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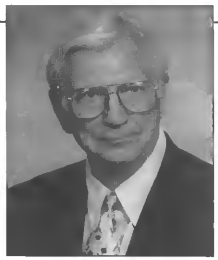

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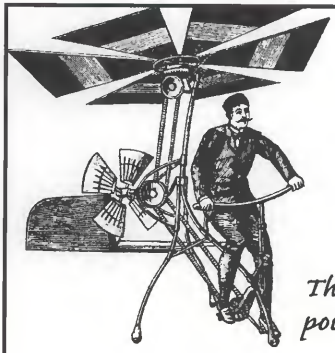

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President's Views

A Matter of Life and Death

By Dan Geisler

The Clinton administration appears unwilling to take responsibility for the safety of Americans serving their country abroad. Despite the president's statements calling for adequate embassy security, the Clinton administration failed to request the funds needed for embassy security in its fiscal year 2000 budget. This failure could ultimately cost the lives of more Foreign Service officers and specialists, more citizens of other countries who work in our embassies abroad, as well as family members, colleagues and innocent bystanders.

Last January the statutorily mandated Accountability Review Board headed by Adm. William J. Crowe (Ret.) blamed the Nairobi and Dar Es Salaam bombings on a "widespread failure" of the Congress and the executive branch to provide adequate funds for security for the embassies and residences that make up our overseas missions. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright acknowledged her personal role in the failure and has lobbied the president for additional funds, telling him that it should be his most important priority after saving Social Security. But apparently the secretary did not prevail. The budget request clearly shows that overseas security is not a high priority in the Clinton administration.

Dan Geisler is president of the American Foreign Service Association.

> *Terrorists are probing for soft spots and planning new attacks right now.*

The Crowe report recommended spending $1.4 billion per year — less than one tenth of one percent of federal spending — during the next decade to make U.S. diplomatic missions safe. But for FY 2000, the administration requested only $36 million for embassy construction. This would halt several critical projects now under way. These projects can't wait. As we have seen in countries as diverse as India and Uganda, terrorists are probing for soft spots and planning new attacks right now.

The administration also asked Congress for a $3 billion advance appropriation, to be spent in fiscal years 2001 through 2005. Advance appropriations are perilous budget strategy mechanisms; we fear that nobody will ever see the money. Even if Congress agrees, the request is backloaded, with more than half the money scheduled for disbursement in 2004, two presidential elections from now. Moreover, the administration plans to hold foreign affairs spending fixed at present levels throughout these years. It expects the State Department to take embassy construction funding from its operating budget. This will create enormous pressure to forgo security. This sort of budget pressure is precisely what led to the bombings in Kenya and Tanzania.

Admiral Crowe severely criticized the administration's spending plan, warning that it would ultimately cost lives. "The idea that we cannot outspend the terrorists or defeat them runs counter to our history and spirit," he said.

The men and women serving abroad in U.S. diplomatic missions are very clear about what they need. We accept the risky nature of our work. We do not want the State Department to build only hardened fortresses far removed from the heart of the cities where we work. We recognize the need to strike a balance between being safe and being able to operate effectively to achieve our goals.

AFSA understands that the administration is considering revising its grossly inadequate budget request for funds to build safe overseas missions. That is the only responsible course the president can take. The only responsible action from Congress will be to ensure adequate, long-term funding to protect Americans serving their country abroad. This is a matter of life or death. ■

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LETTERS

Central America, Clarified

My comments in a letter to the editor in the January *FSJ* about events in Central America nearly two decades ago possibly were not as oblique as I had intended concerning my recollection of Foreign Service discipline at the time. (I wrote that an FSO "publicly disobey[ed] clear instructions" and "publicized sensitive, ill-gotten information.")

Guidance, formal instructions or lack thereof from the department on occasion obviously may give rise to interpretations or subsequent actions or statements by officers which may or may not entirely coincide with the intention or policies of the department. Furthermore, if anyone were to infer that the action(s) of any officer(s) may not have been in full accord with relevant statutes, any such conclusion would be both unintended and without warrant.

Michael T. Barry
FSO, Retired
Colorado Springs, Colo.

Stopping Genocide Early

The December *Foreign Service Journal* arrived the day after I finished Dr. Neil J. Kressel's book, *Mass Hate: the Global Rise of Genocide and Terror*. Kressel examines the psychological conditions necessary to enable apparently normal human beings to direct and/or participate in genocide. He emphasizes that most participants in these grisly affairs would probably not have been diagnosed with any clinical psychoses.

Kressel notes that with hindsight, signs of the impending disaster can usually be identified: e.g., the demonizing or dehumanizing of the target group by the political leaders, and the dredging up of old injustices, real or imaginary, committed by the target group to create resentment against them and encourage the belief that "reprisals" are justified.

I want to make two points that are relevant to the Foreign Service. First, it is obviously far more desirable to prevent genocide in the first place than to go through the messy and usually ineffective process of dealing with it once the terror has begun. To this end, recognizing the early signs of the process at work should be a major objective of our diplomatic missions, especially in unstable countries where political power is monopolized by authoritarian regimes or is being fought over by competing groups. Our reaction to them should be prompt and vigorous. Obviously, closing our embassies in politically fragile countries won't help.

Second, the best way to prevent genocide is to encourage democracy, the rule of law, and a climate where victims of violence can believe that justice will be done. Anyone familiar with past efforts to replace authoritarian governments with functioning democracies knows what a daunting task this is, especially where a democratic tradition does not exist. However, I expect Neil Kressel would applaud John Shattuck's recent efforts to shift the focus of conflict resolution to the prevention of genocide. Shattuck's efforts should be supported.

The vacillation and impotence which governments in "civilized" countries, including our own, have displayed in the face of recent mass killings should not be an acceptable response to these events.

Bonnie M. Lincoln
FSO, Retired
Fort Myers, Fla.

Olsen and the Law

I continue to be befuddled by the court's decision in Olsen v. Albright (November *Journal*). I am sure I am not alone among the many lawyers serving in the Foreign Service who recognized a slight analytical problem with the court's reasoning.

The court concluded that São Paulo's nonimmigrant visa policies were "in violation of law," but the court failed to identify what law had been violated.

If the excerpt of the court's decision in the *Journal* was accurate and complete, the court considered but rejected the possibility that São

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Paulo's policies violated the U.S. Constitution. Instead the court based its decision on the fact that "throughout the latter half of the 20th century, Congress moved away from such discriminatory policies." But the provision of the Immigration and Nationality Act cited by the court prohibits discrimination in the issuance of immigrant (as distinguished from non-immigrant) visas. So, exactly what law did São Paulo's non-immigrant visa policies violate?

The court's decision seems to rest on the fact that São Paulo's policies simply offended the court's sensibilities as to what is fair. But if our courts are allowed to create immigration policy based on what they think is fair, then all immigration controls are potentially subject to attack. Regardless of where you stand in the policy debate over immigration, that policy should be established by the executive branch and the Congress —not by the courts.

Richard M. Johannsen
Political Officer
U.S. Embassy Paris

Editor's Note: *Judge Stanley Sporkin cited the Administrative Procedures Act (noted in the article) as his basis for overturning the decision of the Foreign Service Grievance Board. The specific citation (omitted in the article), was paragraph 706(2)(a). However, Sporkin says only that the act supports Olsen's "right to voice his objections to these policies and not be discharged for refusing to apply them." The Administrative Procedures Act does not, we believe, say anything about immigration procedures.*

Whose "Best Practices"?

Once again I hear the expression "best practices" bandied about by State Department management — this time in connection with the consolidation of USIA, ACDA and State. I remember well that "best practices" was prominent in the grab bag of management principles used to launch the Strategic Management Initiative a few years ago. Then as now, however, the department has been unable to focus on at least one "best practice" learned long ago by U.S. companies with overseas operations, and more recently by some of our more innovative foreign affairs agencies: using well-trained, loyal, and highly motivated national employees to perform functions traditionally carried out by Americans on a foreign assignment.

Opportunities exist to improve our use of these valuable employees across a whole range of activities. This "best practice" would result in substantial savings, and contribute to what I thought was an ongoing department goal of reducing the number of U.S. citizens assigned to our embassies. Another benefit would be to narrow the gap between our rhetoric concerning the professional development of FSN employees and the reality.

Making the kind of long-lasting changes in an embassy's operations which reduce costs and improve efficiency and customer service often takes years to implement. To succeed, these efforts require the oversight of managers who have a vested interest in the outcome. That is to say, managers who are there long enough to follow through on reforms, and who know they will have to live with the consequences of their decisions. Too often, the changes wrought by American managers are conceived with a time horizon coinciding with the length of their assignment and are akin to rearranging the furniture. (How many times have we heard a local employee tell us, "But this is where this wall/section/etc. was located five years ago, and now you

want to move it again?!")

AID and USIA succeed in creating management teams in which American and national employees work together as professional colleagues. Not surprisingly, these organizations have also been characterized by high morale, efficiency, and good customer service. I would suggest that we use the consolidation exercise as an opportunity to seriously evaluate this management model, and determine whether it can be adopted as a "best practice" by the Department of State,

Mark Young
Financial Management Officer
U.S. Embassy, Vienna

A Biased Scorecard

I find that most Republicans, rightly or wrongly, assume that a majority of FSOs are biased in favor of the Democratic Party and that this bias is even stronger in AFSA. And I suppose that many Democrats have similar suspicions regarding the biases of military officers the other way.

The January issue of the *Journal* seems to feed the image with its overall air of condescension toward an ignorant Congress that must be educated. The scorecard on individual senators and congressmen is, in my view, especially unfortunate given the low grades doled out to most Republicans contrasted with the high grades accorded most Democrats including some of the most partisan and domestically oriented members. If the grades were based only on issues of direct concern to the professional Foreign Service, that would be one thing — although one might argue the effectiveness of such tactics in eliciting more favorable performance. But the inclusion of issues on which even knowledgeable professionals have disagreed slants the exercise mightily to the administra-

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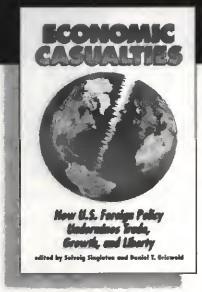

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tion position which may or may not be quintessential wisdom.

Take the issue of NATO expansion, for example. Many thoughtful people argued against expansion on the grounds that it could injure the objective of Russian democratization and integration of Russia and other rejectees into the international community. This is not to argue the merits of that view nor to belittle the laudable administration efforts to pursue those objectives by other means. The point is that giving scores on such issues is unfair and will be seen as unfair by the very people we are supposedly trying to influence.

Even issues that appear more clearly black and white, such as IMF funding, where I believe the Republicans were wrong, should be approached with caution. There are those who, without being isolationists, feel that IMF policies are economically and politically counterproductive and have chosen this weapon to seek what they see as needed reform. The point here is not to approve that view, it is to differentiate that kind of motive from pure obstructionism.

Another article in the same issue contrasted Gingrich as a relative internationalist with new Speaker Dennis Hastert, who was depicted as a domestically oriented isolationist under the thumb of the evil Mr. Tom DeLay. Yet the box score showed Gingrich with the very bottom score and Hastert almost three times higher (but still well below such paragons of virtue as Boxer, Moseley-Braun and Bonior). Let's try to get up to a level of objectivity and professionalism that at least approaches serious publications like *Foreign Affairs*.

Robert J. Martens
FSO, Retired
Bethesda, Md.

The Military's Revolutions

I read Col. Christopher Gunther's article "You Call This a Revolution?" (in the September *Journal*) with interest and a certain degree of agreement. Diplomats do need to understand looming military developments, especially whenever the early manifestations of those developments can and do alter existing power relationships among nations.

However, let me offer a somewhat different paradigm of the revolution in military affairs. RMAs have indeed occurred frequently in history, but it is important to be able to trace and link the "core" RMA to its "manifestations"

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or "applications." Four past important RMAs illustrate my point.

Gunpowder — The initial appearance of gunpowder weapons, i.e., Chinese military rockets, heralded the beginning of the replacement of traditional "muscle-powered" weapons — sword, knife, spear, bow, related siege weapons. As military doctrine evolved and developed to effectively use gunpowder weapons, armies became more disciplined, professional, and orderly, allowing a commander to concentrate his firepower upon a selected point on the battlefield.

Industrialization — The increasing use of water and even steam-powered machinery, coupled with the idea of standardization of parts, enabled the large-scale manufacture of weapons and military equipment — everything from artillery to uniforms. This made possible the "revolutionary" levee en masse armies which were eventually transformed into Napoleon's Grand Army — hundreds of thousands marching to the order of a single commander on multiple battlefields.

Mechanization — The World War II Wehrmacht of Nazi Germany was the first army to link the mechanization of warfare with effective doctrine, i.e., the use of tanks, airplanes, artillery, machine guns, trucks and aircraft. "Blitzkrieg" took full advantage of the greater fire-power and increased speed of operations made possible by military mechanization.

Computerization — This is the ongoing RMA in military affairs. Today, even the individual soldier carries and uses computers and computer-assisted equipment. Modern computers enable the military to gather, manipulate, analyze, and disseminate information in quantities and at speeds unimaginable in World War II. This ability makes possible precision-guided weapons like a cruise missile with a detailed, digitized map to follow to its designated target. Information-war technologies gave allied commanders in Desert Storm almost complete information about the battlefield, the forces engaged from both sides, and an almost real-time knowledge of the conflict while at the same time virtually blinding the highest levels on the Iraqi side.

The goal of information warfare will be to dominate if not control all information (and its hardware) related to the conflict, ensuring your own unhindered access to and use of that information while denying the same to your opponent. Techniques will include classic disinformation and deception, electronic jamming and eavesdropping, and the tools of cyber-warfare now best known by the world's "hackers" and the people trying to secure computer systems against them. The highest achievement in such an information war campaign will be to deny critical information to an opponent in such a way that even the fact of that denial is not known or recognized and without destroying the information.

Col. Gunther is correct in his observation that the development of ideas and doctrine for a new RMA does often proceed in parallel with the technology, rather than sequentially. Therefore, this process is not often obvious to the innovators until they have made (and even demonstrated) their successful breakthrough. Today's military in the U.S. and other advanced countries have the equipment, but many of the cutting edge techniques are known or are developed "on the net" beyond the realm of such bureaucratic structures and organizations.

As almost a footnote, there is still another and yet to be realized RMA, the nuclearization or atomization of warfare. The world has so far seen the military application of nuclear physics in only its crudest forms — nuclear and thermonuclear bombs and warheads. The debate over the validity of the Strategic Defense Initiative gave a glimpse of some possible future applications of these same principles. It is hard to predict how distant is the actual achievement of "energy" weapons based on these principles. Nor do we know who will realize the next RMA.

This is one more reason why, as Col. Gunther noted, the U.S. must seek to innovate and adapt to new technologies even while maintaining the capabilities which guard our present security. This is a job and a challenge for strategists, diplomats, the military and politicians as we approach the new century.

Robert A. Mosher
Chief, Political-Military Unit
U.S. Embassy Moscow ■

Have a Bone to Pick?

Why not write a "Speak Out" for the *Foreign Service Journal*? "Speak Out" is the *FSJ*'s op-ed section, the place where writers can express opinions on issues specific to the Foreign Service, its employees and its work. Writers are encouraged to take strong stands, but all claims must be supported and documented. Length of submitted articles should be from 1,500 to 2,000 words.

All submissions go to the *Journal*'s Editorial Board for discussion. If an article is accepted, writers will be expected to meet the magazine's editorial and style requirements. Please make submissions via e-mail to currie@afsa.org, by fax to (202) 338-8244, or by mail.

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CLIPPINGS

"It is no secret that [AID programs in Haiti] are far too often wrongheaded and wasteful ... Nevertheless, I shall not stand in the way, so long as you agree ... that no funds be provided directly or indirectly to any group whose programs include producing material intended to be used in any voodoo ceremony."

Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) in a Feb. 8 letter to Secretary of State Madeleine Albright

NORTH AND SOUTH: A GREENHOUSE GAP

Developing countries will suffer more than industrialized countries from the effects of global warming, according to the Dec. 18, 1998 issue of the British weekly *New Statesman*.

This means that a "climatic injustice" will be added to the already existing economic injustice between North and South, writes David Nicholson-Lord.

Most of the world's developing countries are concentrated around the equator. "Meteorologically speaking, it's a dangerous place to be," says Nicholson-Lord. Examples of disasters in this region during 1998 include Hurricane Mitch in Central America, fires in Southeast Asia, and severe floods in China. "Five billion people clustered in and near the tropics will suffer far more than the one billion or so in the industrialized, temperate North," predicts Nicholson-Lord.

In addition, because countries in the developing world also lack more sophisticated technology and social services, the U.N. estimates that climate-related damage could amount to as much as 9 percent of GNP in developing countries, as opposed to 1-2 percent in the North.

Meanwhile, it is the industrialized states which are mostly to blame for global warming. "The average American 'emits' 20 times as much carbon as the average Indian," says Nicholson-Lord, but America is doing little to limit pollution. One example cited in the article is that more than half of all new cars registered in the U.S. are four-wheel-drive vehicles, "which are almost as demanding of petrol (and carbon) as an earlier generation's Cadillacs and Studebakers."

It is not surprising, then, that people in the developing world are growing bitter at the imbalance in global climate trade-offs.

Why can't Americans buy smaller cars and drive less, so that the Marshall Islands and the Maldives won't sink into the ocean? Given the huge disparity in emissions, writes Nicholson-Lord, people in the developing world are "in effect, paying with their lives for the lifestyles of Americans."

KOREAN CONUNDRUM: NUCLEAR BLACKMAIL

North Korea's leadership is following Saddam Hussein's example by playing "nuclear blackmail," according to an article in the Jan. 12 *Rocky Mountain News*.

While North Korea is developing nuclear weapons and missiles, the U.N. is requesting $376 million to feed a nation which is suffering from malnutrition, writes Holger Jensen.

North Korea's "peerless leader" Kim Jong Il plans to extract "more cash from his principal enemy and biggest benefactor, the United States," says Jensen. He says this plan was devised by Kim's father, the late "Great Leader" Kim Il Sung, in 1992 when he withdrew North Korea from the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

Jensen criticizes the U.S. for not reacting to North Korea's failure to stick to deals like the 1994 agreement to shut down its Pyongyang nuclear reactor and dispose of plutonium stocks in exchange for light-water reactors which cost the U.S., South Korea and Japan $4.6 billion.

"Pyongyang then turned around and began building a new underground complex at Keumjongri," says Jensen, "Although it has no conclusive proof, the United States believes it is nuclear-related. And Japanese intelligence says it includes

CLIPPINGS

three missile bases."

North Korea called U.S. demands to inspect the Keumjongri facility a "declaration of war," reports Jensen. He also says that a one-time-only inspection was offered for a fee of $300 million. That offer was refused by Washington.

AFRICA POLICY: BOTTOM OF THE LIST

A report by the Africa Policy Information Center states that "President Clinton's trip to Africa in spring 1998 represented the high point of official U.S. attention to the continent." But after the trip, "Africa quickly resumed its place near the bottom of the foreign policy agenda."

Efforts to shift from economic aid to trade and investment waned last October when the Africa Growth and Opportunity Act passed the House of Representatives, but failed to garner enough votes to pass in the Senate.

U.S. policy guidelines toward Africa have not changed, according to the report: "Promotion of free market fundamentalism as a panacea for economic woes, together with endorsement of democracy, human rights and conflict resolution. The latter is implemented in practice primarily by ad-hoc response to crises without sustained high-level attention."

As for 1999, the report says it is imperative to resolve — or at least check — conflict in several areas. Most importantly, the struggle in the Congo between Laurent Kabila's regime and foreign-backed rebel forces has the widest repercussions outside its own borders. However, the prospects for resolving conflicts are uncertain, the report says, and the U.N. is likely to abandon its peacekeeping mission in Angola this year.

International aid continues to decline. On average, developed countries now devote less that 0.22 percent of their GNP to development assistance, the lowest proportion ever. The U.S. gives only 0.08 percent of its GNP to international aid, making it last among the developed countries in the percentage of GNP it contributes.

NOT JUST WARMING — GLOBAL AGING, TOO

In addition to the gradual destruction of the planetary ecosystem, there is a new population crisis threatening humankind. According to the March 1, 1999 *U.S. News and World Report*, we are facing "a global aging crisis that is going to be unrelenting in its economic consequences."

"Around the world, fertility rates are plummeting," reports Phillip J. Longman. "Next year, for the first time in history, people over 60 will outnumber kids 14 or younger in the industrial countries."

Why is this a problem? There won't be enough young people in the workforce to maintain world economies and to pay for the care of the increasing number of elderly people.

There will be fewer workers to support each retiree, and markets which are growing today will start to shrink.

"Over the next 25 years, the number of persons of pensionable age (65 and over) in industrial countries will rise by 70 million ... while the working-age population will rise by only 5 million," predicts an OECD report cited by Longman.

The United States is "woefully unprepared for the coming age wave," writes Longman. He says the nation's aging population will force the U.S. to nearly double its national debt by the middle of the 21st century in order to support pensioners.

In Brazil, the age at which people become

50 YEARS AGO

An article titled "Why Department Officers Wake Up Screaming" in the March 1949 *Journal* commented on the lag between drafting a circular instruction and finally getting it approved.

