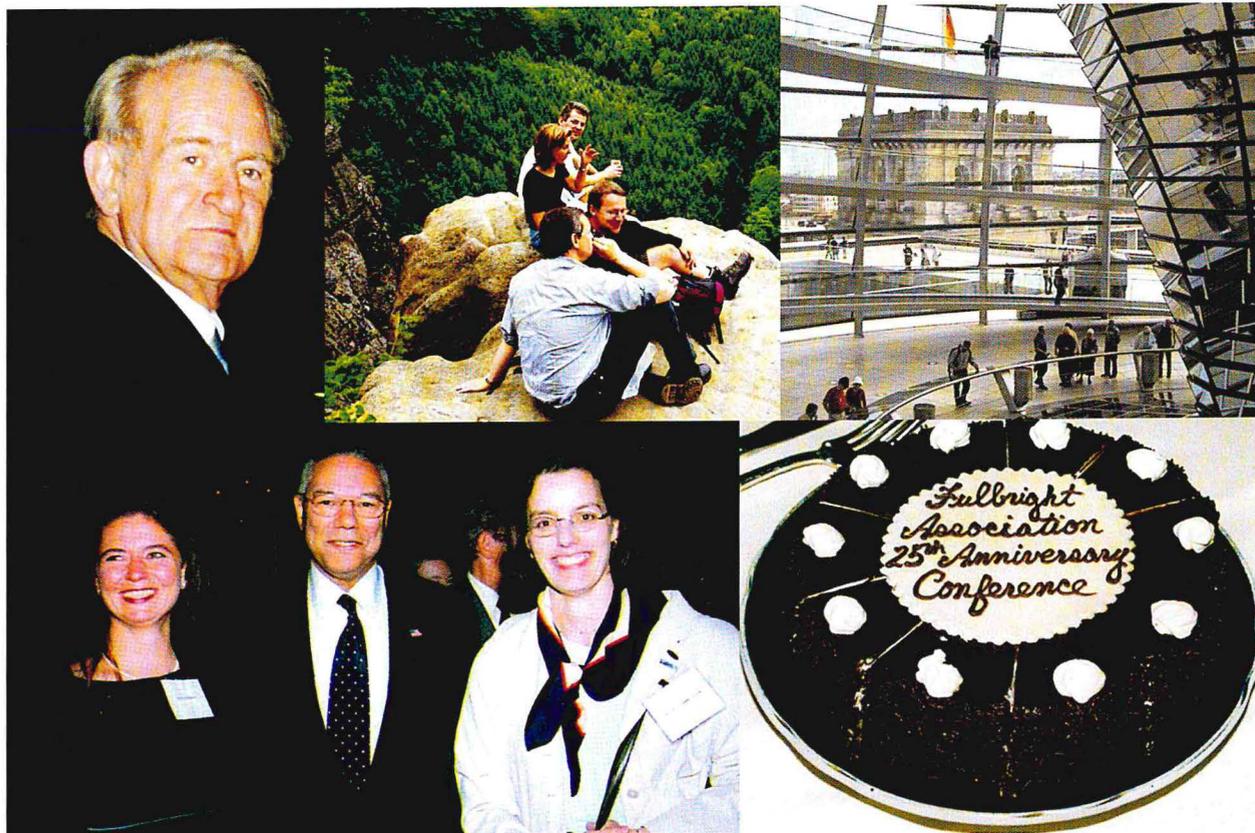


FRANK



THE FULBRIGHT ALUMNI E.V. NEWSLETTER



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Anniversary

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GREETINGS FROM THE PRESIDENT

Dear Fulbrighters and Friends of the Fulbright Alumni e.V.,

The purpose of this journal is to provide some information about the German Fulbright Alumni Association in general, and more specifically about our 2002 / 2003 activities and viewpoints.

Please note that the following articles reflect the perspectives prevailing at the time each of our activities occurred. We held a PowWow in Berlin and attended Meetings in Washington well before military action in Iraq. While perspectives may have changed in hindsight, our reports remain genuine testimonials of Fulbrighters' original impressions.

First of all, 2002 was dedicated to celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the German-American Fulbright Program. We celebrated a program which has created an immeasurable wealth of lasting impressions on the 30,000 participating scholars from both countries, and on the people with whom they interacted. Both 2002 and 2003 were, however, overshadowed by discussions on international policy.

We were and are witnessing a time where perspectives on basic questions of international policy diverge more than in the recent past. Our association's most notable contribution in this direction was the PowWow "Quo Vadis U.S.A.?" held in Berlin in June 2002, and dealing with the roles of the U.S. and Europe after September 11, 2001. Together with distinguished speakers and panelists, we debated our German views on both U.S. policy issues as well as possibilities for increased understanding among the U.S., Europe, and the Arab World.

Personally, I feel that international understanding is more crucial and at the same time harder to achieve than ever since the most chilling days of the cold war. The September 11 terrorist strikes on U.S. soil have resulted in widening gaps between regimes hosting terrorists and the civilized world, but unfortunately also between the Western and the Arab Worlds. In a separate vein, the U.S. began to distinguish itself from much of the "other" Western World through actions such as steel tariffs and non-cooperation regarding the International Criminal Court. Many cracks have formed around the military action against Iraq and the vastly different opinions on both the justification and the benefits of such action. Concerning the Iraq issue, we experienced substantial debates within our association. Many Fulbrighters would like to simultaneously appreciate the interests of "old Europe", the United Nations and the USA. Recently, with the divergence of these interests, members are aiming to find new standpoints. How similar and agreeable such standpoints will be is an interesting question for our association.

All of this reminds us that international understanding is not a prestige project for wealthy individuals, but an essential measure to protect our future.

From our bottom-up perspective, however, promoting international understanding - i.e., the goal of our association - is difficult to implement. We do our share in supporting the German-American Fulbright Program in terms of helping German participants during and after their time abroad. Furthermore, we welcome American participants here. While this reaches select groups of people who act as multipliers, we do not sufficiently address broader audiences. Thus, doing more for others is a key question for the future of our association.

I would like to thank Simon Möhringer for bearing with contributors in editing this issue. Please enjoy reading this issue and consider doing something towards our goals - a small step that we would like to write and read about in the next issue!

Best wishes,

Michael Schefczyk

Fulbright Alumni e. V. Germany General Information

The German Fulbright Alumni e.V. was founded in Frankfurt in 1986 by former Fulbright scholars. By 2003, our membership has increased to about 1000. The association brings together internationally oriented students, scholars, and practitioners from a wide range of academic fields and areas of professional expertise. Most of our members have spent a year in the United States with a Fulbright Grant. The Fulbright Alumni e.V. is the platform for former grantees, who want to promote global understanding. As we are committed to tolerance and true internationality, we are striving to learn more about other peoples' customs, surroundings and histories. Based on the personal and educational experience and insights gained as participants of an international exchange program, it is the overriding mission of German Fulbright Alumni e.V. members to strengthen and support cross-cultural contacts and exchange between Fulbrighters from all around the world; encourage dialogue and interaction between international scholars, experts, and activists on topics important to the political, social, and cultural life of nations.

POWWOW 2002: A Truly Successful Transatlantic Dialog

by Oliver Steinmetz

Today, in hindsight, after the Iraq war and the German parliamentary elections, a lot of things look different than they did in January 2002.

Back then, the shock of Sept. 11, 2001 was still fresh, including the memory of our member Christian Adams who died on the plane that went down over Pennsylvania.

The title "Quo Vadis U.S.A.? – An International Conference on the Roles of the U.S. and Europe after September 11, 2001" reflected worries shared by people around the world. While everybody agreed that terrorism must be eradicated, there were different views on the means to that end. Many Europeans were concerned about some of the approaches taken by the U.S. government since 9/11. On the other hand, Europe was perceived as having difficulties in providing effective alternatives. A lot of that was probably misperceptions that can easily occur in an atmosphere as emotionally charged as it was then.

Four months after 9/11, Alfred Polczyk presented his idea for this conference to our members gathered in Bamberg. He argued that we as Fulbrighters should act as "critical friends" of the U.S. (in both senses of the term "critical"). We would be the ideal group to provide a platform for dialog between Europe and the U.S., in the spirit of Senator Fulbright, whose idea of "waging peace through mutual understanding" seemed more timely than ever.



The core Organization Team of the PowWow 2002: Left to right: Petra, Oliver, Dorothea, Martin, Jörg

So a small but determined crew of Fulbright Alumni (see picture) set out to realize Alfred's idea.

It was Alfred's last project, and he knew it: He died of cancer on May 1st, but at least by then he knew that his idea had come to fruition.

On June 15, 2002, over 170 former and current Fulbrighters gathered in a prime location in Berlin to listen to and discuss with an impressive array of high-level experts from both sides of the Atlantic.

Special thanks go to the American participants and the sponsors who made this "first-class PowWow" possible: T-Mobile as main sponsor, and Deutsche Bank, who provided their beautiful

building Unter den Linden in Berlin as a splendid location.

For the Organization Team (Siglinde Kaiser, Dorothea Müller, Ebba Scholl, Martin Söhnngen, Petra Steinmetz, Joe Straight, Monika Wilhelmy, Sonja William, Jörg Wolf) it's been a helluva lot of work, but it was worth it: This conference was a great success:

First to the outside, because we have set an encouraging milestone in the Fulbright Alumni e.V.'s core business: The transatlantic relations. It was a true transatlantic dialog. This event has proved that we as Fulbrighters are very good mediators in difficult times like these. As an association, we can achieve a lot by making our voice heard – and our contribution is actually appreciated on both sides!

Second, to the inside, because the event inspired some 90 new members to join our association, and the use of new technologies (Internet, video-conference, ...) was unprecedented.

We sincerely hope that the summaries and excerpts on the following pages will whet your appetite for participating – or even organizing – next time. We can make a difference – we can do it! ■

Q U O V A D I S U . S . A . ?

