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# FAO JOURNAL

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VOLUME X, NUMBER 1

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**“Road Trip” FAO Style**

**What They Don’t Teach You as a FAO**

**The FAO In the Flat, Crashing 21st Century**

**Be a Peacemaker**

**The Pentagon’s New Map**

**Kemalist Foreign Policy With the Third Reich**

**How FAOs Contribute to the NATO  
Response Force**

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# ASSOCIATION NEWS

## Letter from the President

Colleagues,

I regret to inform you that Colonel John Pemberton, USAF, Ret., passed away recently. John was an active member of the FAOA Board of Governors and served with distinction in several important FAO assignments including being the Defense Attaché in Belgrade, Pristina, and Sarajevo. Our thoughts and prayers go to his family, friends, and colleagues.

As a member of the Board, John wanted our Association to be relevant to all FAOs, active and retired. I know John would have wanted his position on the Board filled as expeditiously as possible and I would especially like to extend an invitation to any active duty FAO who might be interested in serving on the Board of Governors to contact me at [stephen.norton@dia.mil](mailto:stephen.norton@dia.mil).



**Lieutenant General Wilson, former Director of Defense Intelligence Agency speaking at the 15 March FAO Luncheon.**

The last meeting of your Board of Governors focused on the agenda over the next 9 to 10 months. The Board agreed to the following:

- September, 2006 – FAO Policy Luncheon at Ft. McNair Officers' Club with a guest speaker to address career potentials for FAOs after military service.
- November, 2006 – Dining-out, with spouses, at the Ft. McNair Officers' Club with a senior DoD official to address Secretary Rumsfeld's vision for a DoD-wide FAO program.
- Feb/Mar 2007 – A formal FAO Ball at a location TBD.

To those members who attended the last FAO Policy Luncheon on 15 March, please accept my thanks for your support. Your enthusiasm for the FAO program and for the FAO Association was evident and we will endeavor to make your membership and attendance at our functions as meaningful as possible.

Thanks,

Steve Norton



## ***“Road Trip” FAO Style; Two Weeks, Three Frozen Conflicts, Six Presidents, and Seven Capitals*** ***Colonel Michael P. Anderson, USA, 48C***

Over the course of 2 weeks in March 2006, on two successive “road trips” to two priority regions, the Western Balkans and the South Caucasus, I was reminded of the critical role that Foreign Area Officers (FAOs) are playing in helping to integrate these regions into the broader Euro-Atlantic community. I’m a 48C and on both trips I represented US European Command, accompanying Ambassador Victoria Nuland, US Ambassador to NATO, on a trip to the Western Balkans, and accompanying Assistant Secretary of State for Europe, Daniel Fried, to the South Caucasus states and Turkey. At each stop FAOs (48Cs and 48Es), serving as Defense Attachés and Office of Defense Cooperation (ODC) Chiefs were key in painting the “on the ground” picture to the visiting delegations. Whether it was Skopje or Baku, Zagreb or Tbilisi, FAOs with their insights and knowledge of their regions were instrumental in shaping the opinions of these key State Department decision makers.

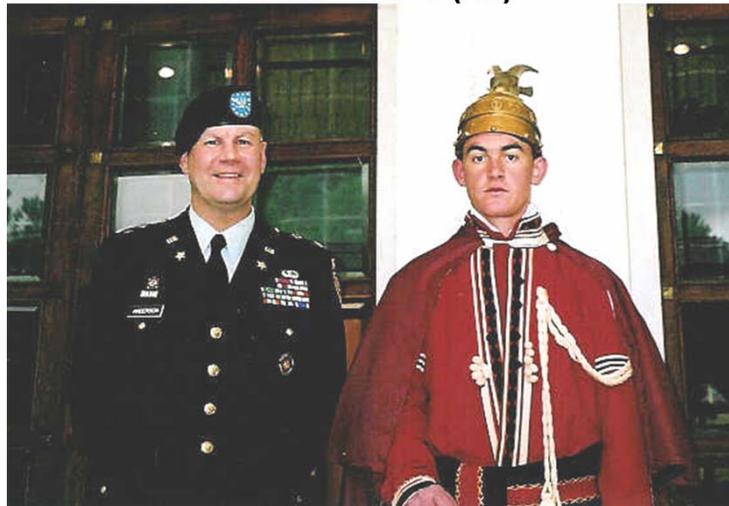
The purpose of each trip was different. The intent of the 6-8 March 2006 visit to Macedonia, Albania, and Croatia, the NATO Membership Action Plan (MAP) states of the Western Balkans, was to present an honest assessment of their chances for NATO membership. The second trip, from 13-17 March was primarily focused on resolving the “frozen conflicts” of the

South Caucasus; Nagorno-Karabakh, disputed between Armenia and Azerbaijan, and South Ossetia and Abkhazia, breakaway provinces in Georgia. Yet the common denominator of each visit was the valued contributions of US Army FAOs, whether accompanying the delegations or serving as the military expertise on the respective Country Teams.

The “Adriatic Three” (A3) states of Macedonia, Albania, and Croatia are working hard toward their aspirations for NATO membership. NATO as an Alliance, however, is unlikely to

open its doors to further expansion this year when its heads of state meet at a NATO Summit in Riga, Latvia in November 2006. This unambiguous message was conveyed by our delegation to the Presidents, Prime Ministers, National Security Cabinets, members of Parliament, and media in each country.

**Adriatic Three (A3)**



COL Anderson and Macedonian Presidential Guard

This type of NATO “road show” was also done in 2002 as the United States gave a frank, final look at the then seven NATO candidates prior to their invitation to the Alliance at the Prague Summit. For today’s candidate states, the real work remains in the hands of the nations themselves. Each President and Prime Minister was reminded of just that, and reminded that the Alliance is a “performance-based” organization.

Albania's biggest challenge to NATO membership remains crime and corruption, with a worrisome "road of drugs" running thru the country, corrupt prosecutors, and a world corruption index of #126, lower than Burkina Faso's.

Croatia has different challenges with extremely low public support for NATO membership – only 35% support – being the most pre-scient. Croatia as a nation must decide if it wants to be a European neutral state similar to Austria or Sweden, or a Balkan NATO-member state like Slovenia or Romania.

Macedonia seemed to me to be the nation most ready for NATO membership. They have made significant progress, militarily, politically, economically, and inter-ethnically. Their Prime Minister spoke to us of the "Miracle of Macedonia", and he now wants to share Macedonia's multiethnic success through-

out the region.

**"Frozen Conflicts" of the South Caucasus**



**A3 states of Western Balkans**

I accompanied Asst Sec-State Fried and Ambassador Steve Mann, Special State Department Negotiator for Eurasian Conflicts, on a trip to the South Caucasus, 13-17 March 2006. Less than one week after the previous trip to the Balkans, I was struck by the similarly important role that

FAOs in DAOs and ODCs played in informing the State Department delegation of the current military state of affairs in Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Armenia.



**South Caucasus states -- Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia**

Visits such as these begin with an initial orientation briefing at the US Embassy by the US Country Team. In each case, the strong FAO teams provided essential background information helpful in understanding the



COL Anderson and President Saakashvili of Georgia

complexities of Nagorno-Karabakh, as well as the “frozen” situations of Abkhazia and South Ossetia in Georgia.

Nagorno-Karabakh (N-K) remains since 1994 an unresolved conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan. N-K and seven provinces of Azerbaijan are occupied by Armenian forces. Our delegation sought to spur progress in resolving the conflict by meeting with both President Aliyev of Azerbaijan and then President Kocharian of Armenia in a type of “shuttle diplomacy”. As presidential elections loom in 2008 for both nations, 2006 is seen as a potential “window of opportunity”. Positively, Ambassador Mann said that as a result of the separate Kocharian-Aliyev talks that we held, “real progress for the first time in more than five years” was achieved. Similarly, we met with Georgian President Mikhail Saakashvili and conveyed the absolute necessity for him to endeavor to peacefully resolve both South Ossetia and Abkhazia.

### FAO Role

The breadth of issues discussed on these trips; from relations with Iran, to energy pipelines,

to NATO membership, to Black Sea and Caspian Sea security, to potential Membership Action Plan (MAP) status for Georgia, to the presence of Russian forces on Georgian and Armenian soil, to troop contributions to international missions, and defense reform, were all areas where essential input from FAOs was sought and welcomed. Each delegation, both Ambassador Nuland’s NATO mission, as well as Assistant Secretary Fried’s Caucasus mission, acknowledged the criticality of military experts serving in the region. Those experts are Foreign Area Officers.

### Conclusion

The importance of regional military expertise is an affirmation that should resonate with all FAOs, but especially junior officers. Our regional studies, in-country training experiences, language proficiency, cultivated host nation contacts, and cultural skills are all essential tools. You will be turned to and your expertise, your awareness of current developments, your “tools”, will all be



COL Anderson, President Aliyev of Azerbaijan, and Assistant Secretary of State Fried

*(Continued on page 32)*

## ***What They Don't Teach You As A FAO Lessons Learned As A Casualty Assistance Officer in India Lieutenant Colonel Greg Winston, USA, 48D***

In my brief time as a FAO, I've received many challenging assignments, but nothing I'd experienced so far, fully prepared me to be the Casualty Assistance Officer (CAO) for an Indian American soldier who had been killed in Iraq. This mission turned out to be one of the most difficult, and yet rewarding tasks I've performed in 16 years in the Army. As a way to assist those who may be given similar missions in the future, I've described my experience in the report that follows.

On 22 August 2005, a U.S. Army Specialist from India died in Iraq when a 122mm rocket impacted his position. Unbeknownst to his family and most of his unit, this young man had recently married one of his fellow soldiers. These and other unique circumstances resulted in a complex series of challenges as I worked to fulfill my duties as Casualty Assistance Officer.

Among the factors that made this mission more complex were the following: the soldier was a Muslim, from a very conservative region and religious sect, and the first Muslim Indian-American killed in Iraq; his hometown was very remote, three hours by road from the nearest airport; he had not only married a naturalized American woman from a different culture, race and religion, but his family knew nothing of this; he was only the second Indian American killed in Iraq and it had been more than a year since the first US soldier of Indian origin died in combat; his hometown region was a hotbed of religious fervor, having been the scene of widespread Hindu-Muslim violence in 2003, when tensions flared following a religiously motivated hate attack, resulting in riots that killed thousands.

