 3 FAM 824.6.8, quoting, "Family care grants under section 824.6-2a are made only to permit family members or legal guardians normally responsible for the care of dependent(s) of the member of the Service to attend authorized training." He further clarified in his letter to me, "The regulations do not permit us to make family care grants so that the member of the Service may attend training."

The regulations, obviously written before the first single parent ever joined the Foreign Service, make no provisions whatsoever for childcare when the "family member ... normally responsible for the care of the dependent(s)" is the officer her/himself. As a matter of fact, the person enabled to attend authorized training need not even be a family member, i.e. legal guardian, as long as the caregiver is not the officer.

This absurdly outdated regulation gives discriminatory preference to the spouses of married officers in order to allow them to sit in on optional training and leaves single parent officers — who have no choice but to attend training (including the weekend retreats) and must leave their children in someone else's care for eight hours a day for at least 10 weeks — to face a difficult and expensive challenge.

LETTERS

Since I did not have a spouse, or "legal guardian" to care for my child during training, I had to leave A-100 an hour early every day to pick up my son at school, and pay to send him to Detroit for one week in order to participate in the second retreat. Almost \$2,000 in daycare expenses were out-of-pocket, as my reimbursement request was denied. I appealed to authorities, insisting that I have always been and will continue to be the "family member normally responsible" for my son's care, but the appeal fell on deaf ears: Nothing in the FAM, nothing we can do.

Has a class-action suit ever been filed charging State with discrimination against single parent officers? It is ridiculous for the department to defend this regulation at the same time as it selects single parents to

become FSOs. For now, in the interest of avoiding subsequent misunderstanding by unsuspecting single-parent officer candidates, 3 FAM 824.6.8 should be clearly stated in the Foreign Service recruitment brochure. The next step, however, is for the department to revise the FAM as soon as possible so that it more accurately reflects the needs of today's FSOs and their families.

Gayle Waggoner Lopes
Consulate General
U.S. Embassy Sao Paulo

tive, productive and cheapest assistance programs the United States has produced. The program, training foreign diplomats at the Foreign Service Institute (FSI), recently graduated a second group of students. The first group departed in March of 1993. It had 20 new diplomats, 10 each from Albania and Bulgaria. The second involved 24 from nine former Soviet states.

Training lasted about six weeks with dual goals to establish an understanding of the diplomatic profession and of the United States. Few students had prior diplomatic tutelage but all were top performers in their university or professional disciplines.

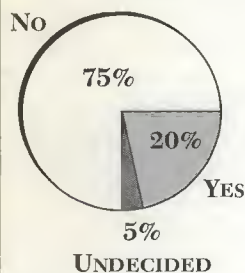
Program expenditures were between \$300,000 and \$400,000 each year. However, no one at State seems willing to make the case to either the

To the Editor:

Historic State Department reluctance to enter the budget fray places in danger one of the most imagina-

READERS' POLL RESPONSE

SHOULD THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION LINK HUMAN RIGHTS TO RENEWAL OF CHINA'S MOST FAVORED NATION (MFN) STATUS?



"U.S. policy should emphasize economic reforms and liberalization. Success here will eventually cause political liberalization."

— W.S., DAKAR, SENEGAL

"China should not have MFN (status), anyway."

— E.S.F., LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

"MFN should be linked to the rectification of our trade imbalance with China. We buy \$30 billion a year from them. They buy \$9 billion from us."

— M.F.R., PHILADELPHIA, PA.

"He's got it backward. Glasnost didn't lead to perestroika!"

— R.Z., BETHESDA, MD.

"When we buy a car or TV the merchant does not ask if we beat our wives or children, only whether we have the cash or credit to pay."

— A.K.B., CLEVELAND, OH.

READERS' POLL QUESTION

IN 1991, THE U.N. VOTED AN ARMS EMBARGO AGAINST BOSNIA. DO YOU SUPPORT THE UNILATERAL LIFTING OF THIS EMBARGO BY THE U.S.?

☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ Undecided

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LETTERS

Office of Management and Budget (OMB) or Congress that courses should be continued. A highly successful program for former unfriendly nations, both to get well started and to convince them of our interest in their successful future, is set to founder. Why? State won't go to bat in the appropriations arena. It seldom has. Let's look at the record.

In the mid-1950s, the United States had relations with 60-plus nations and used about 3,600 officers in the effort. Today relations have burgeoned to well more than 160 nations but the officer corps remains the same - 3,600. State won't say it needs more personnel to meet increased responsibilities.

When the Soviet Union came apart sprouting new nations like daffodils in spring, Secretary of State James Baker made a point of taking money from the financial hide of other department programs to open the necessary U.S. missions. No new money was requested from Congress. At the same time the Department of Defense asked for and got funding and positions for language training for the attaches it would assign to those same missions. Had Baker's action been unique it might have attracted comment. Unfortunately, it followed masochistic funding philosophies that the department has followed for years.

The program could continue with funding from AID but FSI needs additional permanent personnel to run it. Unwillingness to solicit a handful of new positions is at stake. At the same time, the Black Caucus is asking State for diplomatic training for some African nations.

A door may be open here. While using it might be uncharacteristic, it just might be productive.

*Julius W. Walker Jr.
Retired FSO
Washington, D.C. ■*

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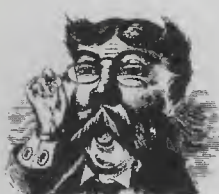
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CLIPPINGS



"The joke in the diplomatic community is that Bill Clinton's biggest foreign policy success has been getting Singapore to reduce Michael Fay's sentence from six lashes to four."

- SENIOR DIPLOMAT

THE BOSTON GLOBE

MAY 20

PARAGUAY TO GET NEW AMBASSADOR

Foreign Service officer Jon David Glassman has quietly been removed from his post as ambassador to Paraguay only a few months before his three-year tour was to have been completed, *The Washington Post* reported on June 3.

Glassman, a national security aide to former Vice President Dan Quayle, who left Asuncion in April, is reportedly being replaced by Robert E. Service. Service is the son of John Stewart Service, one of the career Foreign Service "China hands" who fell victim to the McCarthy witch hunt of the 1950s.

"Officials said the problem was mostly one of style," reporter Al Kamen wrote. "The hard-charging Glassman had been U.S. charge d'affaires to Afghanistan and closed the U.S. Embassy there in 1989. ... Word was that he was too undiplomatic in leaning on the Paraguayan government to crack down on drug smugglers and money launderers. He had simply stepped on too many toes too often."

Sources said the Paraguayan government had twice sent senior officials to Washington recently to complain and press for Glassman's removal, he wrote.

The American Foreign Service Association has been speaking out about other ambassadorial removals, such as that of Ambassador to Tanzania Peter J. De Vos, who is being replaced with Clinton political appointee Brady Anderson.

AFSA worries that the administration's apparent tendency to cut short Foreign Service officers' three-year tours might be a trend toward appoint-

ing too many non-career ambassadors, reporter John Goshko wrote in the May 23 *Washington Post*. In addition, AFSA believes that changing ambassadors in Tanzania now is especially ill-advised because that embassy has become Washington's principal outpost for handling hundreds of thousands of Rwandan refugees fleeing from ethnic violence. De Vos has earned a reputation as the Africa Bureau's best crisis manager during his successive ambassadorial stints in Mozambique and Liberia, according to Goshko.

The Anderson move was the third time in the past year that a career officer was bumped early in his three-year stint to make way for a political appointee, reported Goshko. William L. Swing was replaced in Nigeria by Walter Carrington, and John C. Kornblum, the U.S. representative to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), was dropped in favor of Sam Brown, the former anti-war activist who headed the Action agency. ■

WHO'S ACCOUNTABLE IN WORKER'S DEATH?

"It all started with moths in a closet," reported Bill Miller in *The Washington Post* on May 22. Nancy Ferebee Lewis, the executive assistant at the AID mission in Cairo, discovered the moths in her embassy-managed apartment and alerted the General Services Officer (GSO). Miller wrote that the exterminator hired by the embassy used a highly toxic pesticide, phos-toxin, that gradually emits a deadly gas. Although the room was sealed off, the toxic fumes were probably carried



through the air ducts, and all residents of the apartment became ill. "Within a few days, Lewis was dead," reported Miller.

The article said that AID is reviewing the matter, but David Johnson, a State Department spokesman, said "he could not yet say what factors led to Lewis's sudden death." However, according to Miller, Lewis's family later learned that the medical examiner ruled that Lewis had died of pesticide poisoning and that a U.S. naval research team found standard safety precautions were overlooked. The Lewis family lawyer is looking into the case, as well.

Several weeks after Lewis's death, Secretary of State Warren Christopher sent a cable to all overseas posts, ordering that phostoxin not be used inside residences and office buildings. The cable said that phostoxin had been used for residential treatment of pests at some overseas posts, and added, "This misuse of phostoxin, a highly toxic fumigant, can result in serious health effects to occupants of the residence." ■

DO WE NEED A SECRET BUREAUCRACY?

Not since the 1970s have so many Americans across the political spectrum asked so many anxious questions about what is known in Washington as "the intelligence community," said a *New York Times* May 8 editorial. The most obvious question is why America still needs so many overlapping agencies — the CIA, National Security Agency and various Defense Department and State Department intelligence units — in a world without a serious global adversary. Nobody can sanely doubt the continued need for intelligence gathering when so many nations have nuclear appetites and nuclear capacities. So long as terrorism is a threat, and ethnic wars tear nations

apart, intelligence will be a vital element of national security.

"But do we still need an enormous secret bureaucracy, whose budget is still not divulged, designed to cope with a now-defunct enemy?" opined the editorial. It continued, "Many Americans scarcely realize that the main sources of intelligence are not spies but satellite surveillance, intercepted signals and raw data harvested from open sources or routine reports filed by attaches in hundreds of embassies and consulates. These are the meat and potatoes of intelligence, but spy games, which commonly yield meager results at inordinate costs, grab the headlines." ■

IT'S WHAT'S NOT SAID THAT MATTERS

"The State Department sets the standard for circumspection in Washington," reporter Joel Achenbach wrote in *The Washington Post* on May 12. "It's not that the State Department is silent — in fact it holds daily briefings for a stable of full-time correspondents — it's just that its standard units of communication are the guarded homily and the nuanced signal. ... So low are people's expectations that the slightest inflection of meaning becomes exciting."

The State Department spokesman is Michael McCurry, who is by nature a funny, lively person but has had to train himself to be dull, Achenbach observed. "Explaining the Clinton administration's foreign policy is a viciously tough job these days — it's not conclusively proven that the policy actually exists," writes Miller.

"No prepared statements today," McCurry said at the start of a recent daily briefing, according to Achenbach. "So ask your questions and I won't give you any answers." The State Department is one tough place to get information.

50 YEARS AGO

THE PROS AT WORK

An editorial from *The Saturday Evening Post* was reprinted in the July 1944 *Journal*:

"Diplomacy is a job for people who know their business. Some critics of Secretary [Cordell] Hull's diplomacy ignore this. They think that diplomacy is a failure if it is not continuously haranguing countries for not being 'democratic' and if it does not produce at least one new enemy every day. ... The State Department is denounced for 'appeasement,' the fact remains that the best [diplomats] are professionals in a trade which calls for patience, suavity, reliability, coolness and a faint dash of cynicism. These qualities are more likely to be found in even the greenest professional diplomat than in the earnest fellows who denounce him for making too few enemies for his country." ■



ADVANCE SLOW, SAYS EX-FSO

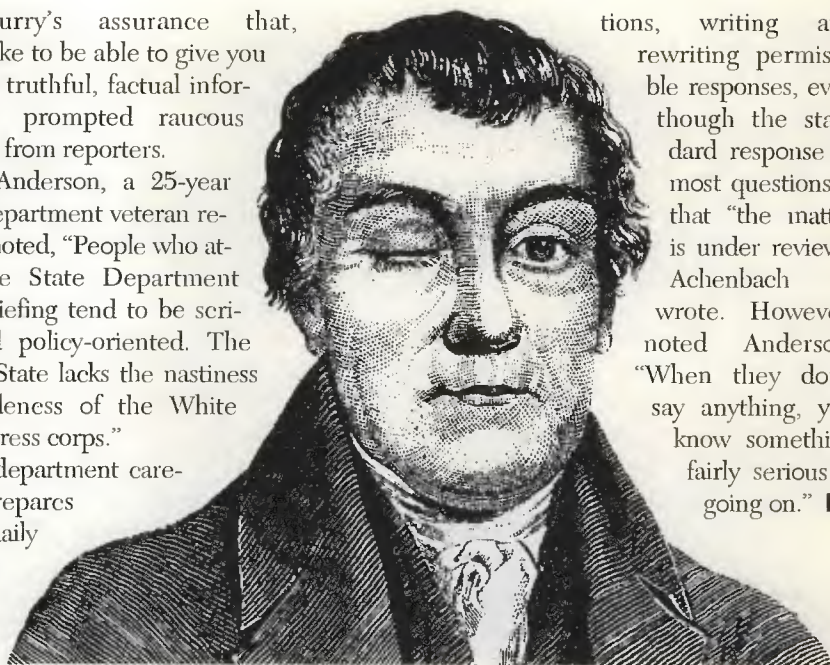
"It is fundamentally dishonest to postulate a merit-based, up-or-out promotion system on the one hand and, on the other, to block promotions and oust people because of non-merit, nonperformance factors," retired FSO D. Longo Jr. said in an April 30th letter to the *Post*. "One workable solution — slower promotions and longer times-in-grade for rising mid-grade officers while the bloated senior ranks reduce through attrition." ■

McCurry's assurance that, "We'd like to be able to give you reliable, truthful, factual information" prompted raucous laughter from reporters.

Jim Anderson, a 25-year State Department veteran reporter, noted, "People who attend the State Department press briefing tend to be serious and policy-oriented. The tone at State lacks the nastiness and rudeness of the White House press corps."

The department carefully prepares for the daily briefing, anticipating ques-

tions, writing and rewriting permissible responses, even though the standard response to most questions is that "the matter is under review," Achenbach wrote. However, noted Anderson, "When they don't say anything, you know something fairly serious is going on." ■



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SPEAKING OUT

The Tonya Harding of Diplomacy

By DOUGLAS H. JONES

Among the more dubious pleasures of life in the Foreign Service is hearing your efforts officially described as "inappropriate." Or suspecting colleagues think you have suffered a high-speed career blowout. Or seeing your name associated in print with comments you know, bureaucratically at least, will put you squarely between the dog and the lamp post.

But these things happen. If you stick your head above the diplomatic parapets, you are inviting them to happen. The Foreign Service is above all a culture of discretion, subject to massive institutional embarrassment when its boundaries of propriety are crossed. In such a culture, there is little to differentiate the quixotic and the dead.

I have been cashing government checks for 25 years. I know the rules, and I chose to break them by expressing personal views in an unclear speech that implicitly criticized the German government on a domestic issue, with the media in attendance. This is how that speech, on April 18, happened.

I was asked by the Foundation for Brandenburg Memorials to give a talk on right-wing extremism and anti-foreigner violence in Germany from an American perspective. The organizers invited the media to the

event and texts were provided in advance, both in the original German and in English. No American media representatives were present.

I saw the invitation as an opportunity to provide a personal assessment based on an association with Germany that goes back 35 years. The views in the speech were clearly labeled as my own, and from the outset I had no intention of clearing them. (The notion of clearing one's views is something of an oxymoron, isn't it?) I knew when I finished the draft that I might regret giving the speech, but that if I did not give it, I would most certainly regret it.

My objectives in the speech were several: to discuss issues of social cohesion and demographic change in the post-Cold War era; to express sympathy for the dilemma modern Germany faces in trying to develop a usable history, while at the same time remaining accountable for the darker side of its past; to point to some apparent inconsistencies in attitudes and policies in Germany concerning neo-Nazi activity and violence against foreigners; to give an interpretation of how Germany is perceived from abroad on the xenophobia issue; and finally, to express the view that, despite its problems, Germany is a great country, well placed to be a model of a pluralistic, productive society for developing democracies.

While all those issues and others were discussed in the speech, every-

thing was overshadowed in the subsequent media accounts by the implicit criticism of the German government's record on social integration, immigration and anti-foreigner violence. For that, I have no one to blame but myself. However, "on the evening in question," as district attorneys like to say, things were different.

The speech was well received by the small audience present, which was predominantly German. The discussion that followed was animated, occasionally painful (there were Holocaust survivors present), and generally cathartic. German news programs ran factual accounts. The next day, however, *The Chicago Tribune* ran a story that distilled 15 pages of single-spaced text into the headline, "U.S. Diplomat: German Government Fosters Racist Society," and somehow I knew it would be a long weekend.

In the furor that ensued, Ambassador Richard Holbrooke called to tell me that he and the department would disown my comments publicly, which they did, stating that it was inappropriate for an official of the U.S. government to make remarks so at variance with U.S. policy. Damage control was clearly the department's highest priority, and the ambassador asked me to "cease and desist." That was fine, since the 15 pages were about all I had to say on the subject anyway.

The term "variance" in the department's statement about the speech

Douglas H. Jones, most recently the principal officer of the U.S. Embassy branch office in Berlin, retired on May 14.

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SPEAKING OUT



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to give us
unshirted hell
about violence
in America.*



merits a comment or two. It is true that I noted in my remarks that they did not represent U.S. policy. On the other hand, I do not believe there is anything in the speech that is inconsistent with the 1993 State Department Human Rights Report which, in some respects, is more critical of Germany's response to the violence issue than I was. Human rights reports are, of course, anonymous and institutional, but to the extent there was a policy on the issues I was discussing, I assumed that was it.

Furthermore, when Tom Shanker of *The Chicago Tribune* called the State Department to ask which aspects of the speech were at variance with U.S. policy, the reply was "No comment." A more candid response might have been "Helmut Kohl." The crux of the calamity was, in fact, the implication that the chancellor and the Bonn government had sent mixed signals to the German public about foreigners, immigration and pluralism in German society, and these mixed signals might partially explain the continued violence.

In its disclaimer, the department noted that "the U.S. government had consistently expressed its outrage at acts of right-wing violence in Germany when they occur." True and right. But the point of the speech was that the German gov-

ernment should be doing this, and more to the point, rooting out the causes of the violence. No one in the U.S. government was saying that to the Germans. So I did.

One of our junior Foreign Service officers in Berlin asked me, in the aftermath of the public flap, whether I was disappointed that the department had not rallied around my indiscretion as the military establishment had rallied around Admiral Frank Kelso. Disconcerting as it was to have my speech linked to "Tailhook," I could appreciate the officer's obvious concern about loyalty (which, theoretic-

cally at least, works both ways) and *esprit de corps*.

Nevertheless, my answer was "no." The State Department and Ambassador Holbrooke did the right thing in distancing themselves from my remarks because it was important that they preserve their credibility with the German government.