U.S. Global Policy in Historical Perspective

Prof. Dr. Hans-Jürgen Schröder, History, University of Giessen

Professor Schröder gave a survey of the main driving forces behind American foreign policy since the late 19th century:

- America's quest for world power and world dominance,
- its wish to civilize first the continent and then the world at large,
- the concept of the frontier, and
- the assumption that for the stabilization of the American economic system it is necessary to expand beyond its own borders.

The means for realizing these foreign policy goals have been and are, according to Schröder, the Monroe Doctrine from 1823, the Open-Door policy formulated at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, military intervention, and dollar diplomacy. He showed how four American presidents outlined their ideas of a new world order:

- Woodrow Wilson stated his famous Fourteen Points (January 8, 1918) by which he intended to make the world safe for democracy;
- Franklin D. Roosevelt outlined the basic American ideals of freedom of speech and worship as well as freedom from want and fear in his speech „Four Freedoms“ (January 6, 1941). Together with Winston Churchill he formulated the Atlantic Charter (August 1941) which proclaimed a Pax Americana based on self-determination and equal access “to the trade and to the raw materials of the world”;
- George Bush sr. demanded a New World Order after the collapse of the Berlin Wall and the military victory in the war against Iraq; and
- George W. Bush has repeatedly referred to World War II since 9/11, particularly to Pearl Harbor.

As Hawaii was not yet a state of the U.S. at the time of the Japanese attack and quite far away from the American continent, U.S. propaganda first had to raise the public's awareness of the threat it was facing. This was done for instance by a series of war posters that visualized American values (democracy, unity, free enterprise, etc.) and stressed the significance of airpower.¹

Schröder explained George W. Bush's references to WW II as a means to mobilize the American public and legitimize military actions abroad. He said that these references made it easier for the president to convince the public that it be nec-

essary to expand worldwide as American security has been challenged, and that most Americans regarded WW II as a “good war”.

With regard to the question how Europeans should deal with American global presence and the quest for dominance, Schröder suggested an attempt to understand that this long-range development cannot be altered or stopped and to initiate a transatlantic dialogue in order to gain more influence on U.S. foreign policy and its results.

The outlook Schröder gave remained positive: In his opinion the U.S. needs Europe because Europeans are among the few nations that really share American values. He encouraged the audience to engage in a close European-American co-operation and stated that particularly from a German perspective there is no alternative to good German-American relations.

The Q&A dealt with various topics. Scott Brunstetter (panelist on panel 2, U.S. Fulbrighter in Germany) pointed out that there are significant cultural differences between Europeans and Americans, especially with regard to how they view their flags, and that it is not just the President but a large foreign policy establishment that influences U.S. policy. Götz Uebe (German Fulbrighter) expressed



Hans-Jürgen Schröder

his concern with the fact that the U.S. government appeals so much to nationalism and emotions. Scott De Long (director of the FBI program at the U of Virginia) talked about EU propaganda in Central and Eastern Europe and also disagreed with Schröder's interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine, which he (De Long) sees merely as a response to European colonialism. Schröder commented that propaganda for the Euro was rather poor, that propaganda per se is necessary and legitimate, and that the U.S. lacks a successful propaganda campaign abroad. Helen Deese (American Fulbrighter) called George W. Bush a Christian fundamentalist and asked professor Schröder whether he saw an influence of Christian fundamentalism on U.S. foreign policy. Schröder answered that he would rather call it conservatism but agreed that there is a certain missionary element to it. ■

¹ Posters found on National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) http://www.archives.gov/exhibit_hall/powers_of_persuasion

QUO VADIS U.S.A.?

Panel Discussion 1: Quo Vadis U.S.A.?

Moderated by Bettina Lüscher, CNN Berlin Bureau Chief and former Fulbright Scholar

Dr. Richard J. Schmierer, U.S. Embassy, Minister Counselor for Public Affairs and Chairman of the German-American Fulbright Commission.

Karsten D. Voigt, Coordinator of German-American Cooperation in the German Foreign Office.

Prof. Dr. Rita Süßmuth, Member and former President of the Bundestag.

Prof. Dr. Hans-Jürgen Schröder, History, University of Giessen.

Andreas Zumach, correspondent for German media at the U.N., Geneva

Schmierer: It's great to see such a large and very enthusiastic group here this morning, and as the chairman of the Fulbright Commission I am very pleased to see the Fulbright Alumni putting on such an important and interesting event. Congratulations to the organizers!

I would like to present two concepts and then discuss them with the panel.

1. Following 9/11, there has been a rethinking of what you might call "the limits of the unthinkable" - the idea that we now really have to be thinking about any possible kind of terrorist activity. From that derives a lot of the policy initiatives we have seen from the U.S. administration since Sept. 11. Things concerning weapons of mass destruction, renewed efforts of missile defense, homeland security, law-enforcement efforts, etc.



From left to right: Andreas Zumach, Richard Schmierer, Bettina Lüscher, Karsten Voigt, Rita Süßmuth, Hans-Jürgen Schröder

QUO VADIS U.S.A.?

2. The other concept has been called "enlightened self-interest". That's the other considerable change since 9/11, and you've already begun to see many new policy initiatives from the American side. We now recognize more than ever before the self-interest as well as the humanitarian interest we have, in promoting our values such as economic prosperity and human rights, in short, the things that make societies function, that give people hope for the future, an economic basis to live their lives, instead of turning to extremist ideologies in frustration and despair. And so whether it's new development aid initiatives or other activities the democracies of the world can undertake to try to ensure stable, healthy, functioning and prosperous societies in countries around the world, that is not only the right thing to do, but also in our own self-interest.

We as Americans are certainly open to the European views and ideas on what policies will allow us to address these two fundamental concerns. We need to agree that those are the areas we need to be looking to in the post-9/11 world.

Voigt: The immediate German reaction to 9/11 showed how close we are on both sides. It was specifically intense because we have war memories. There was an overwhelming outburst of sympathy, but immediately afterwards you could also see a typical misunderstanding that shows where we differ: When the American President used the term "war" against terrorism, many Europeans, especially Germans, feared he might mean war on our soil, not something like "war on drugs" or "war on poverty". This is the typical situation in which we live and will live in the future: On the one hand, the two sides of the Atlantic the closest-linked parts of the world, and on the other hand, we definitely have a different background of experiences, emotions, and traditions.

Then we have to distinguish between emotions on both sides and governmental relations, which are more or less fine (naturally there are problems like Kyoto, the International Criminal Court, trade questions, and others. We have had those issues of debate in the past and will certainly have them in the future). Press coverage on both sides is also an important issue. I find the most extreme misconceptions in the press, but the press also reflects emotions in the population.

On the European side, you find a "cowboy" image and a "Rambo" image, both of which are of course wrong.

On the American side, you find the image of the Europeans being unclear in terms of values – that we cannot distinguish between good and evil, that we are wimps.

And you find a tendency in the American political life to describe America as representing the good. To me it's impossible that any nation in the world represents "the good". We Europeans have a tendency to see more shades of gray rather than simply black and white.

I understand the Americans: These terrorist attacks led to more victims than Pearl Harbor. And the attacks happened on U.S. soil, not on an remote island in the Pacific. If all the people who usually worked in the World Trade Center had been in the building on 9/11, the number of victims could have been as high as during the Korean War. Since 1814, the Americans never had to experience an attack on Washington.

But let me shortly point out where I disagree: I remember sitting in a shelter during bombing nights, as a young child. Then I was playing on the street when an allied aircraft came down, shooting at us children – there was no soldier around. So my memory is that even in a just war you have unjustifiable actions, which cannot be described as collateral damage.

And I go beyond that: During the 1970's in Frankfurt we had terrorist activities. Within 500 meters of my home, I had several terrorist events. And in the mid-1990's, the police found out that I was on a list of terrorists who wanted to kill me. They were not successful, but anyhow, you live with these things in a different way, it is a different type of experience.

That doesn't mean at all that the American emotion and experience should be dismissed, for this attack is incomparable and had a new quality, and there is the danger that it might be repeated. And insofar I totally share what you said: We have a new quality.

But we Europeans have different traditions, which is not a reflection of us being wimps, but we are more used to being vulnerable. And compared to Americans, we are more willing to live in a situation where our state cannot always protect us. This sometimes leads to different reactions on both sides.



Just before the start of „Panel 1“, Oliver Steinmetz checks some last details with Rita Süssmuth.

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Süssmuth: As I agree with what was just said, I will only point out some additional aspects and questions.

My personal impression is that a lot of Americans think Europe does not understand their situation and position, and we are doing very little and do not share the same concerns. It is not always said officially, but in smaller groups it is expressed very explicitly. A lot remains to be done for a better mutual understanding of each other's approaches. There is no difference in the position that we have to fight against terrorism and that there is no legitimation at all for this to happen. But there are differences in several questions.

What are the measures to be taken? What is the part of the military fight, and what can we afford without military intervention? And especially, what are the priorities? Sometimes you first have to stop violence. But then the most important question is how to create "win-win" situations. That's not a dominant thought in the current American approach, but it's a lesson the Israelis are learning more and more.

What is the international responsibility in regions - especially in the Middle East - where we cannot stand and wait until we have even more victims? My experience is that the message "If you continue to commit suicide attacks, we will give carte blanche to Sharon" cannot be the answer.

Concerning the "European weakness", we have to ask ourselves whether the U.S. can rely on us. We have to overcome our weaknesses in security and foreign policy. We cannot go on like we used to. That's a lesson we learned from 9/11.

Another important question: Is there really a chance for a new partnership, a chance to overcome unilateralism? When even a superpower like the U.S. is vulnerable, then we can only fight together in partnership. And that means more than just to follow without our own independent thinking. We need an exchange of ideas, and that's more than an alliance.

In these necessary coalitions, we pretend to defend our own values, but how much are they still worth when we are at war? I fear that we might compromise our support for human rights by giving certain political systems the opportunity to do what they want.