### **Sequence of Events**

I was notified on 25 August 2005 that I would be the CAO and immediately made plans to move to the remote town of Dahod in the Indian state of Gujarat where his family lives. The Defense Attaché Office (DAO) Operations Coordinator provided the death notification to the family the same day, a very difficult task. Approximately two hours after notification, I called the family to set up an appointment to meet with them the following day. The next day I flew to the town of Vadodara, where the nearest airport was located, along with a senior DAO NCO and an embassy Public Affairs Officer (PAO), and established a base of operations. We then drove to the soldier's hometown of Dahod and met with his family for the first time on Friday 26 August.

From that point on, I stayed in constant communications with the family, the DAO, the US Consulate in Mumbai, and Mortuary Affairs and Casualty Assistance in the US. The family was initially concerned with the location and condition of the remains and the financial compensation package if any. Although I was able to update the family on the location of the remains through Mortuary Affairs, it would be several days until I was able to provide them an update on the condition of their son's remains.

Financial issues immediately came to the fore due to the poor financial situation of the family. The soldier had been supporting his entire family financially, and they were very concerned about now being left destitute without him. Although the Casualty Assistance Guide

and common sense dictate waiting until after the funeral to discuss such matters, I talked about the survivor benefits and beneficiaries early at the family's behest.

In this case, his parents were the secondary next of kin as he had privately married a Dominican soldier from his unit. This made his wife the primary next of kin (PNOK) and simplified my job slightly, although the secret marriage created other issues. The soldier had designated his mother as the primary beneficiary for his SGLI payment, so the family stood to receive

merous family and friends present in the house at all times.

The choice of having a second DAO person present for the initial meeting, along with a PAO fluent in the local Gujarati language, was a good move and helped provide peace of mind as we entered a grieving home in a remote and traditional Muslim community, not knowing what to expect (although the first impressions provided by the OPSCO proved to be very accurate). The town of Dahod is 40 km from Godhara in Gujarat, the scene of a train burning and violent clashes between Hindus and Muslims several

years previously. That notwithstanding, we drove through Godhara twice a day on our way to Dahod without any problem.

Although the local community was certainly very interested when we arrived in the town, it quickly became apparent that there was little or no animosity among the villagers and the family, who were quick to mention that they would gladly accept



### ***Local villagers carry the coffin to the mosque in Dahod, India***

a substantial compensation check. This generated other concerns as well, as the family would soon become the wealthiest in the town and relatives, friends, creditors and local government officials would all be expecting a share. Knowing what a colossal sum the parents would be receiving, I was very discrete when discussing financial matters, especially since there were nu-

merous family and friends present in the house at all times.

I would return to the house three times over the next four days to update the family and process required forms. The most difficult time

came when I told the parents that their son's body, because of combat injuries, would not be returned whole. During our meetings an uncle or male cousin would do most of the talking for the family, in spite of the fact that the two daughters spoke much better English. I spoke Hindi extensively on this mission, as many of those I encountered did not speak any English at all.

I explained in detail several times the various options available to the family with regard to military honors, but their preference was always for a private Muslim funeral arranged on their own. They also preferred not to have a US Army general officer attend the ceremony. Although the family wanted no military ceremony of any type, they were receptive to attendance by a senior embassy person. For this we coordinated with the Mumbai Consul General to attend the funeral, who turned out to be the most appropriate person who could have come (the Ambassador would have been too high profile).

The family wanted their son's body returned as soon as possible, but potential delays arose with the documentation required to leave the US and enter India. To help overcome this obstacle, the DATT contacted the Defense Attaché at the Indian Embassy in Washington who was very helpful in expediting the necessary paperwork. Although I had never made any promises to the family on when the body would arrive, with everyone's assistance we were able to stick with my best initial estimate. The finance personnel in the US and at the embassy in India also expedited the initial SGLI payment, which was a huge relief for the family. To get the first check to the family as soon as possible we used a Defense Finance and Accounting Service fund cite to cut a rupee check in the mother's name to her account in a local bank.

When going overseas, a coffin containing remains is shipped inside a metal transfer case, which is itself inside a wooden crate. An important piece of info provided by the previous CAO

was that special tools (tin snips and a crowbar) would be required to open the transfer case. This proved to be key information, as we were prepared as a result and able to complete removal of the transfer case in about 15 minutes.

The day's events closely mirrored the plan I had drawn up based on flight arrival times. That plan was as follows:

2330	Wife, escort, remains and remains escort arrive into Mumbai and are met by DAO and Mumbai consulate staff
2330-0430	Clear customs / immigration and transfer remains to the domestic terminal (Mortuary firm assisting). Wife and escort rest at local hotel.
0540	Remains and team depart Mumbai for Vadodara
0640	Arrival of remains, team, and Consul General into Vadodara (met by DATT, CAO and PAO)
0640-0700	Transfer remains to hearse (Air Conditioned Ambulance) and collect checked bags
0700-0715	Remains, CAO and escort move to hospital for removal from transfer case, others to local hotel for check in
0715-0815	Transfer of remains and movement of hearse to hotel
0825	All assemble in hotel lobby for convoy departure
0830-1130	Movement to Dahod. Deliver remains to mosque and meet family
1200-1330	Remains preparation and prayers at mosque
1330-1500	Procession to cemetery and burial
1515-1815	Convoy movement back to hotel/ airport in Vadodara

Although I had been told by the family to expect about 250 people to be present for the funeral, there were actually several thousand (estimates were between 3,000 and 4,000) and

numerous print and broadcast media personnel present when we arrived at the hometown. This was the only major surprise that day and although the massive crowds did complicate matters slightly, they were more curious than angry. This was a good thing, because the 60-man police escort that we had been provided was totally overwhelmed and would have been useless had the crowd turned hostile. On arrival, our convoy vehicles became separated and immediately surrounded by the huge crowd. The widow was in my vehicle, but I felt that it would be too dangerous to try to get her into the mosque directly, so we inched our way to the door of the family home and then slipped her inside. Meanwhile, upon arrival of the hearse, the crowd immediately grabbed and carried the soldier's remains into the mosque and began funeral preparations while we linked up with the family.

Once the remains were inside, the Consul General and DATT worked their way into the mosque while I remained with the widow at the family home nearby. One of the sisters found some conservative Muslim coverings for her to wear, after which I brought her to the mosque to meet her parents in-law for the first time. Things ran relatively smoothly after that, with the local Muslim Imams taking over the funeral ceremony. Following the ceremony in the mosque, the DATT, Consul Gen-

eral, and I followed the funeral procession to the local cemetery for final burial rites and interment. We all participated in the ceremony, placing three handfuls of earth into the grave and laying rose petals inside, as is the Bohra Muslim tradition. In addition, the Consul General laid a wreath at the foot of the grave. We worked with the local police to keep the media outside the gate of the cemetery until after the ceremony ended. Upon our exit from the cemetery, the Consul General gave a brief oral statement to the media in which he lauded the soldier's performance and promised that the USG would take care of his family.



***Funeral procession from the mosque to the cemetery.***

The day after the funeral I returned to Dahod with the widow and her escort to meet with the family. She wanted to remain in Dahod with the family that night, along with her escort, and after evaluating the atmosphere among the family and town and weighing the various risk factors, I

agreed. The day following the funeral, life in the town was nearly back to normal and interest in the story had slacked considerably. The wife remained with the family for the rest of the week and she continued to get along well with them until she departed without incident as scheduled.

It was also on this post-funeral visit, that I presented the first of two SGLI insurance payments to his mother. Although I suggested depositing this money in a large bank in Mumbai, there would not have been a practical way to access the money there and so she deposited the money locally.

### **Major Issues/Challenges**

*Distance from base hotel to family* – The drive from my base of operations in Vadodara to the hometown in Dahod and back was three hours (150km) each way on typically poor Indian roads. I would much preferred to have stayed in Dahod but when I investigated the two best hotels in town I found them totally unsatisfactory due to lack of phone / email / food, with poor security and rat and trash infestation among other problems. The only other choice was to stay in Vadodara. This meant a long and dangerous round trip each day, but there really was no other option. For this I used a locally hired vehicle from Dahod. Although the driver spoke no English, we were able to communicate in Hindi.

*Traditional Bohra Muslim Family* – This turned out to be a smaller issue than it might have been. The key was that the family was not angry with or hostile to the US. Had they been, things would have been much more difficult for me. As far as the family was concerned, the most controversial aspect was the marriage of their son to a woman they had not sanctioned and knew nothing about. Although this had little to do with me as casualty assistance officer, it had the potential to impact local sentiment and therefore treatment of the soldier's wife. The family was very welcoming initially and continued to be so after meeting her and learning that not only was she from a different culture and religion,

but that her race and mother tongue were also different (Spanish). The widow made things easier by granting right of disposition of remains to her husband's parents and by agreeing to support his wish to be buried at home. She was also amenable to our suggestions on dress and personal conduct during and after the ceremony. Her willingness to participate in traditional Muslim customs to the maximum extent possible ingratiated her with her new family and lessened the controversy within the community for the family.

*Media Attention* – As this individual was only the second US soldier of Indian origin to be killed in Iraq, and the first Muslim, media interest in the story was very high. The funeral and burial were carried live on national TV and the story would be on the front page of every major Indian newspaper the next day. Making matters more difficult, was the family's wish to minimize their own media exposure, a request that we supported as much as possible. Embassy New Delhi issued a short press statement after his parents had been notified, which helped get the basic facts out correctly early. The only real exception to generally positive media coverage was the reporting of rumors that the family had disowned the widow following her seemingly abrupt departure from town after the burial. These rumors were not true, and we countered by holding a short press conference the next day in which the family made clear that they had accepted their son's widow. The family was reluctant to do this at first, but came to realize that it was in their best interest to get their point of view out via an interview, rather than having the press continue to speculate. The two PAOs involved in the operation did a great job and were extremely helpful, not just with the press, but also with translations from Gujarati and with helping put the family at ease.

Following the funeral and departure of the PNOK, my role as a CAO decreased but did not end. The family's main concern at that point was getting to the US, an issue I continue to work through the embassy consular section.

### Lessons Learned

Have a good, flexible plan, and in it identify key sites, control officers, and resources required.

Don't promise (or even mention) anything that you can't deliver.

The CAO and death-notification officer must be a separate individual.

Keep everyone fully informed.

As CAO you may be deployed and will be busy – the support of the rest of the team is crucial to mission success. When you depart to meet the family for the first time, plan to be gone for several weeks, at least until after the funeral. If overseas, expect to be up late every night working with the CONUS based mortuary affairs team and plan accordingly.