The speech was not in any way an exercise in dissent. My motivation was comprised of equal parts conscience and conceit. Immodestly, to be sure, I believed that, in terms of background, language and familiarity with the German scene, I was the U.S. official best placed to say something publicly that would be meaningful, or at least of interest on this

SPEAKING OUT

issue. I also believed that the Germans were far more likely to appreciate the effort — at least those not in the Kohl government — than the U.S. foreign policy establishment. In that assessment, at any rate, I was not incorrect.

The speech was an idiosyncratic attempt to introduce some public candor into a bilateral dialogue that for 45 years had as its highest priority the avoidance of conflict or criticism. But I had some other concerns as well; concern for the integrity of our public discourse and for what I believe is the obligation of the Foreign Service to represent forcefully the opinions and views of the American public. Not just to foreign governments in private chambers, but to foreign publics as well.

I have long believed that public speaking and grass-roots dialogue with host country nationals are the most important things we do in the Foreign Service, but all too often they are an afterthought. Public speaking is hard work and the system does not reward us for this as it does for other aspects of our jobs. I have seen many iterations of the employee evaluation form in 21 years; public speaking has never been on it.

In my two years in Berlin, visiting U.S. citizens indicated a strong interest in the problem of right-wing violence in Germany, and they wanted to know what we were saying to the Germans about it. It seemed to me that the German public ought to know what Americans were thinking. So, knowing that Germans generally appreciate directness, I told them. In doing so, however, I not only blindsided the system, but raised some difficult questions about professional ethics.

Was it ethically justifiable to use a

forum to which I had access only as a public official to present a personal point of view? Probably not. My answer is another question: Should I have agreed to give a speech on this subject at all? If so, is it ethically justifiable to be less than candid? If not, there are probably no circumstances under which my speech could be given and it was indeed "inappropriate." But I have heard from many people who don't think it was.

Was it ethical to comment personally on the domestic affairs of the country to which I was accredited?

Absolutely. I hope some German or Japanese or Korean diplomat will take similar advantage of a public occasion to give us unshirted hell about violence in America.

Finally, in view of what I said above, would I encourage every FSO to deliver personal views on the issues at will? Absolutely not. I recognize the need for organizational discipline and lived by that creed, more or less, for 21 years. My actions do not constitute a model — good or bad — for anything or anyone else.

One last point. It has been noted — in fact the embassy and the department insisted on noting — that I gave the speech knowing that the Foreign Service and I would soon be parting company. I assume this was intended to produce an "ah ha" effect with respect to my motivations. I would like to think that I would have given the same speech even if I were not leaving the Service. But, as the press spokesperson always says: "I don't deal in hypotheticals."

Nor am I disgruntled. The Foreign Service and I have had a great run together. I wish sometimes it were a more human organization — or is that another oxymoron? — but I certainly wish it well. ■

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STAND BY YOUR MAN

CAROLINE SERVICE TALKS ABOUT THE TRIALS AND
TRIBULATIONS OF A FOREIGN SERVICE WIFE

BY JEWELL FENZI

The unprecedented growth of America's Foreign Service during and after World War II reflected a new confidence and new sense of responsibility for participation in international events as a world power.

It affected the lives, to a greater or lesser degree, of all Foreign Service spouses and became for many one of the defining experiences of their careers. But for a few spouses, the upheaval that accompanied the U.S. rise to superpower status also brought unforgettable exposure to one of the darkest chapters of American political history.

The phenomenon later known as McCarthyism had its origins in several widely disparate facets of American political life. By March 1947, President Truman issued an executive order to investigate the loyalty of government employees. When the Communists, led by Mao Ze-dong, proclaimed the People's Republic of China in October 1949, the days of a practical bipartisan American political consensus on

foreign policy were numbered. Foreign Service spouses would soon feel the effects of this cataclysmic split, which combined outrageous scapegoating with reasoned, sometimes eloquent appeals to the nation's democratic principles. This was power politics practiced at its nastiest level, and to their misfortune, the State Department's most experienced personnel in the always delicate relationship with China, the so-called "China hands," became its primary target.

Those "hands" included Foreign Service officers John Stewart Service, Edmund Clubb, John Paton Davies and John Carter Vincent, who all suffered career and personal reprisals after being accused of breaches in security.

The "China hands" had attempted to report the facts as they saw them. But by 1950, what a Foreign Service officer had reported a decade earlier could easily come back to haunt him and be reinterpreted in an entirely different fashion.

"It was as though the country were facing a great outside menace which was inside the country," recalled Caroline Service, wife of John Stewart Service, in 1987. "It just drove people nuts to think that China was not pro-American anymore. But we were at fault, too. We did not want to have diplomatic relations with China except on our own terms. It was an internal public relations business. It was like a red flag to a bull to mention China except in pejorative terms."

This piece is an edited excerpt from the chapter, "Partners in Catastrophe," from the book, "Married to the Foreign Service: An Oral History of the American Diplomatic Spouse," written by Jewell Fenzi with Carl L. Nelson, due out this month from MacMillan's Twayne Publishers.

Looking back, Caroline Service counted herself lucky to have spent a year in India, with her children and without her husband, during the worst of the period. Her trials lasted from 1950, when McCarthy spoke publicly about the issue, until June 1957, when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that her husband had been illegally fired from the Foreign Service.

Early in 1950, John Service was transferred to Calcutta.

"[T]he department suddenly decided to get Jack out of Washington, and in January [1950] we were given orders to go to India. ...

"Jack would be consul in Calcutta. The department couldn't make him consul general because that would need congressional approval. Even though he'd be the chief officer, as they called it, he was only to have the rank of consul. They wouldn't try to push this through the Senate right now.

"When [McCarthy's] speech hit the headlines, Jack called up the State Department and said, 'What shall I do? Shall I go on to India or come back to Washington?' They said, 'Go on, because you're not one of McCarthy's numbers.'

"We spent a month in Berkeley. Nothing more happened. McCarthy was making speeches. He made another in Nevada. But they never seemed to pinpoint Jack. It was just rather general, 'The State Department is full of Communists.'

"We went to Seattle and took an American freighter bound for Tokyo. We were going to Madras.

"One night the radio operator came down and he said, 'Say, they're talking about a guy named Service on the radio. Is it you by any chance?' Jack said, 'Why, I don't know. What are they saying?' Then the operator said McCarthy was making a speech about Service — that he had undermined the State Department, he had lost China, and that he was a Communist. So Jack went up and listened.

"Also, the radio operator was in contact with a ham operator in Los Angeles, who had been in China and had known Jack or knew about Jack. So he was willing to relay anything that he heard at other times when our 'Sparks' was busy with his regular work. ...

"I think the next day we got a radio-to-ship call from the State Department saying, 'Come back,'

to Jack. 'At Tokyo, come back to Washington.' But in this telegram, which was quite long, it gave an option about the family. It said the family could either stay in Tokyo, come back to Washington, or go on to India."

But their destination was changed to New Delhi, presumably with the hope that being a subordinate in the embassy would be less conspicuous than being in charge in Calcutta. The Services decided that Jack would return to Washington while Caroline, with three school-age children, the household goods and an automobile, would continue on to New Delhi. Thus began her year as a single head-of-household in India.

When the Service family parted in Japan, it was assumed that their separation would be reasonably short, that Jack would answer questions by the State Department's Loyalty-Security Board, and perhaps the Tydings Committee of the Senate, and then join his family in New Delhi. But McCarthy had aroused the country, and settling cases like Jack's had proved more complicated than anyone expected. Loyalty standards were changed, and new accusations and "evidence" required repeated reexaminations of cases already thought to be cleared.

With her youngest child, Philip, Caroline Service left New Delhi for Washington on March 30, 1951, to be reunited with her husband after a separation of 13 months. As the summer and fall continued, their two older children returned safely from India, and loyalty investigations of Jack Service, as well as Edmund Clubb, John Paton Davies, John Carter Vincent, and many others ground on. Caroline Service recalled:

"It became evident at this point, that this was a real attack on the China people per se.

"They would have attacked Jack too regardless of anything else. Anybody connected with China at that period who had in any way given a

I said that I thought he had done a great injustice to a very worthy man. His reply, which I will never forget, was that many people have had grave injustices done to them.

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favorable picture of the Communists would have been attacked, because by this time the country was in quite a state of, not hysteria, but of fear, well hysteria too. McCarthy was riding high. The Tydings Committee [a subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee set up under Maryland's Millard Tydings to investigate McCarthy's charges] was trying to investigate things, and they did give Jack a clean bill of health. But, there was a kind of miasma — I think that's the word I want — in Washington. You really didn't know from day to day who would be the next to be attacked and for what reasons."

By November, the search for someone to blame for America's reversals in China reached a fever pitch, Caroline remembered.

"Jack was going through endless hearings again. Although Jack had been cleared, they decided that they would set up another board, an outside board. ...

"This was under [former Senator Hiram] Bingham. ... [who] was not on Jack's board himself, but he had much to do with it. [As a senator in 1929], Bingham had been censured by the Senate for bringing a lobbyist into a closed session of the Finance Committee. The next senator to be censured was Joseph McCarthy.

"My personal opinion now is that Jack never had a chance, that once the Loyalty Review Board got hold of it, they were determined to fire somebody — Jack — from the State Department. I may be doing Bingham a great injustice, but I felt this very strongly. ...

"Jack was their easiest target. ... If they could fire Jack, they could go after others. I'm not trying to say

there was a plot. I do not think somebody sat down and wrote all this out. I think that there was just this feeling that something had to be done, some victim had to be given to the public. After all, the whole public in this country had been aroused by 'Communists in the State Department,' or by 'nefarious people,' or 'Who lost China?' Somebody had to be produced. ...

"They had aroused a great deal of fear and apprehension in the American public. People were frightened. But, you can't go on forever saying these things and not producing something, unless you just want to admit it was all a red herring."

The Services met their greatest challenge as a couple beginning on Dec. 13, 1951.

"We were having two couples to dinner. ... My mother was there. I was going to have baked beans, homemade baked beans for supper.

"About 1 o'clock in the afternoon the phone rang and it was Jack saying that the board's decision had come in. He was to be fired the next day for 'reasonable doubt of his loyalty to the United States.' He was calling from [his attorney Ed] Rhett's office.

"I can hardly describe my feelings. He said it would be on the evening news. In those days there wasn't much television. I said that I would come down to Rhett's office. I asked my poor mother, who was 75 years old, to please tell the children because I wouldn't be there when they came home from school.

"She said, 'What about dinner?' I said, 'Somebody's got to eat this dinner. Don't say anything. They'll just come. We've got to have dinner. We might as well have the guests that we have asked.' "So I went down to

Ed Rhetts's office, and I wept, of course, a great deal. Jack and Ed Rhetts were just sitting there looking at each other. I said, 'Well, what are you going to do?'

"Jack ... was to be fired; he was to be terminated on the next day at the end of work, on the 14th ... they said they were going to appeal. We talked about it. The processes are very complicated and long. First you appeal to the White House to override the Loyalty Review Board and if that doesn't work then you must go to court. You have to start with the lowest court because the upper courts, of course, won't take you. ...

"I must have stayed about an hour, maybe not that long. I kept thinking of Hiram Bingham. So, when I left Ed Rhetts's office I went to where I knew the Loyalty Review Board held its meetings, down on Pennsylvania Avenue in an old building. I had never been there before. I walked in. There were no guards or anything. I saw where the offices were and I went upstairs to the offices and I saw a secretary. I said, 'I'm Mrs. John Service and I'd like to see Sen. Hiram Bingham.'

"If I'd come from another planet she couldn't have been more shocked. She looked at me. I have to laugh. I looked at her. The woman didn't know what to say. She finally said, 'Just wait a minute.'

"So pretty soon a man came out. I think his name was Malloy. He said that Sen. Bingham was in a conference and could not see me. The old ploy.

"So, I said, 'You know' — this must have been about 3 o'clock in the afternoon — 'I don't know why the senator can't see me. He spent a lot of time on my husband's case and I think that he can give me a few minutes of his time. I have nothing I have to do, and I will just

sit here. The conference must be over sometime. I will just stay here 'till Sen. Bingham is free.'

"Mr. Malloy, if that's who it was, looked at me and disappeared. In about five minutes he came back and said Sen. Bingham would see me. I was ushered into a handsome office. Sen. Bingham was a very handsome man, tall, good looking; he took me by the hand and said, 'What can I do for you, little lady?' I could have screamed. 'Little lady.' Awful.

"So, I said that I thought he had done a great injustice to a very worthy man. His reply, which I will never forget, was that many people have had grave injustices done to them."

For more than a decade, through Jack Service's difficult yet successful experiences as an international salesman, through his eventual exoneration by the Supreme Court, and through their happy years in the U.S. consulate in Liverpool, England, Sen. Bingham's judgment echoed in Caroline Service's memory.

The years between Jack's firing and his rehabilitation by the Supreme Court proved both arduous and exhilarating to the Services. In the political atmosphere of the early 1950s, Jack Service was nearly unemployable, with his life work as an expert in Chinese affairs having been discredited. From the close of business on Dec. 14, 1951, the family was on its own, with few prospects for an income. In a 1987 interview, Caroline Service recalled:

"We had no money, we had no outside resources at all. We were paid back what Jack had put into the pension fund.

"But early in January, Jack got a letter from a man in New York, a

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Mr. Clement Wells, who had a steam trap business [the Sarco Company], and he offered Jack a job. It was a miracle.

"We moved to New York, to Kew Gardens in Queens. Actually the children and I stayed in Washington until the end of summer. Mr. Wells had Jack go to Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, for a few weeks to work on an assembly line to see how steam traps are put together. There's a steam trap on the floor there. We use it as a door stop. After Bethlehem Jack moved to New York and went to work for Mr. Wells in the export side of the business. Mr. Wells was English and had come to this country long ago, and Sarco was his own company.

"When it came time for the family to join him, Jack rented an apartment in the Bronx. It was owned by the Equitable Life Insurance Co. When the company found out who Jack was, they returned the deposit check because they would not rent to us. It was awful. I then knew how people felt who are dispossessed, or who face discrimination.

"Jack was then able to rent an apartment in Kew Gardens. The Sarco office was in the Empire State Building and Jack rode the subway in to 34th Street. He claims that in all the years he made this trip he never sat down on the subway when he was going to work.

"In the meantime, his lawyer Ed Rhett had determined on the day Jack was fired that he'd take Jack's case through the courts to try to win a reversal.

"Finally the case reached the Supreme Court, which accepted it. With our children we went to Washington in April 1957 to hear Ed Rhett argue the case before the Supreme Court. It was a solemn and moving occasion.

"The decision was handed down on June 17, 1957, a Monday. Ginny

was going to the dentist to have a wisdom tooth out at 2 o'clock. About 20 minutes of 2, just as we were leaving the apartment, the phone rang and some newspaperman said, 'Your husband has just won his case in the Supreme Court. A unanimous decision.' 'What!?' I screamed. The man wanted to know how to get hold of Jack, and I gave him the number at Sarco.

And then I hung up and Ginny and I just looked at each other. I guess we must have hugged each other. Then I called Jack and I phoned my family. How I wish that my father and Jack's mother had been alive. Jack came home by subway — it was a very hot June night — and the phone never stopped ringing all evening. The phone just rang and rang and rang.

"And then people wondered if Jack would really go back to the State Department. Actually, the Supreme Court decision stated that Jack had never been out of the Foreign Service — never had been out — never should have been out.

"Jack never had any intention of doing anything other than returning to the Foreign Service if he could. Not only for our good name, but because we loved the Foreign Service. I love the Foreign Service. I think it was a marvelous life. And I think that, well, it was just the only thing we would ever have considered doing." ■

Copies of Married to the Foreign Service: An Oral History of the Diplomatic American Spouse may be ordered for \$26.95 plus \$2.50 postage from the American Association of Foreign Service Women (AAFSW), Oral History Collection, 2125 MacArthur Blvd., NW, Washington, D.C. 20016-3300. Profits will go to The Foreign Service Spouse Oral History Project.



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HAUNTED BY THE MOON

THE WRITER RECALLS LUNCH
WITH AN ASTRONAUT

BY ANTONIA STEARNS

O This month, the United States celebrates the 25-year anniversary of putting the first man on the moon.

On the day the Apollo 11 astronauts Neal Armstrong, Edwin Aldrin and Michael Collins strapped themselves atop 4 million pounds of liquid oxygen and blasted off Cape Canaveral for the moon, my husband and I were in the Scottish Highlands, beside a mountain stream, negotiating the dangers of its slippery pebbles to retrieve a chilled bottle of wine. Mission accomplished, we settled on the mossy bank for our picnic, the last we would enjoy in the British Isles before another Foreign Service transfer called us back to London, small children and large moving vans.

Overhead, unseen, the Apollo spacecraft completed its orbit of the earth and kicked into trans-lunar injection, the third stage of the astronauts' 284,000-mile journey, lifting them to speeds approaching 25,000 miles an hour. We polished off the Stilton, packed the hamper in the mini sedan, and shifted into second to take the hairpin turns at 25. Destination: Edinburgh, via a confusion of Firths, Fourths, Fifths, and Fifes.

Antonia Stearns is a freelance writer based in Framingham, Mass. Her husband, Monteagle, was deputy chief of mission in Vientiane, Laos, from 1969-72.

Day and night the moon played hide and seek with us, a coy crescent at noon, full frontal after dark when its antediluvian light transformed the humpbacked hills into a herd of brooding dinosaurs. Alone in this primeval landscape, we felt as isolated as the tiny spacecraft somewhere above, propelling its fragile cargo to distances we could scarcely imagine.

We pushed on, down the narrow mountain roads past solitary and darkened crofts, through hamlets with oil lamps flickering behind shuttered windows, then cobblestoned villages, almost garish with their illuminated petrol pumps and pharmaceutical signs. Here we began to pick up the crackle of vintage radios as townspeople gathered in shops and pubs, cupping their ears to catch the flat American voices coming to them through the static of outer space.

Now the men in the command module had jet-tisoned the propulsion rockets and entered their orbital path. For the next day they would fly weightless at lower cruising speeds until they entered the moon's gravitational pull, only a fraction of the earth's, but enough to hurtle them at 8,000 miles per hour toward the lunar surface.

We accelerated with them, across the straight-aways of the lowlands, anxious to see as well as hear the climax of their mission. We reached Edinburgh after dark. At our hotel bar in the new city below, as in all the public watering places, crowds milled in front of television sets, still a luxury in many homes. The normally staid voices of

the BBC broadcasters were tense with excitement.