Zumach: Before I express some critical thoughts here, let me say at the outset that I have spent my formative years in the U.S. in the mid '70s. I have learned everything I know about politics in the U.S. Besides, the woman I live with and all my best friends are Americans. I never had the problem which we would call anti-Americanism from

the left which emerged since the Vietnam War. But I would also say that in most of these last 20 years I found myself rather critical vis-à-vis the official policies of the U.S. government - as I often did vis-à-vis the policies of my own government. For me it is very important as a framework for today's discussions to make it clear that there is no such thing as a monolithic United States of America, and there is also no such thing as a monolithic Europe. I know many, many Americans who do share the concerns some of us here in Europe have, and I know many Americans who know that Europe is not monolithic.

Having said that, I must say I am very, very concerned about the way the U.S. might go in the short term, by which I mean the next five to ten years, that the alienation between the U.S. and Europe might grow, and that things might get much worse before they get better. There are several major reasons for that.

1. I am concerned that at least part of the response to the terrorist acts of 9/11 might actually contribute to even more hostility vis-à-vis the U.S. in the world, even similar acts like the attacks of 9/11. Where they will happen remains to be seen, but I think that's the most likely scenario for the short term. And then the diversion about how to deal with that will grow between the U.S. and Europe.
2. In my view there is a clear line of unilateralist policies which we have never seen before 9/11. I am not sure whether 9/11 is the real reason for that, because to take one example, the opposition against the International Criminal Court already existed in the U.S. before and was pretty bipartisan.
3. I see a very problematic dishonesty in the public debate, in two ways:
 - First on the side of the Europeans. When we talk about geopolitical interests, we mostly identify this with the U.S., and mostly it has a somewhat critical, negative connotation. Meanwhile we Europeans seem to be responsible for human rights, the environment, democratization, etc. I find this rather dishonest, because, for example, the interests of the Europeans in securing certain energy resources are as high, if not higher than those of the U.S. That leads me to the remark that if Brzezinski's blueprint for the next century (and de facto for the last 30 years)² is correct, which is that Central Asia is the main region of interest for the U.S., then this is also true for the E.U. For the last 45 years we solely relied on the U.S. to secure our interests, with military means if need be, and that this is no longer guaranteed in the future, and therefore we get more and more problems. So let's

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have a debate about ways to secure these interests, how to take the interests of people and countries in the region more into account. I couldn't agree more with what Rita Süssmuth just said about the problem that human rights, as a universal value, are the biggest political collateral damage we have suffered since 9/11.

- The second dishonesty is Iraq: I think we will not get to a point where the U.S. and Europe agree on a common Iraq policy as long as we do not deal with the skeletons in our own closets. Some of them we share, like the fact that we made Saddam's regime strong and supported it in the '80s for geopolitical reasons and out of economic interests. Whatever technology he has for weapons of mass destruction, he got it from us, some from this very country.

In the longer term I am less concerned, because certain important parameters will change:

- One such parameter will be that contrary to some people's beliefs, this 21st century will not be considered an American century like in many ways the last one was, and this will become clear long before we reach the middle of this century. There are other emerging powers, not only China, so we will rather soon get into a much more multilateral situation.



Professor Uebe (left), one of the first German Fulbrighters, discusses with Bettina Lüscher, Richard Schmierer, Rita Süssmuth, Karsten Voigt and Ms. Süssmuth's assistant, American Fulbrighter Christal Morehouse.

- And again, energy: I could foresee a situation where Bush, if he gets re-elected in two years, which right now looks very likely, becomes rather unpopular in his second term because of the domestic energy situation in the U.S. All experts agree that oil and gas prices will steady-

ly increase, and the U.S., because of the energy policies of former administrations, but especially of the current one, are the least prepared country for this situation, because alternatives are not really being developed.

Schröder: Democratic states try to establish an environment in the world that is peaceful and free from military confrontations, and therefore *the classic dilemma of appeasement is how to deal with dictatorships.*

The other point is the military-industrial complex: I'm afraid that the Bush administration is overstretching the fight against terrorism in terms of *undermining civil liberties* and bringing allies into line.

Lüscher: There was an interesting editorial in the Washington Post a few days ago, with a headline: "Bush, the internationalist". It says that if all the latest ideas of President Bush would be realized, he could be the most aggressive internationalist among the past presidents. One of the ideas Mr. Bush outlined in his speech at West Point was that the U.S. would act preemptively against its terrorist enemies and the regimes that back them. Another idea is that they try to avoid war by forming strong alliances with the old rivals and keeping up the military supremacy. The third idea is to actively promote moderation and tolerance in human rights in the Islamic world and other places where freedom is lacking. Dr. Schmierer, how can these goals be combined, and how do you want to win support among the allies for the policy?

Schmierer: We have to go in two directions:

- Organize ourselves to counter direct current threats. We do need to recognize the threats and try to build whatever coalitions and partnerships can be helpful to all of us who share the same vulnerabilities. The President has stated his interest in doing that - while of course saying that where we need to, we will do what we feel we have to do.
- Work together intelligently and creatively. We need to look at new ways to promote the values which lie at the basis of the human condition. We need those values to be reflected in societies around the world. The initiatives that the president has spoken about will hopefully bring us in that direction, while we all have to be cautious about the possible erosion of values through the other side of the equation, which is efforts to counter the current threats.

² Brezinski, Zbigniew K., "The Grand Chessboard: American Primacy and Its Geostrategic Imperatives", 1998, in German "Die einzige Weltmacht. Amerikas Strategie der Vorherrschaft"

QUO VADIS U.S.A.?

Americans do share some of the concerns that have been expressed here about human rights and the potential collateral damages and casualties of a war on terrorism. I was recently in the Middle East, and I recognize the need to do fundamental things there to give hope, future, economic stability and prosperity to their societies. That is a part of what we're trying to do worldwide in terms of countering the seeds that have led to terrorism.

Lüscher: Mr. Voigt: The „unlimited solidarity“ immediately after 9/11 seems to have weakened. It seems that the Germans have a lot of headaches when they see the political and military course of the U.S.. What are your reactions to what has come out of Washington: Still unlimited solidarity, or rather critical solidarity?

Voigt: I used the term because I think there is – and should be – no limit to our solidarity in the fight against international terrorism. This does not mean that you cannot have a debate about the means.

But in my view, this solidarity is not only emotional – it also comes out of enlightened self-interest. We cannot exclude the possibility that in the future, Germany will be targeted. Under such conditions, we would depend on solidarity more than the U.S..

Just because we don't use the same language, it doesn't mean that we are softies. We have a certain bias on both sides, and we should minimize its as much as possible.

Lüscher: Professor Süssmuth, there are some analysts here who believe that Schröder will be out unless, for example, there would be another terrorist attack. As Iraq could be the number one topic, maybe in a year, maybe next spring, if the U.S. would really proceed with plans for a military invasion, how do you foresee the next steps if it would indeed come to a change of government in Germany? Would a Chancellor Stoiber have a different policy than a Chancellor Schröder?

Süssmuth: I don't think so, but let me come back, before I answer this question, to the two points raised before.

First, it would be wrong to interpret the word „unlimited solidarity“ as „no critical questions at all“. For me that would not be solidarity when you only follow someone blindly.

Second, I see a perception that I cannot agree with: When we are saying that we will bring to the Arab countries freedom, dignity, and human rights, then we first need to recognize their culture, their religion and their values. And we have to distinguish between Muslim cultures and fundamentalism. Part of the conflict between the Arab and non-Arab world is that they feel humili-

ated, not recognized as equal. We need another approach to the „intercultural dialog“. Perhaps we can learn more from them than they from us. It's about mutual learning and not one-sided learning.

On Iraq, I share the opinion that it is an example for those threats we must deal with in the future, and it might be true that we have no other chance but to counter them by war. But let us first look for means to prevent war. I do not believe there would be a big difference between Schröder and Stoiber on this international fight against terrorism, proliferation and so on. But political calculations that there should be some new terror act, as a chance to stay in power, would not be a very convincing sign that we have the right values in Europe.

Lüscher: So how do you „win the hearts and minds“ of many Arabs who are critical, who felt ostracized by the first responses on American TV networks? Many Arabs have the impression that it is not just the terrorists who are described as evil-doers, but a whole religion.

Zumach: Let's be clear about what the situation really is like: Gallup International took a poll in Saudi-Arabia on March 15, on the 6-month anniversary of the 9/11 attacks. And they asked all 16 to 49 year-olds on Al-Qaida. 95% said they fully stand behind the Al-Qaida network. This is a fact. You do not have to like it, but this is a political factor we have to take into account. And if you talk about fundamentalism: In large parts of the Arab and Islamic world, the Bush administration's policy is being perceived as fundamentalist, just as we perceive Islamic fundamentalism.



Bettina Lüscher and Andreas Zumach enjoy a post-panel chat after receiving their boxes of Belgian chocolate sweets.

QUO VADIS U.S.A.?

The immediate answer to your question, Bettina:

1. Especially as countries as Saudi-Arabia are concerned, the perception of the people is – and I think there is a lot of truth to it – that the government is anything but democratic. It's a regime, one of the worst human-rights violators, and by the way, financers of terrorism, and maybe still financing terrorist groups. It's perceived as being supported and kept alive by the U.S. This is the perception by the people, and this will necessarily lead to some kind of explosion in Saudi-Arabia within the next five or seven years. If that's not changed, we will have a similar situation as 1979 in Iran. Then the whole geopolitics will have to start again in this region.

Support for democratic opposition should start with the Human Rights Commission of the U.N. in Geneva, which has existed since 1948. There are two countries which have never been criticized because they were so strongly protected: Turkey and Saudi-Arabia. Begin with at least one: Bring Saudi-Arabia and the human rights violations on the agenda there! So far it has been always successfully prevented by the U.S. and some of the Western NATO allies. That would be a beginning. Support democratic opposition there, withdraw the support for the regime.

2. Unless there is some kind of solution for the Palestine-Israel conflict, the negative perception will sustain in large parts of the Arab and Islamic world.