Keep the family informed daily even if you don't go see them every day. Gauge the frequency of your visits on the family's mood. Don't go just to hang around; if you don't have a reason to visit and have no new information, a phone call is probably sufficient. Meeting with the family the day after notification proved to be timely and appropriate as the media was already beginning to descend on them and the family had lots of questions at that point.

The closer you can be geographically to the next of kin, the better. The biggest risk in this operation was the daily 6-hour drive.

You'll need senior level assistance occasionally. The DATT/DAO office was very helpful in helping coordinate matters and provide top cover, in keeping the embassy leadership informed, and in pushing the right people to get things moving more rapidly than I would have been able to remotely. Getting the SGLI payment quickly and moving critical paperwork through the Indian embassy are just two examples of this.

Plan the logistics of the funeral, arrival and movement of the remains and personnel and related matters in great detail – you'll still forget things. Include all timings, who will be in what vehicles, how to open the various casket containers, documents you will require, airport passes/clearances, what to do with empty crates and transfer cases and where to open each of these, police escorts, press releases, and locations of key personnel. Security and admin support will be necessary to coordinate airport arrival and security. When the remains arrive, airport authorities will want copies of the death certificate, the embalming certificate, a cancelled passport and probably other documentation. Mortuary affairs included all this paperwork and more, so there were no glitches on arrival in India.

Good communications are essential. Keep the entire team informed and make sure you have reliable phone and email communications (laptop) at all times. This may impact hotel selection. Keep the cell phone numbers for key personnel programmed into your phone.

Enlist a competent media person to assist. A foreigner slain fighting for the US is likely to be front-page news locally for the foreseeable future – prepare accordingly.

Enforce the buddy rule for the first two visits if possible. Consider whether or not to go in uniform. Based on the situation we wore conservative civilian attire at all times.

Get a copy of the Casualty Assistance Officer Guide ASAP and use it to get going in the right direction, but then use common sense and remain flexible and attentive to what the family's desires are – support whatever they want, within reason and regulation. It would also be helpful to look through other case files if possible and speak to someone who has been a casualty assistance officer before.

***LTC Winston is currently assigned to the Office of Defense Cooperation, New Delhi, India***

# The Foreign Area Officer in the Flat, Clashing 21st Century

*By Rod Propst*

Never before have the eyes and ears of our nation's strategic scouts, the foreign area officer, been more relevant or important to the defense of our nation. The deserved pride one feels when identified as a FAO must be matched with a dedication equal to the demands this relevance/importance places on each officer in the FAO corps. While the entire chorus of the siren song of FAO capabilities—advanced civil education, advanced military education, foreign military school attendance, language, country and regional familiarity, demanding and varied assignment pattern—are as important in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century as they have ever been, the emerging need for a foreign area officer who is well-read and conversant in even broader international affairs and globalization trends places increased emphasis on that element of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century FAO's personal and professional preparation. With an eye toward aiding in achieving this worthy end, this article introduces the FAO reader to two dominating books which should be read and internalized by all current FAOs. This is not a book review; rather, it is an introduction to key concepts and ideas embedded in the two volumes, and how the FAO's understanding of these 21<sup>st</sup> Century trends will make one a more competent, complete advisor and scout across the wide array of foreign area officer assignments.

On publication in 1996 Samuel P. Huntington's *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of the World Order* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996) generated an intense firestorm—in both praise and condemnation of his work. Less fiery was the reception to Thomas L. Friedman's *The World Is Flat: A Brief History of the Twenty-first Century* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2005). Regardless of whether or not one agrees with either author's fundamental world view, each informs the debate on our world's current state, and are powerful intellectual tools with which the foreign area officer can do analytic battle for the Department of Defense and beyond. The author selected these two works because they exist at two extremes of a fulcrum—on one end the globally connected, interactive world of Friedman, and at the opposite end the divisive, clashing, uncon-

nected world of Huntington. Such a breadth of opinion and point of view positions the careful reader with natural points and counter-points of engagement with those with whom the FAO comes in professional and personal contact.

Huntington's thesis is boldly stated. "In the post-Cold War world, the most important distinctions among peoples are not ideological, political or economic. They are cultural... People define themselves in terms of ancestry, religion, language, history, values, customs, and institutions. They identify with cultural groups: tribes, ethnic groups, religious communities, nations, and at the broadest levels, civilizations." (21) The result "...is that culture and cultural identities, which at the broadest level are civilization identities, are shaping the patterns of cohesion, disintegration, and conflict in the post-Cold War world." (20) What this produces, in Huntington's view, are fault lines where disparate cultures or civilizations meet—and where fault line wars have become the norm rather than the exception. Huntington also strongly affirms that the majority of these fault line wars exist between Muslims and non-Muslims.

Many of Huntington's harshest critics can be disarmed using his own words. He does not mean his work to be a work of social science, but rather a paradigm, a framework—what this author would characterize as a lens with which to view the opening and coming years of this century. That, I would recommend to the FAO reader or any other, is the best way to read and digest this seminal work. Think of the book as an extended editorial—the book is in fact an expansion of a 1993 Foreign Affairs article—one which the reader can read with interest, use data bits of interest, and make compelling debate points either for or against the thesis without resorting to complete buy-in of Huntington's point of view.

Huntington clearly demonstrates that the bipolar world of the Cold War is gone. No surprise or argument there. He states that this polarity has been replaced by nine world civilizations—Western, Latin American, African, Islamic, Sinic, Hindu, Orthodox,

Buddhist, and Japanese. Some argue that in so organizing the world for this thesis, Huntington has eliminated the importance of the nation-state. One can refute this point of view with ease; at every turn Huntington refers to “core states,” states linked to a major cultural or civilization that guides that civilization either forward (or backward—in many cases because a civilizational core state is not present, in the Muslim world for example). And this reinforces Huntington’s “multipolar, multi-civilizational” worldview. Huntington’s own words refute the argument that he diminishes the role of the state—“States are and will remain the dominant entities in world affairs.” (34)

To counter the importance of states, however, Huntington then posits an alternate view of how the 21<sup>st</sup> Century’s multi-civilizational model will function. “Publics and statesmen,” he says, “are less likely to see threat emerging from people they feel they can understand and trust because of shared language, religion, values, institutions, and culture.” (34) Whereas global forces of integration serve to join us and make the world flat in Friedman’s world, these same forces generate counterforces of cultural assertion, civilizational consciousness, and fragmentation of shared interests in Huntington’s world.

Huntington defines the major cultures as the “Big We.” Unfortunately, anytime we have an “Us,” we must, by needs, have a “Them” (“People define themselves by what makes them different from others,” 67); and that, to Huntington, is at the root of our world’s challenges, a globe currently enmeshed in numerous conflicts along global fault lines—fault lines and conflicts which are by majority pitting Muslims against non-Muslims.

In order to “clash”, one civilization must have contact with another. Huntington’s internal essay on civilizational contact should be required reading, and certainly required understanding, for all foreign area officers. Civilizations were—for the majority of global history—separated by time and space. Moving by foot and without the wheel or beasts of burden, clans or tribes could exist within a few straight-line miles, yet have distinct cultural identities—religions and languages chief among these tribal traits. Although some coastal contact by some cultures existed, prior to 1500 horses and continental cultural contact was the norm. The emergence of seapower—principally of the Western powers—combined with “sustained, overpowering, unidirectional impact of the West on all

other civilizations.” (50) And it was Western technology—not religion or culture—that supplied the Western power to expand.

Where Friedman sees technology uniting the global community, Huntington sees a totally different past and future. Huntington believes that peace does not and has never emerged solely from trade and communications; Friedman would disagree. Rather, Huntington again asserts, “The more fundamental divisions of humanity in terms of ethnicity, religions, and civilizations remain and spawn new conflicts.” (67) The classical Western legacy of Catholicism and Protestantism, of European languages, of the separation of spiritual and temporal authority, of the rule of law, of social pluralism, or representative bodies, and most importantly of the importance of the individual are truly antithetical to other civilizations. This includes the Sinic, Japanese, and certainly the Islamic worlds. And all of these are rising stars on the global horizon—two due to economic strength, and one due to the 21<sup>st</sup> Century’s tools by which the small man can become the big bully (Islamic terrorism).

Huntington’s thesis is no where more compelling than his discussion of the Islamic civilization. Although it possesses no core state as its undeniable backbone, its tribal background, religion, culture, and lifestyles represent an incredibly strong unifying force for those living in that civilization.

Civilization’s in Huntington’s world can coexist. They do so at where their common interest meet. That often means where a common “Them” can be identified that facilitates a pair of civilization’s mutual way ahead. Such a worldview helps explain increased Muslim ties to the Sinic world. This is a particularly dangerous and potentially volatile alignment—an alignment which Huntington states the interaction of “Western arrogance, Islamic intolerance, and Sinic assertiveness” (183) is poised on the explosive edge at all times.

Understanding cultural/civilizational fault lines is key to living and working in the new century in Huntington’s world. The total disappearance of any such line defines Friedman’s world. When Commodore Perry sailed into Japan in 1853, sea power ruled the world. It had opened up intercontinental, global seaborne connectivity in a manner similar to horses and the wheel had done centuries before in the continental age of global expansion and connectivity. The

ships, “giant dragons puffing smoke”, marked a new age in linking the globe in a civilizational manner. This age, to Friedman, is what he terms Globalization 1.0—where horsepower then steam/sea power ruled. Following roughly the same historical paradigm as Huntington, Friedman views the world as shrinking as multinational companies spread, and as our world became bi-polar (Globalization 2.0).

At this point, Friedman and Huntington diverge widely in world view. Huntington sees separate civilizations vying for cultural identity in a more fragmented world. Friedman sees a completely different world. It is one where connectivity has shrunk the world and provided more commonality. Globalization 3.0, in Friedman’s world, is the result of global electronic connectivity due to the World Wide Web (9). Where the world was once separated by time and distance, mountains and seas no longer represent insurmountable obstacles. Where there are no obstacles, “The world is flat.”

Where Huntington sees separation, Friedman sees convergence. Where Huntington sees cultural Great Walls, Friedman sees collaboration and connectivity. Where Huntington sees a world where the lack of a core state will continue to marginalize the Muslim world, Friedman sees a world where “Untouchables”—to use a caste descriptor—can become self-actualizing, raising themselves from their previous status through sheer effort and the power of global communications. Previously, Western domination of technologies provided a global edge to Western culture. Now, “...these are just technologies. Using them does not make you smart, moral, wise, fair, or decent. It just makes you able to communicate, compete, and collaborate farther and faster.” (374) Friedman’s connected world empowers the disempowered, allows opportunity to the previously frustrated.