The author swears that one such circular (drafted in May) returned with the following lyric gem typed on the routing slip:

"Do you love me in November
As you did in May?
When you drafted me (remember)?
And sent me on my way?
Or do my many clearances
And frequent disappearances
Make you wish to hell I'd never
Seen the light of day?"
Do you love me in November
As you did in May?"

"The worst kind of diplomatists are missionaries, fanatics and lawyers; the best are the reasonable and humane skeptics."

SIR HAROLD NICOLSON, ENGLISH DIPLOMAT, POLITICIAN AND WRITER, 1939

eligible for benefits was recently increased along with contribution rates to pension programs.

China's one-child-per-family policy has resulted in a rapidly shrinking workforce. The typical family pattern there is the "one-two-four household," says Longman, where one child supports two parents and four grandparents.

How will we pay for today's retirees with a vanishing workforce? Not by diverting resources currently allocated for children. "Total public spending per old person is two to three times as great as public spending per child," reports the article.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS BUDGET REQUEST UP

The State Department Feb. 1 presented its budget for international affairs for fiscal 2000, requesting 6.6 percent above 1999 appropriation levels. The "Function 150" base program budget request of $19.89 billion does not include various supplemental requests.

The current request is almost $250 million more than the initial FY 1999 request of $19.65 billion. Last year's budget broke a long pattern of decline in foreign affairs spending.

One request which has proved controversial is a $3 billion advance appropriation to replace the most vulnerable U.S. embassies and missions overseas, with payment spread out over five years from FY 2001 through FY 2005. Critics have argued that delaying security improvements will put embassy employees at risk in the near term. The administration asks for $314 million for security improvements in fiscal 2000 as a response to the East African embassy bombings.

With supplemental programs added in, the Function 150 request comes to $21.31 billion. The supplementals include $614 million to help pay U.S. arrears at the United Nations. ■

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SPEAKING OUT

Equal Benefits for Relationships of Equal Value

BY MANISH K. MISHRA

Foreign Service officers experience many common challenges and obstacles, including the hopes and fears that every new overseas assignment brings. Life in Washington can be equally demanding. I find I often work long hours that make it difficult, if not impossible, to catch up with loved ones and friends during the week, and frequently even during the weekend. Those of us who are fortunate enough to have someone at home with whom we can share the day-in, day-out joys and challenges of life in the Foreign Service know how crucial that support is for us. It is our anchor, our rock of stability on a career path where stability and continuity are anything but the norm.

I'm blessed to have such a relationship, similar, no doubt, to many of my colleagues. But there is one important difference: After we are married in a church ceremony this summer, we will not be granted travel, medical, health and other benefits that just about all my married colleagues take for granted. The Department of State, despite a five-year-old policy of non-discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation, does not grant such benefits to homosexual spouses.

When I am next assigned overseas, my spouse and I will have to pay out of pocket for his airfare when he accompanies me. If he gets sick overseas, we must pay out of pocket for all medical expenses, including medical evacuation. The Department of State will not ask the country to which I am assigned for a diplomatic residential visa for my spouse, a routine matter for heterosexual spouses. In most cases this will require him to leave, then re-enter the country in question every 90 days at our own expense so that he does not violate local immigration laws by overstaying his "tourist" status. It means that in many parts of the world I would get assigned cramped "singles" housing, when in actuality I have a family member accompanying me.

Manish K. Mishra is an FSO in State's European Affairs Bureau.

> *I wonder if my heterosexual colleagues would stay in the Foreign Service under similar conditions.*

Gay and Committed

I wonder if any of my heterosexual colleagues would stay in the Foreign Service under similar conditions. I do not doubt that the majority would not. Given that reality, how can one take the State Department seriously when it claims it does not discriminate on the basis of sexual orientation? The department has updated the language in its EEO statements, yet remains unwilling to follow this principle of non-discrimination through to its logical conclusion. I grant that actually getting "sexual orientation" language included in our non-discrimination clauses was an accomplishment. But even that historic achievement does not give management the right to sit on its laurels in self-congratulation when the job is only half done.

In their recruitment efforts, management tells minority officers that we will be treated equally and have the same opportunities as any other State Department employee. There are those, in society at large and undoubtedly within the State Department, who argue against granting spousal benefits because they believe that being gay is evil, a behavioral problem, or a "lifestyle" choice. What does it mean to have a non-discrimination policy in the face of such views?

Does it mean that gay and lesbian employees are "put up with," nuisances that must be minimally tolerated? Or does it mean that homosexual employees are truly valued and put on an equal level with all other employees, despite dissenting opinions to the contrary? I would argue that we would not have a non-discrimination policy unless it meant the latter. Management does not tell minority officers that they are equal for promotion and job assignments, but that despite this, there is some-

An Invitation for SUMMER FICTION

The Foreign Service Journal *is seeking works of fiction of up to 3,000 words for its annual summer fiction issue. Stories should have an overseas setting. Story lines or characters involving the Foreign Service are preferred, but not required. The* Journal's *editorial board will select four stories in May for publication in the July/August issue. The writer of each story will receive an honorarium of $250, payable on publication.*

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thing "inherently wrong" or "inferior" about them due to their race. Nor does management take such a position with disabled employees, employees of different religions, female employees or any other category of employees. I would argue that management has sent gay and lesbian employees a mixed message by adopting an official non-discrimination policy, but not recognizing the relationships that one would logically expect gay and lesbian employees to have. The governments of Australia, Canada, New Zealand, Norway and Sweden all grant such recognition to the same-sex partners of diplomats.

As gay and lesbian officers, we are simultaneously told by the broader society around us that America values committed, monogamous relationships. Here I am, in a committed, monogamous relationship, about to get married, and I am told by my employer that it is "okay" to be a gay person, but not a gay person in a committed, monogamous relationship.

If this isn't blatant discrimination, then what is?

Love Transcends Gender

There is no qualitative basis for denying these benefits to same-sex partners. I value and love my soon-to-be-husband as much as any of my colleagues love and value their husbands and wives. This discrimination violates the very spirit and letter of the non-discrimination policy the State Department adopted five years ago. Some would contend that spousal benefits are designed to support families in raising children. This is a myth. The "traditional" purpose of spousal benefits may have been to support families in raising children, but that is not the universal reality today. Increasing numbers of heterosexual couples are deciding not to have kids and many gay and lesbian couples are adopting children and creating positive, nurturing environments within which to raise children. Society doesn't take away benefits from heterosexual couples who do not procreate. The composition and structure of American families have changed. We can recognize this reality, or keep our heads in the sand.

It is also a reality that American society has at various points in time withheld the recognition of unions as a way of denying the inherent dignity and humanity of individuals. George Washington, one of the founding fathers of this nation, allowed his slaves to wed, but the Commonwealth of Virginia did not legally recognize those unions, because African-American slaves were not considered "fully human" under the law. And it was only in 1967, in the case of Loving v. Virginia, that the Supreme Court struck down provisions in 16 states that prohibited interracial marriages. In that decision, Chief Justice Earl Warren wrote that "marriage is one of the basic civil rights of man ... the freedom to marry has long been recognized as one of the vital personal rights essential to the orderly pursuit of happiness by free men." Definitions of what constitutes a "marriage" have changed as society has recognized that love transcends race. The challenge for management, and for many of my heterosexual colleagues, is to understand that one simply cannot claim to not discriminate against homosexuals until one fully comprehends that love also transcends gender.

Homosexual officers face no less daunting a challenge. Our ability to effect change is often frustratingly limited by the fact that gay and lesbian civil rights issues have never commanded widespread political support. But civil rights causes have historically not commanded broad-based support at the outset. The

struggle for women's suffrage was a long and arduous one that we now almost take for granted. The emancipation of slaves and the subsequent desegregation of America were controversial issues without unanimous political support. It took visionary leaders willing to stake their personal credibility on the justness of a cause to bring about these much needed changes.

Unfulfilled Promise

I continue to hope that my secretary of State and her representatives in management will turn out to be visionaries on this issue. Even if a decision to grant benefits to homosexual spouses were overturned by the Office of Personnel Management, the General Accounting Office or Congress, isn't it better to take a principled stand? Isn't it better to send a strong message of moral support to a legion of employees who toil away in dedication than no message at all? I am convinced that this is a battle which, in the end, will be won. I remain optimistic because I know my colleagues and I work in a profession that values the ability to understand and empathize with those that are different from us. If we did not believe this, we would not be diplomats.

Loving another human being can never be wrong, and certainly whom we love is not relevant in a merit-based employment system. But a critical step in equalizing the playing field is missing. If heterosexual spouses receive certain benefits and advantages, homosexual spouses absolutely must, as a matter of principle, receive the same exact benefits and advantages. Until they do, the State Department's claim that it does not discriminate against homosexual employees will continue to be nothing more than an unfulfilled promise. ■

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EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION: PARDON OUR SCIENCE

This issue of the *Foreign Service Journal* is unusual. While readers of the *Journal* are accustomed to seeing in-depth discussions of diplomatic and political questions, our current issue focuses on global warming, a complex topic which calls on you to roll up your sleeves and get ready for some serious science.

The articles that follow ask some tough questions: Why is the earth warming? What can humans do to affect climate in the future? What are the likely economic results of trying to cap the emissions of greenhouse gases that contribute to warming? What are the likely results of doing nothing — of "business as usual?" What is the Kyoto Protocol and why are they saying those terrible things about it? And, if one agrees that something must be done, who should make the first moves — that is, who should accept the first sacrifices?

We hope that you will pardon our science and check out the accompanying articles. You'll find that they include a range of viewpoints — from the developing countries, environmentalists, Congress, U.S. negotiators — from both advocates and opponents of the Kyoto Protocol on climate change.

There's a lot to chew on here. We hope you find it a valuable orientation to a hot issue which is sure to continue heating up in the coming century. — *Bob Guldin*

SIX REASONS TO TAKE ACTION

THINK OF THE EARTH AS A SUPERTANKER HEADING FULL-STEAM TOWARD AN ICEBERG. SOMEBODY BETTER TAKE THE WHEEL.

BY JOHN HOLDREN

I believe that most people — by which I mean not only most members of the public, most journalists, and most policy-makers, but also a great many natural scientists, social scientists, and technologists — continue to underestimate the problem of human-induced disruption of global climate. As a result, they continue to underestimate the urgency of taking appropriate preventive action ... and the likely costs of not doing so.

There are six important reasons for this underestimation of the climate threat and of the need to take early action against it. In this article, I will elaborate on each of these reasons in turn.

1. Human well-being is more dependent on the climate than most people think.

Environmental conditions and processes are no less critical to human well-being than economic conditions and processes are, although ecologists, geochemists, and atmospheric scientists have been less effective publicists for the services they study than economists have and in fact the economic and environmental dimensions of well-being are tightly intertwined.

Nature, not factories, builds the soil; and nature, more than factories, provides the wherewithal to fertilize it. Nature, more than dams and ditches, makes water available when and where it is needed. Natural processes, more than technological ones, maintain the composition of the air we breathe, purify the water we drink, and recycle the wastes we generate. Nature, more than manufactured pesticides, controls most crop pests. And environmental conditions, not doctors and drugs, keep most disease organisms under control. We, and the environmental processes that provide these services for us, are almost completely vulnerable to the vagaries of the climate, which are kept for the most part within tolerable limits by global climatic machinery we have become powerful enough to disrupt but not clever enough to control.

The patterns of climate disruption that appear to be emerging as a result of growing human emissions of greenhouse gases to the atmosphere are likely to affect the productivity of farms and forests and fisheries, the frequency and intensity of floods and droughts and heat waves, and the geographic patterns of human disease. They are likely to entail a substantial increase in sea level, with associated increases in storm damage to coastal property as well as flooding of coastal lowlands and even entire low-lying island nations. The species composition of something in the range of 30 percent of the world's forests is likely to be significantly altered between now and the end of the next century, and extinctions of species and biological populations are likely to accelerate.

The consequences of climatic change will not be uniformly distributed, and many of the details of the distribution are not yet predictable. Some regions will experience improvements in relation to some of the conditions mentioned, rather than deterioration. But the high degree of adaptation of human societies to the climatic conditions of the recent past, coupled with the limited capacity of societies and ecosystems to adjust to new conditions as rapidly as climate is likely to change over the next century, mean that harm will probably be far more prevalent than benefit.

2. Climate disruption is further along and harder to reverse than most people think.

Not in dispute is that the global atmospheric

John Holdren is director of the Program on Science, Technology and Public Policy at Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government. He is a member of President Clinton's Committee of Advisers on Science and Technology.

concentration of carbon dioxide, which is the most important of the heat-trapping ("greenhouse") gases emitted in significant quantities by human activities, had increased by 1998 to about 30 percent above its pre-industrial level (to 365 ppmv — parts per million by volume, from 280 ppmv). This increase has closely tracked the increase in fossil-fuel combustion worldwide. Deforestation also appears to have been a significant contributor, although less important in recent decades than fossil-fuel combustion. Other greenhouse gases — methane, chlorofluorocarbons, and nitrous oxide — have also been accumulating in the atmosphere, as have sunlight-reflecting particles that partly offset the heat-trapping effects of the greenhouse gases.

Analyses of weather records from around the globe reveal a pattern of changes that most serious students of this issue regard as an increasingly clear "fingerprint" of anthropogenic greenhouse-gas increases on the climate. These changes include increases in the global mean near-surface air temperatures over land and over the oceans, similar changes in water temperatures near the ocean's surface, reductions in day-night temperature differences, reduced temperatures in the stratosphere, an increase in sea level, a general retreat of mountain glaciers, increased precipitation in the mid to high latitudes, and more.

The global concentration of carbon dioxide is higher than at any time in the past 160,000 years (this being known from the analysis of air bubbles trapped in layered ice cores from Antarctica). The mean global surface temperature, whose rise is expected to lag that of the carbon dioxide concentration, is almost certainly higher now than at any time in the last 500 years and quite possibly, according to evidence from Andean and Tibetan glaciers, higher than at any time in the last 6000 years. The 10 hottest years since 1850 have all occurred since 1983, seven of them since 1990, notwithstanding the multi-year cooling effect of particulate matter injected into the stratosphere by a major volcanic eruption in 1991. The rates of temperature increase expected for the next century, according to the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), "would probably be greater than any seen in the last 10,000 years."

Because of the long climate-response lag-time caused by the thermal inertia of the oceans, the full climate-change impact of any given atmospheric concentration of greenhouse gases will not be experienced until many decades after that concentration is reached. And because a substantial part of the carbon dioxide added to the atmosphere by human activities remains in the atmosphere for many decades, the atmospheric concentration would decline only slowly even if emissions were reduced rapidly. (This is also true of a number of the other man-made greenhouse gases.)

These two phenomena mean (1) that the planet is already irretrievably committed to considerably more climate change than is being experienced today and (2) that these future changes will not be able to be reversed rapidly once they occur, even if emissions are then brought down rapidly.

3. The impact of future growth in population and energy use will be greater than most people think.

All predictions are unreliable; but scenario forecasts contingent on specified assumptions can still be useful in helping us understand which assumptions we should be working hardest to invalidate. "Business as usual" (BAU) forecasts are based not on the assumption that nothing changes but on the assumption that patterns of change remain similar to what they have recently been ... thus, that the world rate of population growth continues to slow at about the rate that it has recently been slowing; that the distribution of economic growth between industrialized and developing countries continues to be about what it has recently been (higher growth in the latter, lower in the former); and so on.

Under BAU, the world's population, nearly 6 billion people today, is very likely to reach 9 billion by 2050; economic activity per capita is likely to be about 3.3 times bigger in 2050 than in 1990; and the energy intensity of economic activity is likely to have fallen by 2050 to 60 percent of its 1990 value. This would lead to world energy use three times larger in 2050 than in 1990. If the carbon intensity of world energy supply continues to fall at its BAU rate of about 0.2 percent per year, this picture would entail world carbon dioxide emissions from the energy sector 2.7 times bigger in 2050 than they were in 1990. Continuation of BAU until 2100 would lead to carbon dioxide emissions from the energy sector four times bigger

in that year than their 1990 value.

According to the IPCC, the carbon dioxide content of the atmosphere in 2100 under this BAU scenario would be about 715 ppmv — two and a half times the pre-industrial level and still rising steeply. The IPCC best estimate of the global-average temperature increase that would have been experienced between 1990 and 2100 in this case is 2 degrees C (3.6 degrees F), which would make the world warmer than it has been any time in the last 125,000 years. Far from the equator (such as in the United States) the increases would be larger. The best estimate of the sea-level rise between 1990 and 2100 in this BAU case is 50 centimeters (20 inches). Temperatures would continue to rise for many decades after 2100 even if atmospheric carbon dioxide concentrations were somehow stabilized at the 2100 level of 715 ppmv, and sea level would continue to rise for centuries.

The most likely outcomes entail significant damage to health, property and economic prosperity.

If BAU were to persist until 2100, however, the CO_2 concentration almost certainly could not be stabilized near 700 ppmv and instead would rise toward a quadrupling (1100 ppmv) of the preindustrial level, or more. The ultimate increase in global average surface temperature associated with a quadrupling of pre-industrial CO_2 levels would probably be in the range of 7-8 degrees C (12.6-14.4 degrees F). The eventual increase in average temperature in the United States in this quadrupled-CO_2 world would probably be in the range of 15-20 degrees Fahrenheit.

4. Remaining scientific uncertainties are not grounds for complacency.

There are many aspects of the operation of the global climate system and of the interaction of potential climate change with ecosystem processes that are not yet well understood. Substantial uncertainties attend projections of the timing of onset, magnitude, and above all regional distribution of the physical and biological impacts of greenhouse-gas-induced climate change, even if the future trajectories of emissions and concentrations are assumed to be precisely known (which of course they are not). And estimates of economic impacts are inevitably even more uncertain, given that they combine imperfect understanding of the economic system with the imperfect understanding of climate and ecosystem processes just acknowledged.

Many people appear to regard these uncertainties as a proper basis for complacency — and, more specifically, for delaying action to abate the causes of climate change. But complacency and delay are unwarranted, for three related reasons.

First, the "central" or "best" estimates of consequences of business as usual generated in the most thorough studies by the largest numbers of analysts (as reflected in the 1995/1996 Assessment of the IPCC) are alarming. They entail significant and widespread damage to health, property, and ecosystems.

Second, uncertainties cut in both directions: things might not turn out better than the current "best" estimates, but worse, in terms of both physical impacts and economic outcomes.

Third, the time lags built into the evolution of the problem, its diagnosis, and the implementation of responses (about which more will be said below) mean that waiting to resolve all the uncertainties before taking evasive action has a high chance of making very large damages unavoidable.

5. The time lags in implementing effective evasive action are longer than most people think.

The large momentum behind population growth and growth in economic activity per person which together tend to drive carbon dioxide emissions upward notwithstanding efforts to improve energy efficiency and reduce carbon intensity of energy supply has already been described. Improving energy efficiency is a slow process because it entails replacing devices and equipment throughout the residential, commercial, industrial, and transportation sectors, as well as changing the behavior of billions of consumers. Reducing the carbon intensity of energy supply is a slow process because of the large role of fossil-fuel technologies in the current U.S. and world energy systems (85 percent of U.S. energy supply, 75 percent of the world's); the technical difficulty

and cost of modifying these systems to reduce carbon dioxide emissions; their long turnover times; their economic attractiveness compared to most of the currently available alternatives; and the long times typically required to develop new alternatives to the point of commercialization.

The repercussions of global warming make it a national security issue for the U.S.

The goal of the Framework Convention on Climate Change is to stabilize greenhouse gas concentrations "at a level that prevents dangerous human interference with the climate system." There is no formal agreement yet about what constitutes a dangerous level, but most analysts who have looked carefully at the impacts side of climate change think that going beyond twice the pre-industrial CO_2 concentration (about 550 ppmv) is very dangerous. Many think, in fact, that today's concentration (the full consequences of which are not yet being experienced) is dangerous. But stopping even at 550 ppmv would not be easy. It would require, in fact, that global emissions start to decline by about 2030. This would clearly require that the emissions curve in the industrialized nations start to bend away from business as usual essentially immediately.

The problem is that the world energy-economic system is a lot like a supertanker under full power: huge momentum in the direction it is heading, very hard to steer, very bad brakes. The science of climate change and its impacts is telling us that the supertanker is headed for a reef; we can tell the water is getting shallower beneath the hull, even if we can't say exactly how far we can go before the reef rips open the tanker's bottom. In this situation, full speed ahead is the wrong course. We need to start slowing and steering away from the reef of unmanageable degrees of climate change now.

6. The fates of industrialized and developing countries are more linked than most people think.

A large part of the build-up of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere up until now has been due to fossil-fuel combustion in the course of the economic development of the industrialized countries. A large part of the future growth of atmospheric carbon dioxide is expected to come from a similar process of fossil-fueled development in the much more populous developing countries. The joint responsibility for the problem's creation is mirrored in the necessity for joint efforts in its solution. The developing countries are unlikely to make the changes required for them to develop in less carbon-intensive ways unless the industrialized countries help with the technology and the financing.