Let me also comment on the Iraq point: Whatever might be needed militarily from our side for a war

against Iraq, whether it's this fall or more likely next Spring, is already in place: The 300 special soldiers in Kuwait. They will remain in place, regardless of whether Mr. Stoiber or Mr. Schröder wins the election.

But all those who criticize have not offered any alternative: When Kofi Annan, the UN Secretary General, had his meetings with the Iraqi Foreign Minister, he only had one script which was given to him by Condoleezza Rice. I am not criticizing her or the Bush administration for that, but I am criticizing the Europeans and the Russians that they didn't get their act together and gave Kofi Annan another script for the negotiations with the Iraqis. A script that might have been a more acceptable one through which we would have had an agreement on getting the U.N. inspectors into the country. But this doesn't happen and we sit here for another nine months, just criticizing the U.S. approach. We will have no influence whatsoever, and the U.S. policy will prevail in the end. And everybody, whether a Schröder or Stoiber government, and all other European governments, will fall in line and will politically support, as far as needed, or even militarily participate in the war against Iraq.

Voigt: I think your point is legitimate. But the question I cannot answer, and which for understandable reasons the Europeans at this time are not willing to answer, is: What are they willing to do once these UN options (inspectors with full access, which I endorse) turn out not to work? This is a legitimate question given to us by the American side.



War posters of U.S. propaganda during World War II.

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Zumach: But we are talking about two different things: You are talking about the point at which the UN option is not an option anymore. I am talking about the fact that so far there is no option that has been influenced by the Europeans. The two crucial points in the American script are: First, whatever international group will go into Iraq, it will be predominantly American and British, and predominantly from the military and intelligence services. That's unacceptable for Saddam Hussein. Secondly, and even more crucial, it refuses to give a timeline, while the Iraqis want to have a timeline, such as a thorough investigation mission defined for six months and then coming to a conclusion, certifying whether or not there any weapons left, so that we know where we go from there. This is where the Europeans and Russians should have provided alternatives, so that Kofi Annan could have dealt on this. What's currently on the table can only fail, perhaps this fall, and only then we will get to the question you are referring to.

Voigt: It is my personal view that as long as a regime such as Saddam Hussein's exists, by the very nature of his regime he will always try to get weapons of mass destruction. An inspection that clearly says it will be there for six months is not enough, for then you guarantee that they will not have these weapons during these six months, and the problem will come back afterwards. This leads some Americans to the view that one should not ask for UN inspectors, but that the regime change is the only option. In that sense we cannot have a compromise with Saddam Hussein, where he pretends to allow inspections, and we pretend to think that he has given up acquiring weapons of mass destruction. That way we would only postpone the issue of a destabilization of the region.

Lüscher: Is the U.S. putting pressure on some of its allied regimes like Saudi Arabia or Pakistan? Pakistan is run by a military dictator, usually referred to as "president" Musharraf. How much have the U.S. taken back criticism of their respective domestic non-democratic situations just because they are so interested in keeping them as allies?

Schmierer: There is a balance at play there. Andreas used the words "Saudi democratic opposition". Having lived in Saudi Arabia for 8 years, I believe that's an oxymoron. But there are specific things that we can encourage Saudi Arabia to do. We should build a civil society infrastructure which will allow the society to evolve in the direction that is in our interest, and frankly in their interest, too. But it's unrealistic to replace a non-democratic regime with a democratic one from one day to the next, in a society without democratic traditions or institutions. In fact there is a considerable danger that a much less desirable government could come to power, like in Iran, if one doesn't try to balance

the need for some element of stability with the need of moving towards more democratic structures.

I do believe 9/11 was a wake-up call for the U.S. and for all the democratic societies. I think we were too comfortable with ignoring the problems that existed in other societies before 9/11. One aspect of this horrible tragedy is, I believe, to the benefit of all of us: All of our societies are now more aware of these issues. But don't impose solutions, but work with appropriate groups, whether it's a democratic opposition or whatever we might find.

Lüscher: Prof. Schröder, is there a new awareness in the U.S. that you should be interested in what's happening 5,000 miles away, or is it still the America that focuses too much on the inside? I mean the population in, say, Kansas, not the foreign policy elite that reads the New York Times.

Schröder: That's part of the problem: If you have a major election in Germany and take a Kansas newspaper, you would have a rough time to find election results. This is what I referred to this morning as the "isolationist impulse". We must change that gradually by intensifying the transatlantic dialogue. The whole Fulbright program has been a huge success in this area.

Voigt: Due to these exchange programs, and other German and European investments in the U.S., I increasingly find people in meetings all over the U.S. who have contacts in Europe, have been there, or want to go there. By the way, the number of people studying German is higher in the Midwest than in other regions of the U.S. But the discrepancy between the global power and its "soft image" is going to stay. If this is seen in the American society only as a problem of others, it will lead to an increasing resentment of others in the world against the U.S.

Zumach: I think we are victims of clichés here. I have lived in Columbia, Missouri, smack in the middle between Kansas City and St. Louis. They read the Des Moines Register which is one of the best papers in the whole country. You would find it hard to prove your last statements empirically. I don't think the average German citizen in e.g. Osnabrück or Fürth is more interested in the impact of German foreign policy on other parts of the world than the average citizen in Kansas City or Louisville KY or Houston TX. The problem is partially a perception problem and partially a problem of our profession, journalism:

The German correspondents in the U.S., the biggest group of German foreign correspondents in any country of the world, all sit in Washington D.C., and most of the time they don't get (excuse my language) their butt outside of the Beltway. They don't tell us what the people in Kansas or

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Oklahoma think or do, and they don't even take notice if, like during the Gulf War, 280,000 people demonstrate in Washington D.C., right in front of their noses. The U.S. correspondents in this country are doing a much better job in reporting about the things going on in this country to their readers than the other way around – and I'm not saying this because Bettina is sitting here.

Q&A - Questions from the audience

Joe Greenman: I am an American living in Berlin. Dear academics, diplomats, journalists, politicians – all these well-informed people whom I haven't had the pleasure of being in the presence of – I've got a real hard one: I would love to hear each member of the panel give a one-minute definition of fundamentalism.

Schröder: Fundamentalism has become a synonym for defending certain values or opinions in an uncompromising manner, and therefore being contrary to basic democratic ideas

Voigt: ... and you have Islamic, protestant, Jewish, hinduistic fundamentalism – but with different instruments.

Zumach: I agree, but I should also say there are three terms that have been used more than any other words in international politics for the last ten years: Globalization, terrorism, and fundamentalism. It is not by accident that for none of these three you have a universally-agreed definition. The U.N. General Assembly has debated for 8 years about an anti-terrorism convention. The draft is ready by 96% – just the one page is blank where the definition should be, and that is the same situation with fundamentalism.

Voigt: We had a period of détente and never had a definition of "détente" either. This is possible in politics.

Süssmuth: Even if you think you have the absolute truth and therefore you cannot compromise, you have nevertheless two possible approaches: With or without violence. We have to distinguish between these two kinds of fundamentalism.

Schmierer: Perhaps Prof. Schröder came up with the definition that I would be most aligned with. It's a philosophy that's contrary to the fundamental values which our societies hold dear, such as open differences of opinion, discussing things, and compromise.

Lüscher: I want to thank the panel for taking time to come and spend their weekend with us for a few hours.

9/11 is still with us. But today has shown that people really care about how we can learn from these attacks. There is a lot of common ground, in spite of a lot of differences on the means. There are really incredible challenges. So keep on looking and asking questions, keep on bugging the experts, the politicians, and keep on talking across the Atlantic. I think Fulbright is great for that.



Andreas Zumach, Richard Schmierer and Bettina Lüscher wrap up Panel 1.

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Propaganda, Inc.: An Insider's View of the U.S. Government's Information Policy

Prof. Dr. Nancy Snow, Assistant Professor of Communications, California State University Fullerton; Adjunct Professor, University of Southern California, Annenberg School for Communication; Fulbright Alumna to Germany

Nancy joined us by videoconference – a first in the history of Fulbright Alumni e. V. conferences. She gave her talk in Los Angeles at 5:30 am! She was working on her new book „Information War“¹. Her speech was entitled “Brain Scrubbing”, a term describing the climate of our new world after 9/11, particularly with regard to propaganda influence on foreign policy issues.

An Outline of the U.S. Propaganda System

On the one hand, we have an ideal of democracy, like public participation, a well-informed public, and on the other hand we have the reality of limited public participation and a less-informed public. This U.S. propaganda system is essentially unchanged since 9/11.

The key elements, both pre- and post-9/11, are:

- The „phantom public“: In speeches coming out of Washington, there is much lip service paid to the public and the public's involvement in the war effort, but it's essentially a “phantom public”, to use a reference borrowed from the great Walter Lippmann.²
- Another element is an ongoing and increasing concentration of media that is affecting information and context, and that is limiting the dialogue and narrowing perspectives. What this means for a European audience is that we Americans are limited in our understanding of the world. Even though we were asked to ask questions like „Why do they hate us?“ or „Why is it that we were attacked on 9/11?“, the amount of international coverage has not increased dramatically in the last 9 months.
- The other key element of this propaganda system is our electoral system of choosing public officials to represent us: elections in the U.S. are very much privately financed by enormous money coffers. In other words: If you want to run for public office, you'd better be a millionaire or have access to a millionaire's money. So as much as we pay lip service to democracy and democratic participation, it is still a propaganda system of insiders and outsiders.

The U.S. propaganda after 9/11

There are some similarities between the information war and the domestic level.

- At the domestic level we have a lot of language that is fear-driven³. We've had examples of the repetition of very simplistic phrases. For instance, in the President's January State of the Union address, he said „For too long, our culture has said 'If it feels good, do it!' Now America is embracing a new ethic, a new creed: Let's roll!“ Of course that has become a mantra for the war effort post-9/11, in reference to what was said allegedly on the plane that went down over Pennsylvania.
- At the global level, the propaganda war is a showdown between freedom, represented by the U.S., versus the so-called „axis of evil“. And again to quote President Bush, „We have known freedom's price, we have shown freedom's power, and we will see freedom's victory.“ This rhetoric is designed to give the public and impression that it is truly freedom that was attacked on 9/11.