Now the mother ship Columbia had come to a shuddering halt 70 miles above the moon's surface; the Eagle landing craft had broken its umbilical cord, carrying Armstrong and Aldrin down to their target on the Sea of Tranquillity. We lingered outside a moment to look once more at our travelling companion, almost believing that if we stared long and hard enough we would see Armstrong and Aldrin with the naked eye, swinging in their lighted gondola like Punch and Judy in a velvet sky above a paper moon.

"It was a very valiant man who first adventured on eating of oysters," Thomas Fuller wrote over 300 years ago, neatly pinpointing the queasiness in the face of the unknown that keeps people like me away from precipices, ocean floors, and the ultimate oyster, outer space.

I found company that night in the little bar in Edinburgh, the night of the first moon landing. Brawny men gripped each other's sleeves and huddled together, hushed and open-mouthed before the unearthly images unfolding on the television screen. Swirling craters and tilting mountain ridges rushed toward us between the spidery legs of the lunar landing craft. It seemed as if we were being sucked into space ourselves. Then time and motion stopped as the suction cup feet touched down in a silent spray of lunar ash, and the carapaceous body of the Eagle settled over the screen like a giant cartoon insect.

Silence, a shared expulsion of breath, and suddenly the room buzzed with relief and excited congratulations. We had done it — we the Americans, and we the human race.

As each act of the 12-hour moon drama was transmitted to the waiting world, we regrouped in the little bar, like theatergoers after intermission, and slowly accustomed our eyes if not our minds to a surrealistic spectacle that would so quickly become part of popular culture. Our children would turn briefly into miniature spacemen clomping around in zippered coveralls and out-sized moon boots that they would eventually discard as casually as the fireman outfits of the year before. But on July 20, 1969, such acceptance of the space age lay in the future.

For me, acceptance lay in another life. Terrified of speed, with a tendency to acrophobia,

and subject to dreams that sorely tested both, I watched the moon landing through splayed fingers, and with an admiration for the astronauts that bordered on the idolatrous. No cave man cowering before an eclipse was as awestruck as I when Neil Armstrong stood alone against the blackest of black space and touched the moon.

Joined by Aldrin, he began his eerie gambols, planting flags and picking up rocks, serene as a suburban husband at his weekend chores. The ordinariness of their work did nothing to allay my fear that we were tempting the gods by such audacity, that we had no business being there at all. Please come back safely, I whispered, when the two men sealed themselves in their capsule to rejoin Collins waiting in the void. What if they couldn't lift off? What if they lost power and floated away into eternal orbit?

Such are the sentimental thoughts of the timid. The white lunar spider spun up and away, effortlessly, its cameras reversing the reel of our epic journey to the moon. We drove home to London and picked up our lives just as the U.S. Navy plucked the jubilant astronauts from their perfectly executed plunge into the sea. The world cheered and went back on summer holiday.

But amidst the preparations for a new assignment, and a new baby to follow our move, I remained haunted by the moon, drawn to its nightly presence by the feminine cycles we shared and by the memory of that very masculine penetration of its dry secrets.

"What is your gender?" I asked it, as often as I asked the fluttering foetus inside me. After three boys, I longed for a girl. Neither responded. The moon's pockmarked face and empty eyes stared back at me, as sexless and forbidding as a crone's. "Look, but don't touch," it warned, all but the intrepid, before disappearing behind the clouds. I grew cumbersome with pregnancy, and drifted off to sleep at night, dreaming chastely romantic dreams of dancing in the moonlight with Neil Armstrong.

*Then time and
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Five months later my brave astronaut was on a triumphal world tour, distributing moon rocks in his wake, and I was in Bangkok, temporarily displaced from Vientiane, awaiting the birth of our baby, who showed no inclination to arrive on schedule. The American Embassy kept a protective eye on me, as it did for all upcountry spouses from Laos and Burma. The ambassador and his wife solicitously included us in their weekly lunch for American visitors — of whom there were many during the Vietnam War years when Bangkok bristled with travellers to and from the front. Congressmen, pundits, generals, movie stars, and mothers-to-be gathered on their palm-fringed portico every Wednesday; I was the only one who returned five weeks running.

"Still here?" the secretary inquired over the phone each Tuesday. "I'll put you down for tomorrow." Christmas came and went; so did Bob Hope, fleet commanders, Billy Graham, Miss World and several new babies. I moved up in the pecking order at the embassy table. My recycled placecard became spotted and curled with use.

"And who will be my lunch partner today?" I asked the butler as I waddled through the ambassador's home on what was to be my last Wednesday visit. I needed no reply. Smiling at me from the far side of the portico, tanned and resplendent in tropical whites, stood Neil Armstrong.

I had cracked jokes with Bob Hope, and had held up better in the heat than Miss World, but now I was a bashful girl with a bad case of hero worship as I lumbered to meet the astral knight who had drifted in and out of my dreams in my late pregnancy.

We shook hands, his eyes level with mine.

"A chair for the lady," he called before other guests crowded around

to have their share of him; I waited. My turn would come again, I saw from the seating chart — we were sitting together at the table. We bumped awkwardly when he adjusted my chair. "That's quite a payload you've got there," he said after the third try.

"It would be lighter on the moon," I said, groping for something knowledgeable to say. I adjusted the chair myself, steadied by his hand — the hand I had shaken, the hand that had touched the moon. What else had it touched? There were ugly red scratches across the palm. He sat down and squinted at my placecard. For the first time I noticed the flesh-colored Band-Aid plastered diagonally over one eyebrow, then another, oozing at the center, on the side of his neck. My hero was injured.

"Mr. Armstrong," I said sternly. "What sort of escapades have you been up to?" His eyes widened with eagerness to tell me. "It gives me goose bumps just thinking about it," he began with an involuntary shudder. "Oh ma'am," he unburdened himself, "I've had the most frightening experience. I thought my number had come up today."

"I thought you were at Chulalongkorn University."

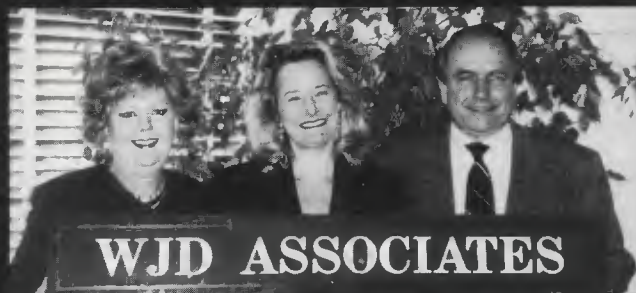
"I was, ma'am, but not in the safe, air-conditioned auditorium scheduled on the itinerary. At the last minute the officials moved me to an outdoor platform in the square. They hoisted me all the way to the top, ma'am — it was really awfully high. So there I was, all by myself, swaying like a canary, when the crowd began to surge forward. I felt the scaffolding start to give way."

"Oh my God," I said, "You plummeted to earth."

"Very nearly." He was dead earnest. "I floundered about, grabbing at the uprights, only to feel them buckle beneath me. Have you ever had that sensation, ma'am? It's

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eerie." He took a gulp of wine. "Thirty feet. I'm sure it was 30 ... anyway, it was a long shinny down that pole." He rubbed his sore spots.

He lowered his voice and confided, "But what with this morning and the crazy drivers and the things I've had to eat on this trip, I'm more than ready to get back to Houston." He looked tired from his misadventure and from the strain of being a celebrity on display. It must not have been easy for him to accept situations where he was not at the controls.

"It's a risky business," I sympathized, "dragging moon rocks around the world. You'll feel better when you're back in a nose cone."

He smiled at last. "To the hazards of earth," he toasted, straightening his shoulders. He turned to field questions from around the table. Crisply, patiently, every inch the astronaut, he explained the workings of retro rockets, the definition of thrust, the ratios of G-force, the technology of life support systems in airless space.

When it was my turn we exchanged bemused glances. I could think of only one thing to ask. It was not very scientific.

"I know you're ready to go back home," I said. "But what about the moon? Would you want to go back there?" He was silent. I've never been asked that," he replied after a pause. "Let me think about it." Over dessert, he leaned toward me and whispered, "No."

It was late. A staff aide appeared on the portico, signaling Neil Armstrong for his next appointment. He helped me out of my chair and walked with me to say goodbye to our hosts. My astral knight was moving on to new adventures; a dull ache beginning to encircle my abdomen reminded me that so was I. I took his arm and asked in farewell, "Why don't you want to go back to the moon, Mr. Armstrong? Is it too overwhelming an

experience, even for you?"

He thought again. "No, too repetitive," he said, quite cheerful at discovering the reason. "You know, ma'am. I'm basically just a test pilot."

"Just a test pilot! I couldn't conceive of doing what you did!"

"I guess you don't hang around with test pilots." He looked at me kindly. "You know the type, ma'am — we're the fly boys. We like to drive airplanes, fast, and play with our toys."

"You must like more than that," I persisted, "to want to go to the moon."

"Well, we like the thrill of getting there, but we're not very interested in being there. I don't mean that the Apollo mission wasn't a lot of hard work and excitement, but somebody else will have to go to the moon and tell us what it all means."

"Without you, nobody can follow," I said. "Who will your followers be? The moon is such an inhuman place. I look at it at night, and still shiver at the thought that you were on it." I touched his bandaged eyebrow. "Thank you for being brave, for being the first."

He blushed in embarrassment. "Come on, now. Lots of people are going to go to the moon: scientists, sociologists, philosophers ... maybe you, maybe your baby. It'll be a tourist attraction one of these days. But if they ask me, as you did, if I wanted to go back, I'll have to say no, thanks, I've done that route."

"I would never, ever, have the courage to go," I confessed, "unless you were driving the airplane. And, as you say, you've already done that route." He grinned, and squeezed my hand. "For you, I might reconsider, but we'd better wait until you fit in the nose cone. Just give me a call."

Our daughter was born the next day. I'd like to tell Neil Armstrong that she grew up fearless and is ready to go, anytime. ■

AFSA NEWS

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AFSA Wins FAS REPRESENTATION ELECTION

With only 17 dissenting votes of the 146 cast, AFSA won the election to be the exclusive bargaining representative for Foreign Agricultural Service Foreign Service employees. The ballots were collected between April 11 and May 23. AFSA now represents Foreign Service employees in four out of the five foreign affairs agencies: State, AID, USIA and FAS. FAS management did not contest the election and in mid-June, AFSA was certified as the exclusive representative of FAS for Foreign Service employees.

The first order of business at FAS will be

for AFSA to negotiate with management a collective bargaining agreement, the framework within which labor and management will work. Once these negotiations are complete, FAS employees in the bargaining unit will begin negotiations on other key issues, including establishing a Partnership Council.

FAS/AFSA is now recruiting members for the AFSA standing committee and other activities. The FAS standing committee will conduct the negotiations; they will be asking for field inputs as FAS/AFSA representatives begin negotiations on substantive issues.

• AFSA Dateline •

AFSA Dateline is a new monthly snapshot of the key actions under way on members' behalf by AFSA staff and volunteers.

- At AFSA's suggestion, the Office of Medical Services has installed an 800 number to handle medical claims inquiries within the United States, including Puerto Rico and the U.S. Virgin Islands. The toll-free number for the Medical Claims Unit is 1(800) 510-9734.

- In a February letter to Secretary of State Warren Christopher, AFSA criticized the department's failure to develop an open diversity plan. Follow-up discussions are proceeding in State's Partnership Council.

- AFSA's Todd Stewart and Bob Chatten are working on the Hill to get locality pay for Foreign Service employees serving overseas.

- AFSA hosted a June 30 meeting to develop a coalition of non-governmental organizations to fight growing neo-isolationism in the United States.

- AFSA is supporting the Foreign Service Grievance Board decision to uphold two C-Board reviews for AID limited career extensions (LCE) and is assisting more than 25 individual grievants who were forced into retirement without the two C-Board reviews.

- AFSA is appealing the Federal Aviation Administration's denial of AFSA's Freedom of Information request to obtain information on unsafe foreign airlines.

- AFSA negotiated a Partnership Council in the Bureau of Broadcasting with management, AFGE and NFFE. AFSA is working on four USIA partnership teams that are reviewing recommendations in the "Just Workplace" task force report.

- AFSA protested to Under Secretary Richard Moose the separation of an FSO for time-in-grade, because the officer was not informed for four years of his low ranking by a performance board.

Continued on page 3

STATE DEPARTMENT

V.P. VOICE

• BY TODD STEWART •

The Future of the Foreign Service

The State Department's Steering Group on Personnel Reform and AFSA's State Standing Committee are both considering what the future role and structure of the Foreign Service should be. The 1980 Act envisions a Foreign

Service which will "assist the president and secretary of state in conducting the foreign affairs of the United States" and "provide guidance for the formulation and conduct of foreign relations." It has been suggested that the generalist officer corps consist of:

- a small top leadership charged with overall management of major foreign policy issues and actions;

- a Senior Foreign Service, from which the group above is drawn, with the mission of providing leadership for operations below top level and senior staff support for top leadership;

- a mid-level grouping, comprising most of the Foreign Service, charged with first-line management of various operations to support the functions listed above and staff support for senior leadership;

- a junior officer corps providing line and staff support for the functions listed above, but primarily engaged in a job-training/evolution process to undertake positions through the mid-level, and into the Senior Foreign Service.

This proposal reflects a familiar picture, for all elements are in the current Foreign Service structure, with the exception of the first. Yes, there are some career ombudsmen at those posts where chiefs of mission still play a crucial role, but FSOs have now disappeared from

FSOs have now disappeared from 7th Floor policy posts, a trend that began during the last administration.

7th Floor policy posts, a trend that began during the last administration. We must, now, contemplate a Foreign Service that plays no major role in the senior-level formulation and execution of American foreign policy. Clearly, such a situation would have important

implications for the kinds of career candidates we would attract and for their training and development.

Does the United States need a Foreign Service which is charged with the senior-level formulation and execution of U.S. foreign policy? A parochial perspective prevents us from answering the question with much objectivity. Yet, I would argue that any administration is equally ill-equipped to reply, for it will have on equally parochial interest in finding attractive positions for political job-seekers. While the president should bear responsibility for individual appointments, the role of the Foreign Service should be decided in a less political (or more generally political) framework.

How can this be done? One possibility would be the appointment of a blue-ribbon commission on the Conduct of Foreign Relations, which would consider this question in a much broader context, including the roles of our various foreign affairs and intelligence agencies.

This bipartisan commission membership would include members of Congress, business leaders, academics and retired diplomats. Out of its deliberations might come recommendations that would overcome parochial tendencies and set forth a generally accepted mechanism for the conduct of foreign relations into the 21st century.

Congressional Update

BY RICK WEISS AND
ROBERT CHATTEN
Congressional Affairs Liaisons

On the appropriations front, the House passed the fiscal year '95 foreign operations legislation for the Agency for International Development. Foreign aid for FY '95 will be \$13.6 billion, a \$400 million cut from President Clinton's request and 5 percent below last year's appropriation. The shrinking of the budget is reflected in the following:

- The FY '95 appropriation is \$6 billion below FY '85; and
- The FY '95 budget of \$13.6 billion is almost 50 percent less than FY '85, or \$25 billion versus \$13.6, if viewed in 1994 dollars.

The House is expected to pass the State, Justice and Commerce bill for State and USIA in June. The appropriations committees under the Congressional Budget Resolution must reduce the president's request by more than \$1 billion.

The House Appropriations Committee approved the FY '95 federal worker pay increase on May 26, which gives federal employees a 2 percent raise and an average .6 percent locality pay adjustment (1.3 percent in the Washington area). The \$700 million price tag is more than the Clinton 1.6 percent hike request.

On health reform, Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.), chairman of the Labor and Human Resources Committee, announced his support for allowing other Americans to buy the same health care offered to U.S. government employees and retirees.

FCS Election Scheduled

The representation election for the U.S. Foreign Commercial Service has been scheduled to begin on July 1. The Federal Labor Relations Authority will mail ballots to all FCS employees. Ballots are due back by August 12. If an FCS employee has not received a ballot by July 18, call Saul Lubitz at FLRA (202) 653-8514.

AFSA DATELINE

Continued from page 1

- President F.A. "Tex" Harris attended the kick-off meeting of the Southwest Retiree Association in Dallas on May 20, organized by retired FSO Bill Cunningham.

- AFSA, the State Department Open Forum, and the United States Institute for Peace are sponsoring a three-day fall session to train 24 foreign policy practitioners in conflict resolution and preventive diplomacy.

- State Vice President Todd Stewart and the State Standing Committee are studying proposals on personnel reform and settlement of the discrimination suits brought by women officers in 1976 and African-American officers in 1986.

- AFSA's USIA representatives are working on the structure of the new Information Bureau.

- AFSA is meeting with Foreign Building Operations (FBO) officials to discuss the A-171 rule, which defines allowances for size of living space overseas depending on region, and employee's rank and family size. AFSA finds the allowance inadequate in some cases.

- AFSA is supporting the State Department's Professional Associates program for expanding spousal employment overseas, but urges that programs be open only to spouses from agencies that have reciprocal programs to hire Department of State spouses.

- AFSA's protest of AID's Personnel Office's willful disregard of the grievance board's orders to remove false and harmful records from employees' files has led to an investigation by AID's Ethics Office. AFSA is now insisting that AID Personnel Office correct damage done to affected individuals.

- Three interns are working in the foreign affairs agencies in the third annual AFSA Minority Internship Program. Maggie Morrero, a graduate student at the University of Puerto Rico, is at AID; Lyndo Kim, a graduate student at The George Washington University, and Yoa Apori, a junior at Mt. Holyoke College, are at the State Department.

AID V.P. VOICE • BY PAT PATTERSON •

Playing Hardball

A train wreck is looming over a critical due-process issue. The Foreign Service Grievance Board has found that USAID's practice of granting a review by only one selection board for individuals facing TIC and LCE deadlines violates the regulations. But AID management has refused to comply with the board's decision, despite its obligation to do so.

Having been unsuccessful in getting AFSA to negotiate away this employee right, the agency has chosen the most unacceptable, confrontational and least "employee-friendly" option available. AFSA was informed on June 6 that Assistant Administrator for Management Larry Byrne, after consultation with the administrator and deputy administrator, had decided that this year's selection boards will receive only the names of those employees whose TICs or LCEs will expire in 1995. In other words, employees will have only one review.

We are at a loss to understand USAID's position. It flies in the face of good judgment, never mind the legal decision of the Foreign Service Grievance Board. In this instance, AFSA had made specific suggestions and provided options to ameliorate the issue without compromising the agency's stance pending AID's appeal to the FSGB or even the Department of Justice. Our sugges-

tions have been rejected. We can only conclude that this has turned into an issue of ego; the denial of due process is certainly not in the employee's interests. We keep repeating to the agency's political leaders that protecting due process is the bedrock of AFSA's responsibility as a union. We cannot permit due process to be denied, no matter the gender, age, race, ethnic status or grade of the members impacted.