Friedman does, however, admit to the downside of connectivity and empowerment of the little, angry man. Given the lack of a core state—and given its long-term history as a global power from the past—as its empowering voice, Islam has suffered what Friedman calls the “poverty of dignity.” He goes on to state that “Humiliation is the most underestimated force in international relations and in human relations.” (400) Friedman admits that globalization and

connectivity have allowed al-Qaeda to solidify a revival of Muslim identity and solidarity (430). It has allowed the on-line development of a “suicide supply chain” of great power, because “it enables the small to act big, and the way it enables small acts—the killing of just a few people—to have big effects.” (401)

Friedman is also quick to identify the irrationality of the Internet. Irrationality, or polemics, are powerful tools on the Web, since they are extreme views that incite outrage and action. In addition, Friedman repeatedly cautions against what he hears all the time—“I read it on the Internet so it must be true.” Some people believe that the thin patina of modernity the Internet provides must certainly ensure that what is stated in blogs must, of course, be true.” The insidious nature of the Internet is that one’s biases are too easily reinforced by like thinking people—who then reason that if enough people possess a point of view, then it must have substance. While most reasoning persons understand that is not the case, those ready to feel ostracized and desiring a way to destructively engage in violence in the opening years of this century find plenty of ammunition for the fight in our connected world.

So is the world suffering from a loss of commonality with the decline of the West and the emergence of other civilizational centers as Huntington suggests, or are we all intrinsically connected in a manner that will relieve frustrations and allow opportunity to touch all civilizations in the future as Friedman might posit? The intent of this short introduction is not to answer that question for you. Instead, it is an attempt to introduce two opposing worldviews of our new century. There is no doubt, as any experienced FAO will tell you, that in your assignments and professional and personal interactions as a foreign area officer, you will be confronted with arguments and debates from both sides of this editorial fence. The goal here was to ensure that two seminal works concerning our 21<sup>st</sup> Century multipolar world are known to the FAO community and employed with careful understanding to make every FAO a stronger proponent for our organizations and our country.

In closing, the role of language proficiency, country and regional familiarity, and cultural-focused civil and military education for the foreign area officer

*(Continued on page 32)*

# Be a Peacemaker

## MG (ret) Bernard Loeffke Friendship Fund

### Submitted by Major Mark Derber

#### Foreign Language Department, West Point

#### Who is MG (ret) Bernard Loeffke?

MG (ret) Bernard Loeffke's career as a soldier-statesman was remarkable. Upon being commissioned in the Infantry, MG Loeffke immediately served two combat tours in Vietnam. He then completed graduate work at Middlebury College in preparation to teach Russian at West Point. In 1970, MG Loeffke was selected as a White House Fellow, and subsequently served as the Army Attaché in Moscow and the Chief of Military Mission in Beijing. He has commanded at all levels in Infantry, culminating as Commanding General of US Army Southern Command. MG Loeffke also led Task Force Russia, a joint effort designed to locate American POWs and MIAs in the Former Soviet Union. He is a graduate of the Armed Forces Staff College and the Army War College, has earned a Ph.D. in Political Science, and speaks Spanish, Portuguese, Russian, French, and Chinese. Upon his retirement in 1992, General Loeffke became a Physi-



**General Loeffke preparing for a parachute drop with Chinese officers**

cian's Assistant. He has been on numerous medical missionary trips in Latin America and Africa. He is the author of a book, *From Warrior to Healer: 99 True Stories from a General to his Children*.

#### Background of the Friendship Award

The **Friendship Fund** was created in 1992 by Major General (ret) Bernard Loeffke in memory of Sergeant Larry Morford, a young NCO who sought ways to build friendships between nations during the Vietnam War until his untimely death. Each year, the Friendship Fund makes it possible for fourth-year Russian and Chinese majors at the United States Military Academy to participate in an academic competition called the **Friendship Award**.

The **Friendship Award** seeks to inspire future American soldier-statesmen (cadets) to increase their understanding of their Russian and Chinese colleagues, and vice versa. MG Loeffke believes that one way to strengthen peace is to encourage West Point cadets to establish friendships with the junior military leaders of other nations. He strongly believes that these long-term personal relationships have the potential to foster peaceful engagement between countries in the future.

To this end, MG Loeffke's vision is that American cadets write – *in Russian or Chinese* – about ways to improve Russian / Chinese-US national security relations, while Russian and Chinese cadets write – *in English* – about the same topic. Written submissions may be in any form – a true story, a work of fiction, a poem, an essay, a song – that demonstrates understanding and

creative thinking about ways to bridge differences and bring peace. The annual **Friendship Award** is presented to those whose written expression makes evident a dedication to the ideals of building friendships between peoples.

The first **Friendship Award** was presented to a Russian junior officer in Moscow in May, 1994, for his essay on the importance and role of religion in the United States Army. The second award was given to a West Point cadet whose essay, written in Chinese, discussed the importance of language in establishing friendship and understanding.

This year's theme was "**Be a Peacemaker.**" Cadets wrote short essays to answer the question, "**Why do you feel it is important for future military officers to study \_\_\_\_\_ (Russian or Chinese)?**" In answering the question, cadets were asked to consider MG Loeffke's *Four Ds*:

Democracy - the **Friendship Award** supports the advancement of democracy because history reveals that no two freely elected democratic nations have fought each other.

Development - without development, democracies will not survive. It has been said that simply providing *the Three Ts* gets one elected: *techo* (roof), *trabajo* (work) and *tortillas* (food). Dissatisfaction will force people to choose other forms of governments.

Defense - democracies tend to have small militaries and need strong alliances to survive.

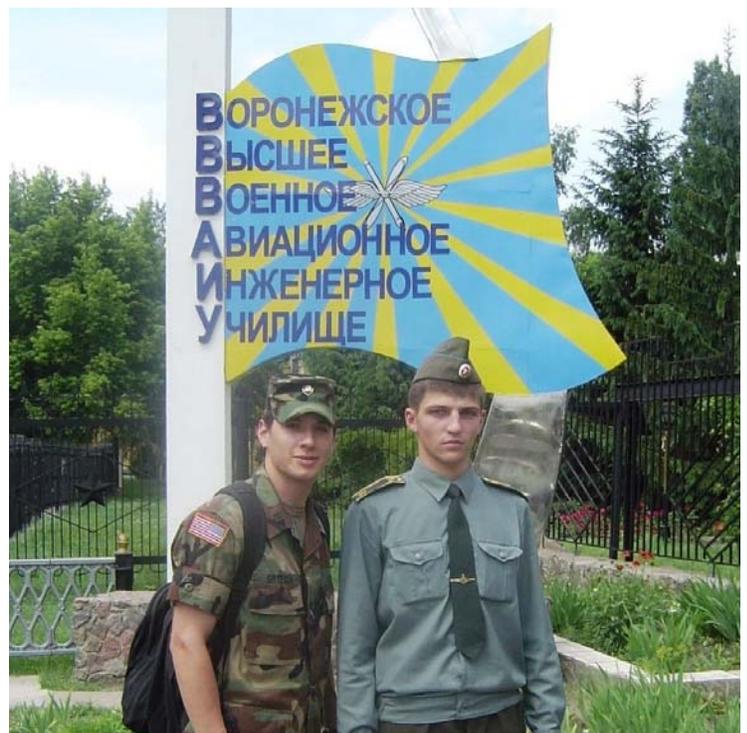
Dialogue – ironically, in many languages the words "stranger" and "enemy" are the same. The **Friendship Award** supports dialogue with anyone, anytime, anywhere, if it will

advance peace.

Two short essays follow. The first essay, written in both English and Russian versions by Cadet Jay Ortegon, was selected as the 2006 winner of the **Friendship Award**. Cadet Ortegon's essays are accompanied by Cadet Dias Asanov's perspectives about the importance of language and cultural study. Cadet Dias is an exchange cadet from the Republic of Kazakhstan.

**Be a Peacemaker  
2006 Friendship Award Winner  
By Cadet Jay Ortegon**

The world of today is shaped by many different events, ideas, and beliefs. All over the world there are countries striving to achieve what is in their best interests. At times, however, a country cannot achieve what is best without another country losing something. As a result, international politics is the key to the world's stability. Because each country is unique, it is imperative that there be some common form of international



**Cadet Ortegon with a Voronezh Academy  
Aviation cadet**

currency for politics – a form of currency that allows for communication, as opposed to just talk. That currency is language and cultural understanding. Thus, it is important to learn the language and gain an understanding of the culture of others in order to communicate effectively and bridge the gaps that divide countries on the international scale.

The realization of the importance of language led me to choose the path to learn a language and ascertain cultural understanding in order to be part of the solution and not part of the problem. I wanted to be one of the bridge builders and not a bystander watching the construction. Therefore, I chose Russian.

Although the Cold War is long over there is still lingering mutual suspicion between Russia and the United States. Whether it be Russia's role in negotiations over Iran's alleged nuclear arms program, or in its role as a mediator with *Hamas*, Russia's influence in the world is on the rise. It is a kind of counter-balance to the United States hegemony. Clearly,

United States and Russia have mutual issues on the table that need to be addressed. Additionally, with the knowledge on both sides that the United States could strike Russia with little or no counter-strike adds to the uneasiness of Russians and the anti-American attitudes. Naturally, these are perpetuated by post Cold War era feelings. Russia views the United States as a threat trying to hold them at bay, which is very similar to the Cold War. Who could blame them for feeling this way? That is why it is important to understand their language and culture in order to ease these tensions and address these issues.

A year ago I spent three weeks studying Russian in Russia. I was in the city of Voronezh approximately 300 miles south of Moscow. For many of those people there, I was the first American they had ever seen, let alone spoken to. With every person I met and talked to, all of them were surprised with me. I was nothing like what they had envisioned an American to be. I would say the majority did not like the Americans even though they had never met

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one. With my limited time there and limited interaction with people in Voronezh I was able to change their conception of Americans. They were taken aback by the fact that I was so interested in learning their culture and their language that I traveled to the other side of the world to do it. This is the communication I am talking about. If I was just an American there that did not speak any Russian, I would have confirmed their preconceived notions rather than changed them. All this because of my study of the Russian language and culture. It is also important to note that I did not speak Russian very well at this point either. I had been studying Russian for only two years. That was not what was important though. It was the fact that I, an American, was putting forth my time and effort to learn more about them and their history, culture, and language.