Let us explore that further to get to the root causes of those attacks on 9/11. There have been two watershed events in the propaganda war that I would like to highlight. They have probably done less damage here at home, but have certainly undermined the credibility of the Pentagon specifically, and generally the U.S. military worldwide:

- One is the well-documented and highly controversial „Office of Strategic Influence“, OSI, which was actually leaked as a news story: On February 20, 2002, the New York Times said that the Pentagon had created a so-called „black propaganda“ program that would in some cases plant false stories in the foreign media as a way to target enemies, but also as a way to influence our allies in the global war on terrorism.
- The second watershed event was the „Nuclear Posture Review“ or NPR, which has established a brand-new nuclear paradigm for the U.S., and that is to move from the Cold War legacy of „MAD“ (Mutual Assured Destruction) to what some have called „UAD“ (Unilateral Assured Destruction). In other words, the U.S., in some classified documents, has had discussions about limited first-strike nuclear capacity in this war effort.

¹ Snow, Nancy, "Information War: American Propaganda, Free Speech and Opinion Control Since 9/11", 2003. Her first book: "Propaganda, Inc.: Selling America's Culture to the World", 2nd edition, 2002.

² Lippmann, Walter, "The Phantom Public", 1927, reprinted 1993, plus his first book "Public Opinion", 1922, reprinted 1985.

³ Cf. the argumentation line about fearful consumers in the movie "Bowling for Columbine".

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As far as framing the war on terror, it's important that we understand that President Bush referred to the events of 9/11 as „Our generation's Pearl Harbor". Many news media picked this up, and Robert Putnam at Harvard University has made the point that this may indeed be something comparable to Pearl Harbor, but without World War II. In other words, getting back to the „phantom public" concept: There is not that groundswell of public participation in this war effort - a war that is mostly in the minds of Americans in terms of uncertainty and fear. But this is not a war that we Americans are actively involved in terms of drafting the young men etc. But nevertheless also for a propaganda purpose the administration has made reference to Pearl Harbor, because WW II was the Great War in terms of „good versus evil". It is thought of as a Just War or Noble Cause, and it would be expected for the President to frame the War on Terror and the military response to the attacks of 9/11 as serving equally noble purposes.



Nancy Snow via video conference

There is also the Bush doctrine: The administration will make no distinction between terrorists who committed those acts and those countries and those groups and individuals who harbor them. I think that is also a significant new paradigm in this new war.

Furthermore, the press role is exceedingly interesting here: Rumsfeld and Bush and others went on record very early after 9/11, saying that this administration will not talk about how it gathers intelligence, or what the government's plans are. So although our press has a very important role of informing the public, the press itself is being very well managed and controlled by the government, at levels that I find unprecedented.

There was a significant shift in U.S. government statements in the last months, and that's one of the reasons that brought us together here as Fulbrighters:

- Bush's Sept. 20, 2001 speech was much more global in its perspective. We needed the world

then to see us as victims. That's built up sympathy. All of this was of course in part to build up for the war in Afghanistan.

- Only now we are beginning to realize that this might become a U.S.-directed war on terrorism. The government has said that the U.S. is prepared to "go it alone". Now you hear less discussion and rhetoric about global participation and cooperation in the war. At this point, in June 2002, it is a much more unilateral, sole-superpower approach.

There is an ongoing credibility problem for the U.S. It has been referred to as the "soft underbelly" of U.S. leadership in this war on terrorism: There is an inconsistency between the U.S. ideals of freedom, democracy, free press and diversity of opinion, and U.S. government policies. We have as yet not seriously addressed foreign policy positions and controversies like Iraq, Israel, Saudi Arabia, the hot spots that certainly impact how others see us. We are kind of scratching our heads in bewilderment as a people, because the U.S. public suffers from somewhat of a delusion when we think we're very likable and full of good intentions - even when our foreign policy intentions go awry. I think these questions are still very self-referential, as opposed to viewing them in a sophisticated look at our global footprint in terms of military and economic power, and the „soft power", which is the influence of American culture.

The American public is still quite unaware of post-9/11 events: If you ask people in the street about the number of civilian casualties in Afghanistan, I doubt that many of them could give you an accurate count. There has been practically a blackout of media coverage on Afghanistan. The press is still very much controlled by our "beloved" avuncular Secretary of Defense, Donald Rumsfeld.

The press role in the coverage of the war on terrorism: I think the American public is quite unaware of how much of our news coverage is driven by „public-relations-style" events. In the war on terrorism, one wonders how much of the coverage is actually a controlled event. When I woke up to the news about the so-called „American Al-Qaida", the „dirty bomber", who was now in U.S. custody, I couldn't help but think that that was within days of the announcement of the new cabinet-level Department of Homeland Security (DHS), which would be the biggest overhaul of the U.S. government in 50 years, integrating some 100 federal agencies in this war on terrorism. How much of this announcement, which of course restarted our sense of fear and anxiety, was intended to underline the need for this new department? This „American Al-Qaida" had been in custody since May 8, but the announcement to the public was not made until earlier this week, June 10. Perhaps the announcement was delayed by design, so that it would instill a greater need for this new department.

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Certainly there has been a surge of patriotism after 9/11. And I could be provocative by saying that patriotism as a concept has been hijacked: Patriotism has been defined and accepted here as unconditional support for the U.S. government and the military-led war on terrorism. In other words, „my country, right or wrong“. There is another definition which I can't help to use because of our gathering today, which I would call „Fulbright-defined patriotism“: I go back to Fulbright's book „The Arrogance of Power“, in which he said: „Criticism is more than a right. It is an act of patriotism, a higher form of patriotism than the familiar rituals of national adulation.“ Over the last nine months I found myself referring to Sen. Fulbright and his vision for the responsibility that we as citizens have, to speak up when we believe very strongly that our government is going in the wrong direction. There has been a definition of patriotism that has left out dissenting opinions.

There is an interesting dynamic at play in terms of dissent. Over the last 30 years or so, there has been a great decline in foreign confidence in our government. This is true for people in general in the U.S., and may also hold for many European countries. Of course, there have been a number of events that have led to this decline in public confidence: Watergate, Vietnam, Nixon's resignation, the civil unrest in the '60s. So in general we have an American public that really doubts the government's ability to perform efficiently. But at the same time our president, the administration, and the military hold very strong favorability ratings in the mind of the public.

That may have something to do with a lack of options: „Either you're with us, or you're with the terrorists“ was a slogan presented to the American people very early on. It leaves one in a bind, because of course we're not with the terrorists, nor would we want to support terror, violence and destruction. That leaves us with one other option, which is to support the administration, and I would argue that „a or b“ keeps out „c“, which may be to not support the terrorists nor to support the government's position. But of course that's not presented as an option.

The U.S. after 9/11 operated as a kind of „Superman of the world“, in other words, our power as a country is both a blessing and a curse. The U.S. remains the sole superpower. It's even more dominant in the post-9/11 environment. The U.S. continues to spend more on its military than the next 15 nations combined, and the Pentagon budget today, which will grow significantly in the next years and decades, is 25 times larger than the combined military spending of the seven global „axis of evil“-type adversaries, i.e. Cuba, Iran, Iraq, Libya, North Korea, Sudan, and Syria.

We need a new thinking, a bit like a take on George Orwell: „Newthink“. And perhaps our best hope for survival is to change the way in which we

think about our enemies. The new thinking, I would hope, would go from this „either - or“ - „Either you're with us or you're not“ - to a concept of global collective survival that takes into account environmental conditions of this war on terrorism, human rights aspects of this war on terrorism, etc.

Finally, I wanted to get to our role as Fulbrighters. What can Fulbrighters do to combat terror and violence? The central aim of the Fulbright program remains to encourage people in all countries, and especially their political leaders, to develop a new manner of thinking about how to avoid war rather than to wage it. And so I leave us, then, with this possibility on where to go from here. And how can we coordinate - across the Atlantic, in this case today - a new thinking in this war on terrorism?

Q&A - Questions from the audience

Snow: Just to remind you all: The biggest PR operation of the U.S. government is run by the Pentagon. Even Fulbright wrote a book about this back in 1970.⁴ In my own work I delight in that, because they produce a lot of press releases and news conference transcripts on the U.S. military web site.

Gil Carbajal: I am concerned about what I perceive as a constitutional and a social crisis within the U.S. is the system working? Of course, this administration is especially controversial because of the Florida elections, the subsequent Supreme Court decision, and the questions about the legitimacy of Mr. Bush as president. I always defend the U.S. on the basis of its constitution, but when I see the constitution breaking down like this, I get very concerned. Then the social aspects: The breakdown of education on the lower level in the U.S., a misinformed, manipulated public because of the way the news media work. The infotainment ethic in the news. So even the public opinion has got to be questioned. This meeting offers hope, because what we're trying to do is to find out how we can change the situation. I travel to the U.S. frequently, and I starve for news. There are alternative sources of news, but only a few of us get to them.

Snow: Thank you for painting this landscape of challenges we are facing collectively. As of 9/11 I have been energized, in the sense of an urgency of promoting global understanding and education. I'm sure that many Americans in particular have thought more about their contributions to society. We're seeing some trend toward that. I sense a collective feeling that there's something going wrong here, that we can be much better with our coverage, the market is not the god, it has narrowed perspectives, limited our creativity. I'm seeing artists get involved and younger people reach out for poetry and redefining what they

⁴ Fulbright, J. William, "The Pentagon Propaganda Machine", 1971

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mean by a success and a career. So there are some trends trying to lift the lid on the dark hole of ignorance and the lack of public accountability. Even young people at college and high school age. So I'm seeing some slivers of hope. I'm sure that all of us wouldn't be here if we didn't have a sense that we can make a difference. As you say, use the constitution to challenge our leaders. I'm a great supporter of that very sacred document, because it's the best protector I have in terms of my ability to speak up.