This latest action threatens to undo what many employees and AFSA had hoped was an effort by the agency's senior leaders to improve relations with the staff as embodied in the recent, agency-wide staff meeting convened by the administrator in Washington. Now, we are witnessing yet another attack on the Foreign Service. Apparently the administrator doesn't sense how damaging this is in general or how strongly AID employees feel about due process issues.

AFSA is also prepared to play hardball in all fora, judicial or otherwise. We are considering available legal remedies including a federal court injunction against the agency. We are on the high ground. The agency's unilateral rejection of the grievance board's decision is a major challenge to the Foreign Service Act, the Foreign Service Grievance Board, and the Foreign Service as a whole.

Quote/Unquote

“What an effective foreign policy requires is not new tasks for underemployed clandestine operatives, but an adequate and realistic allocation of resources for the diplomats who deal openly with allies and adversaries in building collaborative responses to the challenges of a disorderly world.”

— AFSA President F.A. "Tex" Harris referring to the allocation of government resources in a letter to the Washington Post, published May 22.

RETIREE
V.P. VOICE
• BY DON NORLAND •

Consider Yourself Warned

One thing all AFSA members have a right to expect from their elected leaders is to be given early warning of developments that threaten the Foreign Service as an institution, or retiree interests in particular. This is such a time – and such a warning.

The danger comes from two sources: One is the relentless pressure in Congress to cut spending; the other is the continuing belief that, lacking a significant constituency, the Foreign Service is a relatively soft target for cuts. These are the key considerations that explain why AFSA's veteran Congress-watchers say we face the toughest year in recent memory, with attacks expected on Foreign Service allowances and benefits such as COLAs and post-retirement (WAE) employment for retirees. The fact that these cuts are symptomatic of a broader public disillusionment with foreign affairs generally accounts in large measure for AFSA's strategy of speaking out on basic policy issues.

On May 24 in Hartford, I discussed this strategy at the spring luncheon meeting of the Foreign Affairs Retirees of New England (FARNE). The general conclusion of many attendees, including the directors of two area World Affairs Councils, was that there is an alarming decline in interest in international affairs among the general public and there is a clear need for closer cooperation and interaction among internationally minded organizations. (FARNE president-elect Lewis Haffacker urges all colleagues in the area to participate in thrice-yearly FARNE meetings. For

*Our best defense
is a vigorous
offense – in this
case to highlight
the importance of
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focused overseas
missions.*

information, call Mary Ann Forgit at (207) 775-1742 or AFSA at (800) 704-2372.)

In brief, our best defense is a vigorous offense – in this case to highlight the importance of strong, vibrant, activist, clearly focused overseas missions dedicated to promoting exports, fostering economic development and human rights, projecting democratic val-

ues and leading constantly in the search for successful ways to prevent conflict.

From our members' grass roots perspective, we know that too often these priorities are not now reflected in the staffing of our overseas missions. Indeed, as Tex Harris suggested to the House subcommittee on State Department appropriations on April 28, the problem is that staff and funds don't match the priorities.

As a first step in our strategy to halt the erosion of appropriations for USIA, AID, FCS, FAS and State, AFSA has proposed a review of staffing at selected posts to realign and re-target resources to meet priority objectives. Since this proposal promises to reduce rather than add to budget pressures and shows understanding of the budget climate and the need to control costs, it has been greeted warmly on the Hill and elsewhere.

We believe that this is also the best strategy to preserve and protect retiree benefits by showing that the Foreign Service does more than deal with those narrower issues that are considered parochial and self-serving.

POST REPS WANT CHANGE

Four new members have joined AFSA after the State and AID AFSA representatives met with management on housing, medical and transportation issues at post in Santo Domingo.

Many at the post believed the housing policy was inconsistent and unfair. At the meeting, the DCM said that the ambassador is reviewing the post housing policy and would advise AFSA of the decision. In the meantime, to help alleviate housing problems, the embassy drafted a cable to be sent to all assigned to the post.

Due to budget cuts, the post had to close its medical laboratory, and its only doctor was reassigned. The reps proposed the embassy consider making a local doctor available to U.S. direct-hire personnel and their dependents. The DCM said he would consider this proposal.

The post announced that it will no longer provide transportation to and from the airport for embassy workers except for those newly arriving and departing. AFSA has asked for clarification and reconsideration of this policy on grounds of security and lack of other reliable transportation.

Do you have a post story? Please fax any comments to Labor-Management, (202) 647-0265.

AFSA DATABASE INSTALLED

In order to better serve its 10,600 members, and in anticipation of continued growth, AFSA has installed a new, more powerful database management system. For the next few months, until the system has been fully debugged, members may experience delays in receiving their *Foreign Service Journal* or other mail. Please contact AFSA Member Services with any problems.

304 ACCEPT BUYOUTS

Some 124 State employees have accepted buyouts, 66 Foreign Service, according to State Bureau of Personnel figures. As of May 17, 180 USIA employees had accepted buyouts, 60 more are currently estimated to be in the application process.

As of May 18, FAS was not listed as an agency offering buyouts. Out of the 19 components at FCS, four will offer buyouts, according to an OPM spokesperson.

PARTICIPATION RULES CHANGED FOR AFSA

The recently passed Foreign Relations Authorization Act for fiscal years 1994-5 places restrictions on the movement of Foreign Service personnel between certain positions in AFSA and senior management jobs in the foreign affairs agencies. The act prohibits any individual who has served as an agency management official (e.g., State DAS) or confidential employee during the preceding two years from participating in AFSA management for the purposes of collective bargaining or representing AFSA in such bargaining.

Conversely, any individual who has participated in AFSA management for the purposes of collective bargaining or has represented AFSA at the bargaining table is prohibited for two years from serving as an agency management official or confidential employee.

Management officials include presidential appointees and their deputies (e.g., deputy assistant secretaries of State), Inspector General personnel and employees engaged in labor management relations or the formulation of personnel policies and programs, but managers abroad (including ambassadors) are excluded from this definition. A confidential employee acts in a confidential capacity with respect to an individual who formulates or carries out management policies in labor management relations.

Members should consider these restrictions before deciding whether to run in next spring's elections for AFSA positions involving collective bargaining. Please direct questions to State Vice President Todd Stewart (202) 647-8160.

CAIRO WORKER'S DEATH SPURS AFSA INQUIRY

The death of AID employee Nancy Ferebee Lewis in Cairo on Christmas Day has spurred inquiries on the use of toxic pesticides overseas. A State Department cable subsequently ordered a ban on the use of phostoxin, the pesticide used in Lewis's home, in embassy employees' homes overseas.

AFSA has requested a copy of the inspector general's report.

USIA V.P. VOICE • BY RAZVIGOR BAZALA •

The 400 Club

I was gratified to learn that just last month AFSA membership at USIA crossed the 400-member mark. Less than 18 months ago, just after the election that earned AFSA the right to represent the Foreign Service in the agency, AFSA membership was only 180. Today, that number constitutes more than one third of all Foreign Service generalists and specialists in USIA. This solid increase of more than 100 percent reflects, I believe, a proportional growth in the perception of AFSA as a professional association and union that is making a difference in defending the interests of the Foreign Service at USIA.

The AFSA agenda at USIA continues to expand, to a great extent because of the demands of partnership in the Federal workplace levied by President Clinton's executive order of last October. Also bearing on the Agency and how the Foreign Service does its work are prevailing attitudes within the administration and the public at large toward government operations and their costs.

AFSA at USIA must now cope with a shrinking budget, continuing personnel cuts, the reinvention conundrum and calls for increased diversity on an unprecedented scale. Against this

background, I see partnership playing a useful facilitating role in decision-making at the agency. Recommendations made by the Partnership Council to management are informed by a broader range of views from across the agency than ever before.

As a consequence, decisions will no longer be proverbial rabbits pulled out of management's hat, and employees are likely to have better impressions of how management decisions will affect them. Partnership is not co-management, but it is already shaping decisions here.

However, we cannot rest on our laurels. While it is wonderful that AFSA is 400 strong at USIA, to stay on top of a deepening stream of issues that the agency will face over the next several years, we must continue to grow. Effective AFSA responses to the issues that are shaping the future of the Foreign Service at USIA, particularly restructuring and downsizing, simply require more time, energies and talents from AFSA members.

So, in addition to thanking you wholeheartedly for your outstanding support, I ask that you encourage colleagues who are not yet members to join AFSA today. Keep those cards and letters coming!

Quote/Unquote

“We need a strong defense relationship with every major center of power in the world if we are going to see our way through the next 20 years. One of the important bases on which a new world order will be built is a coalition of serious nations with real military capability.”

— Frank Wisner, undersecretary for defense and ambassador-designate to India, from a June 9 talk at the Foreign Service Club.

1994 MERIT SCHOLAR

The AFSA/AAFSW Merit Scholarship Awards were established in 1976 to recognize Foreign Service high school seniors who have demonstrated academic excellence and outstanding leadership during the past four years.

This year, the 20 merit awards and 12 honorable mentions were given in memory of the late Arthur Perry Shonkle, a former AFSA president, and a Foreign Service veteran of 37 years. Perry served in Ecuador, Spain, Chile, Bolivia, Nossou and Mexico. He served as AFSA president from 1987-89. Shonkle was a model for Foreign Service youth in his friendliness, constant good humor and his capacity to make decisions and take action when necessary.

Funds for the awards are provided jointly by the

American Foreign Service Association Scholarship Fund and the Association of American Foreign Service Women.

High school students who are graduating in spring 1995 and who wish to apply for the 1995 AFSA/AAFSW Merit Awards should request an application in October 1994. The application deadline is Feb. 15, 1995. Dependents of Foreign Service personnel in the State Department, USAID, USIA, Commerce or Agriculture, who have outstanding academic records, are urged to apply. For more information, please contact: AFSA Scholarship Department, 2101 E Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20037.

Each merit winner receives \$750 as well as a certificate honoring her/his achievements.

Following are profiles of each merit award winner.



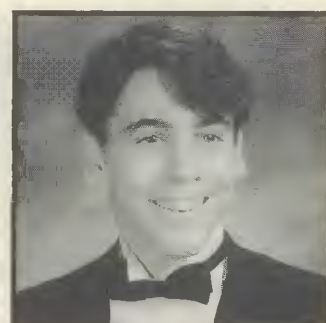
Lise Bitler Adams: Graduate of American Community School in Athens, Greece; daughter of Ellen and Glenn (State) Adams; two awards for academic achievement, essay contest winner; attending the College of William and Mary.



Shannan Ashley: Graduate of McLean High School, McLean, Va.; daughter of Mary (USIA) and Fredrick (State) Ashley; National Honor Society, Nat. French Honor Society, Who's Who Among American High School Students; attending College of William and Mary.



Jaanne Rebecca Bawen: Graduate of McLean High School, McLean, Va.; daughter of John (State) and Mary Bawen; Wesleyan Book Award, Scholar Athlete in Varsity Tennis and Lacrosse; attending University of Virginia.



Edward Derian Boyke: Graduate of Oaktan High School, Vienna, Va.; son of Lindo and Robert (State) Boyke; National Honor Society, National Merit Commendation; attending Honors Program at James Madison University.



Katherine M. Brawn: Graduate of Winston Churchill High School, Patamack, Md.; daughter of Bach Tuyet and David (State) Brawn; National Merit Finalist, National Council of Teacher Achievement in Writing Award, Smith College Academic Award; attending Harvard University.



Ian Caldwell: Graduate of Thomas Jefferson High School, Alexandria, Va.; son of Solly and Ray (State) Caldwell; National Merit and Presidential Scholar Finalist, Swimming Academic All American, Who's Who Among American High School Students, National Honor Society; attending Princeton University.

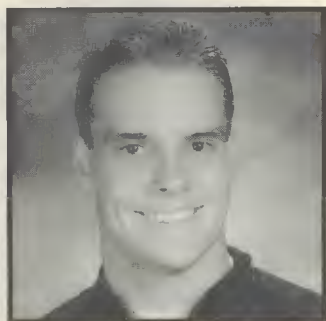


Faisal Iqbal Chaudhry: Graduate of Hockensack High School, Hackensack, N.J.; son of Iqbal (USAID) and Surroyo Chaudhry; Columbia University Book Award, Who's Who Among American High School Students, National Merit Commendation; attending Columbia University.



Jules Cahen: Graduate of Woodrow Wilson High School, Washington, D.C.; son of Monique and Lewis (State, ret.) Cahen; National Merit Commendation, National Science Foundation Young Scholar, National Honor Society; attending Wesleyan University.

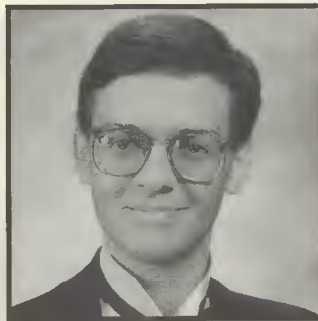
SHIP AWARD WINNERS



Andrew F. Giddings: Graduate of Wootton High School, Rockville, Md.; son of Stephanie and Stephen (USAID) Giddings; National Honor Society, second place winner in Montgomery County Film Festival, State Scholar Semifinalist, National Merit Commendation; attending Tufts University.



Lora A. Harris: Graduate of high school at Alexondro College in Dublin Ireland; daughter of Bannie (State) and Gene (Commerce) Harris; Perrin Essay Award, National Merit Commendation; attending Smith College as a STRIDE Program Merit Scholar.



Brian E. Johnson: Graduate of Centerville High School, Clifton, Va.; son of Linda and David (State) Tonner; National Merit Scholar, Cornell Club Book Award, speaker at closing ceremonies of 1993 Governor's School for Humanities; attending the College of William and Mary.



David Brad Koechley: Graduate of Singapore American School, Singapore; son of Peter (USAID) and Jon Koechley; National Honor Society, National Merit Commendation, Presidential Scholar Semifinalist, Scholar Athlete; attending Cornell University.



Shoshanna Kook: Graduate of Wolworth Borbour American International School, Israel; daughter of Doug (State) and Miriam Kook; National Honor Society English Award, History Award, director of high school musical, "Damn Yankees;" attending University of Virginia.



Stephen Licht: Graduate of Bethesda-Chevy Chase High School, Bethesda, Md.; son of Pamela and Louis (State) Licht; National Merit Scholarship Finalist, Md. Distinguished Scholar Nominee, National Council of English Teachers Achievement Award in Writing; attending Yale Univ.



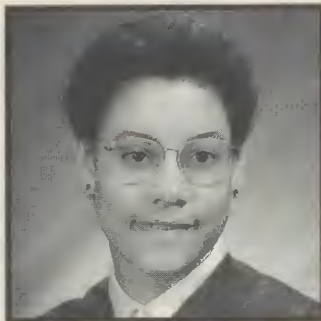
Alma May Limprecht: Graduate of Wakefield High School, Arlington, Va.; daughter of Nancy (Commerce) and Joseph (State) Limprecht; Columbia College Book Award, Academic Achievement Award, various writing awards; attending University of Chicago.



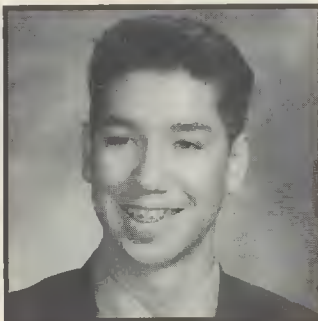
Margaret Reiko MacCallum: Graduate of the American School in Tokyo, Japan; daughter of Alice and Robert (State) MacCallum; National Honor Society, AP Scholar, American High School Mathematics Examination Award; attending the Univ. of Virginia.



Jared Serwer: Graduate of St. Albans School, Washington, D.C.; son of Jacquelyn Doy and Daniel (State) Serwer; National Merit Scholar, Project Excellence Scholar, Winner of Freedom Forum Scholarship from Project Excellence, National Achievement Scholar; attending Princeton University.



Tanya Denise Smith: Graduate of Thomas Jefferson High School, Alexandria, Va.; daughter of Lamonte (State) and Carol Smith; 1993 Research Science Institute Attendee at the United States Air Force Academy (USFA), National Achievement Finalist, Who's Who Among American High School Students; attending USAFA.



Davin K. Quinn: Graduate of Thomas Jefferson High School, Alexandria, Va.; daughter of Le Son and Kenneth (State) Quinn; Scholastic Writing and Arts Competition Finalist, National Merit Scholar, Folger Shakespeare Festival Distinguished Actor Award, swimming awards; attending Princeton University.

James S. Decherd

(Photo not available): Graduate of Hotchkiss School, Lakeville, Conn.; son of Jon D. (State) and Francesco Glossman; Sophomore Year Science Award, National Merit Commendation, founder and co-editor of high school newspaper; attending University of Chicago.

Outstanding Merit Award Essay

THE IVORY TOWER

BY MARGARET MACCALLUM

Following is Margaret MacCallum's outstanding Merit Award essay about life in Manila.

As I shuffled down the hallway, it occurred to me that it was past 2 o'clock and my driver was waiting for me. I strade across the hot pavement to my car and told my driver to take me home. We sped out of the parking lot and turned down the main street, Makati Avenue. The usual scenes flashed before my eyes. A family of speckled chickens pecked at the ground around a cluster of makeshift shanties, the unpainted aluminum siding gleaming in the sunlight. A young mother held a tiny brown infant to her breast and peered through the doorway warily. Nearby a crepe paper kite danced dangerously near a power line as two boys darted through traffic, struggling to keep it aloft.

The entrance to a cabaret stood ajar and music blared out. Inside sweaty bargirls not much older than I practiced their dances for the evening. On the outer wall of the Shell station the red spray-painted words "Bawal umihi dita" (Don't urinate here) stood out conspicuously from the gray concrete. Two attendants played basketball with a grimy rag and a blue plastic bucket of window washing fluid.

Eventually, we came upon an intersection and were accosted by vendors and beggars. A little girl with sullen eyes tapped on the window to my right and offered me leis made of sweet-smelling sampaguita flowers. A threadbare yellow sundress hung on her slight body and her tousled black hair moved with the wind. A swarthy elderly blind man begged for coins, his talon-like fingers scraping against the glass. The cigarette man traveled from car to car, distributing Marlboros, Camels and eucalyptus mints. A shagless young boy entreated me to purchase a pack of Juicy Fruit gum. He

pressed his face on the window to my left. At such close range even the maroon plastic coating could not shield me from his view. My guise removed, we were almost face to face.

"Mam, please mam," he begged. His despair diffused through the glass, but what could I do? Horror stories of fingers bitten off in the quest for rings and torn necklaces made rolling down the window forbidden. But surely this boy was no criminal. He was only a child, a hungry helpless child. Even if I passed him a few pesos, what good would that have done a week or a month from then? Nothing, absolutely nothing. He would fall asleep each night hot, sweaty and hungry. Who's looking out for people like him, the masses of urban poor and starving tenant farmers?