It is clearly in the industrialized countries' interest to do so, even if the vulnerability to the consequences of climate change may be greater in the developing countries than in the industrialized ones. We all live on this planet, under one atmosphere, on the shores of one global ocean, our countries linked by immense flows of people, goods, money, information, weapons, drugs, diseases, images, and ideas. It is simply no longer possible for the richer countries to expect to prosper undisturbed by the troubles of the poorer ones.

This is, among other things, a matter of U.S. national security. One has only to think of the probable effects of floods, droughts, rising sea level, changing disease patterns, and declining productivity of agriculture and forestry in many developing regions on economic adversity and impoverishment, exacerbation of inequities within and between countries, and flows of environmental refugees. These are likely to lead to weakening of governments, aggravation of ethnic tensions, conflict over diminishing environmental resources, and disputes over blame and compensation. Some of these problems are certain to affect the national security interests of this country.

To put this all in the terms of the supertanker metaphor: since we are all in the same supertanker, industrialized and less developed countries together, we had better find ways to slow and steer cooperatively, starting now, rather than bickering over who is holding the wheel. ■

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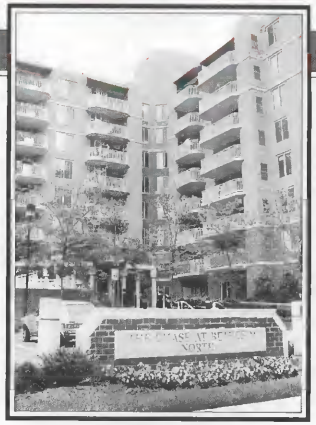

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STORMY WEATHER IN CONGRESS

KEN ROBERTS

WHEN IT COMES TO CUTTING POLLUTION, ONE SENATOR'S CEILING IS ANOTHER SENATOR'S FLAW.

BY CHARLES POPE

In the year since negotiators from 170 nations sequestered themselves in Kyoto, Japan, to build a historic blueprint for combating global warming, temperatures — both atmospheric and political — have done nothing but rise.

The result is a stalemate that has drained virtually all momentum for achieving the worldwide reductions of greenhouse pollution that scientists say are needed to slow a pronounced and potentially dangerous rise in atmospheric temperatures.

Fissures can be found between developed and less developed nations, between industry and environmentalists, and especially between Republicans and Democrats in Congress. There are even some differences over whether

global warming actually exists.

Different Strokes

While opponents of the Kyoto Protocol have a number of gripes about the effort to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, congressional opposition focuses on the way the treaty applies differently to different sets of countries — known as "differentiation." Under the agreement, developing countries such as Mexico, China and India are not required to commit to legally binding limits on emissions. However, the United States and the other developed nations did tentatively agree to such reductions in Kyoto. The U.S., as the world's largest source of greenhouse gases, would have to make some of the deepest cuts: By the year 2012, U.S. emissions are supposed to be seven percent below 1990 levels.

"The protocol is dead for as far as the eye can see in the U.S. Senate."

— SEN. CHUCK HAGEL

China and other developing nations argue that they should remain free of binding limits because they are only now beginning to develop and have caused only a fraction of the problem. Those countries insist it is the United States, Japan and Europe that must do the heavy lifting because those countries pumped the vast majority of heat-trapping gas into the atmosphere during a century of economic boom driven largely by a carbon-based economy.

The less developed countries also point out that this differentiated approach was approved in principle in a 1992 framework convention on climate change signed by the United States and 175 other nations.

American environmentalists, as might be expected, have been strong advocates of the Kyoto Protocol. In other industrialized countries, opposition to the protocol is much less fierce than in the U.S. The European Union nations have been advocates of strong action on global warming, while Japan has decided the best way to cut emissions is to build 20 nuclear power plants — a prospect that horrifies environmentalists, but would help Japan comply with the protocol.

Still, sharp opposition to the Kyoto Protocol is widespread in Congress. Congressional opponents say that signing on to Kyoto would give an unfair advantage to Third World countries, and would probably harm the U.S. economy. The debate is heavily influenced by determined efforts to oppose Kyoto by such major industries as oil, autos and utilities.

Charles Pope covers environmental issues for Congressional Quarterly.

Buenos Aires and Bust

The conflict between developed and developing countries was in full display last November, when representatives from 160 nations, including the United States, met in Buenos Aires. The goal was to negotiate further progress on implementing a climate change regime. That tension should have surprised no one. Five months earlier, during a negotiating session in Bonn, Germany, to set the agenda for Buenos Aires, one U.S. attendee said "vituperation outweighed progress."

At Buenos Aires itself, little progress was made in bridging gaping differences among nations or easing congressional concerns. No breakthroughs were reported, even though the administration tried to jump-start the process by formally signing the Kyoto Protocol on Nov. 12. The parties did agree to keep meeting, though.

One interesting, though small, step was announced at Buenos Aires: Two developing countries, Kazakhstan and Argentina, agreed to undertake greenhouse gas emission limits. That may be a harbinger of changing attitudes.

The U.S. signing of the protocol at Buenos Aires was seen as a largely symbolic step. White House spokesman Joe Lockhart took pains to downplay the decision. "Signing does not legally commit the United States to implement the protocol," he said. "The protocol would become binding only with the advice and consent of the U.S. Senate. President Clinton has made clear that the United States regards the Kyoto Protocol as a work in progress."

Lockhart's words failed to quell the congressional criticism. "By signing such an agreement, it will be the first time in history that an American president has allowed foreign interests to control and limit the growth of the U.S. economy," said Sen. Larry E. Craig (R-Idaho). The decision was denounced as well by Democratic Sen. Robert C. Byrd of West Virginia, who warned the president "to resist making empty gestures that will only make the potential future

approval of the protocol by the Senate more difficult."

Given the strong congressional opposition, the Clinton administration has made clear that it does not plan to submit the treaty to the Senate for ratification before the 2000 elections.

"The idea that science is settled is ... Al Gore's favorite non-truth."

— MARLO LEWIS

Little Optimism

No one expected it to be easy, but even the most sober-minded observer concedes there is little room for optimism. "If you look at the whole year since Kyoto, not one government seriously engaged the process," said Christopher Flavin, senior vice president of the Worldwatch Institute in Washington and an authority on the politics of global warming.

"We're in a pattern of endless additional delay. Governments have become very good at describing sideways movement as progress," said Flavin, who is pessimistic that progress will come any time soon.

"The negotiating process itself seems to have become a kind of diplomatic black hole — sucking in endless quantities of legal, economic, and scientific capital," Flavin wrote last fall in *World-Watch Journal*. "The thousands of government officials, NGO lobbyists, and observers who follow the process closely continue to circle the globe, attending dozens of meetings on [carbon] sinks, emissions trading, and other climate issues du jour. ... Meanwhile, the process of implementing national policies that will actually reduce emissions — which had gained substantial momentum prior to Kyoto — has stalled."

"The scale of the climate problem," Flavin says, "and the complicated politics involved, have led negotiators to create a protocol of unprecedented complexity, a complexity ... that may defy efforts to finalize the agreement and get it ready for ratification."

Former Assistant Secretary of State for Oceans and International Environmental and Scientific Affairs Eileen Claussen noted in a radio interview last fall that the politics of climate change is extraordinarily complex. "These issues are very, very difficult and contentious," she said. "They deal with the sovereignty of nations. They deal with a lot of feelings in the developing world."

Congress in Opposition

Not surprisingly, the slow progress of international negotiations has not made the Kyoto Protocol any more popular in a Congress already unhappy with it.

Rep. Joe Knollenberg, a Republican from Michigan, voiced the predominant position in Congress last November before attending the Buenos Aires meeting: "It's fatally flawed. It's unfair. It's based on immature science. And it would result in millions of American jobs flowing overseas."

"This protocol is dead for as far as the eye can see in the U.S. Senate," said Sen. Chuck Hagel (R-Neb.), a leading critic of the Clinton administration's climate change initiatives who attended sessions in Buenos Aires. "I think that you've got to start all over. This treaty is not achievable."

Sen. Frank H. Murkowski (R-Alaska), chairman of the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee, takes a similar view, though with a more optimistic spin. "Rather than trying to breathe life into a dead treaty, we should shift the focus to efforts to reduce global emissions with a mix of 21st century technology, market-oriented approaches and American ingenuity. The key to emissions reductions won't be found by diplomats in the halls of the U.N. — they will be found by engineers in the labs," Murkowski said.

The strength of congressional opposition became clear in 1997, with the Byrd-Hagel resolution, passed by a remarkable 95-0 vote just before the Kyoto meeting. The non-binding resolution declared that the U.S. should not be a party to any climate change protocol unless developing countries also had emissions limits. The resolution also stated that the protocol should not harm the U.S. economy.

During discussion of the Senate resolution, Sen. Robert Byrd said, "I am not out to kill the treaty." But, he warned, if an agreement emerges from Kyoto without requiring specific reductions for developing countries, "count me in, in the assassination of the treaty."

Industrial-Strength Opponents

Locking arms with congressional opponents are an array of industry and interest groups, ranging from the National Mining Association and the National Association of Manufacturers to the National Grange, a farm group, and the Global Climate Coalition, an anti-Kyoto alliance financed by the oil, gas and automobile industries. Oil, gas and mining interests have

backed their criticism with dollars to lobby against the treaty.

Other opposition groups whose ties aren't always apparent have sprung up as well. The Greening Earth Society, for example, has undertaken a well-funded campaign to convince the public and Congress that global warming can actually be beneficial because it will extend the growing season in northern areas. GES, however, is closely tied to the Western Fuels Association, a co-op of coal producers that supply power plants.

"Clearly something is wrong when it's 70 degrees on Dec. 7; you can't deny it."

— TIMOTHY E. WIRTH

Though most established scientists agree that global warming is occurring and is cause for concern, the anti-Kyoto forces argue vigorously that the facts are still subject to interpretation.

"The idea that the science is settled is ... Al Gore's favorite non-truth," said Marlo Lewis, an analyst with the conservative Competitive Enterprise Institute and president of the Cooler Heads Coalition, an interest group Lewis says is dedicated to exposing the holes in global warming theories.

"We can't replicate the weather we have now, much less predict the future," Lewis said during a conference sponsored by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce in Washington, D.C. In fact, Lewis said, the most common greenhouse gas, carbon dioxide, is beneficial to the environment. "It is plant food. The more we put in the atmosphere the better it is for trees."

This line of argument carries little weight with the scientists who advocate strong action on climate change. Stephen Schneider, a professor of biological sciences at Stanford and author of *Laboratory Earth: The Planetary Gamble We Can't Afford to Lose*, told National Public Radio in October, "There are things that are speculative. But what is not speculative is that there's a 30 percent or so increase in carbon dioxide since the Industrial Revolution and a 150 percent increase in methane. It's not speculative that these gasses trap heat. They add to the so-called 'greenhouse effect,' which is also not speculative, but a well-established theory of natural climate.

"So global warming is a fact, and that's not a radical statement. The debate is over the extent to which this warming is caused by humans," said Schneider.

For casual observers, the warming trend in recent years has seemed self-evident. The period from January through October 1998 was the hottest since records began in 1880, according to the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration. "Clearly something is wrong when it's 70 degrees on the seventh of December; you can't deny it," said Timothy E. Wirth, former under secretary of State for global affairs.

No matter: While the science of the anti-Kyoto lobby may be questionable, there's little doubt that powerful industry opposition greatly reduces the chances that the treaty will be ratified any time soon.

There are also widely varying estimates of the economic cost of complying with the climate change regime. One estimate by the Wharton Econometrics Forecasting Associates Inc., a Pennsylvania firm, predicts a total of two million American jobs lost, and a rise in gasoline prices of 50 cents a gallon, if emissions are cut to seven percent below 1990 levels, as the Kyoto Protocol requires of the U.S.

The forecast also concludes that the agreement, if enacted as currently written, would cost the average American household $2,700 a year. The president's Council of Economic Advisers, on the other hand, pegs the cost at $112 per family per year.

The U.S. Soldiers On

Despite the slow progress in multilateral meetings and withering criticism at home, the Clinton administration continues to try to move forward its climate change agenda.

While Vice President Gore may be the chief cheerleader on the issue, the point person on the negotiations is Melinda L. Kimble, acting assistant secretary of State for oceans and international environmental and scientific affairs.

In Buenos Aires in November, Kimble summed up the basic U.S. position on Third World participation: "We recognize the substantial differences among developing countries in terms of emissions profiles, levels of development, capacity for effective action, and economic and political conditions. We recognize their varying capacity to contribute to the solution. We are working to convince them of the enormous opportunities offered under the Kyoto Protocol — as well as of the benefits of taking on binding targets and other actions to address climate change in terms of improved health, energy efficiency and

other benefits."

But Christopher Flavin of the Worldwatch Institute observes that the congressional opposition especially lessens the administration's leverage in international negotiations. "When they go to these international meetings, it's not at all clear the Clinton administration can speak on behalf of the entire country. ... The United States is really in a different political universe" than the rest of the world.

"Without a more vigorous commitment to domestic action, U.S. demands for more action by developing countries are like a chain-smoking parent telling his children that smoking is bad for them," said John Adams, president of the New York-based Natural Resources Defense Council, an influential environmental group.

The administration's signing of the protocol produced very little momentum because most saw it simply as a symbolic gesture.

Prospects for 1999

Supporters of the Kyoto Protocol, such as Sen. Joseph I. Lieberman (D-Conn.), concede there are not enough votes in the Senate to ratify the treaty in its current form or even come close.

The administration's signing of the protocol produced very little momentum because most saw it for what it was — a symbolic gesture that does not obligate the United States in any way. Nonetheless, supporters such as Lieberman, the administration and environmental groups insist the treaty will ultimately be ratified.

They hope 1999 will yield a series of small steps that will strengthen the country's negotiating position, building momentum at home that will carry into crucial international meetings in 1999 and 2000.

But William O'Keefe, president of the American Petroleum Institute and a leading treaty opponent, characterized claims that the protocol is gaining strength are nothing but "spin. ... I think there will be a lot of oversight hearings ... making sure there isn't a backdoor implementation," he added.

With a presidential election looming on the horizon, a Republican-controlled Congress and strongly-held differences between developed and less developed countries, the chances for movement on the Kyoto Protocol in 1999 are remote.

Instead, the administration is hoping to build support for action on climate change in other ways. Administration officials were pleased that the fiscal 1999 budget agreement had more than $1 billion for domestic programs such as energy efficiency and alternative fuels.

According to Assistant Secretary Melinda Kimble, U.S. bilateral assistance programs now under way are part of "President Clinton's five-year, $1 billion developing country climate initiative, promoting transfer technology ... and increased investment." The United States is also contributing $193 million this year to the Global Environmental Facility, which deals with climate change and other issues.

Environmentalists hope that Congress will explore mechanisms for nudging U.S. utilities away from a heavy reliance on coal-fired plants and toward technologies using renewable sources such as wind or solar.

Last year, however, the House seemed more interested in preventing "backdoor implementation" of the Kyoto Protocol. Republican lawmakers made a point of working to slice money for climate change and global warming from the administration's budget requests. Other language attempted to put tight limits on what the Environmental Protection Agency and other federal regulators could do. In one case, Rep. Knollenberg inserted a provision into an appropriations bill that would have prohibited EPA from using tax dollars to "develop, propose, or issue rules, regulations, decrees, or orders for the purposes of implementation, or in contemplation of implementation" of the treaty.

Critics argued Knollenberg's language was so broad it would prevent EPA from "even thinking about the treaty." They also complained that it is difficult — if not impossible — to determine what is Kyoto-related and what is not. His efforts ultimately failed and the language was deleted.

A promising legislative approach to global warming is a plan to give companies credit for voluntarily reducing greenhouse gas emissions. Sen. Lieberman crafted a bill last October to guarantee that companies' early action would be rewarded when the government sets new pollution standards.

Lieberman, along with co-sponsors John H. Chafee (R-R.I.) and Connie Mack (R-Fla.), announced plans to reintroduce the bill; hearings are expected before

spring. The bill, Lieberman said Nov. 10, is intended to be a "logjam breaker in the next Congress. This is a voluntary, market-based approach which will bring about a win-win situation for both American business and the environment," Lieberman said.

If Lieberman is able to get his bill through Congress, it could have still another effect — prompting other nations to alter their negotiating position.

Business Warms Up

In the meanwhile, a few private companies are beginning to break ranks with industry's anti-Kyoto stance. Vice President Gore said at an October 1998 meeting on global warming, "A growing number of leading corporations are pledging voluntary cuts in their greenhouse gas emissions."

"Shell Oil and British Petroleum have pledged to cut their emissions well below the Kyoto target, and I applaud them for doing that. ... IBM announced plans to significantly reduce its own emissions and energy use. ... In an important new partnership, representatives of BP, General Motors and Monsanto joined the World Resources Institute to announce their own efforts to reduce emissions and to call on others to act as well. It is, of course, just the beginning; but this is how change occurs."

According to Flavin of the Worldwatch Institute, industry defections were noticeable at the 1998 Buenos Aires meeting. "There certainly was fragmentation," he said. "Shrapnel was moving in 10 different directions ... and I think we'll see additional fragmentation" from companies that see economic opportunity or potential savings in the treaty.

While the prospects for passage of the Kyoto Protocol in the current Congress are non-existent, the next decade may well look quite different. If Vice President Gore, a strong advocate of action on climate change, were to become president, the protocol would probably gain a new lease on life.

In the meanwhile, Sen. Lieberman is hoping to promote a cooler, less contentious debate on the issue in the 106th Congress. The United States, he said, should begin reducing greenhouse gas emissions even if the science is suspect and the Third World is stalling. "We'll still end up with cleaner air," Lieberman said. "And what's wrong with that?" ■

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AFSA NEWS

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AFSA News Editar: Wesley Ann Godard

Improved Evacuation Regulations Still Fall Short

Can anyane recammend decent ladging in Washingtan far $80 a day? I should mention that I have three teenagers and a dog. Alsa I have na car, so I need ta be near public transpartatian and the kids' school. I knaw I shauld have baoked in advance, but this was an unexpected trip. By the way, there are 50 ather families wha arrived an my flight laoking far similar accammodatians.

Don't laugh. Recent State Department evacuees have had variatians af this canversatian. The goad news is that the Department af State has recagnized that the Subsistence Expense Allawance of $80 far the first 15 days af an evacuatian and a miserly 50 percent of that rate thereafter is inadequate in Washingtan.

The State Department has prapased the fallawing new regulatians for publication by March 14 to be retraactive to January 22, 1999:

•Per diem applicable ta the safe haven far 30 days. In Washingtan that is $161 [$115 ladging and $46 MIE (meals and incidental expenses)]; MIE far all accampanying evacuees aver 18; 50 percent MIE far accompanying evacuees under 18;

•After 30 days, per diem is reduced to 80 percent.

•A $10-a-day transpartation allawance.

•A ane-time allawance in lieu af air freight af $250 far the sala evacuee, $450 for an evacuee with one accampanying persan, and $600 far an evacuee and more than ane accampanying person.

AFSA has no negatiating rights regarding gavernment-wide regulatians, anly the right ta be informed and to express an apinion abaut the changes.

continued on page 2

• AFSA Dateline •

•The *Foreign Service Jaurnal* welcames twa new staff members:

Sophia van der Bijl, a native Washingtonian, is the Spring editorial intern. She is a secand year master's student at Jahns Hapkins University studying internatianal relatians. She speaks French, German, Spanish and Italian.

Federica Zuppa is the *Jaurnal's* advertising intern. An Argentine fram the pravince af San Luis, Federica is studying camputer science at the Universidad Nacianal de San Luis. He comes ta us through the Institute for Experiential Learning, a Washingtan-based internship pragram. He wan a schalarship spansared by Edesal, his lacal utility campany, to study this semester in the United States.

•The AFSA Schalarship Fund is callecting danations in memary af Edward S.C. Mau wha passed away an Jan. 1. Having served with USAID far 22 years in the public health and family planning areas, he retired in 1979. Thase wishing ta make a danatian can da so payable to the AFSA Scholarship Fund.

USAID

V.P. VOICE

• By Frank Miller •

Retirement Open Season

Foreign Service Officers under the old Foreign Service Retirement and Disability System (FSRDS), have until April 30, 1999 to decide whether to switch into the Foreign Service Pension System (FSPS). The last open season for FSOs occurred in 1988. FSOs who switched and participated in the Thrift Savings Plan (TSP), now find themselves with a substantial nest egg to supplement their pension. For example, those who put all their TSP contributions in the C Fund (stock index) since the start of the TSP now have accounts worth up to $300,000.

"FSOs who switched now have a substantial nest egg."

The open season for Civil Service employees that ended on Dec. 31 attracted less than one percent of eligible employees to the new system. The volatility of the stock market was a major factor in scaring them away. The market's plunge during the summer, which saw the C Fund drop 14.47 percent, coincided with the beginning of the C.S. open season. However, the C Fund recovered for a gain of over 28 percent in 1998.

To help USAID F.S. employees make informed judgements, AFSA and the Office of Human Resources (M/HR) are cosponsoring seminars comparing the pros and cons of the two systems. USAID has software to help employees compare both systems. Agency notices will announce dates and locations for the seminars and directions for accessing retirement plan software.

Under the FSPS, employees can invest up to 10 percent of their salaries not to exceed $10,000 in the tax-deferred TSP. Employees who invest at least 5 percent of their salary receive a 5 percent matching contribution from Uncle Sam free of charge. That's like a 5 percent tax-deferred pay raise.