Maja Böhm: I used to work for USIA, which is now part of the State Department. Could you define the term "propaganda", because to me as a German, propaganda is exclusively associated with Goebbels, the Reichspropagandaministerium, and the Third Reich.

Snow: I would agree with you that "propaganda" is used very loosely. The way I defined it in my book "Propaganda, Inc." is that propaganda, as an instrument of mass persuasion, favors the institution that generates it. As a converse to our very well-known concept of mutual understanding, we think that propaganda by design favors the sender, as opposed to the recipient of the propaganda. Goebbels was certainly one engaging in propaganda, but many of the techniques used in Germany in the '30s and '40s had already been used by other governments as well, perhaps with a very different intent, no doubt about it, but both open societies and so-called closed, totalitarian societies use propaganda. Virtually any government will engage in propaganda.

Ole Schuster: What are the implications of the term „war on terrorism“ in your view? To me it doesn't seem to make a lot of sense. Who coined the term, and what is the intention? Second: Right after the events of 9/11, within two hours, everybody thought it was Arab terrorists. How did that happen?

Snow: As of 9/11, the administration and the President referred to this as a war. That raises an important issue: How we name things is how we view things. I remember hearing Howard Zinn say that we here in the U.S. will often declare war on something when we don't know what else to do. It gives people an immediate sense of urgency, that there is a crisis, that we are going to spend whatever means possible to eradicate whatever it is. For example, the „war on drugs“, the „war on poverty“. It certainly invites itself to be criticized. And of course it cuts off all other options: „Either you're with us or you're against us ...“.

On your second question about the immediate jump to conclusions: I can give the reference to a precedent: Within hours of the terrorist attack on the government building in Oklahoma City, there was a jump to conclusions: This had to be an Arab terrorist network in Oklahoma. Terror, for many Americans, still has an Arab face. That's very

unfortunate. In the interview I gave on Guerrilla News Network three weeks after

at the start of the Afghanistan War⁵, I talked about the lack of introspection, the lack of thinking first. We tend to be a more action-oriented culture, and part of that is to name things quickly, so that we can take action.

Akram Baker: On the media consolidation in the U.S.: For example, CNN is now an AOL-Time Warner company. What role does this consolidation between mainstream media, corporate America, and the propaganda machine play?

Snow: It's certainly leading to this amazing focusing on the bottom line. In the '60s and '70s, the profit margins for newspapers and media were minuscule, 5 to 10 percent. As soon as these media began to get bought up by other conglomerates, who would simply view them as one of their subsidiaries, all of a sudden the profit margins jumped to 15 to 30 percent return on investment. Gone are the days of the CBS notion of the „Tiffany Network“, when news people were left to do the news, to inform the public, and when it was seen as a kind of public trust, instead of a profit operation or part of the accounting ledger. Many of these mega-media executives are quite aware of the degradation, the sensationalism of the news.

Joe Greenman: What is being done today in America to go against this equalization of terrorism with Moslems and Arabs?

Snow: Very little and not enough. There is an opportunity to do something to overcome this ignorance that is endemic to the American people, the lack of understanding about Arab-Americans and the Middle East. We have to get beyond this jumping to conclusions, because we might become ethno-centrist and racist. There's opportunity for us as Fulbrighters, since we are a global group: I would really invite your participation in this arena.



Georg Schütte, director of the German-American Fulbright Commission, a Fulbrighter himself and member of our association, listens closely to the videoconference.

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Panel Discussion 2: In Search of Mutual Understanding - America, Europe and the Arab World summarized by Jörg Wolf

Moderated by *Klaus-Dieter Frankenberger*, International Editor, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*

H.E. Mohamed Al-Orabi, Ambassador of the Arab Republic of Egypt to Germany

Christoph Moosbauer, Member of the Bundestag, chairman of the Young Atlantic Politicians

Akram Baker, Founder & Senior Partner, Brandicate Consultants, Berlin / Washington

Andreas Zumach, correspondent for German media at the U.N., Geneva

Scott Brunstetter, American Fulbright Scholar to Germany, German Council on Foreign Relations

Scott Brunstetter started the panel with a brief presentation called "In Search of Dialogue After September 11, 2001." He recognized "a gulf of misunderstanding between the United States and the Arab world." Not only does the United States have an image problem in the Arab World, but the Arab World has a similar problem in the U.S. "Misperceptions and ignorance define the U.S.-Arab relationship - on both sides."

world, which tend to compound valid criticisms of U.S. policies.

"Sept. 11," Scott Brunstetter explained, "was an absolute shock for America; it changed our perception of foreign policy and our limits of unbelievability." Before 9/11, terrorism with public airplanes was theory. Now everything is considered possible. In the months after the attacks, U.S. security policy focused on the threat of the nexus of terrorism and weapons of mass destruction, which led to a focus on Iraq. However, Iraq did not become a security problem for the U.S. on September 12, 2001. Already in 1997 Defense Secretary Cohen considered Iraq a serious and developing threat, despite the U.N. sanctions that have been in effect since 1991 to prevent Iraq from developing weapons of mass destruction.

Ambassador Mohamed Al-Orabi said that after the collapse of the Soviet Union, Fukuyama's book on the "End of History" and Huntington's "Clash of Civilization" the perception in the West emerged that Islam is the next enemy. The NATO leadership called Islam the next enemy of the West since there was no Soviet enemy any more. This was many years before 9/11.

After that day many people in the U.S. considered Al-Qaida and the Taliban the sole representatives



From left to right: *Andreas Zumach*, *H. E. Mohamed Al-Orabi*, *Klaus-Dieter Frankenberger*, *Christoph Moosbauer*, *Scott Brunstetter* and *Akram Baker*

In the Arab world there is a general misunderstanding of what the United States is like, Scott Brunstetter explained. For example, one Saudi newspaper recently wrote that the U.S. is a hostile force that will not cease to fight the Arab world until they renounce their faith. However, freedom of religious practice is one of the fundamental pillars of American society. "I don't know of any American who says Muslims do not have a right to practice their religion in the U.S.," Scott Brunstetter stated. Large information gaps and stereotypical views of the U.S. do exist in the Arab

of Islam. Ambassador Al-Orabi reminded the audience that only three Islamic countries - Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, and the United Arab Emirates - recognized the Taliban as the government of Afghanistan, when they were in power. This means that the overwhelming majority of Muslims rejected the rule of the Taliban in Afghanistan and the Taliban interpretation of Islam. "Thus we Arabs have distanced ourselves from the Taliban and Al-Qaida, and we strongly condemn the attacks against the United States, assuming they were behind it, which no one has proven yet."

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Ambassador Al-Orabi affirmed that there is no animosity between the United States and Islam. "We understood the U.S. military campaign against the Taliban. The United States fought many wars for the Muslims: In 1991 the U.S. fought for the Muslims when they drove Iraq out of Kuwait. Later the U.S. defended the Muslims in the Balkans and in Somalia. In the Suez War of 1956 France, the UK and Israel attacked Egypt but U.S. President Eisenhower told them to withdraw. Thus, the U.S. did act in favor of the Egyptian government."

The Ambassador concluded with some general remarks on U.S.-Arabic relations. "The American way of life is the aim and dream of any Arab youth." The Americans are not the enemies of the Arabs. "We are not against the Americans at all, but we are only against some U.S. policies in the Middle East."

Christoph Moosbauer, Member of the Bundestag, assured that there are no clashes between the civilizations, but clashes *within* the civilizations: Clashes between Europe and America within the Western civilization and clashes between fundamentalists and those more in favor of open societies within the Arab civilization. Thus, today's world is not defined by one clash between the Muslim and the Western world. There are no clear-cut borders of civilizations that struggle with each other. Therefore we should work together with our partners in the Western and in the Muslim civilization to strive for a common civilization.

The SPD Middle East expert pointed out that 70 years ago people were talking about clashes between a French and German "civilization." Germany and France have overcome this problem through dialog in the last decades. Therefore, Moosbauer suggested a dialog on a consensus and on a common ground for all civilization. A consensus between the Arab, Jewish, American and European cultures can be found, Moosbauer assured.

While Europeans and Americans are marching together on the creation of peace between Israelis and Palestinians, there are major disagreements between the transatlantic partners on Iraq. Many people say that the Europeans should substitute the Americans in working on peace in the Middle East. But this is not a beauty contest, not a competition between Europeans and Americans for the Nobel Peace price. Europeans have to work together with the Americans shoulder to shoulder. Russia, the United Nations and also the Arab League as well have to be included in cooperation on the peace process.

Disagreeing with Scott Brunstetter, Christoph Moosbauer said that he believes the decision has been made in Washington that there will be a war against Iraq, the question is just when and how. The Europeans of course prefer a diplomatic solu-

tion and will do everything to achieve a solution under the umbrella of the U.N. in any case, he explained. He acknowledges the U.S. frustration with U.N. inspections, but doubts that the U.N. had the right approach towards Iraq in the last ten years and believes in the chances for new U.N. inspections.

Andreas Zumach appreciated that so far all panelists agreed that there is no clash of civilizations and suggested to abandon the term "clash of civilizations". There are so many very different reactions to 9/11 by Muslims in America, in Europe, in the Arab world, in Indonesia, in Pakistan, in India etc. that for him it does not make sense to speak about a single Muslim civilization that acted in one certain way. Christians reacted also in very many very different ways.

Reminding the audience of the existing problems between Arabs and the West, the international correspondent and author⁵ went further back in history than Ambassador Al-Orabi who spoke about the concept of Islam as the new enemy after the end of the Cold War. Osama bin Laden said that the attacks of 9/11 have been a "revenge" or "reaction" for the "huge humiliation we, Muslims and Arabs, suffered a little more than 80 years ago." Hardly anybody remembered what he was referring to: Bin Laden referred to the French and British promise to the Arabs that they would get sovereignty and freedom as nation states, a promise which neither of them kept. This is the humiliation Osama bin Laden referred to. Mr. Zumach suggested that the West should take this old humiliation as a factor of perception seriously rather than dismissing it as history.