"There's nothing you can do," my mother would say. But why? Why did I have to be trapped behind that window? "Because I told you so." Guilt mercilessly churned my stomach as I dutifully waved him away. I shifted to the middle of the seat, ensconcing myself between the tinted panes of glass that shielded me from the painful reality outside.

As we pulled into the driveway, I bade my driver good afternoon and glanced at the gardeners patiently weeding around the fish pond. Lelia, our maid, opened the imposing mahogany doors and announced that dinner would be ready at seven. The cool air-conditioned atmosphere of the house refreshed me. I picked up my allowance from the table in the foyer and trudged down the hallway to my room. My backpack slid from my shoulders as I shut the door. I looked out the iron-barred window of my ivory tower with regret. I knew that someday I would return to Makati Avenue, this time on the right side of the glass.

AFSA/AAFSW AWARD HONORABLE MENTIONS

The recipients of the honorable mentions receive a check for \$100 and a certificate commemorating their achievements. Following are profiles of each honorable mention.

Theodore C. Ahlgren: Graduate of St. George's School, R.I.; son of Charles (State) and Marianne Ahlgren; attending Yale University.

Martine Becerra: Graduate of the American Overseas School of Rome; daughter of Juan (State) and Phyllis Becerra; attending Sam Houston State University.

Sally Butcher: Graduate of Walt Whitman High School, Md.; daughter of Scott (State) and Carol Butcher; attending Miami University, OH.

Marcus Cleverley: Graduate of The American International School of Johannesburg; son of J. Michael (State) and Seija Kaarina Cleverley; attending the Georgetown School of Foreign Service.

Meredith C. Evans: Graduate of Thomas Jefferson High School; daughter of Jeffrey (USAID, retired) and Judith (USAID) Evans; attending the College of William and Mary.

Brooke Elizabeth Harnish: Graduate of Bishop O'Connell, Va.; daughter of Leslie (State) and Rena (State) Harnish; attending University of Virginia.

Megan Kelly: Graduate of Balboa High School, Panama; daughter of Ingrid and Kevin (USAID) Kelly; attending University of Virginia.

Jared Kurtzer: Graduate of the Hebrew Academy of Greater Washington, Md.; son of Daniel (State) and Sheila Kurtzer; attending Yeshiva University.

Rebecca Sue Morris: Graduate of the Grattan School, Mass.; daughter of Marjorie and John (State) Morris; attending Rice University.

Heidi Stalla: Graduate of Northfield Mount Herman School, Mass.; daughter of Maureen and Stan (USAID) Stalla; attending Stanford University.

Kristine Taft: Graduate of W.T. Woodson High School, Fairfax, Va.; daughter of Robert (Commerce) Taft.

Ivan Jose Wagner: Graduate of West Springfield High School, Va.; son of Jim (State) and Ruth Wagner; attending The Wharton School of Business.

AFSA SCHOLARSHIP NEWS

ANNUAL SCHOLARSHIP BECOMES PERPETUAL

In 1993 Harriet Winsar Isam established an annual Scholarship. In 1994, her generosity made it possible to establish a perpetual scholarship.

A career Foreign Service officer since 1961, she has held political, economic, consular and personnel positions in Malaysia, Indonesia, Niger and Burundi. She was Director of Korean Affairs in the Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs from 1984-86; Charge d'affaires in Vientiane from 1986-89; and Ambassador to Benin from 1990-92. Since 1993, she has been Ambassador to Cameroon.

PERPETUAL SCHOLARSHIP ESTABLISHED FOR ASCH

A scholarship in memory of the late Rose Marie Asch has been established by Nara Fairclough, a lifelong friend of Asch.

Born in Switzerland in 1909, Asch grew up there and worked in a bank during World War II, later working for UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization). She emigrated to the United States in the mid-1950s, becoming a citizen in 1959. She worked for the International Cooperation Administration in Rabat, Morocco providing aid to children. In 1961, Asch joined USAID. She was posted to Tunis as an interpreter and translator. In 1967 she was posted to Saigon as an assistant training officer. She retired from AID in 1969. After retirement, she returned to Switzerland and remained there until her death in the mid-1980s.

PMA RENEWS SCHOLARSHIP

On May 5, Public Members Association President Enach Frankhauser presented AFSA with a check for \$1,000 to be awarded to a college junior or senior studying foreign affairs in the 1994-95 school year. This year's PMA Scholarship will be given in memory of the late Robert MacMillan.

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AFSA SUPPORTS SPECIALISTS

BY F.A. "TEX" HARRIS
AFSA President

Half the professionals in the Foreign Service are specialists in 15 different skill cadres. These groups range from over 800 secretaries and 800 information managers to 10 medical technicians. The refocusing of the Foreign Service's missions, technological changes, downsizing and structural reinvention all will have a dramatic impact on specialists.

AFSA recognizes that specialist issues have not received the negotiating emphasis they deserved in the past. AFSA is committed to remedying this situation.

Changes can only be accomplished through the leadership and participation of Foreign Service specialists working on special interest committees. Change is under way. An Information Management working group is meeting regularly. A secretarial working group is working on the secretarial career package. A nurse practitioners' group is forming to address equity and status issues. A Diplomatic Security working group is beginning to form. Participate - it's your Foreign Service.

AFSA REQUESTS POST-BY-POST REVIEWS

The following is an excerpt of AFSA President F.A. "Tex" Harris's April 28 testimony before the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Commerce, Justice and State:

"We perceive a major and growing misalignment in the resources the country is dedicating to carry out the strong, effective foreign policy and presence abroad which the administration and Congress have said are necessary. We're concerned that the policies and programs which America's elected leadership proclaim don't match up with the resources allocated to allow the professionals AFSA represents to carry them out. I have two bottom line requests. First, I urge you not to reduce the administration's bare bones requests any further. Further reductions would make a bad situation worse. It pains me to say that because I share the conviction of many of my colleagues that in some places we already have crossed a line beyond which we simply can't meet our responsibilities - have gone from bad to unacceptable. I'm asking you to hold the budget line where it is only because I believe there is a solution, which we could

begin to realize through my second proposal: a field survey of selected posts where **all** resources of **all** agencies would be matched against policy priorities. You can't do more with less.

"If you put taxpayers' money on the president's priorities and the secretary of state's exposition of them, you can't judge how well you're doing unless you look at how the resources of the whole U.S. government are arrayed.

"That's a pretentious thing to attempt because it cuts across the bureaucratic and organizational lines of the whole government and the Congress. However, this is being done successfully in [other] key governmental areas. I propose a key first step. Have a survey undertaken of the fit between American policies and resources overseas. AFSA believes that clarifying the role of the agencies constituting the official U.S. government presence abroad, **all** of them, would help ensure that funding for overseas activities is commensurate with changing U.S. policy priorities. ...

"We do ask that you consider the need to match resources to policy in a broader way than has been done so far."

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American Foreign Service Association and Associated Organizations

Combined Balance Sheet
December 31, 1993 (with comparative totals for 1992)

	1993				1992	
	AFSA					
Assets	General Fund	Capital Maintenance Fund	Restricted-Scholarship Fund	AFSA Funds	Combined Total 1993	Combined Total 1992
Current Assets						
Cash and cash equivalents	\$192,380	\$54,901	\$143,676	\$34,974	\$425,931	\$418,042
Accounts receivable, less allowance for doubtful accounts of \$10,000	\$96,559	-	-	-	\$96,559	\$87,441
Interfund receivable (payable)	(\$74,868)	(\$9,628)	\$34,783	\$49,713	-	-
Prepaid expenses and other	\$17,325	-	-	-	\$17,325	\$67,837
Accrued interest and dividends	-	-	\$9,178	\$2,095	\$11,273	\$18,153
Total current assets	\$231,396	\$45,273	\$187,637	\$86,782	\$551,088	\$591,473
Land, Building & Equipment, net of depreciation	\$261,717	\$284,840	\$3,857	\$7,049	\$557,463	\$534,604
Other Assets						
Endowment fund marketable securities	-	-	\$783,458	\$174,000	\$957,458	\$863,928
Marketable securities - at lower of cost or market	\$50,589	-	\$703,258	\$13,420	\$767,267	\$852,075
Total Assets	\$543,702	\$330,113	\$1,678,210	\$281,251	\$2,833,276	\$2,842,080
Liabilities and Fund Balances						
Current Liabilities						
Accounts payable	\$46,194	-	-	-	\$46,194	\$26,125
Deferred revenue	\$212,252	-	\$257,266	\$60,396	\$529,914	\$558,494
Accrued expenses	\$24,024	-	\$350	-	\$24,374	\$19,049
Current portion of mortgage payable	\$33,604	-	-	-	\$33,604	\$1,470
Total current liabilities	\$316,074	-	\$257,616	\$60,396	\$634,086	\$605,138
Mortgage payable, less current portion	-	-	-	-	-	\$194,667
Deferred Revenue	-	-	\$637,136	-	\$637,136	\$637,136
Fund Balances						
Unrestricted						
Undesignated	\$187,628	-	-	\$46,855	\$234,483	\$233,226
Designated	\$40,000	\$330,113	-	-	\$370,113	\$307,985
Restricted	-	-	-	-	-	-
Endowment	-	-	\$783,458	\$174,000	\$957,458	\$863,928
	\$227,628	\$330,113	\$783,458	\$220,855	\$1,562,054	\$1,405,139
Total Liabilities & Fund Balances	\$543,702	\$330,113	\$1,678,210	\$281,251	\$2,833,276	\$2,842,080

Combined Statement of Activity and Changes in Fund Balances
December 31, 1993 (with comparative totals for 1992)

	1993				1992	
	AFSA					
	General Fund	Capital Maintenance Fund	Restricted-Scholarship Fund	AFSA Funds	Combined Total 1993	Combined Total 1992
Revenue						
Membership Dues	\$1,137,504	-	-	\$52,328	\$1,189,832	\$1,043,880
Advertising Sales	\$307,550	-	-	-	\$307,550	\$293,706
Corporate Sponsors	-	-	-	\$121,021	\$121,021	\$141,220
Subscriptions	\$10,211	-	-	-	\$10,211	\$11,970
Gain on sale of marketable securities	-	-	\$46,847	(\$129)	\$46,718	\$44,447
Dividends and interest	\$3,575	\$1,666	\$78,316	\$11,881	\$95,438	\$118,927
Other	\$25,324	-	-	\$1,252	\$26,576	\$40,207
Total Revenue	\$1,484,164	\$1,666	\$125,163	\$186,353	\$1,797,346	\$1,694,357
Support						
Contributions	\$61,355	-	\$91,035	\$66,965	\$219,355	\$175,492
Total revenue and support	\$1,545,519	\$1,666	\$216,198	\$253,318	\$2,016,701	\$1,869,849
Program expenses						
Journal	\$368,187	-	-	-	\$368,187	\$333,445
Labor relations	\$343,148	-	-	-	\$343,148	\$282,079
Legislative action	\$42,310	-	-	-	\$42,310	\$50,172
Club	\$98,528	-	-	-	\$98,528	\$59,478
Outreach	-	-	-	\$202,911	\$202,911	\$199,331
Membership	\$146,085	-	-	-	\$146,085	\$179,608
Election	\$7,427	-	-	-	\$7,427	-
Scholarship	-	-	\$216,198	-	\$216,198	\$197,442
AFSA Fund	-	-	-	\$124,524	\$124,524	\$111,860
Capital Maintenance	-	\$39,538	-	-	\$39,538	\$22,262
Alumni	\$59,327	-	-	-	\$59,327	-
Total program expenses	\$1,065,012	\$39,538	\$216,198	\$327,435	\$1,648,183	\$1,435,677
Management and general	\$304,273	-	-	-	\$304,273	\$351,090
Total expenses	\$1,369,285	\$39,538	\$216,198	\$327,435	\$1,952,456	\$1,786,767
Excess (deficiency) from current activity before capital additions and cumulative effect of accounting change	\$176,234	(\$37,872)	-	(\$74,117)	\$64,245	\$83,082

	1993				1992	
	AFSA					
	General Fund	Capital Maintenance Fund	Restricted-Scholarship Fund	AFSA Funds	Combined Total 1993	Combined Total 1992
Capital additions						
Gain (loss) on sale of marketable securities	-	-	\$38,330	(\$860)	\$37,470	\$4,044
Contributions	-	-	\$55,200	-	\$55,200	\$5,150
Excess (deficiency) from current activity after capital additions and before cumulative effect of accounting change	\$176,234	(\$37,872)	\$93,530	(\$74,977)	\$156,915	\$92,276
Cumulative effect of accounting change	-	-	-	-	-	(\$774,327)
Excess (deficiency) from current activity	\$176,234	(\$37,872)	\$93,530	(\$74,977)	\$156,915	(\$682,051)
Fund balances, beginning of year	\$186,371	\$307,985	\$689,928	\$220,855	\$1,405,139	\$2,087,190
Fund transfers	(\$134,977)	\$60,000	-	\$74,977	-	-
Fund balances, end of year	\$227,628	\$330,113	\$783,458	\$220,855	\$1,562,054	\$1,405,139

Combined Statement of Cash Flows
December 31, 1993 (with comparative totals for 1992)

Cash flows from operating activities

Excess (deficiency) from current activity	\$176,234	(\$37,872)	\$93,530	(\$74,977)	\$156,915	(\$682,051)
Adjustments to reconcile excess (deficiency) from current activity to net cash provided by (used in) operating activities:						
Depreciation	\$30,858	\$30,555	\$835	\$1,641	\$63,889	\$58,931
(Gain) loss on sale of marketable securities	-	-	(\$85,177)	\$989	(\$84,188)	(\$48,491)
Interfund transfers	(\$134,977)	\$60,000	-	\$74,977	-	-
Change in assets and liabilities:						
Increase in accounts receivable	(\$9,118)	-	-	-	(\$9,118)	(\$23,056)
Decrease (increase) in Interfund receivables and payables	\$16,148	\$5,211	(\$24,062)	\$2,703	-	-
(Increase) decrease in prepaid expenses	\$2,062	-	\$48,450	-	\$50,512	(\$51,128)
Decrease in accrued interest & dividends	-	-	\$6,474	\$406	\$6,880	\$480
Increase in accounts payable	\$20,069	-	-	-	\$20,069	\$599
Increase (decrease) in deferred revenue	(\$23,961)	(\$5,000)	\$45,537	(\$45,156)	(\$28,580)	\$940,028
(Decrease) increase in accrued expenses	\$5,509	-	(\$184)	-	\$5,325	(\$15,715)
Total adjustments	(\$93,410)	\$90,766	(\$8,127)	\$35,560	\$24,789	\$861,648
Net cash provided by (used in) operating activities	\$82,824	\$52,894	\$85,403	(\$39,417)	\$181,704	\$179,597

	1993				1992	
	AFSA					
	General Fund	Capital Maintenance Fund	Restricted-Scholarship Fund	AFSA Funds	Combined Total 1993	Combined Total 1992
Cash flow from investing activities						
Acquisition of equipment	(\$14,880)	(\$73,223)	-	-	(\$88,103)	(\$58,654)
Proceeds from sale of marketable securities	\$100,373	-	\$381,408	\$19,414	\$501,195	\$481,616
Purchases of marketable securities	(\$50,900)	-	(\$353,546)	(\$21,283)	(\$425,729)	(\$594,633)
Loss on disposal of equipment	\$707	\$648	-	-	\$1,355	-
Net cash provided by (used in) investing activities	\$35,300	(\$72,575)	\$27,862	(\$1,869)	(\$11,282)	(\$171,671)
Cash flows from financing activities payments an mortgage payable	(\$162,533)	-	-	-	(\$162,533)	(\$1,328)
Net cash used in financing activities	(\$162,533)	-	-	-	(\$162,533)	(\$1,328)
Net increase (decrease) in cash and cash equivalents	(\$44,409)	(\$19,681)	\$113,265	(\$41,286)	\$7,889	\$6,598
Cash and cash equivalents, beginning of year	\$236,789	\$74,582	\$30,411	\$76,260	\$418,042	\$411,444
Cash and cash equivalents, end of year	\$192,380	\$54,901	\$143,676	\$34,974	\$425,931	\$418,042

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POPULATION POLITICS HEATS UP

A ghost hovers over the planning for the United Nations International Conference on Population and Development, planned for Cairo this September. It is the specter of Thomas Malthus and his apocalyptic formula stating that humankind increases geometrically (2,4,8,16) while the food supply increases arithmetically (2,3,4,5).

The corollary, in Malthus's 200-year-old "Essay on the Principle of Population," is that if people don't limit their offspring, famine, wars or disease will kill off the excess population. He's talking about us.

So far Malthus appears to have been wrong globally. Modern agricultural methods have kept food production a step ahead of the growing number of mouths, improvements in health care have kept disease at bay and even the catastrophe of World War II didn't halt the rise in world population. However,

Jim Anderson, a correspondent for DPA, the German Press Agency, has covered the State Department for 25 years.

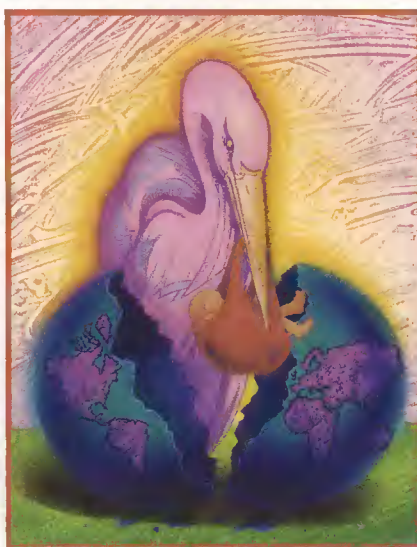
there are parts of the world, mainly in Africa, where his prediction is dead on. Moreover, by the year 2050, some estimates indicate that 12.5 billion people will inhabit the Earth, compared to the 5.6 billion who share it today. As the Union of Concerned Scientists put it: "The earth is finite. Its ability to absorb wastes and destructive effluent is finite. Its ability to provide food and energy is finite. Its ability to provide for the growing numbers of people is finite. And we are fast approaching many of the earth's limits."

Neo-Malthusian disciples, including the Clinton administration, believe that when the factors of environmental degradation and shrinking water resources are added to the equation, the only way to cut consumption is to limit the increase in the number of consumers.

Representing the opposite side in the philosophical argument are the Cornucopians, who see humans as a resource, not a drain, whose ingenuity increases as the competition for resources becomes more keen. They will find a way to survive and prosper as they have in the past.