Clearly, studying Russian allowed me to influence how other people view Americans. I am not advocating that everyone should study Russian. I am merely pointing out that everyone should strive to bridge together the people of the world by studying the languages and cultures of other countries. I chose this path because it interested me most, and I felt it was important, but all paths need to be covered. All countries play a role in international politics, and they are each important. So, in this realm of international politics that is so vital today, are you helping to build bridges or just watching the construction?

### **Cadet Jay Ortegon's Russian Version**

Мир сегодня определён разными событиями, идеями, и убеждениями. Во всём мире есть страны, которые стремятся достигнуть чего-то лучшего для себя. Однако, каждой стране нельзя достигнуть чего-то лучшего без того, чтобы другой стране терялось что-то. В результате этого, международная политика – залог стабильности мира. Поскольку каждая страна уникальная, некоторая форма международной валюты для политики необходима – форма валюты, которая учитывает коммуникацию в

отличие от разговора. Это валюта – язык и культурное понимание. Так, это важно учить язык и набирать понимание культуры других людей, чтобы объясняться эффективно и восполнять пробелы, которые разъединяет уникальные страны в международном масштабе.

Из-за этой надобности в мировом сообществе, я выбирал путь “учить язык,” чтобы достигнуть культурного понимания, чтобы быть частью решения и не частью проблемы. Быть один из строителей мостов и не свидетель, кто смотрит на строительство. Я выбрал русский язык.

Даже до того как Холодная война заканчивала, там ещё растущее расстройство между Россией и США. Россия участник в переговорах по предполагаемой ядерной программе оружия Ирана, или посредник с Хамасом, влияние России в мире растёт. Это растёт к противовесу гегемонии США. Безусловно США и Россия имеют проблемы на столе и им нужно решение. К тому же, с знанием со всех сторон, что мы можем ударять Россию с небольшой или без контрудара, увеличивает беспокойство русских и рост антиамериканских отношений. Конечно, чувства от Холодной войны прибавляют к этому. Россия осматривает США как угроза, трудно удерживать их. Это подобно Холодной войне. Нельзя винить их в этом. Вот почему важно понимать их язык и культуру, чтобы облегчать напряжение и решать эти проблемы.

В прошлом году я был в России три недели, чтобы учить русский язык. Я был в городе Воронеже триста миль к югу от Москвы. Для многих людей там, я был первым американцем, которого они видели или с которым говорили. С каждым человеком, с кем я знакомился или говорил, все удивлялись мне. Я не был таким, каким, они думали должен быть американец. Я думаю, что большинство не любило

американцев несмотря на то, что они никогда не познакомились с нами. С моим временем и взаимодействием с людьми в Воронеже, я умел изменить их понятие об американцах. Они изумлялись фактом, что я интересовался научиться их культуре и их языку так много, что я путешествовал в другой стране мира, чтобы это делать. Это коммуникация, о которой я говорю. Если бы я был там американец, который не говорит по-русски, я бы подтверждал их идеи, а не изменил бы их. Всё это потому что я учусь русскому языку и культуре. Важно знать, что, в то время, я говорил по-русски не так хорошо. Я изучал русский язык только два года. Мало того это был факт, что я, американец, посвящал мое время и усилие, чтобы знать о них, и их истории, культуре и языке.

Безусловно, русский язык позволил мне влиять как других людей, чтобы рассматривать американцев. Я не предлагаю, чтобы каждый изучал русский язык. Я просто указываю на то, что каждый должен помогать соединять людей мира изучением языков и культуры других стран. Я выбрал этот путь, потому что он интересовал меня больше, и я чувствовал, что это будет важно, но все пути должны быть открыты. Все страны играют свои роли в международной политике, и каждая важна. Так, в этой сфере международной политики, которая важна сегодня, вы помогаете строить мосты или только наблюдаете строительство?

**Cadet Jay Ortegon** was born in Weslaco, Texas. This summer, he will receive his bachelor's degree in Russian and Arabic from the United States Military Academy at West Point, NY. Jay has traveled to Russia as part of the Foreign Academy Exchange Program and the Advanced Individual Academic Development Program. Upon graduation, Jay will be commissioned a Second Lieutenant of Infantry. His decorations and badges include the National Defense Service Medal, Air Assault Badge, and German Proficiency Badge.

### **A Kazakh Cadet's Perspective** **By Cadet Dias Asanov**

The end of the Cold War marked the beginning of a new era in world history. International relations on a global scale were no longer dominated by a fierce competition between two ideological centers. Instead, the collapse of the socialist system and triumph of the ideas of democratic development and self-determination resulted in the emergence of fifteen new republics that had been part of the Soviet Union for seventy years. Such a major structural shift on the international arena laid the foundation for possible cooperation between the United States and the newly independent states of the post-Soviet space in all areas, including cultural exchange. Jay Ortegon astutely noted in his essay that language is an important tool in bridging the gap between different cultures. As a cadet from Kazakhstan, I fully agree with his assessment of the role of language in building friendly relations and further opportunities for mutually beneficial cooperation between our countries. The purpose of this essay is, therefore, to provide my perspective on this topic.

Jay Ortegon's experiences in the Former Soviet Union suggest that his personal interactions enable him to alter some of the preconceived notions that Russian people had about Americans. The key factor of his success was his knowledge of the Russian language and his ability to express genuine interest in the Russian culture. Similarly, direct communication with the Russian people played an immense role in changing Jay's own stereotype about their culture and history. The impact of these types of seemingly insignificant personal success stories on the future of the relationship between Russia and the United States is immense – an increasing number of future diplomats and political leaders both nations will be willing to listen to each other and consider each other's cultural peculiarities when making major decisions.

As a future officer in the army of the Republic of Kazakhstan I realize how important it is for American cadets to study Russian. Russian is still used very commonly in Kazakhstan, despite the fact that the Kazakh language was given an official status. Undoubtedly, an American officer speaking Russian would be able to communicate with people effectively almost anywhere in Kazakhstan.

Nevertheless, it is important to note that mere knowledge of Russian language does not suffice for successful understanding of various cultures of the nations of the Former Soviet Union, including Kazakhstan. I believe knowledge of Russian is only a starting point. Unfortunately, some Americans tend to narrow the richness and

about the traditions and ways of life in other countries in order to be better prepared for the potential challenges of tomorrow's combat environment.

As a Kazakh citizen and officer, I would be happy to communicate with my American colleagues in both English and Russian during any future joint combat or peacekeeping missions. My fellow officers, soldiers, and Kazakh civilians who do not speak English would certainly be willing to work with Russian-speaking American military personnel. However, the effectiveness and success of such cooperation will improve exponentially if American soldiers demonstrate their awareness of the differences between cultures and languages. Fortunately, throughout my three years at West Point, many American cadets have shown their willingness to learn more about Kazakh language and culture in addition to being interested in learning Russian. Such positive examples solidify my belief that American officers will be able to establish a constructive dialogue not only with Russia, but with other post-Soviet nations including my country – Kazakhstan.

***Cadet Dias Asanov is an exchange cadet from the Republic of Kazakhstan and member of the Class of 2007. He is majoring in International Relations with Honors, and is one of the cadet leaders for West Point's world-class championship Model United Nations Team. Upon graduation, Cadet Dias will serve as an Infantry officer in the Kazakh Armed Forces.***



***Cadet Asanov in map discussions with Captain Shands at West Point***

authenticity of all these different cultures and lump them together as part of the Russian culture. Despite having Russian as an official language for about seventy years, the Kazakh people take great pride in their authentic language and culture, which was formed throughout the centuries as a mix of traditional nomadic cultures of Turkic tribes under Mongol, Persian, Arab and Russian influences. Therefore, future American officers must do their best to explore and learn

# The Pentagon's New Map: War and Peace in the Twenty-First Century

*By Major Tyler Fitzgerald, USA*

**The Pentagon's New Map: War and Peace in the Twenty-First Century.** Thomas P.M. Barnett, Berkley Books, New York. 435 Pages.

Thomas P.M. Barnett, in his book, *The Pentagon's New Map: War and Peace in the Twenty-First Century*, proposes a new way of looking at the world and a new strategic concept for security in the post Cold-War era. He tells the story of his search for this new strategic paradigm from his perspective as a senior strategic researcher and professor at the Naval War College with added insight from his work in the Office of the Secretary of Defense and the private firm Cantor Fitzgerald. He writes in an easy to read style that educates the reader on complex strategic issues as well as how things work behind the scenes in the unique culture of the Pentagon.

The new map that Barnett introduces divides the world into what he calls the "Functioning Core" and the "Non-integrating Gap." The former includes countries where basic rule sets are adhered to, societies are generally stable, economies are integrated into the world economic system and the idea of globalization is embraced. These countries include the U.S., Canada, Mexico, most of the European nations, Russia, China, India, South Africa, Japan, Brazil, Chile, Argentina, Australia and New Zealand. The latter is defined by countries where rule sets accepted and embraced by the Core states do not apply. They are disconnected from the world economic system, the idea of globalization is either rejected or not practiced, poverty is widespread and there is a general lack of security. These states include the countries of the Andean Ridge, Central America, the Caribbean, the Balkans, Africa (minus South Africa), the Middle East, Central Asia and South East Asia.

Barnett shows that the majority of the military operations and interventions conducted by US forces since 1990 have occurred in this inherently unstable, disconnected and dangerous Gap region. As a result he makes two primary arguments. The first is that Core military operations will inevitably take place in the Gap region. Because of this the U.S., and other Core nations, should maintain military forces designed to operate within the Gap and eschew the search for a "near peer competitor." These forces would consist of what he terms the "Leviathan" force, which would be a powerful force capable of high to mid-intensity conflict in order to overthrow regimes which refuse to abide by the established rule sets of the Core. The second is what he terms the "System Administration" force which would be a low-intensity force capable of nation-building tasks and maintaining security in the Gap.

The second argument is that the Core states, led by the U.S., should make every effort to "shrink the Gap." This would be through a multi-faceted approach to integrate the Gap states into the functioning Core. The role of the military in this effort would be to "export" security into the Gap in order to facilitate economic, political and societal reforms to integrate the Gap states into the Core to enjoy the benefits of globalization. He argues that this is inherently good for the people of the Gap while at the same time it is in the self-interest of the Core because the instability of the Gap will eventually become a direct threat to the peace and prosperity of the Core. This could be in the form of refugee and immigration flows, trade restrictions, general instability or direct attacks.