He continued by saying that it is necessary to accept the fact that since 9/11, there have been additional burdens between parts of the Christian and parts of the Arab world. If we want to reduce these tensions and avoid further wars and terrorist attacks, then we have to address three vital issues: Iraq, Israel / Palestine and 9/11 itself. If we do not address these issues properly, then misperceptions and aggression will grow on both sides.

Regarding the immediate time before 9/11, there are many unanswered important questions and contradictions. If these questions are not answered to the highest standards, then all kinds of what Nancy Snow in the previous lecture called "conspiracy theories" will survive and grow in the "heads and minds and hearts of millions of people", especially in the Arab world. Referring to an article in "Le Figaro" on October 11, 2001, Andreas Zumach declared that he wanted "to know for example what the CIA agent and Bin Laden talked about in the three two-hour visits at the hospital in the United Arab Emirates."

⁵ Andreas Zumach, Hans von Sponeck, "Irak - Chronik eines gewaltigen Krieges," Klepenheuer & Witsch, 2003

QUO VADIS U.S.A.?

„We should be alarmed,“ he continued, „by the Gallup poll from March 16, 2002“ that stated that 95% of the questioned Saudis between 16 and 49 years said they were fully behind Al-Quaida. He openly wondered what the results would be in Egypt and other Arab countries. He considered it vital that there be a public trial as soon as possible, according to international civil standards, against all those people accused of contributing to the 9/11 attacks – some of whom have been in U.S. custody for more than nine months now.

Regarding Israel / Palestine, Andreas Zumach said that a solution of this conflict is a crucial precondition of the normalization of relations between the Western and the Islamic worlds. „This is so obvious, we don't have to debate it.“ Germany should do more in the Israel-Palestine conflict, „not despite our history, but because of it.“ After all, the existence of the state of Israel has not been in more danger since 1967.

Regarding Iraq, he believes there is an alternative to the U.S. approach, if the Europeans and Russians give Kofi Annan another script in addition to the one he has from Condoleezza Rice.

Akram Baker considered communication between America and the Arabs a problem, but not the substance of the problem.

„I believe, the problem in US-Arab relations is *not* Bin Laden, Arafat or Sharon, but the lack of democracy in the Middle East, and that the U.S. has been supporting undemocratic regimes in the Middle East for the sake of oil and short term stability, although this endangers U.S. long term interests.“ Indeed, he cited the former Supreme Allied Commander Wesley Clark, who recently said that Saddam Hussein was always a bad guy. He was a bad guy in the 70s and 80s, when he gassed his own people enabled by U.S. technology.



After the serious and controversial discussion the panelists H. E. Mohamed Al-Orabi, Scott Brunstetter and Akram Baker exchange business cards.

„Every time a democratic movement in the Arab world started it has either been crushed or repressed.“ Europe and the U.S. continually demand democratic reforms from the Palestinian Authority, but not from Jordan, Egypt or Morocco.

In Algeria there were relatively fair elections in 1992, which were cancelled by the government and the military because they realized that the opposition Islamic Front was going to win the power. This led to the most uncivil of civil wars, in which hundreds of thousands of Algerians have died. „The enlightened West,“ he complained, has done nothing about it because Algeria's pipelines continued to pump oil and natural gas for the West. Instead the West put sanctions against the Iraqi people, which Akram Baker considers criminal. They have only strengthened Saddam's rule.

Akram Baker suggested that the Europeans should „overcome their inferiority complex vis-à-vis the U.S.“. They don't have to be against the U.S.. Quite the opposite. Europe and the U.S. should work together to foster true and democratic and transparent institutions in the Arab world. „If we really address the heart of the problem and support democratization rather than reforming the various security services to repress the people, then we will succeed.“

Klaus-Dieter Frankenberger affirmed that Akram Baker has taken us to a very crucial point: the nature of the regimes in the Middle East. Since 9/11 there has been a lot of soul searching and self-criticism in the West. Many asked, what has the West done wrong in the Arab world. Mr. Frankenberger asked Ambassador Al-Orabi for his interpretation of what went wrong.

Ambassador Al-Orabi pointed out that Islamic fundamentalism grew after the Arab defeat in the 1967 war against Israel. The whole Arab world changed in light of this „catastrophic defeat“ and turned more towards religion.

Democracy, of course, is very important, the Ambassador acknowledged, but democratic reforms were delayed when the Arab governments mobilized their people in order to support the Palestinian cause. The Arab masses accepted this delay, the ambassador assured the audience.

Many people in the West and intellectuals in Middle East claim that the lack of democracy is responsible for terrorism, but that is not true, the ambassador said. Terrorism is rather a different issue. Ambassador Al-Orabi expressed his view that the Western concepts of nation-building and democratization are often mentioned by Western nations to legitimize interference in other country's domestic politics.

POWWOW 2003: QUO VADIS U.S.A.?

Q&A - Questions from the audience

Jens Wiedmann said that Mr. Netanyahu, the former and perhaps the next Israeli Prime Minister, and other Israelis agree with Akram Baker that the lack of democracy is the problem in dealing with the Palestinian Authority. "They suggest that Arafat and his regime should be kicked out." Therefore, Jens Wiedmann asked if the U.S. should support such a policy, if it becomes official Israeli policy.

The Spanish Fulbright Alumnus and freelancer for "Voice of America" **Gil Carbajal** described the PowWow as very stimulating. "I am glad I made the trip from Madrid. (...) Although there might not be a clash of civilizations, would you agree that there is a clash of fundamentalisms?" He elaborated that he referred to the fundamentalism of Al-Qaida and the fundamentalism of the Bush administration, which wants to control the energy resources in the Middle East and promote the military-industrial complex.

Akram Baker agreed with Ambassador Al-Orabi that the Arabs can achieve democratic reforms alone, without help from the West. "We don't need to wait for the U.S. to liberate the Arab world." Mr. Baker expressed his reluctance to discuss with Netanyahu or anybody else who considers ethnic cleansing a solution. The U.S. should not support Israeli occupation.

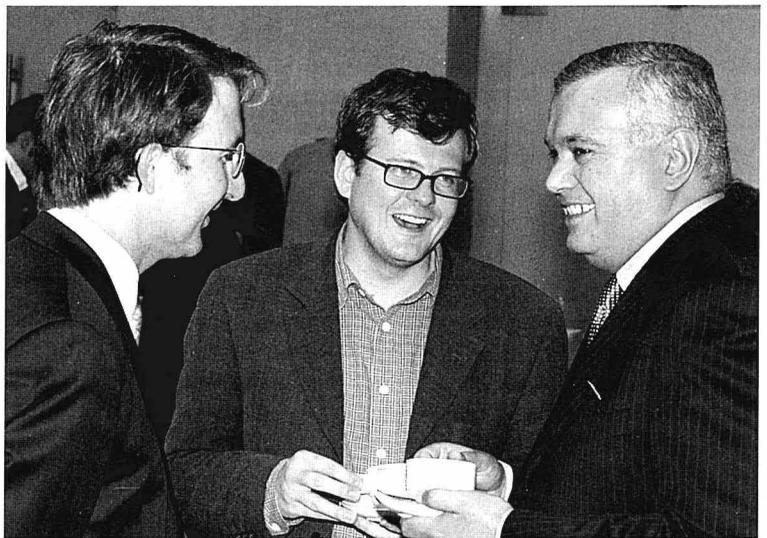
He also said that he hates the word "fundamentalist." A fundamentalist is fundamental to a faith, he explained, but Islam is not a religion of death and war. Islam is rather a religion of peace and prosperity. Mr. Baker does not consider Osama bin Laden as a fundamentalist, but a revisionist criminal.

The moderator **Mr. Frankenberger** asked Mr. Brunstetter, what would happen after a war in Iraq. He asked Mr. Moosbauer, what would the Europeans do, if the U.S. are starting a war against Iraq. In addition he asked Ambassador Al-Orabi, what would the Arab street do if things in Iraq do not go wrong and Iraq does not fall apart. Last but not least he asked Mr. Zumach, how serious is the threat of weapons of mass destruction.

Scott Brunstetter said he did not have access to State Department plans. He pointed out a tradition in U.S. foreign policy "to bring the boys back home as quick as possible." The American public will not accept the troops to be in Iraq as long as possible. It was much easier to keep U.S. troops in Germany than it is to keep them in Iraq now. However, as during the Second World War, there are likely plans being developed in the State Department and the Pentagon for a postwar Iraq. When these plans will become public is another matter.

Regarding a possible Iraq war, **Mr. Moosbauer** said that he does not expect a common European approach. Britain and France have already taken very different positions regarding a war on Iraq. "I don't think there will be a NATO campaign, but a coalition of the willing with a few willing European countries."

Acknowledging that he cannot speak for Germany, but only for himself and his constituents, **Christoph Moosbauer** described the present discussions as theoretical. As the U.S. plans a war against Iraq and asks the Europeans for support, there will probably be a small minority in the Bundestag - but not necessarily in the public - in favor of supporting a U.S.-led war against Iraq because the U.S. will appeal to Germany's transatlantic friendship and alliance. The discussion about supporting a war against Iraq will primarily center on transatlantic relations rather than the issue of Iraqi weapons of mass destruction. This



Jörg Wolf talks over coffee with Christoph Moosbauer und H. E. Mohamed Al-Orabi.

was also the case regarding military campaigns in Kosovo and Afghanistan.

Mr. Frankenberger agreed with Mr. Moosbauer about the crucial role of the transatlantic relations in these issues. He added that the future state of the transatlantic relations might not be decided in Berlin or Washington, or in regard to trade, beef, and hormones, but rather in the Middle East regarding Iraq or the fight against the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and against terrorism.

Ambassador Mohamed Al-Orabi said that the swift victory over the Taliban "increased the appetite of the U.S. government" to use the same strategy against Iraq, which could lead to heavy casualties for the Iraqi people and will not ensure that the world gets rid of Saddam Hussein. The Arab street will not accept such a scenario.

QUO VADIS U.S.A.?