Between those two polar positions are shadings and variations of other political persuasions, including:

- **The Developing World Caucus:** This group believes



U.S. HEADS TO CAIRO ARMED WITH NEW POLICY

BY JIM ANDERSON

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you can't talk about population control without simultaneously considering development assistance from the richer countries. An official of the Washington-based Population Action International (PAI) says, "For the developing nations, population control is a sideshow. For us it's the main event." As described by Fazlur Rahman, who at the U.N. preparatory meeting represented Bangladesh, the world's most densely populated nation, "One-fifth of the world lives in absolute poverty. For those people, concepts such as gender equality, empowerment of women and reproductive rights are not meaningful without basic living standards."

- **The Vatican:** Its view is formally backed by a small coalition of Latin American countries, with allies from the Moslem world. The Vatican is willing to talk about population control, family spacing and migration, as long as the discussion doesn't encompass contraception — and abortion is explicitly banned. That is a non-starter, since the vast majority of the other delegations, including the United States, believes that legal, safe abortion — if only as a last, undesirable resort — must be available to women. Some Moslem factions oppose anything that interferes with the traditional role of women in the family, which partially coincides with the Vatican view.

- **The Libertarians:** Allies of the Cornucopians, they believe that if there is a problem, it is in the intrusion of government into the most intimate of human relations: procreation. If only government would stay out, people could work things out themselves.

- **The Feminists:** This group, not all of whom are women, argues that contraception is a human right since it gives women freedom over their own destiny. They believe that there is a direct relationship between such things as girls staying longer in school and having fewer children. This school argues that a vital part of population control is adolescent sexual education, including access to contraceptives. The argument is weakened by the lack of a clear correlation between availability of contraceptives and a

drop in the birth rate in all locales. As the age of sexual maturity decreases and the number of young people increases, one-fifth of the world's population soon will be sexually active teenagers: That's 1 billion kids capable of having kids.

All these combatants meet in a battlefield where statistics are two-edged swords. For example, according to the U.S. Bureau of the Census, 10,000 new human beings are born every hour. The same Bureau of Census profile says 6,000 people die every hour, but the mix of births and deaths in western Europe is not what economists would hope for. The traditional population pyramid, which looks like a triangle for the developing world (many children at the base, dwindling to a few elders at the apex), looks totally different for western Europe. It resembles a 1960s necktie. It is uniformly skinny from childhood to dotage, meaning there are more people receiving pensions than there are teenagers joining the workforce.

In such a world where figures can be variously interpreted, where the same cause does not produce the same effect in every country, there is one indisputable point: World population is increasing, mainly due to longer lifespans and in spite of civil wars and fatal diseases, such as AIDS.

What is different about the arguments in this decade's conference, compared to those in 1974 and 1984, is that the United States — the largest aid donor on population issues, with \$585 million in the current budget request — has changed its policy in the last two years. Since the United States represents about 25 percent of the world's national spending on population issues and has an ice-breaker effect on other nations, such as Japan, which has increased its contributions 10-fold in response to the Americans' lead, that represents a seismic shift. Abortions, under that new formula, should be safe, legal and rare, a sharp turn from the Reagan administration, which adopted the Vatican view of opposing abortions and certainly not financing them with U.S. taxpayer money.

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*Under Secretary for Global Affairs Tim Wirth says
President Clinton's policy on abortion is simple:
Abortions ought to be safe, legal and rare.*

In the broad terms of the political argument, that would make the present administration neo-Malthusian, while the Reagan administration, slightly modified by the Bush years, was made up of Cornucopians, who believe that more people is preferable to supporting government-funded abortions.

The State Department, with its new Bureau of Global Affairs under former Colorado Sen. Tim Wirth, is setting the policy, and the Agency for International Development (AID), under Brian Atwood, is carrying that policy out.

"First of all, the terminology is enormously important," notes Wirth. "The language we are using is population stabilization, not population control. Nobody wants to be controlled. Nobody wants the government telling them what they should do.

"In the Cairo conference, our goals are three-fold: to mobilize resources from the developed community, so that countries that wish to embark on population programs will have the means with which to do so; to define family planning programs very broadly to include not only traditional reproductive health information and means but also child survival, education of women, responsibilities of men and women's access to the full range of reproductive health-care services. We know those programs work. Also, we are beginning to work on delivery mechanisms as increased resources become available from international financial institutions, such as the World Bank. ... Those resources can be well-packaged and used. Those are our three goals."

The opening statements at April's preparatory meeting for the Cairo conference suggest that the attempts to reach a bland consensus will not succeed. Wirth says only 10 percent of the draft

final document is bracketed (unsettled issues are enclosed by brackets to be dealt with later), but those matters are explosive — abortion and contraception. Like theology, the argument involves moral and ethical issues that are unlikely to be easily resolved.

Nafis Sadik, secretary-general of the conference, tried to head off a collision with the Holy See in the draft statement with language which spoke of "eliminating the need for abortion and providing women with the means to determine their own fertility," meaning access to contraception, something that is now available to 59 percent of couples in the world.

Pope John Paul II wrote to Sadik, "What is at stake here is the very future of humanity." He later expressed his anxiety in letters to all 189 participating governments that the majority positions at the preparatory population conference were immoral and "the product of a permissive and hedonistic culture." He did not mention the United States. He didn't have to.

The Vatican continues to support the use of "natural" contraception, such as the rhythm method, something that drives organizations like PAI into a frenzy. "The Holy See is accepted as a nation as a member of the conference, but it encompasses about three square city blocks," complains Dr. J. Joseph Speidel of PAI. "How can they pretend to dictate to the rest of the world?"

The Vatican may not have much geographical territory, but it does have vast moral influence over church members who may not follow every precept of the church, but may allow church doctrine to sway them on family matters. However, the Vatican appears to have been outmaneuvered procedurally in this conference. The final document at Cairo will be adopted by consensus,

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giving each of the 189 countries a theoretical veto over the final product. But there is an escape clause that permits two-thirds of the countries to require a vote on a contentious, unsettled issue. Abortion is one of these. It is assumed that the Vatican would prefer not to have a show-down vote, since its position, according to State Department vote counters, is only supported directly by four small countries, such as Benin and Cote d'Ivoire.

The Vatican is also expected to curtail any debate over the controversial French abortion pill, RU 486, whose French manufacturer recently agreed to donate its patent to the New York-based nonprofit contraceptive research organization, the Population Council, which will seek an American manufacturer. The pill, which is expected to obtain approval from the Food and Drug Administration by 1996, may be used eventually in more than 40 percent of U.S. abortions. The pill has been widely used throughout Europe for five years.

But Wirth, who notes that President Clinton's belief on abortion is that it be "safe, legal and rare," is confident an agreement can be brokered with the Vatican.

"We have found lots of areas of mutual interest with the Vatican on the issues of the size and spacing of families," Wirth says. "There's a tremendous area of agreement. Obviously the Vatican is never going to agree on something that suggests an agreement on abortion. They're just not going to do it. But they're not in the mainstream of where the world is. Out of 189 countries, 172 legally approve abortions. I believe that it will be possible to arrive at a consensus at Cairo, nonetheless."

The argument about freedom of choice in abortions and other issues treads into another mine field, human rights, best exemplified by China's position. The Chinese statement in the preparatory conference was contradictory, and suggests that an internal debate about population control, like so many other things, is still unsettled between the prag-

matists and the ideologues. One sentence stated that the "formulation and implementation of population policies is the sovereign right of each nation." But another sentence in the same statement read: "Coercion in family planning programs, whether physical, economic or psychological, is a breach of human rights and can never be acceptable; all individuals have the basic right to choose when and if they will have children."

That appeared to confirm that China, with its 1.2 billion people, is selectively moving away from its 1979 official "one child per couple" policy and is permitting some couples, especially in rural areas, to have two and three children without economic penalty or forced abortion.

Other countries also see the population issue through the lens of their people's own experiences and problems. Peru's delegation wanted drug trafficking and terrorism to be included in the final document because those factors "had worsened the situation of great portions of the population." The delegate from Croatia thought it should include an issue of great importance to her country — ethnic cleansing.

For activist organizations such as the PAI, population is the starting point for a whole series of policies, including guarding the environment, conserving water and giving women equal access to education. They see Haiti as a frightening glimpse of the future of overpopulation, a country which has crashed because too many people caused degradation of the land.

Strategists, such as some of the contributors to a new Brookings study, "Global Enlargement," believe population growth is one of the key dynamic factors that the United States — seen as the only feasible superpower capable of dealing with destabilizing security threats — will face in the unsettled post-Cold War world. Other factors involve the uncontrollable spread of military and information technology.

If the pattern of recent American economic statistics can be applied globally, the richest 1 percent of the world's population is getting richer by about the same amount that the poorest 20 percent saw their incomes decline. The poor are not only get-

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ting poorer, but also more numerous, a prophecy seen by the Brookings study as an explosive formula for disaster.

Some of 23 U.S. delegates to Cairo hope to see the Cairo conference produce more than just a consensus document that could be largely ignored. Some participants want to see the meeting conclude with a pledging document that encourages nations to commit themselves to certain levels of population stabilization funding. The State Department believes that has already occurred, with the Japanese pledging \$3 billion over seven years for population projects and related issues. Others, like the European Union, are also signing on.

One of the differences between this year's conference and the previous ones, is that women, led by the formidable feminist Bella Abzug, are a majority in the 23-member American delegation; and, the secretary-general of the conference is a woman. Another difference is that non-governmental organizations (NGOs) will be given a greater

share of the responsibility for making policy and carrying it out.

In the libertarian view, even birth control information and contraceptives being given out by NGOs is unacceptable, since the organizations are usually dependent, to some extent, on the largesse of some government. "NGO really means a government by another name," says Sheldon Richman of the libertarian CATO Institute. "If people are economically and politically free, they overcome their problems."

The opposing views, however they differ, agree that people tend to have fewer children when they are materially better off and have more education, which is a point on the side of the developing nations caucus and why the word "development" is part of the conference title.

However, even a lower birth rate is not a universal cause for celebration. In places like western Europe and Japan, where the fertility rate has dropped well below the replacement rate of two



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children per family, citizens see their future threatened for a different reason. Since people are living longer, there will be fewer and fewer people of working age to pay the bills for the rising number of pensioners. Germany, for example, sees a serious fiscal crisis that may finally kill its long-established social welfare system, which is the basis of its stable politics. In a crowded place like central Europe, it is seen as a Hobson's choice: Either have more children and add to your living costs in an expensive economy, or don't have children and contribute to the dissolution of your pension.

Economists have been dealing with the same dilemma since Thomas Malthus' day. Another scholar, William Forster Lloyd, wrote about the "tragedy of the commons." In theoretical terms he talked of the universal benefit in preserving the unmanaged common resource (such as the "common" pastureland in an English township). But at a certain point, when demands increase faster than the existing resources, he noted, the

individual self-interest is served by a "help yourself first" attitude.

So it is with population. Excess humanity may be a general problem, but even in overcrowded cities, there are individual benefits to having a big family.

Would availability of contraception change that in African countries in the same way it does in Asia? Apparently not, according to some studies, raising questions about whether to put the available money into contraceptives, better child care or education of women.

In Somalia, as we know from a bitter education, people tend to remain in extended families, or clans. In Mogadishu the rule is: the bigger the family, the more firepower, the larger the clout. In Cairo, since members of the extended family vote the way the clan elder suggests, he can increase the "subsidy" he collects from the ruling party.

The late Tip O'Neill has correctly observed that all politics is local. That goes double for things like population control. ■

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WHICH U.S. POLICIES WORK?

Wherever population experts gather, an inevitable theme of discussion is the need for vastly increased funding

for global family planning efforts. The Preparatory Committee Meetings for the 1994 Cairo conference on World Population, held at the U.N. over the last year, have been no exception, with delegates agreeing that world spending to curb population growth should be more than doubled in the next decade. Ominous demographic projections have convinced most about the need for new family planning efforts, but before legislators around the world appropriate billions of additional dollars in population aid, they will need to be assured that such funds will be well spent.

As with any development program, there are no guarantees of success when it comes to family planning programs. However, after 30 years of trial and error, population experts now feel more confident than ever of their ability to get results from well-financed family planning projects. They point to success stories around the globe, cite

the huge unmet demand for contraception among married couples in developing countries, and talk of more comprehensive strategies to reduce fertility rates that center on empowering women.

For many years it was believed that economic and social development were prerequisites to halting population growth. "Development is the best contraceptive" was a phrase often heard after the 1974 World Population Conference in Bucharest and was an idea that engendered cynicism about high spending on family planning programs in the absence of good socio-economic conditions.

Today, nobody disputes the importance of overall development in curbing population growth, but there is also mounting evidence that good family planning programs can be effective in even the poorest of countries. A recent *Scientific American* piece, for example, analyzed data drawn from demographic surveys of more than 300,000 women in the developing world to conclude that the access to and availability of contraception is the single most important factor in explaining the variation in differing fertility rates among countries.

While acknowledging that many factors accounted for a one-third decline of Third World birth rates over the past three decades, the



BOB LYNCH

THE CHALLENGES OF LIMITING POPULATION GROWTH

BY DAVID CALLAHAN

David Callahan is a freelance writer in Princeton, N.J.

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authors stressed that this demographic transition has occurred far faster than that experienced in past eras by developed countries, with family planning efforts serving as the chief accelerator. In countries such as Thailand, Indonesia and Kenya, the "pervasive adoption of family-planning methods and dissemination of new ideas have caused fertility (rates) to decline so rapidly that it may be more accurate to speak of a reproductive revolution than a demographic transition," the authors noted.

Beyond the general lesson that family planning works, the last few decades have yielded a variety of insights into how programs in this area should be structured for maximum effectiveness and sustainability. Central among these is that simply providing contraceptives is not enough; support apparatuses must also be created. "We know more now than we did 10 years ago about the importance of having counseling, good follow-up and that kind of thing," comments Faith Mitchell, coordinator of population policy at the State Department.

Without the important elements of outreach, information and on-going support, programs can run into trouble. On this point, J. Joseph Speidel, President of Population Action International (PAI), a research and advocacy group in Washington, D.C., cites lessons learned with the IUD, a commonly used birth control device in some Third World countries. "The IUD's reputation can be tarnished very rapidly if there's no way to get the side effects taken care of and no way to have it removed if you're unhappy with it."

Speidel observes that the most important condition for adequate support is that family planning programs be accessible — geographically, financially and psychologically — and that they be integrated into broader health care efforts. Population experts also emphasize the importance of offering several different birth control methods and stress that media campaigns can be successful in promoting contraceptive use by women and men.

These lessons have not been lost on AID officials. Whereas outside experts often criticize the troubled agency for how it handles other develop-

ment issues, AID receives high praise for learning how to build better family planning programs. With experience in the field dating back to the mid-1960s, AID is widely perceived as running the most effective population assistance program of any donor country. Most recently, under Brian Atwood's leadership, AID has committed itself over the next few years to spending 21.5 percent of its development assistance budget on family planning programs. Additional money will be spent for experimental programs in reproductive health; AID also has created a new Center for Population, Health and Nutrition that works on the linkages between family planning programs and other health efforts.

AID has earned a reputation for its scientific approach to what many see as a moral issue. The agency has spent more than \$100 million in the last two decades to produce more than 60 demographic surveys on 50 countries' population growths, which have become the standard data for population programs around the world and have helped set world standards for data collection on fertility and health characteristics in developing countries, according to Harriet Destler, evaluation officer in AID's Center for Development and Evaluation.

Perhaps the most significant development in the population area over recent years has been the growing emphasis on the empowerment of women. Experts have long argued that educating women and creating a more liberalized political environment in regard to gender were crucial steps for controlling birth rates. But never before has this thinking been so central to official policy. It is mentioned frequently by U.S. officials like Wirth and Atwood, stressed endlessly by Nafis Sadik, head of the United Nations Population Fund, and has been a major theme in the preparatory meetings for Cairo.

Claims about linkage between education and birth rates are based both on common sense and new data. Elizabeth Maguire, acting director of AID's Office of Population, has stressed that "female education is a critical long-term determinant of health and fertility behavior. Sexuality and gender ... are closely interrelated and together affect women's ability to achieve sexual health and

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control their fertility." Better-educated women are more likely to know about birth control and use it, they are more likely to be assertive on the issue of family size, and they take better care of themselves during pregnancy and after childbirth, thus reducing infant mortality rates.

Lending credence to this view are studies that correlate the empowerment of women in given countries with falling birth rates. A 1993 report by Population Action International, for example, suggested that average family size and child death rates were lowest in countries such as South Korea and Sri Lanka which "combine strong family planning and health programs with high levels of education for women. Conversely, family size and child death rates are highest in those countries which combine low female educational levels with weak family planning and health programs." This is true of countries such as Ethiopia, Pakistan and Malawi.

At the third and final preparatory meeting for Cairo, in April, a draft of a Programme of Action was adopted that calls for raising annual spending on population-related programs from \$5 billion currently to \$17 billion by the year 2000. This total includes core family planning services, reproductive health care services, prevention of sexually transmitted diseases, and demographic and policy research.

Projections of future resource needs in the population area are based upon estimates of the worldwide demand for contraception. "We now have very good data that suggest that in virtually every country in the world there is unmet demand for fertility control," comments Sharon Camp, a former PAI vice president who is now a Washington, D.C.-based consultant on population issues. "And in many countries there is also unmet demand for more

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BANGLADESH & PAKISTAN

Success and Failure in South Asia

BY DAVID CALLAHAN

Perhaps the most important front in the fight to stabilize population growth is South Asia. India is fast on its way to passing China as the most populous nation on earth; Pakistan is now the third-largest annual contributor to global population growth; and Bangladesh, with more than 115 million people living in a flood-swept country the size of Wisconsin, is already desperately overpopulated.

Major international family planning efforts have been undertaken in South Asia over the past three decades, but the results have varied widely, particularly in Bangladesh and Pakistan. Experiences in these two countries, both predominantly poor and Muslim, have important implications for population aid policy.

Bangladesh is often cited as one of the success stories in the family planning field. Between 1980 and 1991, the average number of children borne by Bangladeshi women declined from 6.8 to 4.2, a drop of 38 percent. During the same period, contraceptive use in the country doubled from fewer than 20 percent of married couples to 40 percent. These gains have come amid conditions long thought to be inhospitable to declining birth rates, namely unmitigated poverty, lack of

David Callahan is a freelance writer in Princeton, N.J.

*The success in
Bangladesh can
be traced to a 1976
national government
decision to
make family
planning a
national priority.*

education, and the low status of women. The success of the Bangladesh effort can be traced back to a decision made by the national government in 1976 to make family planning a national priority.

A high level of political commitment, which all experts agree is crucial for the success of family planning, made possible aggressive rural outreach efforts, the use of mass media to create awareness of population growth and to promote contraception use, and successful collaboration between

Bangladesh government officials and international donor organizations for continued support of the program.