Barnett believes that the elimination of the Gap can be accomplished. His writing is optimistic in the extreme and full of hope that the suffering in the Gap can be reduced by providing an opportunity to join the Core. His analysis of the situation is good and he provides a useful framework to work within to develop the strategic paradigm that the U.S. has been lacking since the end of the Cold War. His challenge to shrink the Gap is commendable and from a human and moral point of view difficult to challenge. However, three issues loom large in undertaking this challenge.

The first is regarding cost. Overthrowing regimes that refuse to abide by the rule sets of the Core will be costly in terms of money, casualties and committed troops. Additionally, the costs of rebuilding countries where regime change has occurred, such as Afghanistan and Iraq, show that rebuilding costs are extremely high. They include the costs of rebuilding infrastructure and institutions as well as the continuing costs of combat from remnants of the regime and other elements. There has also been a political cost and a burden to bear for the countries in the "coalition of the willing" from their own people, the press, the people of other nations and other governments. To fully integrate the Gap would require tremendous costs for a long period of time. Is the Core truly prepared to bear this cost for a generation or more? This is at best questionable.

Secondly, Barnett fails to acknowledge the Gap countries' own responsibility for themselves. The responsibility for their development ultimately is their own. Assuredly, the Core can and must help, but the Gap countries must be able and willing to eliminate corruption, use assistance resources wisely and ultimately pay the price in blood and sweat for their own freedom from tyrants, oppression, corruption, mismanagement and poverty. Billions of dollars have been given to Gap nations over the years for the purpose of development but the return on this investment has often been severely lacking. The Gap nations must prove that they can effectively take re-

sponsibility to be good stewards of resources or development money will end up squandered.

Lastly, Barnett advocates U.S. led military action in the Gap. This great undertaking would have to answer two questions to a sceptical world and to the American people. The first is when does altruism cross the line into elitism. The second is when does the export of security become imperialism? There is a fine line that should not be crossed on both of these issues. The individual countries of the Gap would most likely appreciate the well intentioned assistance of the Core. However, no sovereign nation wants to be told what is best for them by outsiders. On a similar note, unending military operations to integrate all nations of the globe into the U.S. model of globalization would at some point cross into forced integration. At what point does this become imperialism? Neither the U.S. nor the other nations of the Core should engage in empire building. How far can the Core go down the road of shrinking the Gap without crossing over into imperialism?

Barnett's book is interesting and educational. Though he falls short on his solutions, his optimism and hope give encouragement as the nations of the Core seek to grasp security for themselves and alleviate suffering in the Gap. It is well worth reading by anyone who seeks to understand why the U.S. and other militaries have been so active in certain parts of the world in recent years as well as to understand the security challenges ahead.

# Kemalist (Turkish) Foreign Policy With the Third Reich: Neutrality or Active Collaboration

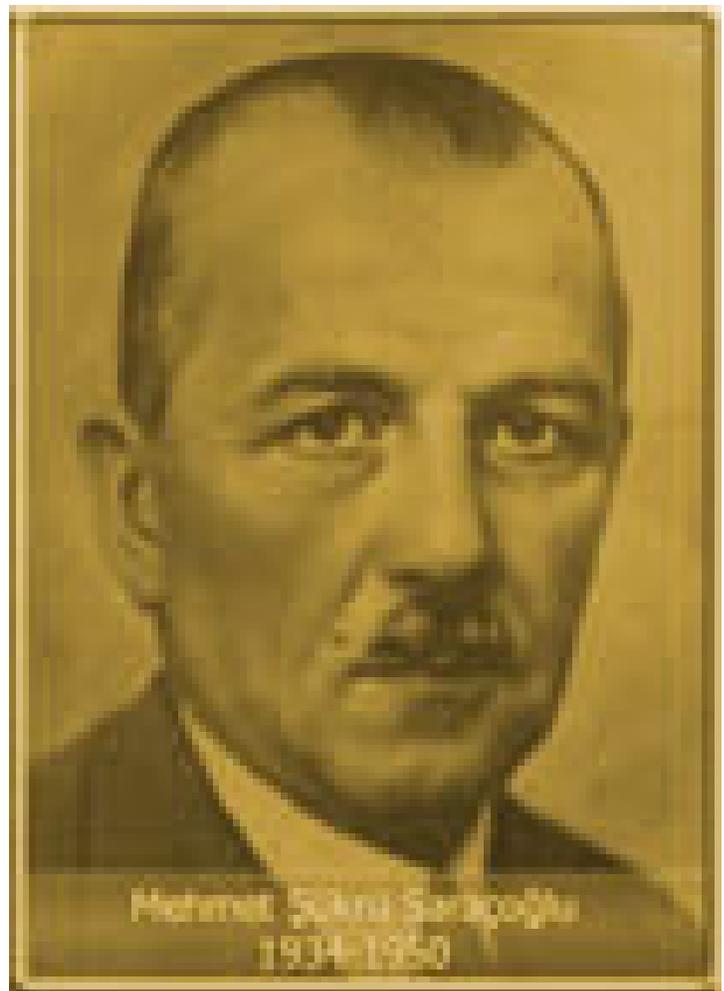
By Basil Aboul-Enein, M.Sc  
And LCDR Youssef Aboul-Enein, MSC, USN

Turkish neutrality during the Second World War remains one of the most important aspects of diplomacy during the period. The Republic of Turkey was able to position herself where she had a formal treaty of Assistance with the United Kingdom and a Friendship and Non-aggression pact with Nazi Germany. The true purpose behind the “neutrality” between the Germans and the Turkish Republic before and during the Second World War shows that the government of Ismet Inonu had been anything but neutral in the true sense. Although Turkey was technically a neutral participant during World War II, it had a strong leaning towards Nazi Germany. The two governments formed a basis of shared confidence and genuine friendship, having full authority from their respected heads of state. German Ambassador Franz von Papen met with Foreign Minister Sukru Saracoglu regularly. Both paved the way for a treaty of cooperative diplomacy in the capital city Ankara on June 18, 1941 drawing up several articles of agreement and accords such as binding themselves to:<sup>1</sup>

- respect the integrity of their territories and that no measure is to be taken that is aimed directly or indirectly against one other;
- communicate with each other on all questions affecting their common interests to bring about mutual considerations on the treatment of such questions; and
- economic cooperation was dispatched between the two governments.

Ismet Inonu declared Turkey a non-belligerent state soon after the German occupation of France in 1940, even though Turkey was tied to the Tripartite Alliance of October 1939 with

France and Britain.<sup>2</sup> According to Franz von Papen’s *Memoirs* published in 1952, Hitler sent an official letter addressed to President Inonu establishing the terms of Germany’s adherence to Turkish neutrality.<sup>3</sup> It stated that German troops would be allowed no closer than 35 kilometers from the Bulgarian-Turkish border. This showed a high level of diplomatic activity designed to further the goals of the Wehrmacht. It is the ultimate example of a reversal of Clausewitz



Turkish Republic appointed Foreign Minister  
Shukru Saracoglu

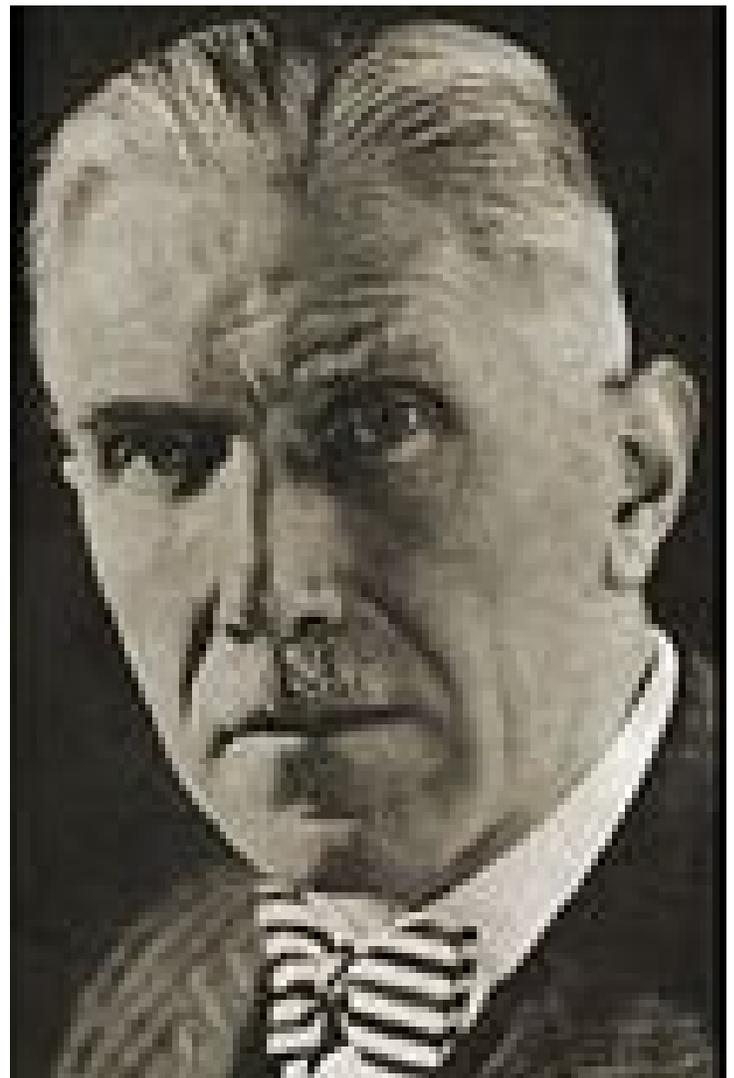


***Turkish President Ismet Inonu***

whereby policy and diplomacy is paving the way for military action.