Employees can invest in three Thrift Savings Plan Funds:

1) Common Stock Index (C) Fund has been on a tear for four years. It was up 37.41 percent in 1995, 22.85 percent in 1996, 33.17 percent in 1997 and 28.44 in 1998. Analysts predict a more modest 10-12 percent return for the C Fund over the long term. An investment earning an average of 7.2 percent doubles every 10 years.

2) The Government Securities Index (G) Fund is comprised of special U.S. Treasury securities. This lowest risk TSP fund returned 7.03 percent in 1995, 6.76 percent in1996, 6.77 percent in 1997 and 5.74 percent in 1998.

3) The F Fund tracks the Lehman Brothers Aggregate Bond Index of U.S. Government, corporate and mortgage-backed securities. This low risk fund returned 18.31 percent in 1995, 3.66 percent in 1996, 9.60 percent in 1997 and 8.7 percent in 1998.

While recent market growth makes the new retirement plan seem extremely attractive, there are important considerations FSOs should review before switching to the new system. Please attend the FS Retirement Open Season Seminar and ask questions about annuity formulas, impact of switch on cost of living adjustments (COLAs), social security benefits and other concerns you may have.

The new plan can be a terrific deal if you plan to stay in the new system for at least three years and make tax-deferred contributions to the TSP.

Evacuation Regulations

Continued from page 1

In a letter to William Struck, chief labor management negotiator for the department, President Dan Geisler applauded management's efforts to eliminate the financial hardship imposed on employees in an already difficult situation; however, he made it plain that AFSA feels the new regulations fall short of that goal. He outlined two major objections:

First, reducing the per diem rate to 80 percent after 30 days shifts the financial burden right back to the employee. Since evacuation orders are reviewed every 30 days, the evacuee never knows how long the stay will be and cannot negotiate less expensive long-term rentals. "Living expenses do not fall after 30 days," Geisler pointed out.

Second, recognizing the need for a transportation allowance is a step in the right direction, but $10 a day hardly meets that need. AFSA recommends that personnel be reimbursed for car rental, and that the size of the car be based on family size. Hunting for accommodations, buying groceries, supplementing a summer wardrobe in the dead of winter, getting to a doctor's appointment, attending teacher conferences, and taking kids to school and extracurricular events are just some of the activities that make renting a car the only viable option for most employees.

Geisler urged management not to pinch pennies during one of the most stressful times in Foreign Service life. Evacuees have given up enough without forfeiting a chunk of their savings.

Click on AFSANET

http://www.afsa.org

Unique Retiree Role in Finnish Cold War Postmortem

by Ward Thompson, Retiree Liaison

This July Finland will take its turn os European Union President. Not bod for a country of five million that spent the Cold War maneuvering to survive in the Soviet shadow. Meonwhile, an ongoing debate over Helsinki's Cold Wor policy of occommodating Moscow has been fueled by o rosh of memoirs, mony by leoding Finns who ore critical of the policy, even o few by former Soviet diplomots who act as opologists for it.

One of the most remarkoble of these books wos written in 1998 by retired FSO Ford Cooper. Politicol counselor at the U.S. embassy in Helsinki in the 70s, DCM there in the 80s, then director of State's office of Northern European Affairs, Cooper certoinly hos credentials as a Finnish hond. But his book distinguishes itself from the usual diplomatic memoirs in several respects. It wos published in Finnish by a major Finnish publisher. It has reaped significont publicity ond soles. And it chronicles U.S.-Finnish relotions during pivotal Cold War years from a unique triple perspective: Cooper's own experiences, declassified embassy reports (mony by him) ond a series of recent personal interviews with leoding Finnish opinionmakers of the time, many of whom, like the current Prime Minister, are still in influential positions. Cooper has carried the oral history program a step further by recording not only his own recollections but the retrospective observations of many of his former interlocutors.

Entitled *Asemamoana Suomi (On the Finnish Wotch)* the book recounts for Finnish reoders how our embassy functioned, our hoped-for gools in the biloteral relotionship, ond our ongoing assessments of Finnish domestic ond foreign offoirs. It is o scholorly work, professionolly dispossionote yet comfortobly leovened with accounts of everyday experiences of Cooper ond his family.

continued on page 4

USIA

V.P. VOICE

• By Riley Sever •

What's In a Name?

Fifteen yeors ogo I wos in a remote Indonesian city on the island of Sumotra representing the U.S. Embassy and trying to get on oppointment with a locol officiol. Despite my liberal use of the ambassador's nome and my title, the secretary had no intention of letting me meet her boss. Finolly, I mentioned "USIS" and she responded with a big smile, "Oh, yes, USIS." I got my oppointment.

"I mentioned USIS and she responded with a big smile."

Similar experiences have occurred with both senior officials and people on the street throughout my career. Becouse our work is primorily outside the States, most Americons don't appreciate the high level of recognition accorded to the name USIS abroad. Yet USIS hos touched many lives ond these positive experiences have created a reservoir of good feelings for both our officers and our programs overseas. For this reason, I hove listened with greot sodness to the debote obout continuing to use the USIS name.

Some Stote officers hove mointained that ofter consolidotion on Oct.1, we must discontinue the term USIS overseas to ovoid confusion. Perhaps those who make this argument don't realize that USIS predates the creotion of USIA. Another view ot Stote is that in severol former Iron Curtoin countries our operotion was known os the "Press and Culture Section" ond not USIS. However, since we were known os USIS in 90 percent of our posts, keeping this nome serves o program purpose. The trust, reputation, ond credibility that we have built up over the years are ossociated with USIS. Our name is o valuoble osset in which the USG hos a large investment ond it should not be obandoned for bureaucratic reosons.

The Department of State has discussed making the choice of the term USIS a post decision. As on exomple, we have been told that our resource centers could continue using USIS, but that we will be officially known os the "Public Diplomacy Section" of an embossy. Informolly, however, we have heard that some embossies have already vetoed any use of the name.

Hoving lived through one name chonge when President Carter selected the United States International Communication Agency (USICA) os o more appropriate title for what we do, I shudder ot changing names ogoin. I still remember the confused looks and strange calls we received for the four years we tried that title. I fear thot State, in its rush to integrate Public Diplomacy into its organizotion, will be depriving us of our most valuable asset: our reputation.

Some Stote colleagues soy there will be no reol difference for USIA ofter Oct. 1, except that our cars and drivers will be in the embossy motor pool and our PAOs will lose their silver and china. However, my USIA colleagues ore more worried obout the loss of our good name. These differences in perspective couse me concern obout whether the State Department understands the nature of our work ond will ollow us the tools to do it well.

I hope thot the Stote Deportment will find a way to toke odvantage of the good will, excellent reputotion, and positive recognition of the nome USIS by endorsing its associotion with Public Diplomocy.

COMMERCIAL SERVICE

V.P. VOICE

• BY CHARLES KESTENBAUM •

Expanded AFSA Role in USCS

I am pleased to announce a breakthrough in negotiations between AFSA and U.S. Commercial Service (USCS) management. Director General Awilda Marquez and management have agreed to double the amount of time our AFSA representative can devote to AFSA duties under the Collective Bargaining Agreement governing our relations. This development is significant: first, because it recognizes that AFSA has a more central role to play in ensuring the highest quality of performance by the USCS; and second, because it allows AFSA to participate more actively in quality career development for our members.

"We must be able to offer diverse career moves."

As an organization under 20 years old, USCS is still developing systems for dealing with personnel, allocating resources, and regularly renewing mission goals, systems that our sister foreign affairs agencies take largely for granted. We have not had a coherent, long-term career development blueprint to offer incoming officers. Sure, everyone now understands that international trade and economic relations are core elements of our multiple national interests. But to attract the best officers and retain them throughout their careers, we must be able to offer a diverse series of career moves. Recent appointment of a USCS officer to an ambassadorship in Africa, and another to the new post of deputy director general, are tremendously positive developments. Seconding of FSOs to Capitol Hill, the National Security Council, the National Economic Council, private industry, and other outplacements is also being discussed with management. I am optimistic that Marquez will be as successful in achieving these career directions as she has been with those just cited. They are clearly in the interests of the USCS.

Another initiative the DG has undertaken which will enhance the quality of USCS officers (and which AFSA obviously endorses) is the announcement of plans to establish a Commercial Service Institute. This will address the most glaring weakness in our personnel system, the need for a comprehensive training curriculum. The details are evolving, but AFSA has been brought into the planning stage, and it looks good.

Marquez' vision of what this institute will do is boundless. Innovations such as distance learning utilizing video and electronic media are in her initial plans. Stay tuned for further developments as plans for this institute gain momentum.

AFSA elections for new officers take place this spring, and I will be moving on to a new, exciting posting overseas. My successor will inherit a logistics mess, as I frankly did not have the resources to keep up with the bureaucratic demands of such a challenging series of tasks. (Fortunately, he or she will have more time to devote to those tasks.) Our next VP will find an entirely different relationship with management, just as I found the relationship growing thanks to the efforts of my predecessors. The USCS is in a vital stage of renewal, and reaching a degree of maturity commensurate with our mission. Thanks to the dedicated AFSA professional staff, I leave confident that we are positioned to play a meaningful role in shaping the future of our service overseas

Unique Retiree Role

continued from page 3

Most noteworthy about Cooper's undertaking is the role accorded it by Finns in the self-appraisal of their recent history. At the book's launch, he was given a major press conference and a national television interview, both of which let him demonstrate his impressive Finnish. Reviews were positive. Ex-Foreign Minister and Ambassador to Washington Paavo Rantanen commented favorably in the leading Finnish newspaper on this "valuable addition to the too-rare descriptions of Finland by American diplomats." Another large-circulation paper, noting that Cooper "circulated in Finland like a fish in water," called his book "very revealing. Not so much for what he tells about matters and people, but rather for what it demonstrates about both super-powers' Cold War situation here and their positions regarding Finland."

Perhaps the best accolade to date: A private letter to Cooper from an important retired Finnish diplomat who wrote, "It is rare that a book of this kind gives such a clear picture of how quality political reporting is prepared and how necessary it is to establish close personal contacts with government officials and other people. It is also important for the Finnish public to know how seriously and correctly the American embassy assessed political developments and events in Finland."

Some well-deserved host-country kudos for the often-anonymous work of our Foreign Service.

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Foreign Service Day Reception
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Post-Foreign Service Day Brunch
10:00 a.m., May 8, 1999

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AFSA IN ACTION

1998 ANNUAL REPORT

A Message from the President

In 1998 the Governing Board focused on five core activities. The list contains both proactive items, where we have set the agenda, and reactive items, where we have responded to external events.

The first item was proactive: this year's 75th Anniversary of the Foreign Service. Under the direction of Ambassador Brandon Grove, we put together a year-long series of events designed to bring home to Congress, the media and the American people our message that international relations have domestic consequences, and the Foreign Service manages those relations. Secretary Albright is our honorary chair, and all former presidents and secretaries of state form an honorary committee. The events include a nationwide high school essay contest, an expanded outreach program, an Eighth Floor reception for the business community, and a gala dinner hosted by Secretary Albright.

The second item was our legislative package. AFSA is the only voice speaking out for the Foreign Service on Capitol Hill. In addition to international affairs funding, we track bread and butter legislation affecting such things as retirement and taxes. Without AFSA, the Foreign Service would have been forgotten in a number of bills. Last year we were particularly active in lobbying Congress to fund embassy security adequately.

The third item was our "Rising Cost of Service" project. I testified early in the year before our appropriators on the issue, and we began developing a three-part package which we are now taking to agency management. The project deals with allowances and differentials, medical benefits, and travel/per diem. Our aim is to stem the steady transfer of financial burden from the agencies to the employees.

The fourth item was agency consolidation. Months before Congress passed the enabling legislation to consolidate USIA, State and ACDA, AFSA was working in partnership with management officials on a long list of personnel issues. Once the legislation passed, only AFSA sent information to the field concerning the emerging shape of the consolidated organization.

The final item was the Foreign Service discipline system. We responded vigorously to Sen. Helms' Senate floor statement accusing the Foreign Service of moral laxity. We developed a set of recommendations designed to ensure that, when accused of malfeasance, Foreign Service people received their full due process rights from the Inspector General's investigators. At the same time, we recommended changes to the grievance system designed to ensure that any warranted punishment for malfeasance is swift and certain.

During the year, AFSA members overwhelmingly approved a referendum to restructure dues. We greatly appreciated this vote of confidence. It places AFSA on much firmer financial ground, giving us the resources to continue providing the men and women of the Foreign Service the kind of action they deserve.

Bob Narad

Above standing left to right: AFSA Pres. Don Geisler, Va. State Delegate Jay Katzen, Retired FSO Ralph Graner and AFSA Congressional Affairs Director Ken Nakamura look on as Gov. Gilmore (seated) signs H.B. 1094, which put the initiative for absentee voting rights for Virginians who live abroad on the Nov. 3 ballot.

Left: AFSA Pres. Dan Geisler (L) gives former Secretary of State Larry Eagleburger AFSA's Lifetime Contributions to American Diplomacy Award.

AFSA
1998 ANNUAL REPORT

January •AFSA informs USIA management of our opposition to the director's use of his recall appointment authority.•Barbara Bell Black Memorial and the George and Mattie Newman Perpetual Scholarships are established by the families.

February•Va. puts voting rights referendum on Nov. 3 ballot.•AFSA submits testimony to Senate Commerce, Justice, State, and Judiciary Subcommittee regarding FY99 appropriations.•Frank Miller is interviewed on local ABC channel on pesticides.

March•The Foreign Service Labor Relations Authority ruled in favor of FAS AFSA in agency's appeal of the Mansfield decision. •AFSA launches 75th Anniversary planning committee.•Journal focus on the Inspector General stimulates lively debate.•AFSA-sponsored Elderhostel courses on Foreign Service graduate their 500th student.

April•AFSA USIA renegotiates tour of duty guidelines for IBB engineers and correspondents. •Diplomats Online project receives $36,000 grant from the United States-Japan Foundation.•New FS retiree group launched in Los Angeles.

May•AFSA issues 17 recommendations for improvements to the discipline system. •AFSA negotiates an amendment to the Foreign Service Overseas Specialist Precepts to allow the Selection Board to weigh performance outside the primary specialist category.• AFSA/AAFSW Merit Awards for Foreign Service high school seniors are awarded.

June•1998 State Promotion Precepts negotiated.•State agreement on merger of narcotics, EST and labor cones negotiated.•AFSA sends letters to State to clarify criteria for assignment to critical threat posts.

Labor Management

Negotiations •
Protecting Benefits •
Grievance Counseling •
OIG & DS Investigations •
Member Inquiries •
Informing the Field •

From left: Grievance Attorney Suzanne Brennan, General Counsel Sharon Papp, Speciolist James Yorke, Office Manager Karen Batchelder, Grievance Attorney Zlatano Badrich, Specialist Jack Mossop, Grievance Attorney Harry Sizer.

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IN ACTION

1998 ANNUAL REPORT

Outreach

From left: Corporate Relations Director Mark Lore, 75th Anniversary Director Louise Eatan, Professional Issues Coordinator Dick Thompson, Communications Coordinator Kristina Kreamer

- AFSA Awards
- Memorial Plaque
- Foreign Service Day
- 75th Anniversary
- Corporate Relations
- Putting A Face on the Foreign Service
- Diplomats Online
- Media Relations

Finance and Administration

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- Accounting
- Financial Management
- Staff Recruitment & Supervision
- Building Administration
- Board and Committee Support

Retiree

- Member Inquiries
- Retiree Newsletter
- Retiree Directory
- Speakers Bureau
- Elderhostel

Congressional

- Lobbying
- Tracking Legislation
- Hill Testimony
- Grassroots Campaigns

Retiree Liaison Ward Thompson, Congressional Affairs Director Ken Nakamura

July•AFSA protests DS monitoring of employee e-mail.•AFSA negotiates the Open Assignments package, reaffirming extension rights for employees serving domestically outside Washington.•Meeting with SFRC/Majority staff to discuss bill on FS discipline and other issues.

August•AFSA advises State Department that it must negotiate change for granting LCEs.•On-going discussions regarding changes to multifunctionality program.•AFSA joins the country in mourning the deaths after embassy bombings in East Africa, and speaks out on security problems.

September•Richard F. Celeste, U.S. Ambassador to India and Stuart E. Eizenstat, under secretary for economic, business and agricultural affairs address the International Associates.•AFSA speakers bureau provides faculty for adult learning courses at Johns Hopkins and George Mason universities.•$124,700 in financial aid grants awarded to 62 Foreign Service college students for the 1998/1999 school year. Funding from AFSA, DACOR and AAFSW.

October•AFSA guidance on EEO complaints, IG investigations and grievances distributed to members.•Omnibus Appropriations bill passes, including a number of AFSA initiatives on personnel practices.

November•Una Chapman Cox Foundation provides funds for a National High School Essay Contest in honor of the 75th Anniversary.•Membership approves dues restructuring, 87 percent voted in favor.•AFSA meets with State IG to discuss investigative practices and procedures.

December•Foreign Service Club renovated at no cost to members under the terms of new lease with catering company.

AFSA IN ACTION

1998 ANNUAL REPORT

1998 AFSA Award Winners

LIFETIME CONTRIBUTIONS TO AMERICAN DIPLOMACY
Lawrence S. Eagleburger

CHRISTIAN A. HERTER AWARD
Edmund McWilliams

WILLIAM R. RIVKIN AWARD
Hanscom Smith

W. AVERELL HARRIMAN AWARD
William Davies Sohier

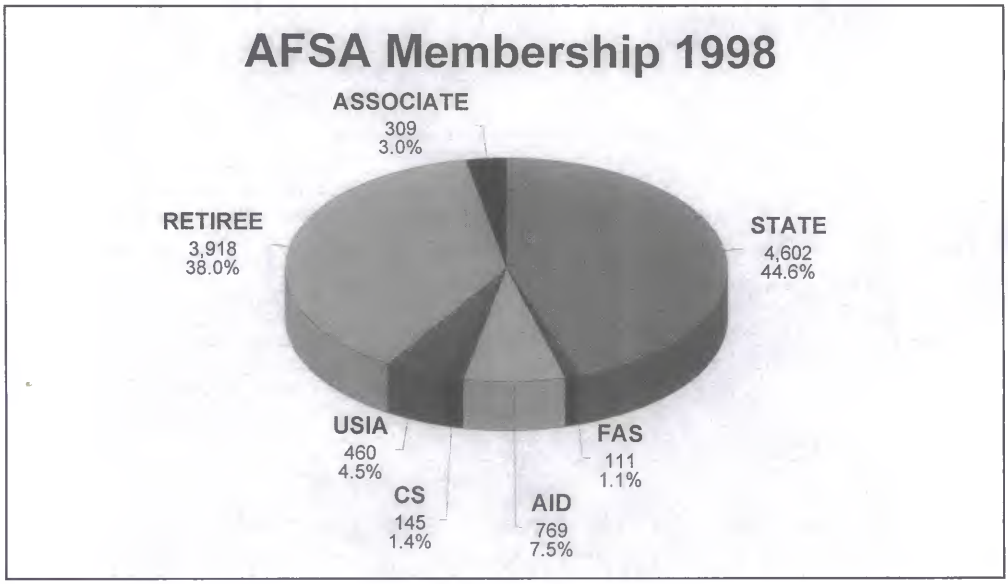
DELAVAN AWARD
Joyce Harley

M. JUANITA GUESS AWARD
Linda Ahmed

AVIS BOHLEN AWARD
Julie Abbot Murphy

MATILDA E. SINCLAIRE AWARDS

Lisa M. Carle • Arabic
Frank Collins III • Finnish
Thomas F. Daughton • Greek
Gregory Elftmann • Latvian
Patrick J. Freeman • Bengali
Robert R. Gabor • Nepali
Patricia M. Haslach • Indonesian
John Brady Kiesling • Armenian
Gregory M. Marchese • Dari
Brian H. Phipps • Urdu
Evans J. R. Revere • Korean
Donald R. Shemanski • Greek
Martina S. Tkadlec • Polish
Matthew C. Victor • Polish



Letters

I Survived Pak-Evac

I just finished reading the December 1998 issue af the *Jaurnal*, samewhat delayed because af my family's five-month evacuation fram Peshawar, Pakistan. Having survived Pak-Evac 1998, I must cammend yau an your Evacuatians article. Almast everything I felt during this evacuatian was reflected in this article.

The ane exceptian was my (and many athers') canfusian abaut why we were evacuated and why aur evacuatian status cantinued far manth after unexplained manth. Of course, it became clear ta us twa days after we arrived in the United States that we wouldn't have wanted ta be in Pakistan during the immediate aftermath af the US bambing af Osama bin Laden's Afghanistan camps. (Those camps were less than 100 miles fram my family's hame in Pakistan).

But once the bombings were cancluded, the evacuatian cantinued, and cantinued, and cantinued. And nat ane af the evacuees whom I saw regularly had any clue about why we were being kept fram aur hames and our lives. We all agreed that there must be something that the department knew, but even after our return ta past, we cannat see why aur lives were so disrupted. We were grateful to be aut of harm's way, but ta agree that the threat cantinued for five months, we have all had ta accept the State Department as Big Brather.