Nonetheless, Bangladesh's success is more modest than that of countries such as Thailand, Colombia and Indonesia, where fertility rates have declined by more than 45 percent in the past decade. Moreover, it still has far to go to reach an acceptable level of population growth; at the current rate of growth, Bangladesh's population has the potential to nearly double by the middle of the next century.

"There is still a job to be done in Bangladesh," says Elizabeth Maguire, acting director of AID's Office of Population. "There is a continuing need to expand the range of services and improve the quality of services and work on the empowerment of women."

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Even with continued commitment at both the national and international levels, the ultimate chances of making further strides in limiting Bangladesh's population remain unclear. If birth rates do not continue to fall through the next decade, it could come to symbolize the limits on family planning efforts in the absence of socio-economic progress.

During the 1960s, Pakistan showed signs of becoming a leader among developing countries in working to stem population growth. But over the last two decades the political commitment needed to sustain such efforts has faltered, and Pakistan now is considered a disaster area by population experts. With a population of more than 120 million and a 3.1 percent growth rate that adds nearly 4 million people a year, Pakistan could double its population in just 23 years. Population aid has barely made a dent in this rising tide. "There has been substantial donor support over the years for family planning programs in Pakistan, but the level of contraceptive use is still only 12 percent," observes Sharon Camp, an independent Washington, D.C. consultant on population issues.

The problem is not a lack of demand; surveys show that more than a third of Pakistani women want no more children. However, Pakistan has never made the investment in a rural health infrastructure that can provide family planning services on a wide scale.

"There's nothing out there on the ground," says Camp. "A lot of the support for family planning programs has been at the rhetorical level and a lot of the funding that has been made available has been dissipated in poor quality programs that never really reach down to the lower levels." In rural areas, as few as 5 percent of couples have access to family planning services.

The situation in Pakistan is widely seen as underscoring arguments about the importance of empowering women as a means of

limiting population growth. The female literacy rate in Pakistan is just over 20 percent and some 79 percent of Pakistani women have received no formal education. The political environment in Pakistan remains hostile to women's rights, despite the past successes of Benazir Bhutto in winning the highest office in the land. In large part this is due to the latest upsurge in the last decade of Islamic fundamentalism, a phenomenon which is typically accompanied by societal setbacks in the areas of reproductive rights for women.

Another factor, according to the World Bank's 1993 "World Development Report" is female education. In 1990, girls' educational levels at the primary school level were substantially higher in Bangladesh than in Pakistan — a 68 percent primary school enrollment ratio for Bangladeshi girls, compared to 26 percent for Pakistani girls, defined as percentage of the age group enrolled.

The situation in Pakistan is not entirely hopeless. At the 1992 Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro, Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif expressed strong support for efforts to limit population growth; his government subsequently announced plans to step up family planning programs.

The United States has had difficulty in consistently providing foreign assistance to Pakistan over the past 15 years because of that country's pursuit of nuclear weapons. Frequent ruptures in aid flows have badly hampered efforts by AID to implement family planning programs. Now, according to plans announced earlier this year by Atwood, the AID office in Pakistan will be closed.

To population experts, the best strategy for meeting the demographic challenge in Pakistan is to dramatically step up assistance to local NGOs that can reach people in the rural areas, but AID has no plan to direct population aid through such channels. ■

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Continued from page 40

choices and better care." Extrapolating from survey data, more than 120 million married women of reproductive age who do not want children are estimated to not be using contraception.

The overall use of contraception in developing countries is now at 51 percent, and it is estimated that if all the demand for family planning was met, that figure would increase to 60 percent (70 percent is the norm in developed countries). Under such a scenario, fertility rates would fall from the average of four children per woman to two. The *Scientific American* article estimated that this decline would reduce the population growth rate in the developing world, excluding China, from 2.3 percent a year to 1.6 percent. This decline, say the authors, would mean the population of the developing world would be 5.1 billion in the year 2025 instead of 6.5 billion.

Beyond the goal of increasing the prevalence of contraception use, new resources are needed

to just keep up with the growth of couples of reproductive age. "By the year 2000, about 200 million more women will be added to the 800 million sexually active women of childbearing age in the developing world in 1990," estimates a report by PAI.

With the world's population increasing by 90 million people every year, few now question the need for a major infusion of funds into family planning efforts. But it is unclear how rapidly new spending can be phased in and some experts counsel the need for gradual increases.

Another reason for gradual increases is to insure that the burden of paying for new population aid is equally distributed. The United States is already the single largest donor of population aid, accounting for 45 percent of all funds. Camp says that the United States should be wary of moving too much further ahead of other countries and instead use the promise of increases "as leverage to get others to do more." ■



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WILL OVERPOPULATION KILL THE ENVIRONMENT?

S ometime near the turn of the century, a small band of moose left the northern Minnesota wilderness to try their luck on the frozen expanse of Lake Superior. It must have been a harsh winter. Lake Superior freezes in its entirety only two or three times a century, but that year the ice had to have been particularly thick, and the moose had to have been particularly hungry, because they walked at least 15 miles, all the way out to the richly forested Isle Royale. They found a paradise there: A blanket of evergreen shrubs carried them through the cold months, and in the spring all the ponds on the huge island were covered with water lilies. By the late 1920s, just before the Great Depression, the moose population had grown to about 3,000. But the lilies and the moose's favorite shrub species, the yew, were now in short supply, and within half a decade food scarcity had caused the moose's population to crash. According to a study done in

the early 1930s by the naturalist Adolf Murie, only about 500 — or one-sixth of the population — had survived.

The Isle Royale die-off is a starkly vivid illustration of what scientists and other analysts mean when they say that populations are constrained by the resources of their environment, by their habitat's "carrying capacity." As adaptable as we are, and as large as our habitat might seem, humans, too, face certain limits: After all, we live on a small island in an ocean of lifeless space. And the Earth's environmental resource base,

under the influence of mountain-moving *homo sapiens*, is already showing signs of serious stress, from water scarcity to air pollution to soil erosion. If our population gets big enough for us to surpass the Earth's carrying capacity, the results could be just as sudden, and just as catastrophic, as they were on Isle Royale.

Fortunately, we have learned to stretch our limits. Because we can change our environment and even create some of our own resources, our actual numbers do not always determine the carrying capacity of our habitats. When human populations in certain places became so large that they could no longer hunt and gather enough food to sus-



BOB LANCE

CONSERVING AND SHARING RESOURCES ARE KEY TO EARTH'S SURVIVAL

BY AARON SACHS

Aaron Sachs is a staff researcher at the Worldwatch Institute, an environmental organization in Washington, D.C.

F O C U S

tain themselves, they learned to cultivate the land. And when local fuelwood supplies started to run low, people learned to burn coal, or oil, or dung. With luck, our ability to develop new technologies will continue to give us more resource options; and, today, our wide-reaching economic systems also allow us to trade resources.

The Earth's ultimate carrying capacity for humans is virtually incalculable, then, since the quality, quantity and accessibility of resources are constantly changing. Yet we must continually acknowledge the existence of some sort of limit, and try to evaluate and understand it. The breathing room afforded by technology and trade is by no means infinite. Technology might be able to buy us time, but it often has a price: While increasing the availability of one environmental resource, it might erode the quality of another. Burning coal and oil, for instance, though it saves fuelwood, pollutes our air and water and harms our forests. It even has the potential to change the Earth's climate. And international trade allows populations that consume resources from far away places to ignore the actual impact of their consumption on the environment. Accordingly, every country in the world is starting to believe that it can become a net importer of grain, wood, fuel and any other raw materials it might need — which, of course, is a logical impossibility. Each rich country that uses its technological advantage to stretch the limits of its national carrying capacity is hampering a poorer country's ability to stretch its limits.

“**O**verpopulation” has never killed anyone. In fact, according to the United Nations, most governments that single out population as a policy problem refer not to total numbers but to a skewed distribution of both people and natural resources. In Canada, 90 percent of the population lives along a narrow band parallel to the U.S. border; in per-capita terms, Canada is also the world's foremost producer of municipal and industrial wastes.

A high population density, then, can be quite significant in and of itself: In today's world, a cer-

tain number of people living together in a city has a greater impact on the environment than do an equal number of people spread around the countryside. But a high population growth rate is dangerous only because of its potential to multiply the effects of other trends. In most cases, it isn't a root cause of environmental stress. Stabilizing our population wouldn't necessarily stabilize our environment, because it wouldn't necessarily make our technologies cleaner, or make the poor less desperate for resources, or even reduce overall consumption.

Many arguments citing population growth as the central cause of environmental degradation and resource scarcity are not really arguments. Typically, advocates just present the facts about population growth in the 20th century, which are truly impressive, juxtaposed against the facts of recent environmental damage, also truly impressive. Then, instead of actually trying to prove that one trend caused the other, they merely refer suggestively to common sense. Still, no scientific study has separated out overpopulation as a contributing factor to environmental degradation.

Perhaps the most obvious alternative cause of environmental degradation is our consumption of natural resources. To see the different environmental impacts of our consumption, we must break it down into a quantitative category — exactly how much we consume — and a qualitative category — how we consume it, or what technologies do we use to satisfy our needs. On the most basic level, rates of resource consumption simply do not correlate with rates of population growth. Today, 75 percent of the world's population live in developing nations, where the rate of natural demographic increase is about 2 percent per year — compared to 0.4 percent in the industrialized world. Yet developing nations consume only 14 percent of the world's aluminum and chemicals, 19 percent of the world's paper, 24 percent of the world's timber, and 25 percent of the world's energy. On a qualitative level, it would follow logically that the “overpopulated” developing world is responsible for similarly small shares of the damage caused by alu-

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In the next 30 years, 95 percent of population growth will be in the developing world, yet most energy consumption increases will still be in the industrialized world.

minum mining, the water pollution caused by chemical use, the deforestation and biodiversity loss fed by the demand for paper and timber, and the air pollution caused by the burning of fuel for energy.

Energy use reveals graphically how consumption patterns tend to overshadow population growth in causing environmental degradation. According to current projections, about 95 percent of the next three decades' worth of population growth will occur in the developing world. Yet research indicates that most of the growth in energy consumption during that time period will still be in the industrialized world.

If we truly want to improve the breathability of our air, slow the build-up of greenhouse gases, and conserve fuel resources for the future, we have to do two crucial things that have nothing to do with population size: dramatically reduce energy consumption in the industrialized world — perhaps through a system of taxes that would force consumers and industries to cover the full environmental costs of their activities — and share our cleanest energy technologies with the developing world. The Earth's environment could support a much larger number of energy users if their economies were based on the efficient use and storage of wind and solar power.

Consumption patterns, of course, are largely determined by the distribution of wealth — so the recent widening of the gap between rich and poor has been a crucial factor in the spread of environmental degradation. In 1960, the wealthiest 20 percent of the world's people claimed about 70.2 percent of global income, compared to 2.3 percent for the poorest 20 percent. By

1989, the share belonging to the wealthiest people had risen to 82.7 percent, while the poorest's share had declined to 1.4 percent.

The rich, whose access to powerful and often destructive technologies allows them to stretch their limits and feed their habit of overconsumption, do far more harm to our natural resource base than any other class of people. And the poor, while consuming a disproportionately small quantity of resources, are often forced to do a disproportionately large amount of qualitative environmental damage just to meet their basic needs. The average American, for instance, consumes about six times as much grain as the average Tanzanian — largely because it takes several kilos of grain to produce one kilo of meat. Meanwhile, many impoverished Tanzanians might have to grow crops or graze cattle on highly erodible land to obtain what little food they do eat.

Land tenure is another key to environmental degradation. The problem of decreasing land availability, which often leads to deforestation on the fringes of society, may appear to be caused simply by overflows of people. In Brazil, for instance, where the rate of deforestation is notoriously rapid, impoverished frontier squatters looking for land to slash, burn and abandon are certainly causing some of the damage. But the Brazilian government, multinational corporations and local land barons fell forests on a much larger scale.

For one environmental scarcity issue after another, solutions seem to depend much more on the redistribution of people or resources than on slowing population growth. This analysis holds true even for the original carrying capacity issue — global food supply. Thanks to the Green

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Revolution in agriculture, food production has actually outpaced population growth for most of this century. Unfortunately, we may not be able to continue using the high-intensity agricultural systems that the Green Revolution made possible, because they demand so much water, chemical fertilizers and pesticides. Cropland is eroding away or becoming overly salinized and our ability to get more food from less land may be hitting a plateau. More than a billion people in the world today are undernourished. As Robert Repetto of World Resources Institute notes, however, "It is important to recognize that widespread chronic malnutrition and famines in the Third World are typically not due to global, regional, or even national food shortages, but rather to poor households' inability to purchase the food that is potentially available."

Policymakers trying to address food scarcity,

then, should perhaps spend less time focusing on population issues and more time fighting poverty. We also need to examine the international debt, which forces developing-country governments to subsidize cash crops for export, the profits from which go mostly to large landholders. Many of the world's hungry are former small-scale farmers who now have few ways of earning income because their land was bought by richer proprietors with cash-crop operations. To blame hunger solely on environmental limitations and developing-world population growth is to avoid confronting the smoldering issue of global inequity.

An examination of our population's thirst, however, has very different policy implications. Fresh water is perhaps our most important natural resource, since it is the very

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8:30 A.M. Walked 2 1/2 blocks to meeting at State Department.



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basis of life. But water is different from food in that we have not figured out good ways of increasing its supply or of transporting it. The hydrological cycle provides only a certain amount of water each year to a given location — so only a certain number of people will be able to survive there.

In many developing-world societies, which face arid and semi-arid conditions all year round, many people and many economic sectors would still experience water scarcity even under a system of equitable distribution. Already, more than 25 countries have been officially categorized as “water-scarce” by hydrologists — they possess annual supplies of less than 1,000 cubic meters per person. And, unfortunately, many of these nations also have very high population growth rates, which puts additional direct stress on water resources.

Though desalinization of ocean water presents some hope, it is still prohibitively expensive and causes serious environmental problems due to massive energy demands. Besides, it is not even an option for nations not located on a coast. To cope with water scarcity on a global level, we need to invest in conservation technologies — drip irrigation, for instance — and commit ourselves to a conservation lifestyle, and we also need to stop polluting our existing water sources. Just as importantly, though, we need to slow population growth. If current trends continue, according to international water expert Sandra Postel of Tufts University, by the year 2000, “the total number of Africans living in water-scarce countries will climb to 300 million, a third of the continent’s projected population.”

Today, our food supply would be adequate to nourish our entire world population, if we could muster the political will to reduce excess consumption by the rich and improve distribution to the poor. But once we reach the point at which we are no longer able to expand our food production, if our population growth rate has remained the same, each person will suddenly have less food to eat. Population growth will have become the most important cause of global food scarcity

It may be time to turn our focus away from the impact of our population on the environment, and instead examine the impact of a degraded environment on our population. Already, in some cases, resource scarcity has led to violent conflict, which in turn causes both increased mortality and migration — or population redistribution.

“Fighting arising from disputes over irrigable land in the Senegal River basin has pushed thousands of Senegalese and Mauritanian refugees across their common border in both directions,” according to Kathleen Newland, the principal author of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees’ “State of the World’s Refugees 1993.” Especially when international migration occurs between a developing nation and an industrialized nation, tensions tend to run high. International migration is perhaps the most important political issue today in Europe, and in many countries backlash against foreigners is creating a climate of resentment, distrust and sporadic violence.

The history of environmental devastation in Thailand reveals the extent to which our accepted development priorities are threatening our survival. In general, Thailand is viewed as the epitome of a successful developing country, for two key reasons: It has maintained a dramatically high economic growth rate over several years, and it has dramatically lowered its population growth rate over the same period.

Yet Thailand’s problems have by no means disappeared. Much of Thailand’s rural population, about 80 percent of the country’s total population, lives in poverty. In the past, many rural people derived their income and food from forest products, such as charcoal, bamboo shoots, wild mushrooms, squirrels, even edible toads. Small-scale subsistence farmers also depended on forests to provide breaks against soil erosion and to regulate natural irrigation systems. But the Thai government, eager to earn foreign exchange through the export of valuable agricultural products, encouraged timber companies and land barons to lay waste to the country’s

FOCUS

woodlands over the past few decades. Thailand now has about half the forest cover it had in 1961.

Thailand's booming sex industry hosts one of the worst HIV/AIDS epidemics in the world, and yet the Thai government continues to wink at the sex industry—while never failing to collect its 16 percent tax on every “entertainment” transaction. Some researchers say that up to 75 percent of Thai men have visited a commercial sex worker, and the sex workers are highly mobile, tending to migrate back and forth between cities and rural areas: conditions are perfect for the transmission of HIV.

Official estimates put the total number of HIV-infected Thais at 600,000 to 700,000, well more than 1 percent of the population. In general, in the developing world, where HIV is almost always spread through heterosexual sex, the

virus has the potential to disrupt entire economies, because it tends to hit the people who are in their most economically productive years. Mortality rates are expected to increase so much that life expectancy will dip by 30 years.

The highest increase in Thai mortality, over the next decade and a half, will be among young women in the sex trade. There is a new saying in the red-light districts of Bangkok: “At 10 you are a woman, at 20 you are an old woman, and at 30 you are dead.”

When human populations surpass the carrying capacity of their environments, our leaders—the only ones with enough power to do the requisite environmental damage—are generally to blame. But the most powerless, most marginalized people are generally the first to suffer the consequences. ■

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COPING IN BISHKEK

MEETING THE GORES, FIXING TOILETS:
ALL IN A DAY'S WORK FOR THIS GSO

BY SHAWN DORMAN

I must apologize for not writing in a more personal way to each of you. I am simply too busy worrying about broken toilets, flooding apartments, plane-loads of furniture, and where to procure gasoline in a fuel-less country.

I just got here, and I feel like I've been here forever. I love it here, and I hate it. I am surrounded by awe-inspiring mountains, and sometimes the pollution is so bad the toxic fumes are visible in my apartment. This is an exciting and hopeful time in the life of this little country, which is falling apart as the infrastructure crumbles under the weight of the Soviet states' death.

The non-Kyrgyz are emigrating. Unfortunately for this country, the Russians, Germans, Jews and other non-Kyrgyz make up most of the professional and working class. Many facilities are shutting down, as hospitals find themselves without qualified doctors, schools with few teachers and factories with no workers. Bishkek used to be mostly Russian. A settlement, if you will. The Kyrgyz were in the mountains tending their sheep. Now they have come down from the hills in great numbers, but many do not understand how to work in a city.

I live in a nice apartment in a building built for Soviet ministers. My neighbors are mostly retired Kyrgyz communist elite. Nice people. My

upstairs neighbors have about a thousand grand-kids. On a good weekend, they invite everyone over and one of the sons unloads a live sheep from the trunk of his car and marches her up five flights of stairs to be slaughtered in the apartment.