Hitler was planning to occupy Turkey soon after a quick Soviet defeat. However, in planning Operation Barbarossa (Invasion of Russia), the German leader realized that a neutral Turkey would secure Axis shipments in the eastern Mediterranean, which was vital for Germany's war economy.<sup>4</sup> A trade agreement between Turkey and Germany was signed in October 1941. The agreement was that Turkish metals and in particular chrome products were to be exchanged for German weapons. Approximately 135,000 tons of chromite ore was delivered to Nazi Germany between 1941 and 1944.<sup>5</sup> The constant flow of chromite to the Third Reich was so crucial, that German Minister of Munitions and Armaments Albert Speer dispatched a letter to Hitler in 1943 stating that "should supplies of chromium from Turkey be cut off, the manufacture of tanks, U-boats and other war machines would cease, the current reserve would be sufficient only for 6 months."<sup>6</sup>

Agreements concluded between Turkish and German negotiators stipulated that Turkey would sell Germany a maximum of 90,000 tons of chrome in 1943 and 45,000 tons in 1944 in exchange for military equipment.<sup>7</sup> Though considered neutral waters, the Bosphorus, linking the Black sea to the Mediterranean, allowed German merchant ships carrying needed war materiel and ore access to the Black Sea, as a result of Turkey's liberal interpretation of its responsibilities to monitor and enforce neutrality in the straits under the terms imposed by the 1936 Montreaux Convention.



***German Reich Chancellor appointed Ambassador Franz von Papen***



Fig.1 German occupation 1941. Map by Haksın Demirel

***Neutral Turkey during the Second World War from Selim Deringil (1989). Turkish foreign policy during the Second World War an active Neutrality.***

One of Turkey's political themes since the days of the Ottoman Empire, was the idea of Pan Turkism, a political movement, similar to Zionism, for the union of all Turkic peoples stretching from the Volga to China. As the Nazi juggernaut conquered more areas of Soviet soil that were inhabited by Turkic peoples, a few Turkish leaders were tempted to join up with the Nazis to crush the Soviet Union as Germany took further control of the Caucasuses. Senior Turkish military officials felt that the opportunity to attack the southern areas of Russia should be exploited and President Ismet Inonu maintained an official contact with Berlin over this issue while awaiting the result of the Nazi war on the Eastern Front.<sup>8</sup>

Germany actively encouraged Pan Turkism. Franz von Papen reported in July 1941 that Turkic interest was illustrated over Turks residing in Azerbaijan controlled by Stalin. In several instances, the German General Staff hosted a tour for Turkish generals Ali Fuat Erden and Emir Erkilet of the Eastern Front. The Turkish generals tried on several occasions to convince President Inonu and Foreign Minister Saracoglu that the Eastern Front has in fact been won by Nazi Germany and in a report dated August 8<sup>th</sup> 1942, Von Papen stated that he spoke with Saracoglu who had said that as a Turk he was completely in favour of the defeat of Soviet Russia.

German Foreign Minister Ribbentrop commented that Germany must "promote and maintain the somewhat dormant Turkish imperialist

ambitions.”<sup>9</sup> Another aspect of Turkish foreign policy with the Third Reich was the ability to procure armaments and financial aid from Germany. In the summer of 1942, Turkey was offered a loan for arms shipment. An allied official commented “If the Germans fulfill their oath to link arms and equipment to Turkey, within 6 months, they would have supplied Turkey in a sixth of the time with thrice the equipment as we have done.” On April 29, 1942 Hitler instructed Italian dictator Benito Mussolini that Turkey was moving gradually but assuredly towards the Axis sphere.<sup>10</sup> As Nazi Armies began freezing in the Russian winter and the Red Army began reversing the tides of defeat, the Turkish Republic never took that step towards becoming an Axis partner.

## Conclusion

This little discussed aspect of World War II, demonstrates the importance of behind the scenes diplomacy, weapons sales and grants in the management of a neutral government that occupies strategic territory. The allies had, through co-opting King Farouk of Egypt, denied the Axis use of the Suez Canal, it would be vital for Hitler not to see the Bosphorus Strait denied to German shipping. It also shows the irrational exuberance that nationalism can have on a nation’s foreign policy. Turkish leaders almost fell into the abyss of joining the Axis, which seemed at the time the rational choice given their loathing of Stalin, who controlled Soviet Republics with a heavy population of Turkic people. Although on a smaller scale, Marine Corps General Henry Osman and his team used his influence to keep Kurdish factions from lapsing into civil war as coalition forces marched towards Baghdad from the south.<sup>11</sup> Had the United States ignored Northern Iraq and Kurds began exploding into civil and factional warfare, it would have provided strategic depth for Saddam loyalists and Islamist extremists who thrive in operating under conditions of civil disorder. Maj.Gen Osman is not as well known as other Operation Iraqi Freedom coalition commanders but his contribution is no less important.

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**Editor’s Note: Mr. Basil Aboul-Enein has just completed his graduate studies in dietetics in Houston, Texas and is working to earn an officer’s commission in the U.S. Navy. He has a passion for Middle East military history. LCDR Youssef Aboul-Enein is Basil’s older brother is the former Middle East Country Director at the Office of the Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs.**

# How Foreign Area Officers Can Contribute to the NATO Response Force

## By Major Tyler Fitzgerald, USA

The NATO Response Force (NRF) is a brigade sized deployable force available to the North Atlantic Alliance to intervene rapidly in a crisis. It includes land, sea, air and special operations components. The NRF proved its capability to deploy recently with the participation of the air component in the Hurricane Katrina relief effort and with the deployment of land, sea and air components to provide support to victims of the devastating earthquake in Pakistan. NATO nations contribute forces for one year or 6 month periods of commitment and standby. The command of the land component of the NRF rotates through each of the NATO Rapid Deployable Corps Headquarters (NRDCs). The host nation of each NRDC provides approximately 85% of the staff personnel with the remaining 15% coming from the other NATO nations. Foreign Area Officers (FAOs) must contribute to the development of the NRF and to enhance its effectiveness in every one of its missions. This article highlights several critical ways for FAOs to contribute.

NATO has six certified NRDCs. These include the Allied Rapid Reaction Corps (ARRC), the Eurocorps, the German-Netherlands Corps, the NRDC-Italy, the NRDC-Spain and the NRDC-Turkey. US personnel may serve in all but the Eurocorps. Positions vary but an international background, expertise in US doctrine

(especially in deployable units and on corps level staffs), proficiency in English and a second or third language make FAOs valuable members of these headquarters. A well placed FAO in one of the NRDCs can provide current US doctrine and interpretation of US national strategy to the command and infuse US thinking into the discussion of the HQ to influence the entire staff. An assignment to one of the corps-level NATO HQs is an opportunity to enhance the NRF from within as part of a deployable command element.

Attachés or security assistance officers in countries where the NRF may deploy can also support the NRF. If a crisis situation develops where friendly outside forces may be called to intervene, the NRF is a candidate resource. Possible missions could include humanitarian relief, peacekeeping and more. Under direction of the North Atlantic Council, the NRF could deploy to intervene in the crisis and could, if directed by NATO, build up

forces to a corps sized land element with corresponding air and maritime elements. The NRF could potentially resolve crisis situations without the need for US forces to intervene, saving costs and providing economy of force for US units. Attachés and security assistance officers in potential world hotspots or humanitarian crisis areas should be aware of the capabilities of the NRF and the possible applications within their respec-



tive countries. They should educate their country teams as well as host nations on NRF issues and maintain an awareness as the NRF continues to mature in its ability to execute its missions.

Additionally, FAOs assigned overseas have a wealth of information that would be of great value to the NRF during an operational deployment. If the NRF is deployed to their country, FAOs already on the ground could provide background information on the culture, political landscape, and geography. They could introduce NRF personnel to local points of contact, translators and local leaders as well as to provide crucial information on potential sites for encampments, lines of communication and operating areas. Forward deployed FAOs can also help to prepare the way administratively by working with the host government to streamline entry into the country, establish liaison with the host nation government and military and assist with letters of understanding or status of forces agreements. FAOs could also assist with logistical support by facilitating contact with local contractors, vendors and transportation companies. These are all things that FAOs do for US forces on a routine basis. The difference would be in providing support to a NATO element if the NRF deploys to their area.

Committing forces to the NRF should be a top priority for each of the NATO nations and FAOs in attaché and security assistance assignments in NATO nations can help to emphasize its importance within their country teams and with their host nations. FAOs in security assistance positions can also contribute to the long term success of the NRF by emphasizing the procurement of equipment, training and professional military education that supports contingency operations in austere environments to their host nation militaries. In terms of equipment, this can range from promoting the acquisition of expensive strategic lift assets such as C-17s or Roll on/Roll off ships, to lightweight field gear such as cold weather sleeping bags and mats for use in harsh underdeveloped operating areas. Training and education

that builds knowledge of contingency operations and deployment will also support the NRF by increasing the host nation's knowledge of these types of operations.

The NRF is a valuable tool for NATO to intervene in a crisis and has proven itself in two operational deployments. FAOs from all regions should gain an understanding of it and contribute to its continued success.

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The **FAO Journal** needs:

FAO articles written by FAOs!

All FAOs are requested to submit articles to be published in the **FAO Journal**. Articles should nominally be 7-10 pages, single spaced (longer articles will be considered). Graphics (pictures, maps, charts) should be included embedded in the article and sent separately (in a PowerPoint file is convenient).

After publishing in the **FAO Journal** articles will be uploaded on the FAOA web site ([www.faoa.org](http://www.faoa.org)).

Please e-mail articles and graphics to [editor@faoa.org](mailto:editor@faoa.org) or [webmaster@faoa.org](mailto:webmaster@faoa.org).

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**An Afghan Soldier stands watch.  
U.S. Army Photograph**



**Car bomb detonation in Mosul, Iraq, 31 May 2006.  
DOD Photograph**

**US Marines guide Army CH-47D during Pakistani  
Earthquake relief. US Army Photograph**



# ARMY NOTES

*COL Daniel Fagundes, Chief,  
Strategic Leadership Division*



Army FAO Proponent continues to move forward with its initiative to build “Pentathletes” and multi-skilled leaders to meet the needs of the Army and the changed international security environment. One initiative has been the creation of an International Military Affairs (IMA) Division at the Army Service Component Commands (ASCC). The intent is two-fold: provide additional opportunities for FAOs to get “re-green”; and developing a pool of regional experts with cultural expertise and foreign language proficiency in each ASCC. We expect a total of 45 new positions will be created by FY10. In fact, HRC is already assigning officers to ARCENT due to this initiative. Additionally, FAO Proponent is aggressively working an initiative to make the IMA Divisions even more robust to support “pushing” FAOs down to the Corps, Division, and BCT echelons as cultural advisors. This initiative will give the Army leader the capability to adapt to changes in regional dynamics and surge Army FAOs where needed.