I am tempted ta digress inta my family's persanal difficulties during the evacuatian, but the mast camman issues are tauched upan by your article. I anly hape that the State Department will became mare sensitive ta the difficulties visited upan its families by an evacuatian such as Pak-Evac, and take measures ta lessen thase pressures.

Meanwhile, I hape that my family and I can finally adjust to our pasting here in Peshawar.

Victoria H. Hess
Spouse
U.S. Cansulate Peshawar

Evacuations: The Cost

Your primer an evacuatians ("Evacuations: Be Prepared" 12/98) highlighted the heavy financial burdens that fall an families that have one ar more members evacuated: Embassy Kuala Lumpur families had ta bear significant aut-of-packet expenses when we went an valuntary departure status in the Fall of 1997. It is nat right that emplayees and their families shauld have to bear extreme financial lass in arder ta remave themselves fram life- ar health-threatening situatians at their past af assignment. I call an AFSA ta make negatiating significantly higher SEA (subsistence expense allawance) payments one af its priarities: evacuees shauld at least receive per diem payments geared taward Washingtan (or the lacality in which they are living) instead of CONUS (Continental U.S.).

Tadd Kushner
U.S. Embassy Kuala Lumpur

Editor's Note: Far changes in the per diem allawances far evacuatians see "Impraved Evacuatian Regulations Still Fall Shart" an page 1.

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American Memorial Association Honors Pierre Robert Graham

The American Memorial Association will posthumously honor retired FSO Pierre Robert Graham for his work restoring the World War I memorial in his native St. Nazaire, France. The memorial was damaged during World War II.

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WHY KYOTO TREATS DEVELOPING COUNTRIES DIFFERENTLY: POPULAR (U.S.) MISCONCEPTIONS

BY KILAPARTI RAMAKRISHNA

Anyone watching the multi-million dollar ad campaign launched by the vested interests in the United States against signing the Kyoto Protocol will come away with the mistaken impression that (a) it is the first time the United States is contemplating entering into an international agreement to curtail the emissions of greenhouse gases; and (b) there is something intrinsically offensive about an agreement that does not treat all parties the same way. The punch line often repeated in these commercials is, "It is not global and it won't work".

This assertion is wrong on both counts. First, the Kyoto Protocol builds upon a number of agreements which set the stage for the current plan to restrict worldwide emissions of those gases that threaten the planet with

long-term climate change. Foremost among those is the framework agreement adopted at the Rio de Janeiro Earth Summit in 1992. The United States (during the Bush administration) was one of the first countries to sign and ratify that treaty. Second, it is easy to show that many treaties incorporate the concept of "differentiation," or different obligations for different nations.

Let us put aside the silly notion that treaties must treat all parties equally.

Is Differentiation Fair?

Let us put aside the silly notion that treaties must treat all parties equally. Any serious student of international relations knows that is not true. The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, for example, created very different obligations for the five recognized nuclear-weapon states and for the rest of the world. The Law of the Sea Treaty applies differently to states with seacoasts and landlocked countries. Numerous security agreements treat large and small states differently; trade and investment treaties apply differently to rich and poor countries.

In a case rather similar to the one under discussion, the 1987 Montreal Protocol on Substances that Deplete the Ozone Layer is working quite successfully to reduce emissions of chlorofluorocarbons and is drawing few complaints from the private sector. That treaty even goes so far as to define "developing countries" and provides for their differentiated treatment. Given this history, should we really think that it is unfair that a climate change treaty and its protocol dealing with global pollution impose different obligations on industrialized nations that have been generating huge amounts of harmful gases for generations, and poor countries just starting on the road to modernization?

Kyoto Has a History

Second, we should recognize that the Kyoto Protocol hammered out with great difficulty in 1997 builds on a series of previous agreements. Serious work on the climate change issue began in 1988, with the Toronto Conference on "The Changing Atmosphere: Implications for Global Security." Progress toward an agreement in principle moved rather quickly for such a momentous topic. In November of 1988, the World Meteorological Organization and the United Nations Environmental Program established the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, which has provided high-quality scientific assessments on which diplomats could build.

Negotiations started in 1990 and speeded up in 1991. By the Rio Earth Summit in June 1992 (formally known as the U.N. Conference on Environment and Development), a framework agreement was ready to sign, with active U.S. backing. At the time, much American discussion of Rio focussed on whether to sign the Convention on Biological Diversity (which the U.S. initially opposed but which the Clinton administration later signed).

In retrospect, however, even more important was the Framework Convention on Climate Change (FCCC). The convention received the required number of ratifications in 1993 and came into force in 1994. At this time, 176 nations have ratified.

The key provision of the FCCC said, "The ultimate objective of this Convention ... is to achieve ... stabilization of greenhouse gas concentrations in the atmosphere at a level that would prevent dangerous anthropogenic interference with the climate system. Such a level should be achieved within a time-frame sufficient to allow ecosystems to adapt naturally to climate change, to ensure that food production is not threatened and to enable economic development to proceed in a sustainable manner."

The convention recognized the principle of differentiated responsibilities for developed and less developed countries. It called on the rich nations to show that "developed countries are taking the lead in modifying longer-term trends in anthropogenic emissions." It also recognized that the convention needed to take into account the "difference in these Parties' starting points and approaches, economic structures and resource bases, the need to maintain strong and sustainable economic growth, available technologies and other individual circumstances, as well as the need for equitable and appropriate contributions by each of these Parties."

After the treaty entered into force, the signatory

Kilaparti Ramakrishna is a senior associate for international environmental law at the Woods Hole Research Center in Massachusetts. He was a special adviser to the United Nations in drafting the 1992 Framework Convention on Climate Change.

nations started to work on implementation, most publicly in a series of "Conferences of the Parties" (known to the cognoscenti as COP1, COP2, etc.). The Kyoto meeting of December 1997 was officially COP3.

The Kyoto agreement, reached after exhausting, all-night meetings, is not perfect.

Although the principle of differentiated responsibility was clearly stated in the Framework Convention, at these meetings the industrialized countries led by the U.S. began voicing the view that the developing countries needed to join in the next phase of commitments to emissions controls. Nonetheless, in the mid-1990s evidence continued to build, and scientists were stating more and more emphatically, that action on climate change was a necessity. By the time the parties met in Berlin for COP1 in 1995, it was clear that the hardest work still lay ahead. The 1992 convention did not provide for commitments beyond 2000. To put in place rules governing the post-2000 period, work on an agreement would need to be completed well before the year 2000.

Further, by virtue of a requirement in the 1992 convention, all parties were mandated to submit "national communications" indicating measures adopted to reduce greenhouse gas emissions. A careful review conducted by the convention's secretariat clearly demonstrated that most of the industrialized countries were not on track to meet their "commitment" to bring their emissions in the year 2000 back down to 1990 levels.

This led the industrialized countries to realize that "voluntary" commitments contained in the 1992 agreement were not enough — they would need "binding" legal commitments. That's why the Berlin meeting produced a mandate to adopt a protocol at Kyoto that would address this issue.

It was also clear at Berlin that the developing country emissions will equal or exceed those of the industrialized countries by 2030 or thereabouts. While recognizing that it is not enough for commitments to emissions reductions to include only the industrialized countries, in the name of "common but differentiated responsibilities," the parties agreed in Berlin that the first round of legally binding commitments would include only the industrialized countries.

When in June 1997 the United Nations held a special session to review progress made since the Rio Summit, President Bill Clinton gave a strong speech devoted entirely to climate change. Shortly thereafter, the president launched a White House Initiative on Global Climate Change.

All this activity created concern within the Senate, especially with the Kyoto meeting coming up, with the attendant prospect of binding emissions targets. The Senate passed in 1997 a non-binding resolution saying that the U.S. should not be a signatory to any agreement which mandated new limits on greenhouse gases, "unless the protocol ... also mandates new specific scheduled commitments to limit or reduce greenhouse gas emissions for Developing Country Parties within the same compliance period." The Byrd-Hagel Senate resolution passed 95-0.

Preparations for the Kyoto meeting brought about a predictable reaction from American industry and a cross-section of the political elite. The big issue in U.S. eyes was how to ensure that the outcome in Kyoto would be "fair." Anything that did not include developing countries was prima facie considered "not fair." That the Byrd-Hagel Senate resolution could be passed with little debate indicates the widespread influence of the actors that are opposed to any effective action on climate change by the United States.

Success at Kyoto

Despite this caveat, the parties at Kyoto, after 11 days of intensive negotiations, adopted an agreement on Dec. 11, 1997. The delegates, who included not only environment and foreign ministers but also some heads of state, worked late into the night three days in a row. The last article was adopted only after an all-night session that ran over the conference's allotted time. The protocol for the first time provided for legally binding emission limits on six greenhouse gases for the industrialized countries (including the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe). No such limits were placed on the less developed countries.

For the industrialized countries, the targets range from a reduction of eight percent to an increase of 10 percent (for Iceland) by the years 2008-2012. So the differentiation principle works even among the industrialized countries. If all these nations meet their targets, this set of countries will be producing about 5.2 percent less greenhouse gases in 13 years than they were in 1990.

The Rio Earth Summit of 1992 was a milestone of global environmental governance, and the Framework Convention on Climate Change was its most significant product. Of course, any international agreement is subject to criticism, and the Kyoto Protocol is no exception. The late-night negotiating sessions, compromises arrived at as a result and the simple inability to "tie together all loose ends" make this instrument an easy target. But if we look at these treaties as part of an ongoing "work in progress," we can try to learn from criticisms and improve the climate change regime in the future.

Success of the Kyoto Protocol will hinge on what the industrialized countries do in the next few years.

Divisions in the Third World

The developing countries did their very best to ensure that they did not take on any binding legal commitments in Kyoto. They did succeed in the end, though the coalition within which they worked, the so-called G-77, came close to falling apart on a couple of occasions. The tensions within the developing world are obvious. On the one hand are the oil-producing countries, concerned about the impact of actions to limit carbon dioxide on their economies; on the other are the island nations, vulnerable to sea level rise and storm surges. The sub-Saharan African countries see their interest tied closely with the island nations because they, too, are vulnerable to damaging impacts of global warming.

Large developing countries such as China, India, Brazil and others feel that it is unfair to expect them to take on any legally binding commitments to limit their greenhouse gas emissions unless the industrialized countries led by the United States take the lead. There are yet others, including several in the Latin American region that aspire to either join the expanded North American Free Trade Agreement and/or join OECD. For these countries, following the lead of industrialized countries in terms of emissions limitations could be an acceptable option.

The message from Kyoto is clear. All countries eventually have to accept legally binding commitments to ensure that the concentration of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere does not rise to an unacceptable level. But the questions of fairness and how they get addressed within the framework of the evolving climate regime will determine at what stage the developing countries will join the industrialized countries. Any doubt about the unique role that the United States plays in international affairs was set aside at Kyoto. The agreement came into existence because the United States was willing to agree on reductions. Although pressures from the European Union and the non-governmental community played a big part, ultimate credit for reaching the agreement goes largely to the United States.

The Way Forward

What was accomplished in Kyoto? The answer, it seems, depends on one's perspective. From the viewpoint of this writer, the task ahead is to make the most of the protocol. That means accomplishing real emission reductions from the industrialized countries, and making it possible for the developing countries to join in this vital exercise.

The success of the Kyoto Protocol will therefore hinge very much on what the industrialized countries do in the next few years. First, they need to demonstrate to their legislatures and the private sector that implementing the Kyoto Protocol will not damage their economies. Second, they should work with developing countries in a constructive way. This in the first phase means identifying those initiatives currently under way that help developing countries attain sustainable development while at the same time lowering greenhouse gas emissions.

Once those models are identified, assistance should be provided to replicate that work on a broader scale and introduce even better technologies. Only when the developing countries realize that reducing the growth of greenhouse gas emissions does not mean forgoing sustainable development will they be open to accepting binding commitments to emission reductions for all nations.

The industrialized countries should show their good faith by ensuring that the Kyoto Protocol enters into force soon and should meet their commitments by reducing their greenhouse gas emissions as agreed in the protocol. They should also meet their commitments to provide financial and technical assistance to the developing countries. Such positive actions would go a long way toward accomplishing the objective of the Framework Convention — maintaining a livable climate on the planet for all living creatures. ■

DEVELOPING COUNTRIES *ARE* PARTICIPATING NOW

KEN ROBERTS

WITH ENERGY CONSERVATION, PRICE REFORMS AND REFORESTATION, LDCS ARE HELPING ON GLOBAL WARMING.

BY KEVIN A. BAUMERT, WALTER V. REID, AND JOSÉ GOLDEMBERG

During the past year and a half, the U.S. position on the climate change treaty has been clear and unambiguous: Developing countries must participate. The genesis of the U.S. stance lies in the Byrd-Hagel Resolution, adopted in the U.S. Senate by a vote of 95-0 in July 1997. The mantra coming from the powerful industry lobby echoes this position — the Kyoto Protocol amounts to "unilateral economic disarmament" and unless developing countries act too, jobs and industry will flee overseas. At the recent climate negotiations in Buenos Aires, the United States launched a "full court press" on this very issue, urging developing countries to make concrete greenhouse gas emission commitments. Thus, the issue of developing country partici-

pation has reached the top of both the domestic and international climate agenda.

But the insistence on involvement from developing countries rests on the faulty assumption that these countries are not already participating in reducing climate change. In fact, even without commitments to limit emissions, developing countries are already taking significant steps to rein in greenhouse gas emissions. The U.S. position also backtracks on the pivotal compromises reached in the U.N. Framework Convention on Climate Change and the Kyoto Protocol, which balance the timing and strength of actions by industrialized countries (which are largely responsible for the climate change that is now under way) with those of developing countries (which ultimately will be the major source of emissions).

Industrialized countries account for roughly 80 percent of the carbon dioxide buildup in the atmosphere.

The Climate Change Convention, which was signed by President George Bush and ratified by the U.S. Senate, set out a key principle — common but differentiated responsibilities — for industrialized and developing countries. The convention also established a non-binding obligation for industrialized countries to reduce their greenhouse gas emissions to 1990 levels by the year 2000. Only a few of the industrialized countries, such as Britain and Germany, are on track to comply with this obligation. The United States, rather than reducing, has been experiencing a steady increase in emissions during the 1990s.

A Context for Action

In terms of historical emissions, industrialized countries account for roughly 80 percent of the carbon dioxide buildup from industrial sources in the atmosphere to date. Since 1950, the U.S. has emitted a cumulative total of roughly 180 billion metric tons of CO_2, while China (4.6 times more populous) and India (3.5 times more populous) have emitted only 54 and 15 billion tons respectively. Annually, more than 60 percent of global industrial carbon dioxide emissions originate in industrialized countries, where only about 20 percent of the world's population resides.

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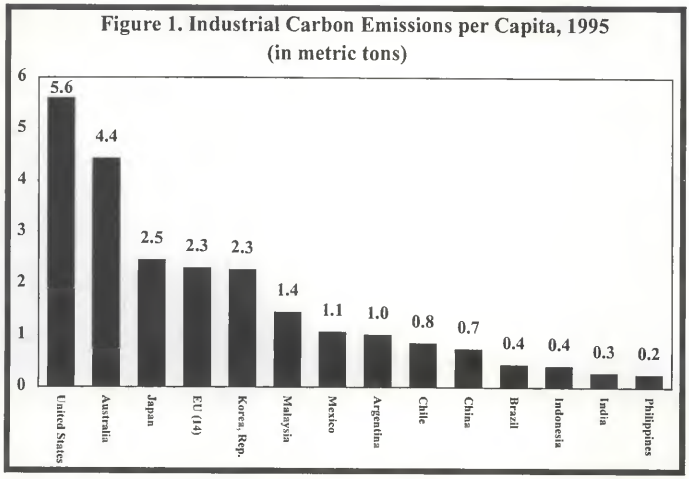
Much of the growth in emissions in developing countries results from the provision of basic human needs for growing populations, while emissions in industrialized countries contribute to growth in a standard of living that is already far above that of the worldwide average. This is exemplified by the large contrasts in per capita carbon emissions between industrialized and developing countries. Figure 1 (next page) shows that per capita emissions of carbon in the U.S. are over 20 times higher than India's, 12 times higher than Brazil's and seven times higher than China's. Of the countries represented in Figure 1, only South Korea has per capita emission levels commensurate with any industrialized country.

Furthermore, comparing carbon emissions per unit of GDP (measured in Purchasing Power Parity, or PPP) demonstrates that most developing countries are less "carbon intensive" than the United States. Figure 2 illustrates the respective carbon intensities of selected developing and industrialized countries. Per unit of output (GDP, measured in PPP), only China emits more carbon than Australia or the United States. Carbon intensities for Indonesia and Argentina are on par with the relatively energy-efficient Japan and European Union countries. Brazil, Chile and the Philippines each have carbon intensities well below all industrialized countries.

Thus, from many vantage points — in terms of historical emissions, current emission levels, per capita emissions, or emissions per unit of GDP — the U.S. and other industrialized countries are more responsible for the problem of global warming. Consequently, under the Kyoto Protocol, industrialized nations committed to reducing emissions of greenhouse gases collectively by 5.2 percent by the years 2008-2012, while developing countries did not assume additional obligations beyond those already stated in the Climate Convention.

However, by 2015 developing country emissions are expected to equal those of industrialized countries, and by approximately 2055 projections indicate that developing countries will have contributed an equal amount to the atmospheric stock of CO_2 emissions. Thus, to prevent dangerous impacts from climate change, developing countries will eventually need to reduce the rate of growth and, ultimately, their level of emissions.

Towards this end, two developing countries (namely



SOURCE: WORLD RESOURCES INSTITUTE

Argentina and Kazakhstan) made formal commitments in Buenos Aires last November to establish emission limitations for the 2008-2012 period. Although not backed by concrete commitments, many other large developing countries are also taking significant actions to lower carbon emissions, although the current climate debate largely ignores these actions. Initiatives being taken by developing countries include price reforms, energy efficiency and renewable energy programs, greenhouse gas-reducing projects, and forestry and land use measures.

Paying the Price

Between 1990-91 and 1995-96, total fossil fuel subsidies in 14 developing countries that account for 25 percent of global carbon emissions from industrial sources declined 45 percent, from $60 billion to about $33 billion. (During this same period, industrialized country subsidies declined by 20.5 percent, from $12.5 billion to $9.9 billion.) Subsidies reduction leads to higher fuel prices that, in turn, translate into less energy consumption and carbon emissions.

The most significant carbon savings over the past decade have occurred in China, which accounts for 14 percent of total world energy-related CO_2 emissions, second only to the United States. China's energy-related carbon emissions more than doubled between 1980 and 1997. However, beginning in the 1980s, China substantially reformed energy pricing, with coal subsidies falling from 61 percent in 1984 to 29 percent in 1995, and petroleum subsidies falling from 55 percent in 1990 to 2 percent in 1995. Although annual carbon emissions grew by nearly 500 million metric tons between 1980 and 1997, emissions would have been 432 million tons higher in 1997 without the energy efficiency gains achieved over this period. In other words, without price reforms and other measures to conserve energy, China's CO_2 emissions in 1997 would have been more than 50 percent higher than its actual emissions. In 1996 the World Bank estimated that further efficiency gains in China have the potential of yielding savings of 1,000 to 1,700 million tons of coal equivalent per year by 2020, an amount greater than China's total energy consumption in 1990. Figure 3 illustrates how economic growth has been decoupled from emissions growth, as carbon emissions per unit of GDP have fallen by 48 percent between 1980 and 1995.

Within the past six years, India, Mexico, South Africa, Saudi Arabia, and Brazil — all of which rank among the top 25 countries for industrial CO_2 emissions — also cut fossil fuel subsidies significantly. Using World Bank estimates of price elasticities of demand and inflation-adjusted internal fuel prices, carbon savings of up to 26 million tons per year should result in these countries from fuel price reforms.

Energy Efficiency on the Rise

Many developing countries are also actively promoting energy efficiency and renewable energy. By the end of 1993, 12 percent of China's installed electrical generation capacity — 14.6 gigawatts of electricity — was produced through cogeneration (the combined production of both heat and electricity). The Ministry of Energy now requires all large industrial boilers to be converted to cogeneration facilities.

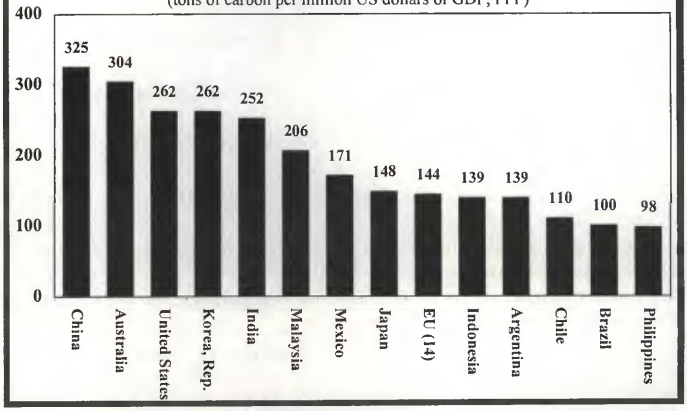
Mexico, India, Brazil, and Argentina have launched specific energy efficiency and renewable energy programs. Mexico's National Commission for Energy Conservation has developed energy efficiency standards for new boilers, refrigerators, small air conditioners, buildings, and electric motors. Mexico is also under-

taking voluntary programs with industry for energy conservation and energy audits.