My first month here was dedicated to the visit of U.S. Vice President Al Gore. I was the site officer for the airport, which meant I spent a lot of time freezing on the tarmac waiting for planes to arrive, planes that either came in early, were delayed or were canceled altogether because of weather.

I remember I worked 40-some hours without sleep. Gore was due in on Monday. We expected his car plane with the sniffing dogs and the jump plane with the rest of the advance team the day before, but they never came. I had met my workers and 10 extra laborers and four big rented trucks at the embassy at 6 a.m., only to hear that the car plane was not coming until 2 p.m. So we sent everyone home until 11:30 a.m.

To kill time, Zhennia, the driver, and I went to the car market outside of town, where people gather on early weekend mornings to buy and sell cars and car parts. I test drove an ancient Lada. The old man who owned it was not happy about having a woman drive off with his car, since women here do not drive. After I returned it, he couldn't get it to work again. I swear I did nothing wrong. So we quickly moved on, and I found a dirt-colored, 4-wheel drive Niva jeep with a

Shawn Dorman is the general services officer in the U.S. Embassy in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan.

broken windshield. I have since bought this ear, and will enjoy it immensely until it gets stolen, which most ears in Bishkek do eventually.

We went back to the embassy to wait. We followed the path of Air Force II by radio to learn our fate. At 6:30 p.m. we got a call from the plane. They had made a second pass at Almaty in the fog and would be on the ground in 30 minutes. We were 40 minutes from the airport, so the plane was already on the ground when we arrived, and the tarmac was a sheet of ice. We all just slid around the plane, trying to be helpful. There was no security, except the surprise of the landing, which was probably the best security possible. President Askar Akayev was there with all the other local leaders on the red carpet. The national guard was in formation.

I was there until 4 a.m., while Gore and Co. were having a lovely intimate dinner of horse meat at the president's residence. Overnight, the Kyrgyz built a yurt and in the morning presented Gore with a horse. Like a true statesman, he did not gnaw on the leg, but sat on the horse for a photo op.

On a good day, my job is a challenge. On a bad day, it is a nightmare. These days come in equal numbers. The job is just too much for any one mortal to do. Everyone knows this, and says yes, it is an impossible job, good luck and by the way, when are you going to fill in that hole in my bathroom wall?

I hold a daily morning staff meeting for the 11 people I manage, most of whom do not speak English. It helps me focus, but they still do not quite get the concept. Mostly I go over the plan for the day. When I ask for feedback, they say they agree with me. When I ask what they accomplished the day before, they say they did everything I told them to do. But we are all learning.

I go to parties and get cornered by people to talk about water heaters or washing machines. I can never go the ladies' room at the embassy because I always get pulled over by someone with a new need or problem. Shawn, I need xerox toner, some pens and a water filter, these boxes need to be moved, here is a list of the 20 things wrong with my apartment, oh and don't forget to meet that plane coming in at 6 a.m. This is the fate of the general services officer. But I also get to learn about Kyrgyzstan from the regular peo-

ple, the people who work in customs, at the airport, at the gas stations.

Recently, a referendum was held to determine if voters were still for Akayev. The government reported some 96-percent voter turnout, mostly for Akayev, even if most people here do not appear to like him. One man described Kyrgyzstan as a cold house. If you vote for Akayev, the house will remain cold and without heat. But if you vote against, the house will fall down altogether.

Kyrgyzstan is a nature lover's fantasy, with lovely, snow-covered mountains, lakes, rivers. Yesterday I went horseback riding for the first time and we had a beautiful ride through the woods in the deep snow.

I recently tried skiing, another sport I have not attempted in a decade or so. The skiing part was manageable, but the rope tow almost killed me. You put a stick (attached to a moving cable) between your legs as a seat and hang onto a metal hook attached to a rope, and you get whipped up the mountain. I got near the top and heard a grinding noise as my rope was sucked into the motor above me. I was lifted up towards the motor, my hands stuck in the rope, and was smashed into the poles holding up the cable. I thought my end had come. Luckily the rope snapped and I was let go. As I was recovering from my ski fight, Giorgi, our escort who had designed the ski lodge, skied off the mountain by parachute. This I will save for another lifetime.

And so I must close. Of course, since mail never actually leaves here, this is a silly exercise. We are more at the end of the line than I imagined. The nearest "real" airport is a four-hour drive away, across a mountain range.

Remember to write me, call me and e-mail me often. If you come to visit, I promise to kill a sheep in your honor and present you with the head. ■

*On a good day,
my job is a
challenge. On a
bad day, it is a
nightmare. These
days come in equal
numbers. The job
is just too much
for any one
mortal to do.
Everyone knows
this, and says yes,
it is an impossible
job, good luck.*



BOOKS

WISDOM ON U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

Beyond the Beltway: Engaging the Public in U.S. Foreign Policy

Edited by Daniel Yankelovich and I.M. Destler, W.W. Norton, 1994, \$28.00, hardcover, 315 pages.

BY DANIEL O. NEWBERRY

It is now a year since the American Assembly held its conference on "Public Engagement in U.S. Foreign Policy After the Cold War." The objective of that conference was no doubt to coach the then-newly inaugurated president on the importance of his being attentive to public opinion and on the power he has for shaping and leading the public on foreign policy issues. Many think the president still has much to learn, especially the desirability of leading rather than being led by public opinion.

Beyond the Beltway presents a dozen of the papers given at Arden House. Of the dozen authors, some are in government. All are in one way or another insiders, if not physically working inside the beltway, then intellectually "inside" the East Coast foreign policy establishment — Cyrus Vance, David Gergen and Ernest Wilson, for example. The rest of the contributors include a list of the pundits pontificating on television or writing op-ed articles on the

collision of foreign policy and public opinion.

To some colleagues who have missed all this, the collection of articles will serve as a useful reference point for revisiting the subject. The working analyst or position-paper writer also ought to be glad to have the conventional wisdom from those who are probably still feeding their ideas to the Clinton White House. Whether the president is heeding their advice is a separate question.

One can also question whether some foreign policy issues can wait for the president to rally the nation to consensus. The shallow perceptions of foreign policy issues that inform much of the public make it likewise doubtful that fickleness will soon fade from the read-out of opinion-poll barometers on key foreign policy questions. Such worrisome thoughts show up in every chapter.

To help the *Journal* reader who might nevertheless want to consider the book, a sampling of subject headings might help: "Adjusting to Changing Domestic Circumstances, Shared Responsibility" [multilateralism], "Environmental Policy," and "New Economic Relationship with Japan."

The final chapter rather lamely and, considering who its authors are, uncharacteristically puts a big share of the burden on the public, who, they say, must be ready to do the hard work of sorting out the pros and cons of foreign policy deliberations. Only then, they conclude, can

leaders take responsibility for fashioning and implementing policy with any confidence that it can be sustained.

With the experts passing the buck, can professional diplomatists be faulted for being dismayed?

Daniel O. Newberry, a retired FSO, addressed public groups on foreign affairs in more than 20 states during his Foreign Service career. He is a former executive director of the Bureau of Public Affairs in the State Department. He is a member of the Journal's Editorial Board.

THE REALITY OF THE REAL WORLD

The Real World Order: Zones of Peace, Zones of Turmoil

By Max Singer and Aaron Wildavsky, Chatham House, 1993, \$16.95, paperback, 203 pages.

The Cold War and After: Prospects for Peace

Edited by Sean M. Lynn-Jones and Steven E. Miller. The MIT Press, 1993, \$16.95, paperback, 397 pages.

BY JOHN D. STEMPEL

In the post-Cold War period, the study of international affairs might properly be given the subtitle, "Search for a Paradigm." As most politicians and many statesmen

BOOKS

have discovered over the past few years, just achieving agreement on what the international system is, or looks like, is as difficult as deciding what to do.

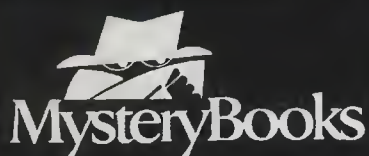
Max Singer and Aaron Wildavsky have produced a clearly written, brilliant essay on what the "real" world system is, and what the United States should be doing about it. They say that the post-Cold War world can not be understood unless it is viewed as two areas — the zones of peace, which compose the principal industrial democracies; and the zones of turmoil, which cover the rest of the world. The zones of peace, with 15 percent of the world's population, operate on a geo-economic basis where political relations

are not dominated by military power, and conflict does not lead to war. Meanwhile, in the zones of turmoil, poverty, war, chaos and anarchy still dominate international relations as they have for millennia.

The collapse of the Soviet Union has left no power challengers on the horizon for the United States. Nuclear weapons are considered defensive only, except for their possible use by terrorists. Singer and Wildavsky predict no war within the zones of peace, and argue that minimal involvement in the zones of turmoil is the best strategy as those areas sort themselves out and move toward development and democracy over the next century.

They believe that "traditional

prudent internationalists" are too obsessed with the zones of turmoil, and are therefore too pessimistic about the future. Poverty, war and anarchy have not gone away, but "processes are under way that have a fair prospect of removing these historic evils, if we have the patience to wait another century or so." Singer and Wildavsky suggest America's foreign policy goals should be to keep international trade as open as possible; protect our citizens against others' efforts to give their citizens special advantage; participate with other democracies to limit violence and encourage democracy in the zones of turmoil; and engage in long-term systematic efforts to improve international institutions.



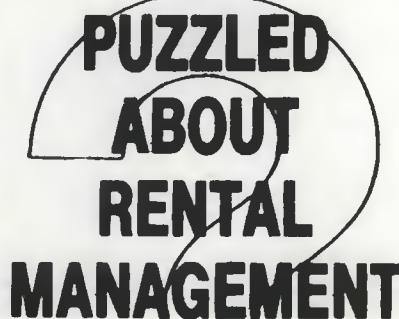
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BOOKS

The pair seem a bit too ready to dismiss security problems in the zones of peace, particularly the political impact that terrorist incidents, for example, may have on public opinion and government behavior. Their exhortation to minimize intervention in the zones of turmoil, with the exception of some highly sensible words about not becoming hooked on creating stability in Russia, are not as precise as their discussion of the zones of peace.

The chapter authors in *The Cold War and After* provide some of this precision. While they do not necessarily agree with the whole of the Singer/Wildavsky analysis, their articles support most of it, especially in discussing Europe. John Mueller concludes that war in the developed world is obsolete. Stephen Van Evera suggests that the real danger to Europe stems from the potential collapse of Russia and wholesale disorder in the newly independent states of the former Soviet empire. Here, he challenges the Singer/Wildavsky thesis, by suggesting that such disorder could pull down, or seriously destabilize, the zone of peace in Europe.

Christopher Layne questions the sustainability of U.S. primacy and believes the United States must adjust to a multipolar world rather than maintain an aggressive quest to retain primacy. Robert Jervis goes further, saying international primacy is not worth the cost; Sam Huntington, unsurprisingly, believes it is. In the final essay, John Lewis Gaddis assesses the performances of theoretical approaches to international relations and concludes that none predicted the end of the Cold War with enough precision to dominate intellectual discourse.

Both books are certain about one thing: Diplomacy and foreign policy-making have shifted away from the

technical questions of foreign policy which dominated the accepted framework of Cold War bilateralism. Today both citizens and policy makers must deal with much more fundamental, less quantifiable issues of the international system and the United States' place in it. Although neither book provides the "ultimate paradigm," both are excellent.

John D. Stempel, a retired FSO, heads the Patterson School of Diplomacy and International Commerce at the University of Kentucky.

JAPAN RETHINKS ITS WORLD ROLE

**The Japanese Question: Power
and Purpose in a New Era**

*By Kenneth B. Pyle, American
Enterprise Institute, 1992, \$17.95,
hardcover, 146 pages.*

BY JACK SHELLENBERGER

Domestic politics in both the United States and Japan underwent unexpected upheavals during the two years since publication of *The Japanese Question*. A sitting president was turned out of the Oval Office; in Japan the long-ruling Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) was displaced by an unprecedented reform coalition of seven political groupings including former LDPs and Socialists.

The stage was thus set for Japan, at least, to address what author Kenneth Pyle calls its "power and purpose in a new era," occasioned by the collapse of the Soviet system. Despite this seminal event, the bilateral dialogue between Washington and Tokyo, for the most part,

BOOKS

remained locked on the nitty gritty of trade deficits/surpluses and market access. Moreover, after less than nine months in office, Prime Minister Hosokawa Morihiro, despite high public approval ratings, stepped down amid rumors of questionable financial dealings.

Beginning with the postwar period and the economics-first policies of Prime Minister Yoshida Shigeru, Pyle focuses on public figures who considered their country's no-war constitution, imposed by occupation authorities, as both a boon to inhibit militarism and an embarrassing excuse to be mute in world affairs.

Given this sort of point/counterpoint swing, Pyle summons up a metaphor for Japan, that of Janus, the Roman god with two faces. "One face looks forward to the new century. ... and the face of the other Japan is strong looking back over a century-long struggle to achieve world power."

Pyle contends there is a need to establish "a realistic new U.S.-Japanese equilibrium ... and to ponder the shape of a new security order in the western Pacific that is less exclusively dependent on U.S. resources, one that would seek the constructive engagement of China in the collective security of Asia."

The idea of the American cop walking the Asian bear as Japan dispenses aid "is not viable in the long run," argues Pyle, who believes, "it is not in the American interest to try to keep Japan as an abnormal country," a country whose security is dependent on another. What would be viable is "an organization of Pacific nations of which the U.S.-Japan alliance would serve as the core." ■

Jack H. Shellenberger, a retired USIA Foreign Service officer, is president of the Japan-America Student Conference, Inc.

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POSTCARD FROM ABROAD

Weaving A Dream in Romania

BY NORIE FLOWERS

The women entrepreneurs needed to sell carpets, and the CLO (community liaison officer) at the U.S. Embassy in Bucharest saw a good opportunity for embassy personnel. So it all began, the friendship between the embassy and the women from Tirgu Jiu.

Ileana Geolgiu, a Romanian engineer and artist, and Mirela Roventa, a graduate of cybernetics, decided several years ago to create a company of their own to make and sell handmade Romanian carpets.

Geolgiu put her home up for collateral in exchange for a loan from a Romanian bank, an almost unheard of achievement for a woman in Romania. They hired 12 female weavers and secured part of an old, dilapidated, unheated building in the town of Tirgu Jiu. For weaving, they crowded into one room, the warmest location; for hanging the yarn, they chose the attic, the driest place.

The women had faith that their dream would come true. In the unheated building, the dozen weavers were often hunched over their looms, gossiping and talking among themselves as their arms worked over the colorful yarn.

They knew they had a product that would sell, but they had no idea about how or where to market it. When Geolgiu and Roventa tried to sell their carpets locally, they found little interest, since state coopera-

Norie Flowers is the CLO in Bucharest.

*It was the break
the carpet ladies
had been
waiting for.*



tives sold similar products at rock-bottom prices. But weavers who sold their products to the middleman — the national government — could not earn living wages from their work, and the women from Tirgu Jiu had to make a living. They dreamed of exporting their carpets to the United States, but without most-favored-nation (MFN) tariff status for Romania, the 45-percent U.S. customs duty made their carpets uncompetitive on the foreign market.

But they were determined. They brought shipments every month to the embassy to sell to employees. Private American business owners soon asked to purchase the carpets. This arrangement went on for a year. For the struggling concern, the CLO sought business advice from various agency experts, who recommended that the women learn how to develop an export market and be ready for the day Romania would be granted MFN status again.

During the next year, the women's luck changed. Two marketing experts from the first group of Peace Corps volunteers in Romania taught Geolgiu and Roventa how to find their niche in an open-market system. And in November 1993, the United States reinstated the country's MFN status, five years after it had been pulled because of human rights violations.

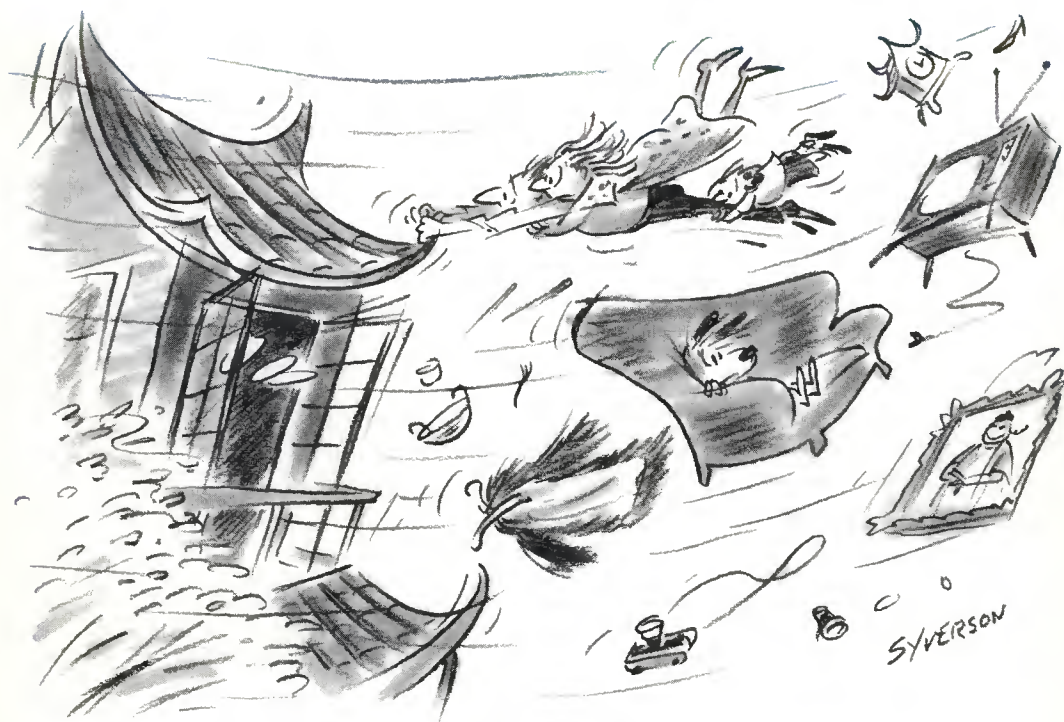
It was the break the carpet ladies had been waiting for. Within a short time, companies in three U.S. states expressed interest; contract negotiations began shortly thereafter. The first 12 carpets were sent this past Christmas.

Customers were pleased with the geometric and flowered carpets woven from natural dyed wool, many of whose patterns had been in these women's families for centuries.

Business is booming so much for Geolgiu and Roventa that they expect to hire another dozen weavers. Ultimately, they would like to open a school for weavers, which would provide the training necessary to put hundreds of women in the area to work.

The women from Tirgu Jiu are pioneers in a country just beginning to understand the principles behind the terms "private enterprise" and "open market." And, after establishing one of the first woman-owned businesses in Romania, the two have become role models for other women interested in starting their own companies. ■

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