The initiative to re-green has already shown substantial growth in the overall FAO force. The Army is conducting two accessions boards in 2006. In May, YG97 had a second Career Field Designation (CFD). The re-greening initiative translated to a significant increase in total accessions. Furthermore, in August the Army will conduct a CFD for YG99 officers. We foresee additional FAO accessions during this board also resulting from the additional authorizations at the IMA. What does this mean to the field? It means that our numbers are increasing, we will be training additional new officers, and ICT sites that have been gapped in the past will be less likely to be gapped in the future. It also means that FAO lifecycle management will become more predictable. In the field more FAOs will fall into the “traditional” category of training which means

that they will be able to conduct all phases of training early enough in their career to allow for substantial utilization at the rank of Major. This CFD Board will constitute the transition from the old CFD/FAD system to the new seven year CFD. From this point on the Army will CFD one year group per year. The desired endstate is a robust FAO force structure, within the Army Modular Force, able to provide critical regional and linguistic expertise to the Army and Joint Warfighter.

FAO is increasingly the most sought after Functional Area. Last year, due to these high numbers we had the luxury of choosing only the top 10% of all applicants. The 2006 accession produced some impressive results. Nearly half of all newly accessed FAO retained a current language capability. The average DLAB score was 124 and the average GPA was 3.2 for their undergraduate studies. Lastly, all applicants were operationally grounded with 50 percent having experience with OEF or OIF. Certainly, all of these applicants are the future Pentathletes that the Army envisions. We see an upward trend for language competence within applicants. I believe that by continuing with our Army wide outreach program we will continue to recruit only the best applicants from the company grade ranks.

The Army FAO management team will be undergoing significant change this summer. We will be losing LTC Paul Dececco, the Chief of FAO Assignments Division at Human Resources Command as well as MAJ Miki Huntington, one of his three assignments officers. These two officers have gone to great lengths to improve all aspects of the assignments process to increase communications, timeliness and transparency. FAO Proponent will be saying farewell to Ms. Sa-

(Continued from page 31)

brina Clark who has served as the School of Other Nations Administrator and Worldwide FAO Property book officer. She has worked in this capacity since 1989 and will retire with over twenty years of government service.

FAO Proponent will be losing two of its regional managers; LTC Al Rumphrey, who manages 48G and 48J, and LTC Jim Turner who manages 48C and 48E. Both have worked here for the last two years and have been invaluable in orchestrating the transformation of Army FAOs. LTC Steve Sabia will also be leaving FAO Proponent. Steve has worked on several key initiatives why being assigned to the office to include reviewing FAO Advanced Civil Schooling and language transformation.

I'd like to thank everyone on my staff for all of their hard work and I'd like to thank everyone who has provided feedback from the field. I continue to be impressed with the impact FAOs have within the international arena.

(Continued from page 6)

relied upon by key US Government decision makers. Our input on such matters such as NATO membership and melting "frozen conflicts" matters. At each point along the way of your FAO path, you should keep this thought firmly in mind; each of our experiences builds upon the previous one to make us the invaluable foreign area experts that we strive to be.

Assistant Secretary Fried asked that I, as a FAO and the uniform-wearing member of his delegation, convey to each President the futility of a "military option" in resolving their respective frozen conflicts. Doing so, in direct, unmistakable language, in private settings with heads of state, is an example of the trust placed in FAOs. In these most delicate of discussions, FAOs, experienced in the region and steeped in the issues, serve as true "soldier-statesmen".

*Editor's note: COL Mike Anderson, 48C, has more than 20 years of FAO experience and assignments. He serves as the senior Army FAO on Gen Jones' EUCOM staff as Chief of the J5 Europe Division, responsible for the countries noted in this article as well as those of the rest of Europe. His email address is: andersmi@eucom.mil*

(Continued from page 15)

is as important as it has ever been. But a broader worldview and understanding—such as that gained by studying Huntington's *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of the World Order* and Friedman's *The World Is Flat: A Brief History of the Twenty-first Century* will produce a more valuable, flexible, coherent strategic scout who is often a frontline voice on the international stage. As LTC Tucker Mansager envisions, in his March 2005 *Foreign Area Officer Journal* article, "Foreign Area Officers Unbound", a more broadly prepared FAO is one that is of greater strategic value to the United States and one that is armed to represent our strategic interests not only in the region of expertise, but around the world in our Global War on Terror. Even the briefest review of these two books represents one, positive step in that direction for the individual foreign area officer.

**Rod Propst is the Principal Terrorism and Security Analyst at Analytic Services, Inc., in Arlington, Virginia. He has previously published articles on diplomacy, escape and evasion, and a book review of *The Ugly American* in the *Journal*. A retired U.S. Army officer, among Mr. Propst's FAO assignments was as the Defense Attaché at the U.S. Embassy, Mexico City.**

***Colonel John Pemberton, USAF (Retired) a member of the Foreign Area Officers Association Board of Governors succumbed to cancer late in May. Our most heartfelt condolences go out to his family.***

***Touch the Heavens, John!***

## USMC FAO Notes

**Major Mike Oppenheim, International Affairs Officer  
Program Coordinator**



**FAO ICT UPDATES.** The Marine Corps is sending off eight FAOs to ICT this summer: China, Croatia, Russia, Thailand, Japan, Indonesia and Turkey. The eighth FAO is executing a combination 6 month Individual Augment billet in Iraq and then 6 month ICT in Egypt. This winter, a ninth FAO will deploy to Korea for his ICT.

**MARINE CORPS CENTER FOR ADVANCED OPERATIONAL CULTURE LEARNING (CAOCL).** Recently established 5 billets for FAO/RAO Desk Officers for following regions: Latin America, Middle East North Africa, Sub-Saharan Africa, Southwest Asia and East Asia.

The website is:  
<<http://www.tecom.usmc.mil/caocl>>.

**VISIT TO NPS/DLI.** Col Hahne and Major Oppenheim traveled to Monterey, CA to visit with International Affairs Officers in training at the Naval Postgraduate School and Defense Language Institute to discuss upcoming ICT plans, language requirements, and current topics in the FAO program, as well as themes in the greater culture and language arena.

## NAVY NOTES

**CDR Greg H. Molinari,  
FAO Officer Community Manager**



The Navy FAO Community held its first selection board in December 2005, selecting 42 officers from a field of 140 applicants. The first of these officers are reporting to Naval Postgraduate School (NPS), Defense Language Institute (DLI), and the George C. Marshall Center in June 2005. The remaining FAO selects will roll into NPS, DLI or operational billets at their normal periodic rotation dates. The next group of Navy FAOs will be selected during the semiannual Transfer/Redesignation Board in June 2005. Follow-on boards will select up to 50 applicants per year indefinitely through community maturation (estimated in 2015). The FAO community designators 1710 (qualified FAO), 1720 (FAO under instruction) and 1712 (FAO billet requiring Naval Aviator) are well on their way to SECNAV for approval, with the technical/system establishment of the designators anticipated this summer. Approximately 250 operational billets have been identified for recoding to FAO under a phased approach. This billet list has recently been approved

by the Director of Navy Personnel Policy for use in allocating Officer Programmed Authorizations (OPA) for the community. This OPA establishes the fiscal requirements and will drive the community demand manpower signal for years to come. On 19 May 2006, the Chief of Naval Personnel (CNP) approved a plan to continue the FAO accessions of regionally experienced control grade officers (O4s-O6s) indefinitely. Originally, Navy was to access these pay grades (called "Enhanced FAOs") only through 2009. This change will allow the community to mature up to ten years earlier than originally planned. CNP also approved the addition of new billets for community management and the funding of in-country immersion training for all junior "New Build" FAOs beginning in FY08.

One a final note, CDR Greg Molinari will be relieved by CDR Dawn Driesbach as FAO community manager in Jul 2006.

# Air Force FAO Notes

*Colonel Robert Sarnoski,  
International Airmen Program Chief*



## International Affairs Specialist (IAS) Program in Second Year of Implementation

The Air Force recently selected 87 officers from a field of more than 400 volunteers to become the inaugural class of International Affairs Specialists. They will enter training this summer to become either Political-Military Affairs Strategists (PAS) or Regional Affairs Strategists (RAS).

The International Affairs Specialist (IAS) Program, the Air Force component of the DoD Foreign Area Officer Program, was established to produce a cadre of globally skilled airmen needed to achieve success in the Global War on Terrorism and today's expeditionary environment. The vital need for these global skills is reflected in the 2006 Quadrennial Defense Review, the Defense Language Transformation Roadmap, and the 2006 Air Force Posture Statement

PAS candidates complete a political-military affairs oriented IDE program, such as Air Command and Staff College with the PAS specialized study track or the USAF Political Advisor (POLAD) internship, while RAS candidates earn a regionally focused masters degree at the Naval Postgraduate School and learn a foreign language at the Defense Language Institute. They then serve in key international positions at regional Major Commands, Combatant Commands, and U.S. Embassies where they can integrate their unique combination of knowledge and skills into plans and operations and build effective relationships with our global partners; relationships that are critical enablers for today's Expeditionary Air and Space Force.

While this select group of officers will become international affairs experts, they will remain skilled

and competitive in their primary Air Force specialty. The IAS Program is designed to complement an officer's overall career development through carefully managed career broadening assignments in international affairs.

117 mid-career line officers are targeted for deliberate development in the second year of competitive selection; 42 officers with 7-10 years of commissioned service for the RAS track and 75 officers with 10-12 years of commissioned service for the PAS track. Selection targets are distributed across most line career fields. (Officers in the medical, chaplain and judge advocate career fields are currently not eligible to apply.)

More information about the IAS Program and implementation dates may be found on the IAS website through the Air Force Portal at:

<https://www.my.af.mil/gcss-af/afp40/USAF/ep/contentView.do?content-Type=EDITORIAL&contentId=842010&programId=466260&channelPageId=-533831>

And on the Air Force Personnel Center website at:

[http://ask.afpc.randolph.af.mil/main\\_content.asp?prods1=1&prods2=14&prods3=188&prods4=227&prods5=2014&p\\_faqid=5112](http://ask.afpc.randolph.af.mil/main_content.asp?prods1=1&prods2=14&prods3=188&prods4=227&prods5=2014&p_faqid=5112)

For direct assistance, please contact Maj JJ Casey at (703) 588-8321 or [john.casey@pentagon.af.mil](mailto:john.casey@pentagon.af.mil).

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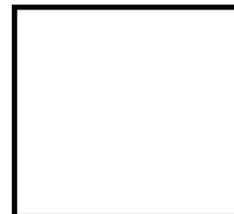
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