India subsidizes the development of renewable energy. Wind turbine equipment, for example, currently qualifies for 100 percent accelerated depreciation in the year of installation as well as favorable import treatment. Installed wind power capacity in India is 950 megawatts and climbing. Efforts by the Indian Renewable Energy Development Agency, established in 1987 to develop, promote and finance renewable energy technologies, have resulted in 1,400 megawatts of new generating capacity.

Figure 2. Carbon Intensity, 1996

(tons of carbon per million US dollars of GDP, PPP)



SOURCE: WORLD RESOURCES INSTITUTE

In 1976, Brazil — amidst rapidly rising oil prices — initiated an aggressive program to use ethyl alcohol (ethanol) from sugar cane in automobiles. Production rapidly grew to about 200,000 barrels a day, replacing one-half of the gasoline that otherwise would have been used. Since ethanol from sugar cane is a renewable resource, 9.45 million tons per year, or approximately 15 percent of Brazil's total emissions from fossil fuels, is avoided. Brazil also instituted an electricity conservation program to improve the efficiency of refrigerators, air conditioners, lighting, and other appliances.

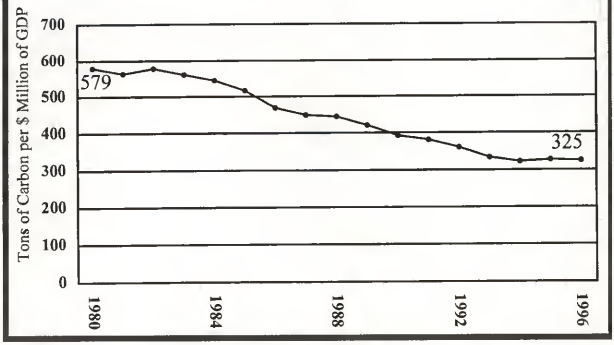
Since 1984, Argentina has developed a compressed natural gas (CNG) vehicle program that is now the largest in the world, with over 450,000 vehicles now powered by CNG. Nearly 10 percent of all automobiles in Argentina utilize CNG, which is less carbon intensive than petroleum-based fuels.

International Cooperation

Under the Climate Convention's pilot phase for "Activities Implemented Jointly" (AIJ), developed countries can invest in greenhouse gas reduction projects in other countries, although the investing country is not allowed to apply emission reductions against its own national commitments. Beginning in 2000, however, emissions credits can be generated from these projects through an instrument created by the Kyoto Protocol called the Clean Development Mechanism (CDM). Although CDM credits can be used to offset domestic emissions in the investing country (such as the United States), credits for such programs may in the future be shared between the investing and recipient country.

Whether, under a future accounting regime, they are formally credited to the developing country or not, such shared initiatives will in fact make a growing dent in greenhouse gas emissions by less developed countries. Costa Rica already has eight joint projects in

Figure 3. China: Improvements in Carbon Intensity



SOURCE: WORLD RESOURCES INSTITUTE

existence, and more are planned.

Developing country participation in project-based emission reductions will likely increase under the Clean Development Mechanism. The CDM is the only mechanism in the Kyoto Protocol that involves developing country participation and the only mechanism that allows credits to be generated before 2008, when the commitments come into force for industrialized countries.

Forests play a central role in the global carbon cycle. Carbon stored in vegetation, obviously, does not have the global warming effect of the carbon dioxide in the atmosphere. Although the forestry/land use sector in many developing countries is a net source of carbon emissions (in that sequestration of CO_2 from forests is less than emissions from deforestation), some developing countries are making strong efforts to reverse this trend.

For reasons of economy, ecology and health, the developing nations are beginning to limit their emissions of greenhouse gases.

The most notable success story is, again, in Costa Rica, where the AIJ framework is being used to develop and implement five projects with a sequestration potential of over 105 million tons (two of the projects are not yet fully financed and accepted as AIJ). Costa Rica has also implemented domestic measures, such as a tax on fossil fuels which finances programs in reforestation, conservation and forestry management. Overall, Costa Rica has succeeded in reversing the trend of deforestation and land degradation.

Other large-scale reforestation projects are planned for Brazil and Mexico. Brazil plans to sequester carbon in multiple-use forests covering 20 million hectares (2.3 percent of its territory) over 20 to 30 years. That effort may depend, in part, on whether international financial support is available through the Clean Development Mechanism.

Why They Act

None of these carbon savings in developing countries have resulted from domestic climate mitigation policies. Instead, carbon saving has been a side benefit of policy changes and projects designed to meet national economic, social, and public health needs. For example, severe energy shortages in China have already placed constraints on its economic development, contributing to an estimated 25 to 30 percent underutilization of its manufacturing capacity. One study of the economic benefits of 16 energy efficiency projects in China's manufacturing sector found that all had internal rates of return well over 12 percent, while three-quarters had rates of 20 percent or more.

Developing countries are facing significant public health problems from air pollution, largely due to fossil fuel use. If unhealthy levels of suspended particulate matter were brought down to meet World Health Organization standards, between 300,000 and 700,000 premature deaths per year could be avoided in developing countries. In Mexico, economic losses due to the health impacts of air pollution are estimated at $1.5 billion per year.

Brazil's alcohol fuel program was established to reduce dependence on imported oil and to help stabilize sugar production in the face of international price fluctuations. The program has been a source of employment opportunities for both skilled and unskilled workers, particularly since it was almost entirely based on locally manufactured equipment. It has helped to establish a strong agro-industrial system, generated 700,000 jobs, and reduced urban pollution.

To sum up: For reasons of economy, ecology and health, the developing nations are beginning to limit their emissions of greenhouse gases.

Under the Climate Convention of 1992, signed by 176 nations and currently in force, all parties (including the United States) have committed to promote technologies and practices that reduce the emission of greenhouse gases — although only the industrialized countries have made commitments to specific limits under the Kyoto Protocol.

By and large, the industrialized countries, despite their current and historic responsibility for the problem, will fail to meet their voluntary commitments under the Framework Convention on Climate Change, and have not ratified the Kyoto Protocol. Given the fact that some developing countries are aggressively pursuing emission reduction options, one must ask whether the world's richest nations will be leaders or laggards in mitigating climate change. ■

A Global Warming Glossary

The Framework Convention on Climate Change (FCCC): Adopted at the Rio de Janeiro Earth Summit in 1992 and ratified by 176 nations. Signed by President Bush and ratified by the U.S. Senate, the convention is now in force, and sets the general ground rules for dealing with global warming.

The Kyoto Protocol: Sets specific targets for greenhouse gas emissions under the Framework Convention. Adopted Dec. 11, 1997 by more than 160 countries. The United States has signed, but not ratified. To enter into force, the protocol must be ratified by at least 55 countries accounting for at least 55 percent of 1990 industrialized-country CO_2 emissions. Only two countries have ratified to date.

Greenhouse gases: These anthropogenic (human-made) gases covered in the Kyoto Protocol are believed to contribute to global warming: carbon dioxide (CO_2), methane (CH_4), nitrous oxide (N_2O), hydrofluorocarbons (HFCs), perfluorocarbons (PFCs) and sulfur hexafluoride (SF_6).

Commitment period: Under the Kyoto Protocol, the five-year period (2008-2012) during which countries must achieve their emission limitation targets. Those targets must be met on average, with any shortfall in one year being made up by deeper limitation in other years.

Annex B: Lists the percentage by which various countries must reduce emissions of greenhouse gases under the Kyoto Protocol. Who is covered: Most industrialized countries — basically all OECD members (except Korea and Mexico) plus most former communist countries of Eastern Europe.

Flexibility Mechanisms: Ways in which industrialized countries may meet their targets for reduced greenhouse gas emissions other than domestic reductions. These include trading or transfer of emissions credits among Annex B countries, and support of projects in other countries. If they are to count toward compliance targets, emission reductions for projects under Joint Implementation and the Clean Development Mechanism (see below) should be beyond those which would otherwise occur.

Joint Implementation (JI): Article 6 of the Kyoto Protocol allows Annex B (industrialized) countries to share emissions credits of joint projects such as energy efficiency improvement or increased use of solar, wind or hydro power.

Clean Development Mechanism (CDM): Article 12 allows industrialized-country donors to generate emissions credits for themselves by promoting sustainable development in developing countries. Such projects must be approved by an international accrediting body.

Carbon sinks: Forests and other features which tend to remove carbon from the atmosphere (that's good). These will eventually be included in Kyoto Protocol computations, but only after the methodologies have been agreed upon.

Source: Robert Reinstein Associates

LONG-TERM PROBLEM, SHORT-TERM THINKING

KEN ROBERTS

THE KYOTO PROTOCOL DOESN'T REFLECT THE BEST SCIENTIFIC UNDERSTANDING OF THE ISSUES.

BY ROB COPPOCK

The claim by Stuart Eizenstat and Frank Loy (in *The Washington Post* Dec. 7) that developing country participation in reducing greenhouse gas emissions is "an environmental necessity" rather than a "political nicety" is a view shared by many. However, the science underlying climate change suggests a somewhat different conclusion. Despite the role of science in making us aware of the threat of human-induced climate change, science seems to play a disappointingly small role in the crafting of the Kyoto Protocol and its implementation.

In the long run, carbon dioxide emissions must be curtailed globally by at least 50 percent, not the 5 percent of the Kyoto Protocol, if the atmospheric concentration is to stabilize. Emissions from some developing countries

are growing much more rapidly than those from industrialized countries, but it likely will be 2030 or later before the combined cumulative contribution from developing countries is equal to that of the industrialized world. And it is the cumulative concentration in the atmosphere, not the amount added each year, that determines how much the climate system is stressed. This crucial scientific fact seems to be either misunderstood or ignored by most participants in the international negotiations.

According to one expert, it will take 30 Kyoto Protocols to stabilize atmospheric concentrations.

Similarly, an overly short-term focus in the Kyoto Protocol encourages expenditures that will be less effective than if the time horizon for emissions targets were longer. The targets are arbitrary and not supported by scientific or economic evidence.

One reason scientific knowledge has not played a larger role is that the science of climate change is complex and hard to understand. Not making the effort, however, can lead to inappropriate policies.

The Natural Greenhouse Effect

Greenhouse gases in the atmosphere trap energy radiating from the earth's surface and redirect some of it back to earth. In fact, the amount of heat recycled in this manner by naturally occurring greenhouse gases is about twice the amount of direct solar heating. It is this natural "greenhouse effect" that raises the earth's surface temperature above what would otherwise prevail, thus making the planet habitable. In physical units, the natural greenhouse effect is about 150 watts per square meter (W/m^2).

The amount of carbon dioxide, the principal natural greenhouse gas, entering the atmosphere as a result of the metabolism of biological organisms each year roughly balances that absorbed out of the atmosphere by green plants. That's why atmospheric concentrations of carbon dioxide were stable for several thousand years prior to the industrial revolution.

Since then, various human activities have increased the atmospheric concentration of greenhouse gases, most notably from combustion of fossil fuels. An increase in the concentration of greenhouse gases in the upper atmosphere changes the balance of incoming and outbound radiation at the top of the atmosphere. This change is called "radiative forcing." The radiative forcing attributable to carbon dioxide added to the atmosphere during the industrial era is equivalent to an additional 1.4 W/m^2, which may not seem like much compared to the natural greenhouse effect. By comparison, however, variations in solar output over the last few centuries range only up to about 0.5 W/m^2. This is why many earth scientists suspect that the observed warming of the last century probably is due to human activity rather than natural causes. (Carbon dioxide is responsible for about 60 percent of current human-induced greenhouse gas radiative forcing, and although several different gases including methane and nitrous oxide contribute, the points made here about carbon dioxide apply, with suitable adjustments, to them as well.)

In principle, then, adding greenhouse gases increases radiative forcing and raises the global average temperature. The climate system, however, is very complex and there are a number of feedback mechanisms that can either enhance or counter this warming, such as changes in cloud type and cover, in the extent of highly reflective snow and ice fields, and in the transport of heat within the atmosphere. The climate system is sufficiently complex, with so many feedback mechanisms, that it is extremely difficult to discern the effect of any single factor. In fact, the best tools we have for examining the climate system, giant simulation programs called general circulation models, exhibit different "climate sensitivity" for a given amount of radiative forcing. That's why these models can give widely varying estimates for what will happen if greenhouse gases double their preindustrial level. The estimates range from 1.5 degrees C to 4.5 degrees C (3 degrees F to 9 degrees F).

There is broad consensus among scientists that the global average temperature has risen about 0.5 degrees C (1 degree F) during the last century. But the climate system is so complex that this amount of warming could occur as natural variation. Even the record warm temperatures of the last two years coupled with many consecutive years of above average temperatures is no

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proof in itself. Climate change can only be discerned over a span of many decades. Even if the warming trend of the last 20 years were to continue, it would take until nearly 2015 before scientists could prove climate warming using standard statistical analysis of global average temperatures.

Reducing developing country emissions is necessary in the long run, but not the short run.

Nevertheless, the gathering evidence is consistent with climate change resulting from human-induced radiative forcing. Tom Karl, senior scientist at the National Climate Data Center and one of the world's most respected temperature record experts, says recent temperature increases are enough to raise the possibility that the earth is beginning a rapid shift in global average temperature similar to those documented in ice core data from Greenland.

Even the most skeptical scientific critics of global warming agree that unabated increases in atmospheric concentrations of greenhouse gases would eventually alter the earth's radiative balance enough to warm the planet. Over the very long run, by which I mean 100 years or more, there can be no question that greenhouse gas emissions must be dramatically reduced to avoid climate change. However, we don't know how the climate system will respond, or how specific regions of the earth will be affected.

The simplest estimate I know (and it is complex enough) of the relative climate forcing produced by increasing concentrations of greenhouse gases is shown in a chart found in the National Academy of Sciences report *Policy Implications of Greenhouse Warming: Mitigation, Adaptation and the Science Base*. (See next page.) This graph shows possible climate outcomes in the year 2030 if greenhouse gas emissions increase or decrease by given amounts. An important point made clear by this figure is that reducing emissions to 95 percent of 1990 levels hardly reduces the additional radiative forcing in 2030 at all. This is the basic reason I and other experts have criticized the Kyoto Protocol as fundamentally incapable of meeting the goal of stabilizing atmospheric concentrations of greenhouse gases at "safe" levels. Shortly after the Kyoto Protocol was announced, Jerry Mahlman, director of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration's Geophysics Fluid Dynamics Laboratory was quoted as saying it will take 30 Kyoto protocols to stabilize atmospheric concentrations.

Carbon Dioxide Is Key

The figure also shows that carbon dioxide clearly contributes more to radiative forcing than other greenhouse gases. The principal reasons are the large quantity of carbon dioxide emitted and its persistence in the atmosphere. The effect of each ton of carbon dioxide injected into the atmosphere lasts at least 100 years, and perhaps as much as 400 years. The carbon dioxide-based radiative forcing today thus reflects the effect of emissions since the beginning of the industrial age. Annual emissions, especially how they change over time, are important, but what really determines radiative forcing is the cumulative atmospheric pool.

The Carbon Dioxide Information Analysis Center at Oak Ridge National Laboratory has calculated global carbon dioxide emissions from 1751 to 1995, including data by country after 1950. Since 1950, the U.S. has emitted 25.4 percent of total cumulative atmospheric carbon dioxide, Western Europe (12 countries) 16.4 percent, the former Soviet Union 15.8 percent, and Japan 4.2 percent. Developing countries account for about one-third of the total, with China leading at 7.6 percent followed by India at 2.0 percent. Of course, if we could get estimates back to the start of the industrial revolution, the developing countries would probably contribute a much smaller proportion of the total. That's especially the case because between 1850 and 1950, today's industrialized countries were mechanizing their factories and expanding their transportation systems using technologies that are inefficient by current standards.

Most experts acknowledge that the increased atmospheric concentration of greenhouse gases over the last century has been caused mostly by activities in the industrialized world. Yet nearly every human activity, from subsistence agriculture to manufacture of computer chips, makes a contribution. One frequently discussed non-industrial source of carbon is the clearing of forests. However, the actual net contribution from forest regions remains controversial. Recent research in the Amazon Basin, the largest wet tropical forest, suggests that the remaining forests in that region may absorb as much carbon as is lost through forest clearance. In any case, the evidence suggests that the contributions from combustion of fossil fuels and industrial processes are overwhelm-

ingly larger than from non-industrial sources such as deforestation.

Furthermore, despite rapid economic growth in many developing countries, the radiative effect due to emissions from industrialized countries will continue to swamp that from developing countries for many years to come, even if the targets in the Kyoto Protocol are fully met. The overall Kyoto target still leaves industrial countries adding 95 percent of their 1990 emission levels to the atmospheric pool each year. Although the protocol includes no constraints on developing country emissions, it will take a long time for even the largest and most rapidly growing developing countries to catch up, because industrialized countries have been emitting so much more for so long.

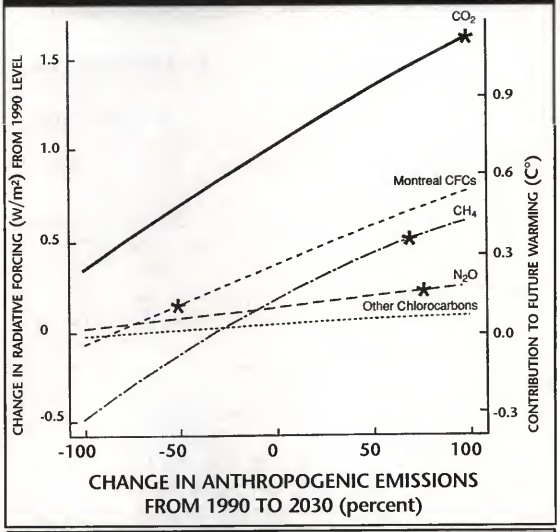
Playing Catch-Up In Emissions

Even when annual emissions from developing countries equal those from industrialized countries, the developing world will have contributed proportionally less to the cumulative atmospheric pool. For example, in 1995, annual emissions from China were 12.7 percent of the global total, which exceeded the combined emissions from 12 Western European countries of 11.3 percent. But the cumulative emissions from those same European countries from 1950 to 1995 were 16.5 percent of the global total while those of China were only 7.6 percent.

Looking at realistic scenarios for future economic growth, developing countries probably will take at least 15 years to match industrial country annual emissions, and 30 to 40 years before they reach parity in terms of cumulative emissions. Because they start from such a small base, it takes a long time to catch up.

While reducing emissions in developing countries is essential to stabilize atmospheric concentrations of greenhouse gases in the long run, it is not necessary in the near term. Even with

GLOBAL WARMING IN 2030: SOME POSSIBLE OUTCOMES



The above chart shows anticipated changes in temperature at the earth's surface in the year 2030, if emissions of various greenhouse gases increase or decrease. The extreme right side shows outcomes if emissions increase 100 percent between 1990 and 2030; the extreme left shows what might happen if emissions were by some miracle reduced to zero.

Note that CO_2 is the topmost line, indicating that it plays the largest role in climate change; the next highest is CH_4 or methane. Other greenhouse gases are "Montreal CFCs" (the chlorofluorocarbons being reduced under the 1987 Montreal convention to protect the ozone layer) and nitrous oxide.

On each line, you'll see an asterisk showing the expected emissions of each gas in 2030, based on "business as usual" assumptions, as calculated by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change. Note that the * for every gas but one shows a large increase (between 50 and 100 percent), which means more global warming. The exception is Montreal CFCs, which are being successfully reduced under the Montreal convention.

The vertical scale on the left shows the change in radiative forcing in watts per square meter (W/m^2). The vertical scale on the right shows anticipated warming in the atmosphere at the earth's surface. Source: *Policy Implications of Greenhouse Warming: Mitigation, Adaptation, and the Science Base* (National Academy Press, Washington, D.C., 1992, p.149.)

rapid growth, their contribution to climate forcing today is significantly smaller than that of industrialized countries, and will remain so for decades. Delaying reductions in developing country greenhouse gas emissions for 10 or perhaps 15 years would not cause a significant increase in cumulative climate forcing.

American business and government leaders appear either unaware of the importance of cumulative effects or willing to ignore them and focus on current emissions and the costs of reducing them. Unfortunately, the basic approach of the Kyoto Protocol encourages this by taking an inappropriately short time horizon.

People will not make sacrifices without an immediate crisis, but that crisis does not exist.

Short-Term Technology Fixes

Another crucial problem with the Kyoto approach is that it encourages short-term (and therefore inefficient) solutions. Reducing emissions by 2010 under the protocol will necessitate actions that are too expensive and less effective than they could be if a longer time horizon were allowed.

Only two of the industrialized countries that committed in 1992 to reduce their emissions to 1990 levels voluntarily have done so — Britain because it eliminated coal subsidies and switched to North Sea gas, and Germany thanks to shutting down inefficient and uneconomical factories in the former East Germany. Both of these were onetime windfalls whose benefits for the most part have already been realized. The other industrialized nations, including the U.S., have been steadily increasing emissions. Now, that same set of countries that were unable to reduce emissions to 1990 levels over the previous seven years have committed to cut emissions five percent or more below that level in the ensuing 12 years. Doing so would require exceptional effort.

The Energy Information Administration, a unit within the Department of Energy, projects U.S. carbon dioxide emissions to rise 30 percent between 1990 and 2010 if no action is taken. The American Petroleum Institute estimates that it would take the equivalent of a $200 charge per metric ton of carbon just to match 1990 emission levels, though a comparable calculation by Lawrence Berkeley National Laboratory was much lower. To put these in familiar terms, the Lawrence Berkeley estimate would include a 12-cent-per-gallon increase in the price of gasoline, while the Petroleum Institute analysis calculates an increase of 22 cents. The actual cost of reducing to the 1990 level probably falls somewhere between these two estimates. In any case, the United States committed to a greater reduction in Kyoto, to 7 percent below 1990 emissions. Achieving these additional reductions will cost even more.

The crux of the matter is that to accomplish emissions reductions on the Kyoto timeframe requires installing "add-on" technology to equipment and other sources. At least half of the cars on the road today will still be used in 2010. Reducing emissions by one-third in the transportation sector will require recalling cars and installing equipment to reduce emissions. Capital turnover in energy production and use usually takes 25 or 30 years. The American Petroleum Institute analysis mentioned above estimates that it would take a permit system that charged about $270 per ton of carbon to make it economical to shut down a coal-fired plant of recent vintage and replace it with an efficient gas turbine plant emitting less carbon dioxide. Turnover of industrial capital stock is hard to track, but manufacturing equipment typically has a fairly long life. It will likely require strong financial incentives to stimulate actions. Changes in residential and commercial buildings are normally slow as well. Experience following the oil crises of the 1970s suggests that households need to recoup expenditures in about two years before they will invest in more efficient furnaces, water heaters, and the like. The price of delivered energy would have to rise significantly to cause homeowners to take action. (This would be a sharp contrast to the current condition of low energy prices.) Yet to meet the Kyoto targets emissions will have to be reduced in all sectors, and quickly, given the time constraint.

Retrofitting is normally more expensive than accomplishing the same end in original equipment. Yet to meet the Kyoto targets, massive retrofitting must be pursued in virtually every sector of the economy. Even more importantly, the investments required to meet relatively short-term Kyoto Protocol targets are likely to use up funds that might be better used on longer-term projects.

In order to stabilize atmospheric concentrations, emissions ultimately will have to be reduced far below the Kyoto targets. The question should be, for exam-

ple, whether it is imperative to force electrical utilities to reduce emissions immediately, or would it be just as effective in the long run and cheaper to wait for, say, the next generation of efficient combined-cycle gas turbines. We are not likely to be able to afford both.

Proponents of the Kyoto Protocol argue that once proper incentives exist, all kinds of cheap and even profitable ways of reducing emissions will be found, especially given the provision for trading of emissions rights. They point to the resounding success of the sulfur emissions trading scheme in the United States, with current emissions about 40 percent below target at much less cost than anticipated.

The current debate about developing country participation, however, illustrates how difficult it will be to establish an international trading scheme, as provided for in the Kyoto Protocol, with the attributes necessary to realize the potential of trading. Furthermore, it may not be widely recognized that this strategy requires rather considerable investment flows from industrialized to developing countries.

Polluters Should Pay

The substantial cost of meeting the Kyoto targets is combined by some with concerns about competitiveness in the claim that developing countries would have an unfair advantage if they are not required to reduce their emissions too. This call for a "level playing field" builds upon an underlying ethical notion that shared burdens should be borne by all. This ethical imperative addresses the problem of shirking, in this instance of not reducing emissions and stabilizing atmospheric concentrations of greenhouse gases (a "public good" in economic terminology).

In contrast, this essay appeals to an alternative principle called "polluter pays": those who create a problem should bear the burden of rehabilitation. Both principles aim at preventing "free riders" who reap benefits without paying by taking advantage of the fact that once a public good is created, it is freely available to all.

However, these two legitimate concepts of fairness allocate responsibility for meeting the costs of reducing the emissions in very different ways. By inappropriately emphasizing short-term action, the Kyoto Protocol sharpens the conflict between these two approaches.

One of the conundrums of today's world is that action taken to address highly complex, long-term problems like ozone depletion or climate change must not only be scientifically and technically reasonable but also overcome the hurdle of political feasibility. At the national level, it seems difficult for political institutions to act decisively unless there is a sense of urgency. Politicians, especially in the United States, are famous for not being able to think beyond the next election. One might claim that unless there is a sense of crisis, unless it can be argued that action must be taken and taken quickly, political inertia will prevent anything at all from being done.

Unfortunately, it is difficult to make this claim for climate change, which I believe is not scientifically justified, without overemphasizing short-term actions that are relatively ineffective and inefficient in the long-run.

Do not misunderstand: effective action is needed now. But the Kyoto Protocol follows a strategy that is neither effective nor efficient. Rather than a watershed document, it may be a stumbling block. Concern for the environment may be driving the process, but many scientists and economists feel that politics is in the driver's seat and steering an unnecessarily circuitous and bumpy route. ■

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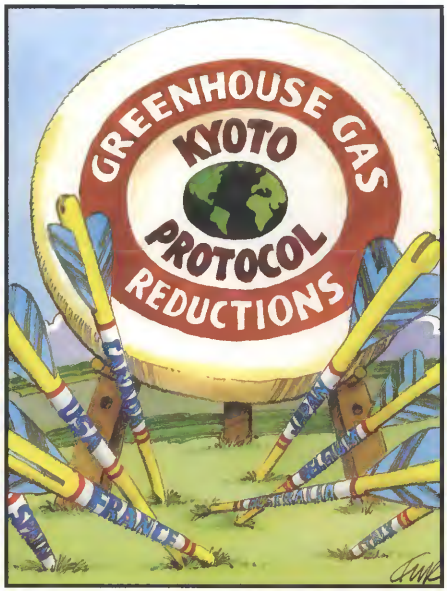

KEN ROBERTS

IT WOULD BE NICE IF DEVELOPED NATIONS COULD MEET THE KYOTO TARGETS, BUT THEY CAN'T AND WON'T.

BY ROBERT A. REINSTEIN

A remarkable change seems to be taking place in the U.S. approach to international negotiations, if the 1997 Kyoto Protocol on climate change is any indication. In the past the United States always took what might be called a "pragmatic" approach: that is, the U.S. did its homework before going into the negotiations. At Kyoto, where the U.S. played a major role in establishing the major features of the agreement, we seem to have "jumped off the cliff" in a leap of faith. The U.S. position was based more on ideology than on a quantitative and qualitative assessment of what its bottom line should be.

As a result, the agreement is deeply flawed. The protocol has the laudable goal of seeking to prevent dangerous human interference with the global climate system by limiting the emissions of heat-trapping gases by industrial-

ized countries. However, it appears that most of these countries will be unable to meet the commitments undertaken in Kyoto.

Instead of helping to solve this important global problem, the Kyoto Protocol will delay progress by having created a treaty regime that effectively prevents key countries from ever ratifying it, and which will therefore never enter into force.

The administration's signing of the Kyoto Protocol raises fundamental questions about the basis of U.S. foreign policy.

What Kyoto Says

In December 1997, most countries of the world adopted the text of the Kyoto Protocol to the U.N. Framework Convention on Climate Change (FCCC). More than 70 countries (including the U.S.) have signed it, indicating their political commitment to seek ratification. Only two countries (Fiji and Tuvalu), however, have thus far actually ratified the protocol.

If ratified by the U.S. Senate, the protocol would require the U.S. to reduce its greenhouse gas emissions that contribute to climate change to 7 percent below their level in 1990 by the first commitment period of 2008-2012. Targets for other industrialized countries (listed in Annex B of the protocol) range from 8 percent below 1990 for the European Union to 10 percent above 1990 for Iceland. Among the industrialized countries covered (this is important) are Russia, Ukraine and several other formerly communist countries whose economies have taken a nosedive since 1990.

The targets cover six human-related greenhouse gases, including emissions from all sources. In principle, the targets should also include the removal of these gases from the atmosphere by "sinks" (such as forests and other vegetation that absorb CO_2 as they grow), but how carbon sinks will be figured in to treaty compliance still must be negotiated.

The states of the European Union will achieve their common target of an 8 percent reduction (or 92 percent of 1990 levels) jointly rather than individually. The protocol requires these countries to agree among themselves on how each individual country will contribute to their common target.

In addition, potential flexibility in meeting national targets is provided in the protocol through three mechanisms that would allow transfers or crediting of emissions reductions achieved in other countries:

1. Direct transfers or "trading" of emissions allowances among the industrialized countries;

2. Joint implementation (JI) of projects in industrialized countries to reduce emissions by these countries; and

3. A Clean Development Mechanism (CDM) for implementing emission-reduction projects in developing countries.

However, the rules, modalities, verification procedures and other aspects of these "flexibility mechanisms" are still to be fully worked out.

The Main Problem

Can the Kyoto targets be met, either through domestic actions alone or in combination with credits obtained through the treaty's flexibility mechanisms?

In this article, I present estimates of the greenhouse gas emissions outlook for the U.S. and other industrialized countries under two different scenarios, and compare those projections with the targets agreed to by these countries in Annex B of the Kyoto Protocol.

The main conclusions drawn from this analysis indicate serious flaws in the protocol:

- The U.S. and most other industrialized countries of the OECD cannot achieve their Kyoto targets through domestic measures alone even under the best-case scenario (that is, all reasonable domestic measures are implemented to limit greenhouse gas emissions).
- The industrialized nations will therefore have demand for credits from the flexibility mechanisms such as international trading to cover the gaps between their emission targets and their actual emissions.
- The potential surplus of emission "credits" that might be available for trading from Russia and other former communist countries will not be enough to fill the gap. While these countries' emissions are likely to be lower than their Kyoto targets in the years 2008-2012, their surplus will be much less than the demand from OECD countries.
- As a result, the cost to the U.S. of meeting its

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Table 1: Possible Demand for Emissions Credits

Country	1990 Actual Emissions	Kyoto Percentage Target	Kyoto Target	2010 Trend Scenario	Resulting Deficit	2010 Pain Scenario	Resulting Deficit
GERMANY	1210	.79	956.0	1157.3	201.4	1048.2	92.3
ITALY	543.2	.935	507.9	593.6	85.7	568.8	60.9
BRITAIN	751.5	.875	657.6	737.6	80.0	665.4	7.9
EU -15 (SUB-TOTAL)	4235.2	.92	3896.4	4455.1	558.7	4110.0	213.6
JAPAN	1301.2	.94	1223.1	1529.9	306.7	1369.1	145.9
U.S.	5858.5	.93	5448.4	7207.3	1758.8	6636.0	1187.6
OECD TOTAL	13,363.9	.934	12,480.3	15,448.0	2967.7	14,228.0	1748.5

This table projects possible demand for emissions credits (in million tons CO_2 equivalent) under the Kyoto Protocol flexibility mechanisms. Note that there are two possible deficits (that is, demand levels) given for each country. First, under the trend scenario (business as usual) given by the author, each country has a deficit between expected emissions and its Kyoto target. Under the "pain" scenario, countries make all possible efforts to reduce emissions, so the deficit is smaller. Source: Reinstein & Associates International.

Kyoto target, assuming unrestricted use of the flexibility mechanisms, will be quite high — almost as high as the cost of meeting its target without any flexibility mechanisms (contrary to assertions by senior administration officials).

The fact that the U.S. agreed to such a result in Kyoto in December 1997, and further indicated its political commitment to seek eventual ratification by signing the protocol in November 1998, raises some very fundamental questions about the basis for U.S. foreign policy in this area and its future direction.

Scenarios for 2010

On the basis of a detailed analysis of the situation of each industrialized country, estimates have been developed for emissions of each greenhouse gas covered by the Kyoto Protocol. In order to provide a broader perspective, two different scenarios for 2010 (the midpoint of the first Kyoto commitment period) were examined:

The Trend Scenario: Current trends continue, including additional reasonable measures that can be justified as well for other reasons, according to national political factors (call that "continued good efforts");

The Pain Threshold Scenario: All reasonable economically and politically feasible measures are taken to limit emissions (what might be called "true best efforts").

As with any scenarios for possible future conditions, these are not predictions but rather are projections of what might occur given certain policy approaches by different countries. They frame the likely range of results for each country.

The Trend Scenario is similar to what is often referred to as "Business As Usual" (BAU) in many studies. However, it includes the likely effects of a few more additional measures than many BAU scenarios might. In recent years the trend has been for many governments to seek to identify and implement whatever reasonable measures they can that might limit greenhouse gas emissions, as long as these measures are economically justified and provide other benefits as well (such as reduced local air pollution).

Actual emissions would undoubtedly be lower than the Trend Scenario projections if the Kyoto Protocol were to enter into force. But there is a basic limit on what each country can do to limit its emissions through domestic measures. The Pain Threshold Scenario assumes a country does all that it reasonably can to limit emissions, up to the point where further actions would have unacceptable economic and social consequences (job losses, disproportional regional impacts, widespread hardship, etc.). It is assumed that this threshold depends in part on the current understanding of the science of climate change, or at least on public perceptions regarding the risks of climate change and related impacts.

This public perception will necessarily differ from country to country. For example, for some countries (especially in Europe) a very high value is placed on environmental goals and people are willing to make some sacrifices to achieve these goals. In other countries this may be less the case. Regional differences in economic activity, which may constrain a country more than national average conditions might suggest, are another variable. Lifestyles and expectations regarding the levels of certain conveniences and services differ as well. Finally, priorities vary among countries regarding certain industrial activities related to military and security concerns.

It is most unlikely that countries would go beyond the threshold of pain on the basis of computer model projections, coupled with allegations by politicians (but not supported by most scientists) that recent weather events are due to human emissions. Most people were unwilling to make the kind of sacrifices that would be beyond the Pain Threshold even in the 1970s, when there were actual local shortages of energy and a four-fold increase in oil prices.

Both the Trend outlook and the Pain Threshold outlook will undoubtedly change over time. New technologies will emerge and evolve. These will affect the potential to limit emissions in the future, but cannot be anticipated with much certainty. Social and political attitudes will change, and may go in either direction. And further developments in the scientific understanding of possible human-induced climate change will undoubtedly affect popular perceptions, and especially the Pain Threshold outlook.

The scenarios used for the formerly centrally planned economies are somewhat different from the two scenarios described above for OECD countries. The lower number corresponds to a scenario where hardly any improvement occurs in these countries' economic situation by 2010. The high estimate assumes most of these countries have progressed reasonably well along the transition path from centrally planned to market economies by that date.

Unrealistic Targets

During the negotiations that led up to the Kyoto meeting, the United States called for agreement on legally binding emission targets for all industrialized countries. The U.S. said such targets should be "realistic and achievable."

If you look at Table 1, you'll see that's not what happened. The table compares the targets agreed to in Kyoto (expressed as a fraction or multiple of the 1990 base year) with the likely emissions of a number of key OECD countries under the two scenarios described above. It can be seen that for most countries the targets are beyond even the best-case situation of the Pain Threshold Scenario, in which all economically and politically feasible domestic measures have been taken.

The conclusion is unavoidable that the Kyoto targets are unrealistic and unachievable, at least based on domestic measures alone. The U.S. target would imply an additional reduction of 20 percent below its Pain Threshold level in 2010, and of 30 percent or more below the Trend Scenario. The changes in economic activity and lifestyle that would be required to achieve such a result are unprecedented since World War II. Moreover, the impacts of such an effort would differ greatly from one economic sector or region to another. This kind of effort is clearly beyond the limits of political feasibility.

The Supply/Demand Problem

As mentioned above, the Kyoto Protocol allows industrialized countries that cannot meet their targets through domestic actions alone to use flexibility mechanisms, such as international trading of emissions credits or implementation of projects in other countries. Assuming the parties to the treaty ever agree on the rules and guidelines for the flexibility mechanisms, the question is whether these mechanisms can enable the Annex B countries to meet their Kyoto targets. The discussion and analysis below assumes these rules are agreed and place very few, if any, serious restrictions on the use of these mechanisms. This is unlikely, based on developments thus far, but is simply a working assumption for doing our computations.

For each Annex B (industrialized) country, its emissions outlook under the two scenarios described earlier is compared with its Kyoto target. If the emissions would exceed the target, then the country has a "deficit" in its account and a resulting "demand" for additional credits or allowances through the flexibility mechanisms. If the emissions, on the other hand, would be lower than the target, then the country (Russia, for example) has a "surplus" or "supply" of emission allowances that it could sell to those countries that are in deficit relative to their targets.

Based on the estimates for 2010 shown in Table 1 , it appears that the OECD countries as a whole will have a potential demand for credits or allowances of between 1.7 and 3.0 billion tons of CO_2 equivalent. The low end of this range corresponds to the Pain Threshold Scenario, under which each of these countries takes every reasonable economically and politically feasible measure within its borders first before looking for credits from outside.

The largest part of the OECD demand for credits, about 1.2 of the 1.7 billion tons in the low estimate and about 1.8 of the 3.0 billion tons in the high estimate, is from the U.S. These numbers may even be on the low side, unless trends in the transport sector (like cheap gasoline and proliferating sport utility vehicles) change rather significantly. The biggest issue affecting U.S. emissions in the next 10 years is the restructuring and opening up of electricity markets, which could affect emissions either way.

Against these estimates of potential demand for credits, one must look at the potential surplus or supply of credits from Russia and Eastern Europe. As noted, the supply is measured by the degree to which emissions for these countries may be below the targets set for them in Annex B of the protocol. Because the data for non-OECD countries is of generally poorer quality (or even nonexistent), it is rather difficult to estimate the potential supply of emission credits or allowances. The best estimate (given these limitations) is shown in Table 2 (page 57) to range between about 250 million and slightly less than 1.3 billion tons of CO_2 equivalent.

But the supply estimate of Table

2 only indicates the upper boundary on supply that might in theory be available. However, all indications are that full-scale emissions trading will not occur by 2008-2012 (the first commitment period). The only industrialized country with any significant surplus to sell is Russia, and it has already indicated publicly that it will not engage in emissions trading under Article 17 of the protocol before 2013 at the earliest.

The changes in economic lifestyle required by Kyoto are unprecedented since World War II.

While Russia's political future is hard to predict, several considerations help to explain why Russia will favor joint projects with foreign countries rather than broad-scale emissions trading. Among these are negative experiences with privatization of state-held assets, serious difficulty in organizing its domestic economy, distrust of international markets in general, and caution about venturing too quickly into a market that does not even exist yet.

Developing Countries: No Limits

Developing countries do not participate in trading because they do not have emission limits. And no major developing countries (China, India, Brazil, etc.) will take on voluntary targets at this time because they are not willing to limit their economic growth. For countries in the mid to later stages of rapid industrialization, there is a high correlation between energy consumption (which generally means CO_2 emissions) and GDP. This is somewhat less the case for mature economies like the U.S., although there is still a correlation as long as the manufacturing sector contributes a significant portion of GDP.

Although Kazakhstan and Argentina indicated a willingness at Buenos Aires to consider emissions ceilings, it is not yet clear what these limits might look like. Neither country is likely to agree to limits on emissions that would constrain in any way their economic growth prospects. And even if they did accept targets that allowed them to trade away any surplus, neither could contribute enough to make a significant difference in relation to the huge disparity between the OECD demand for credits and the likely available supply from all sources. The only countries that might make a real difference, if they were to accept emission limits that allowed them to participate in emissions trading, are China and India. But China's CO_2 emissions alone grew by 21 percent (about 600 million tons) between 1990 and 1995, while India's grew by 25 percent (about 200 million tons). In order to have surplus emissions available to trade internationally, China and India would have to have treaty limits on their emissions even higher than their current rates of growth, which imply a doubling of emissions by 2010. However, the major developing countries have given every indication that they won't consider any limit on their emissions.

In brief, then, the developing countries will not be a source of emissions credits that can be traded with the industrialized nations.

Joint Projects: A Limited Solution

If emissions trading will not be a source of significant credits before 2013, then the only other way the industrialized countries can get credits for protocol compliance is through projects that help other nations limit greenhouse gas emissions. These come in two categories.

Projects in Russia and Eastern Europe fall under Article 6 of the Kyoto Protocol (Joint Implementation or JI). Projects in the developing countries, the Clean Development Mechanism (CDM), are covered by Article 12. However, such joint projects cannot begin to generate enough credits to cover the OECD deficits.

Project-based credit supply is inherently much less than the supply that might be available, theoretically, from emissions trading. Each project must be organized, certified as adding to reductions that would already occur, and meet other criteria still to be defined. This means delays in starting such projects and limited volumes of credits once the projects are implemented.

A realistic project-based credit supply from Russia and Eastern Europe (through JI) is probably only about 100 to at most 300 million tons, or about 10 percent of the demand from the OECD countries. In addition, the maximum likely range for CDM credits from developing countries by 2010 is at most 200-300 million tons. These two ranges can not be added together, because donors will need to choose in some cases between potential projects either in Eastern Europe or in developing countries.

Taking all these considerations into account, the total supply of credit from all three mechanisms is probably about 200-500 million tons at most. Most of

Table 2: Possible Suppliers of Emissions Credits

Country	1990 Actual Emissions	Kyoto Target	High Scenario	Resulting Surplus	Low Scenario	Resulting Surplus
BULGARIA	125.8	115.7	108.1	7.6	87.6	28.1
ROMANIA	246.8	227.0	238.6	-11.6	194.5	32.5
UKRAINE	916.3	916.3	836.8	79.5	609.8	306.5
RUSSIA	3038.4	3038.4	2847.3	191.2	2161.0	877.4
TOTAL (10 Countries)	4552.7	4505.4	4256.9	248.5	3220.5	1284.8

This table projects possible supply available from former communist countries whose projected emissions may be less than their Kyoto targets (in million tons CO_2 equivalent). Under the high scenario (economic recovery) there will be relatively small surpluses of emissions credits for sale. Under the low scenario (economic stagnation), more surplus emission credits are available. Source: Reinstein & Associates International.

the credits would come from projects, either from Joint Implementation or the Clean Development Mechanism. Of the total, emissions trading is expected to contribute very little in this time-frame, since Russia has already indicated it is unlikely to participate until later.

Even this range of credits from JI and CDM is quite significant. It implies perhaps 3,000 to more than 10,000 projects, if the information about average project size is any indication. But when this supply estimate is compared with the demand estimates shown in Table 1, this still leaves the U.S. and other OECD countries far short of their Kyoto targets. If the U.S., for example, were to acquire the entire global supply of credits, this would cover less than half its needs in the best-case scenario and less than 10 percent of its needs in the worst case.

To cover the best-case deficit of the OECD countries (1.7 billion tons) would require at least 20,000 projects and possibly as many as 40,000 projects, based on the experiences of countries to date with the pilot phase of "activities implemented jointly" under the 1992 Climate Change Convention. The higher deficit in the Trend Scenario might require as many as 70,000 projects.

This is far beyond the capability of any foreseeable system to identify, evaluate, certify, fund and monitor. Experts say that even with unlimited budget increases, it would be almost impossible for the U.S. to process more than 300 projects a year, and only about a third of these would probably meet standards and be approved.

The analysis presented here has not addressed the question of costs. Any future international market for emission credits is going to be dominated by the largest buyers (in this case the U.S.) and the largest sellers (most likely Russia, at least in the near term). In such a situation where the demand for credits far exceeds the supply, the sellers of such credits have no incentive to price them cheaply and are likely to price them close to the marginal cost of domestic emissions reductions for the largest buyer of credits. Thus, the cost to the U.S. of achieving the Kyoto target with full use of the flexibility mechanisms is likely to be only slightly discounted below the cost that would be incurred without the mechanisms.

Absence of Balance

One of the problems emerging from the Kyoto results is an apparent lack of balance in the relative commitments of different countries or groups of countries. In trade negotiations there has always been a requirement that the concessions on tariff reductions or other commitments of one country more or less balance those of other countries. This balance has been essential in getting agreement for ratification or approval of the final package.

Such concerns for balance appear not to have influenced decisions on the Kyoto targets. The U.S. target implies a reduction in emissions of between 30 and 40 percent relative to where current trends would take emissions by 2010. In contrast, the EU target is only about 15 percent below the level where its current

trends are leading. The lower EU trend is due not to actions taken in Europe to limit greenhouse gas emissions but almost entirely to economic restructuring following German reunification and to liberalization of British electricity and coal markets.

There is an obvious concern on the part of some industries that the large difference between the U.S. and EU commitments in Kyoto may lead to major distortions and adverse impacts on trade and competitiveness. This concern is further heightened by the total lack of any commitments in the Kyoto Protocol by the developing countries regarding their future energy consumption and emission levels.

The U.S. approach seems based on an almost religious faith in environmentalism.

The Triumph of Ideology

The conclusions regarding the feasibility of the Kyoto targets raise serious questions about the way in which the U.S. approached the Kyoto negotiations. In the past, the U.S. always knew more or less what it could do, and what it could live with, from a technical, economic and political point of view. This has certainly been the case in every major trade negotiation, but also characterized the U.S. position in negotiating the 1987 Montreal Protocol on ozone-depleting substances — with subsequent major amendments in London (1990) and Copenhagen (1992) — which has been frequently cited as one of the most successful international environmental treaties.

But this pragmatic approach was basically abandoned in negotiating the Kyoto Protocol. Analysis was done, to be sure, but it was largely to support preselected positions that were based more on ideology than on a solid understanding of what could actually be achieved in greenhouse gas emission reductions. Some negotiators were surprised, even shocked, when the U.S. departed from its traditional approach and, under specific guidance announced publicly by Vice President Al Gore in Kyoto, agreed to targets that appeared to be beyond any reasonable assessment of feasibility.

The basic problem with the approach the U.S. has taken on climate change is that it depends on a relatively near-term fundamental change in people's thinking and behavior in both the U.S. and developing countries. It implies a leap of faith, as in the fantasy-movie "Field of Dreams," in which the hero insisted: "If you build it, they will come" (i.e., the new technologies, changes in consumer behavior, selfless attitudes on the part of major developing countries, will all somehow materialize). Without such fundamental changes, the Kyoto targets can not be met.

But in fact, there are no guarantees that any of these changes will materialize, and numerous reasons to believe they will not materialize in the required time-frame. After all, 2010 is almost tomorrow in terms of the required turnover of major capital stock (such as power plants, steel mills and urban transport systems).

Environmentalism as Religion

There are a number of parallels between the environmental ideology of the 1990s as found in Western Europe (and parts of the current U.S. administration) and past religious ideologies. Those who question the basic approach of this ideology and try to argue on the basis of facts and numbers are accused of "old thinking." A great deal of the new approach depends on fundamental beliefs and a degree of faith that certain things will happen by a certain time. This is the essence of the "technology forcing" approach to environmental goals — i.e., forcing new technology to come into being by fiat.

The more recent swing from pragmatism to ideology exemplified by the Kyoto Protocol has fundamental implications for America's economic well-being, domestic politics and relations with other countries, as well as the longer-term process of international cooperation across a very broad range of issues. There are big dangers in following this approach.

For example, a wrong-headed approach to climate change and other issues, rather than stimulating the desired technological advances, may hinder them by draining away too many resources for short-term, narrowly focused results like the Kyoto targets. Once industry and others have been forced to make major capital investments in converting to the best available current technologies in order to meet near-term targets, they will resist replacing these investments in a few years with new superior technologies — the economic cost of premature retirement of the relatively recent investments will simply be too high. This in turn sends a negative signal back

to the research side in terms of the market potential for the new technology.

And if the targets are simply beyond what is feasible, as my analysis suggests, then international progress toward a more realistic approach is delayed while countries ponder how to achieve such targets, or how to explain their inability to move forward with the ratification process. There are already signs that a number of countries will hold back from ratifying at least until they see the U.S. ratify. And the U.S. Senate has already expressed grave reservations about ratification.

Discrediting the Process

With each passing year, countries will be one year closer to the beginning of the first commitment period in 2008, and emissions will have continued to rise in most countries in line with the Trend Scenario. As the impossibility of many countries' achieving the targets becomes more evident, there is also likely to be some finger-pointing in an effort to blame the embarrassing result on someone. None of this can be considered beneficial for the global environment.

Moreover, there is a real risk that the international process by which the targets were negotiated may become discredited. If the public believes these and other international efforts tend to produce unrealistic and unbalanced results, it may turn its attention away from such efforts and withdraw its support. An unworkable international regime casts doubt on other similar agreements.

Such a result would clearly be contrary to longer-term U.S. interests, not only in the environmental field but also in trade, security and many other areas. But hopefully the Kyoto Protocol is an anomaly and not really an indication of the general direction of U.S. foreign policy. Rather, one hopes the U.S. will return in the near future to its traditional approach of negotiating what is achievable and deliverable, not only in environmental negotiations but across the broader spectrum of international cooperation. This has long been one of the real strengths of U.S. foreign policy, and it is an approach that most of the rest of the world expects and needs from the United States. ■

LIFE AFTER THE FOREIGN SERVICE?

For a future issue, the *Journal* would like to hear from former Foreign Service employees about your new lives. What was the transition like? How have you incorporated knowledge acquired in the Foreign Service into your current professional life? (*That includes people now contracting for their former agencies, or working in their previous fields in new capacities.*) What about finances? Public service and volunteer activity? Leisure pursuits?

We'd like to hear both from those who retired after a lengthy career and those who departed relatively early.

If you have an article you would like to write, are willing to tell your story to the *Journal*, or have other suggestions, please contact the *Journal*'s editor, Bob Guldin, by mail, e-mail (guldin@afsa.org) or fax (202) 338-8244.

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BOOKS

CREATING FAT CATS WITH WESTERN AID

Collision and Collusion: The Strange Case of Western Aid to Eastern Europe, 1989-1998
Janine R. Wedel, St. Martin's Press, 1998, $27.95, hardcover, 286 pages.

BY R. T. DAVIES

Janine Wedel, a professor of anthropology at George Washington University, has written an incisive, striking study of the effect of some $32 billion in Western grant aid delivered since 1989 to Russia, Ukraine and the former Soviet satellites in East and Central Europe. Wedel, who interviewed some 1,750 people, tells her story in plain English, so readers are spared the dense jargon that disfigures too many studies like this one.

She concludes that while Western aid to Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and its two successors, the Czech Republic and Slovakia, had some successes, the money and effort expended did not produce commensurate value for either recipients or their donors. She reports that in 1992 Polish President Lech Walesa pronounced a severe judgment on Western aid. "[I]t is you, the West, who have made good business on the Polish revolution," he said. This assessment is shared widely in the region today, even though Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary have succeeded in making the transition to democratic governments with market economies.

In an article in *The Nation* last June entitled "The Harvard Boys Do Russia" Wedel examined some of the reasons for the failure of Western aid to Russia. "United States policy toward Russia requires a full-scale Congressional investigation," she wrote. "Any serious inquiry must go beyond individual corruption and examine how U. S. policy, using tens of millions in taxpayer dollars, helped deform democracy and economic reform in Russia and helped create a fat-cat oligarchy run amok." In *Collision and Collusion*, she expands on these strong words and builds a case against USAID's folly in relying upon the Harvard Institute for International Development to deliver aid to Russia. The institute developed a symbiotic relationship with a group of "reformers" led by Deputy Prime Minister Anatoliy Chubais. She refers to this group as the "Chubais clan," and charges that they became gatekeepers for all U.S. aid to Russia.

Wedel uses extensive field work to document USAID's relationship with the institute and the Chubais clan. She concludes that it led to a disaster for U.S. efforts to help Russia make the transition from a socialist to a market economy. She also describes how Western governments set up aid programs that operated through disparate organizations that acted as rivals, neglected to communicate their plans and objectives to one another, and inadequately determined the needs and priorities of countries receiving aid.

In defending this type of structure, many U.S. and Western European officials simply commented, "We didn't do a Marshall Plan." The Marshall Plan used strong American and European administrators who found capable entrepreneurs to help restore Western Europe following World War II, but the task of rebuilding Eastern and Central Europe was more complicated and demanded more of aid donors than did the task of rebuilding Europe after 1945. After 1989, while it was still possible to find people in Eastern and Central Europe who had not forgotten the economic laws of modern industrialized societies, such people had long ago disappeared from the former Soviet Union. Most importantly, after the fall of the Berlin Wall, Western governments, led by the United States, sharply lowered the priority of their relationships with the countries of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union.

Collision and Collusion documents what harm results when aid donors fail to exercise responsible, high-level leadership and oversight. It contains the stuff of today's headlines, and perhaps the seeds of tomorrow's debate, particularly if Americans should ever have to confront the question, "Who lost Russia?"

R. T. Davies, a retired FSO, spent 25 years working in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. He was ambassador to Poland from 1973 to 1978.

GENDER GAP SPELLS TROUBLE FOR FS

The Accidental Diplomat: Dilemmas of the Trailing Spouse
Katherine L. Hughes, Aletheia Publications, 1998, $17.95, 180 pages.

BY WESLEY ANN GODARD

The Accidental Diplomat: Dilemmas of the Trailing Spouse is not another collection of charming vignettes about life in the Foreign Service. Rather, it is a scholarly look at how the role of the spouse has changed and is, in turn, changing the Foreign Service. Katherine L. Hughes, a sociologist and researcher at Columbia University, is well positioned to write this book. Her background as a daughter in a traditional Foreign Service family gave her an entrée to the world of Foreign Service spouses and enabled her to build rapport with the people she interviewed.

Although the book suffers from a heavy academic style and is rife with repetitive conclusions that cry out for editing, it treats a subject worth exploring. Hughes points out that the Foreign Service benefits from the traditional role of the wife as homemaker, helpmate and hostess — State's "two for the price of one" syndrome. This is not a revelation to anyone who has served at a U.S. mission abroad. Still, Hughes' contention that the Foreign Service was "initially structured so that the unpaid family, household, and community work that women have traditionally done was important to its functioning" helps explain why the current generation of Foreign Service spouses has had such a struggle to change the system.

The most compelling sections of the book are the author's interviews with spouses. The contrast in attitudes between younger and older wives is astounding, even to one who has been participating in these conversations for years. While traditional Foreign Service wives were well educated, their limited choices in society made the Foreign Service a more exciting opportunity than homemaking in suburbia. The new generation of wives voices different expectations.

"It doesn't matter if you're a man or a woman, if you're going to college, you're going to have a career. That's what you do," one young spouse told Hughes. The limiting reality of becoming a trailing Foreign Service spouse makes many women confront this assumption. "I feel like my career has been completely derailed," lamented one woman. "I don't see how I will ever be able to do what I want to do, what I've been trained to do, if my husband keeps on doing this." A chapter on the special difficulties of male spouses and tandem couples — when both partners are Foreign Service officers — reinforces the idea that if the Foreign Service plans to survive, it will have to accommodate the career aspirations of spouses.

State Department managers, personnel officers and prospective Foreign Service spouses would be well advised to read this book and heed Hughes' warning: "If these feelings are representative of even half of the younger Foreign Service spouses, and I believe they are, then the Foreign Service is in trouble."

Wesley Ann Godard, editor of AFSA News, *has been a Foreign Service spouse for 31 years.* ■

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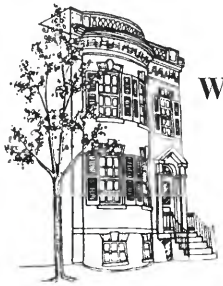

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POSTCARD FROM ABROAD

Gustavo's Wish

BY MAUREEN A. HERMAN

Gustavo Rojas' unkempt hair, raggedy T-shirt and lazy gait marked him as a slacker. Tatoos winding down his arms, dark rings under his eyes and a wasted, worn-from-sleeplessness look further told me that he was a gang member, a drug user and a petty thief.

I first met Gustavo when he was a 15-year-old living in the Instituto del Mañana, a private correctional facility in the Paraguayan countryside. As a Peace Corps volunteer, I was teaching art therapy classes at the German-funded institute. Gustavo had been there since killing a man two years before, when he was 13 years old.

I met him again a few months later in the streets of Bañado Tacumbú, one of Asunción's worst ghettos. He had been released early from the instituto to care for his younger brother and sister because their mother had died of cervical cancer.

He was looking for me, he said, because something had scared him. "Remember me?" he pleaded. Only his nickname, Gustavo-i, had made him stand out from the rest of the boys at the instituto. In Guaraní, the indigenous language of Paragnay, an "i" added to the end of a word means small.

Maureen A. Herman is assistant editor of the Journal. *She was a Peace Corps Volunteer from 1996 to 1998. The stamp is courtesy of the AAFSW Book Fair "Stamp Corner."*

Gustavo is one of a growing number of young teenagers and children in desperate situations on the streets of Asunción.

An ironic pet name for a tall boy, it had been bestowed upon him by fellow gang members — the same gang members who had pressured Gustavo to rob a man. When his victim surprised him by pulling a knife, the stronger Gustavo-i wrestled the knife from the grown man and delivered a single stab wound, killing him.

Gustavo told me that he wanted to leave his gang, but that quitting was not permitted. Gang members had threatened to kill him — or worse, kill his little sister — if he tried.

"All I want to do is work and not get into any more trouble," pleaded Gustavo. His eyes, though he tried to hide it, were swimming with fear.

Gustavo is one of a growing number of young teenagers and children in desperate situations on the streets of Asunción. One-half of Paraguay's population of five million is under 15 years of age, and most of them are "kai'gue," the Guaraní word for lazy, without desire or ambition. In Asunción alone, there are an estimated 40,000 street kids.

These down-and-out youths are Paraguay's first generation to grow up free from dictatorship. Their legacy is a lack of self-esteem. In 1989, a military coup ended the 35-year rule of strong man Gen. Alfredo Stroessner, who taught Paraguayans to expect only what was handed to them from above. But the democratically elected president, Raúl Cubas, is a puppet of Gen. Lino Oviedo, whose failed 1996 coup landed him in jail. On his first day as president, Cubas released Oviedo, signaling that in the new, democratic Paraguay corrupt politicians still hold a firm grasp on power. Among young people, the clash between this political history and the spirit of a new, democratic Paraguay has caused a serious indentity crisis.

I decided to help Gustavo because he electrified me with his sense of urgency and despair. He suddenly had a dream of escaping his destiny.

"I will do whatever it takes," he told me.

A hot wind lifted sand and debris from the street into a swirl. Gustavo's first step would be to leave Bañado Tacumbú to flee the malevolent grasp of gang life. He had some basic skills — carpentry, plumbing, electricity — and he had the will to learn. The rest would be up to him, and it would not be easy. ■

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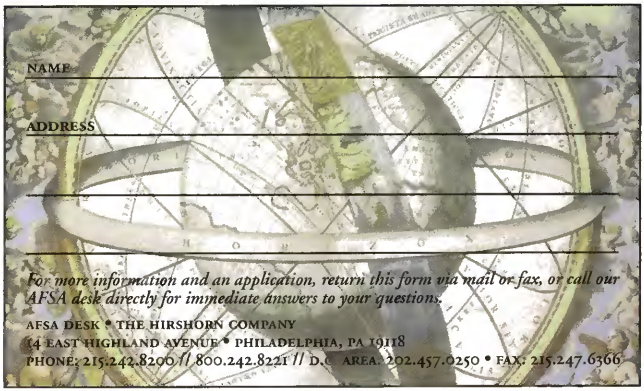

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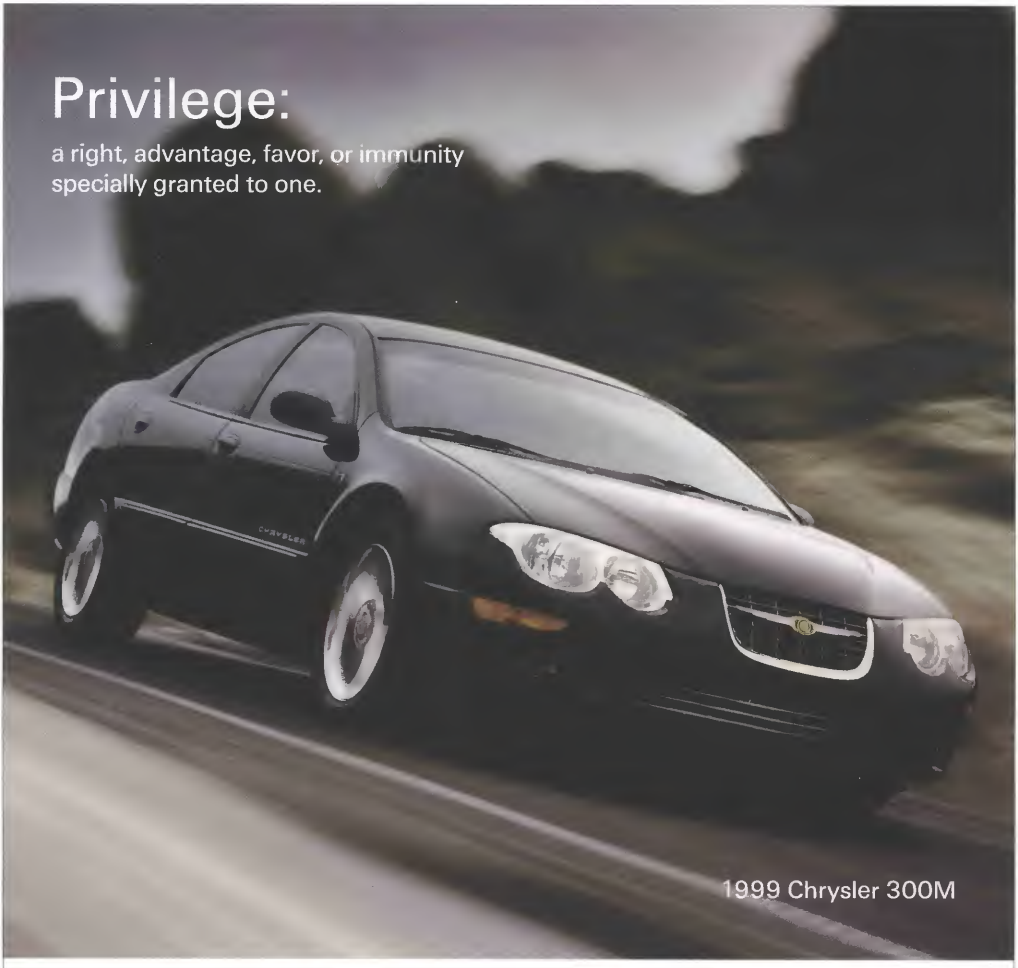

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