However, no Arab regime or Arab street will be upset if the Americans get rid of Saddam Hussein. "To the contrary, this might be a good step in the way to solve the Palestinian question. To create a vacuum in Iraq, however, would be a great mistake for everybody."

The ambassador expressed his opposition to a military campaign and his preference for a political solution regarding Iraq. "I think the Iraqi regime is very fragile. With some political pressure, I think, we can achieve a lot of results." He described Iraq as a very important country to the stability in the Middle East, especially with Iran on the Eastern border.

Taking issue with an earlier statement by Ambassador Al-Orabi, **Andreas Zumach** said that democracy cannot be dismissed as a Western concept that the West uses to legitimize the occupation of the Arab world. 178 of the 190 member countries of the U.N., including all Arab countries, have signed on to the universality of all existing human rights norms. He recalled that Rita Süßmuth described human rights as the first political casualty of 9/11 in the first panel. The concern for the lack of democracy and the lack of human rights does not come only from the West, but also from within the Arab countries.

Regarding Mr. Frankenberger's question about the threat of Iraqi weapons of mass destruction, **Andreas Zumach** admitted that the only possible answer is: "I don't know." He explained that he has been at some meetings with intelligence services in the West and heard what they claim they know, but did not see any proof that convinced him. Therefore, the U.N. inspectors who were withdrawn in August 1998 should go back into Iraq.

"I am somewhat stunned by what I am hearing from German and other European politicians." The issue on whether or not there will or should be a war with Iraq has been on the table since at least September 11, 2001. It was there prior to 9/11, but since then it has escalated. Nevertheless, the European politicians tell their citizens that they do not know what they should tell the Americans. If the Europeans do not come up with an alternative to the U.S. war plans, then the Bush administration will get its way.

"If I would be the Europeans in the Security Council," Andreas Zumach suggested, "I would draft a paper that states three things:" The need for an internationally composed U.N. inspections team, a mandate for thorough investigations with no off-limits and a report with certified results after no longer than six months. If a thorough investigation by a U.N. mission comes to the conclusion that there is still problematic armament and the Iraqi regime refuses to do away with them, then there might be the need for a military operation. "But again, it is a big difference if this would be a U.N. mandated and led military operation or a U.S. operation with only some allies. It is also very important

for the perception in the Arab world." It also makes an important difference if afterwards a U.S. or a U.N. contingent would stay in Iraq after the war.



Jörg Wolf (right) explains the concept for Panel 2 to Andreas Zumach.

Adding to Akram Baker's comment on Saddam Hussein, Mr. Zumach said that one of the CIA agents who helped Saddam Hussein come to power in 1979 cabled back to Washington: "I know he is a son of a bitch, but he is *our* son of a bitch." Robert Gates, CIA director from 1991 to 1993, recently said: "We, the United States, never had any illusion about Saddam Hussein. This was not an agrarian reformer. This was not a democrat. A guy who gets up in a cabinet meeting, pulls a pistol and shoots his predecessor can only be referred to as a thug and a gangster." Mr. Zumach concluded that "we cannot pretend as if history only began with the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in 1990 or with 9/11."

Referring to Andreas Zumach's suggestion what he would do if he were the Europeans in the Security Council, **Mr. Moosbauer** said that "there are no Europeans in the Security Council. There are the French and the British and they do not think European in the Security Council." According to the Maastricht Treaty, everything that is in any way linked to the U.N. Security Council is not a matter of the EU Common Foreign and Security Policy. "We are not able to go to the U.N. with common EU initiatives."

Mr. Moosbauer described Germany's position as between the British and the French position, therefore Germany has been trying for years to bring the British and French approaches towards Iraq together and work on a common European strategy for a diplomatic solution to the Iraq crisis, but "we failed," because the French and the British, who are permanent members of the Security Council, are refusing a common initiative referring to the agreements in the Maastricht treaty. ■

WELCOME MEETING IN DRESDEN

After the flood

Dresden may lie in the very outskirts of Germany but last year it was again in the center of attention. In August a huge flood covered a big part of the city center and also surprised the organization team of the Fulbright Alumni annual Welcome Meeting as part of the locations were drowned in muddy waters.

Our Welcome Meetings usually take place on a weekend at the end of October. We invite the just-returned German Fulbright grantees and also the newly arrived American Fulbrighters to welcome them (back) to Germany. In 2002, the Dresden regional chapter had volunteered to host this event in their beautiful city, capital of the Free State of Saxony, from October 25 through 27.

As all Fulbright Alumni national events, the weekend started in an informal setting on Friday night with a get-together, to have a good dinner after a sometimes long journey, meet old friends and make new acquaintances. Early arrivers had the opportunity to participate in a workshop on Friday afternoon on "How to become a strategy consultant" hosted by our main sponsor of this weekend, the Boston Consulting Group.

Saturday's program held a variety of very interesting events: The morning was dedicated to a panel discussion, moderated by the journalist and former speaker of the Saxon government Mr. Michael Sagurna, on the reasons and consequences of the flood. Professor Dr. M. Kinze, President of the "Sächsisches Landesamt für Umwelt und Geologie" gave a presentation of what really happened when the flood came down. Further panelists included Prof. Dr. Edeltraud



Wine tasting workshop

Günther who holds the chair for "Betriebliche Umweltökonomie" at the Technical University of Dresden, and Mr. Manfred Riether, President of the "BUND" (Bund für Umwelt und Naturschutz Deutschland) for the State of Saxony.

After all these insights and information into one of the most devastating floods of the past decades

by Wiltrud Hammelstein

here in Germany, the more than 130 participants walked over to the cafeteria of the university for lunch. After lunch the audience rejoined for a short presentation of the board members to introduce the Fulbright Alumni Association to the returnees and American Fulbrighters. After that



Dinner in the Blockhaus

the participants could choose from different workshops especially designed to the target groups, such as "How to survive Germany" for American grantees, and "Reverse culture shock" for German returnees. But of course they could also take part in other workshops like e.g. on wine-making including a wine-tasting.

After having sat for the entire day, guided walking tours were offered to the various tourist spots in Dresden. Tours included a visit to the "Frauenkirche", which is still under construction, the VW manufacturing site (called "die Gläserne Manufaktur", as all the walls are made of glass and you can watch the car assembly from outside), and a city tour to see the historical center and what the flood had done to it, including a visit to an art museum.

The night program started with a reception and a buffet dinner in the "Blockhaus", located directly on the river Elbe with a splendid view on the city. And a Fulbright Alumni event would not be a real one without a party after dinner. The dancing was only interrupted by a slide show in which participants presented their best "American Picture".

Sunday morning started with an All American brunch in the "New California" restaurant. We needed a good meal as cultural walking tours were offered e.g. to the "Semper-Oper", the new Synagogue, and to modern Dresden architecture.

Thank you very much to Elke Brosin and her team for this wonderful event. I also would like to thank the sponsors of this event, the Boston Consulting Group, Radeberger Pilsner and TMGS (Tourismus Marketing Gesellschaft Sachsen) for their support. ■

WINTERBALL IN BAMBERG

Impressions of a newcomer

by Anke Dassler

The "Fulbright Alumni e. V. Winterball" is a yearly highlight. So I was told by senior members of the Alumni. They told me that the Winterball would be an ideal opportunity to get a first-hand impression on the association activities and to meet nice people. Having just returned from the United States, I consider myself to be a newcomer.

The place, Hotel Residenzschloss Bamberg, is nicely situated close to the old city core of Bamberg. Those who wanted, could arrive already on Friday for a first get-together. On the next morning, the main assembly of the members commenced and 46 members participated.

The board respectively the extended board reported on the happenings, activities, and achievements, but on problems as well. More or less everybody felt satisfied with the accomplished work. First, the new board was elected and after a brief lunch break also the extended board. Luckily, for each open position, a candidate had been found, so that a smooth continuation of the association's activities was assured, at least concerning the organizational matters.

Thanks to the professional conduct of the assembly, there was strict focus on the topic and endless discussions could be avoided. Due to that, the assembly finished on time. This was probably appreciated by most of the members, because they were attracted by the nice winter weather outside.

Thus, there was still time for a short walk through the inner city of Bamberg. Highlight of the weekend was the Winterball of course on Saturday. It began with a champagne reception in the lobby of the residential castle.

For the evening event, about 120 members of the association arrived. Many of them had not seen each other for a long time and there was intensive chatting among the former Fulbrighters. When we entered the hall of the residential castle, there was already a tasty buffet waiting for us. Everybody was eating, drinking and chatting. As soon as the music started, the dance floor filled quickly. Most of the guests seem to have waited just for this moment and many couples impressed by their rhythm and elegant dancing steps.

By then, the typical pop dancer of nowadays, to whom I unfortunately have to count myself, reach their limits.

During the evening event, the old board was said good bye with applause and a present, and the new board was presented to the guests.

Like with all the good things that are over too fast, the Winterball 2002 terminated well after midnight and still too early.

It was great, that on Sunday morning the traditional brunch took place in a café in Bamberg. In this way, the guests could comfortably finish the weekend. Surprisingly, there were no tired faces and most of the members appeared rested and in a good mood. The new board took the chance and sat together for the first time in order to decide on a rough schedule for the coming association year. One focus point, mentioned several times already in the assembly meeting, was the cooperation with the Fulbright Commission - especially due to the fact that the "FulKom" was celebrating its fiftieth anniversary.



Dancing the night away in Bamberg

Those who wanted could take part in one of the guided city tours through Bamberg. The weather was wonderful.

Bamberg is impressive by its architectonic versatility, by its churches and narrow streets. The city is characterized by different influences and styles. Especially this makes her so interesting and charming.

The walk through Bamberg gave a nice finish to the Winterball weekend.

At this point, an applause goes to the organizers of the Regional Chapter Southern Bavaria and to all who have contributed to the success of this event. Being a newcomer, I have no comparison to former years. Concerning my experiences during this weekend in Bamberg, I can state: The event kept all that what I had been promised, a good mixture of membership activities and fun with kind and open-minded people. ■

FULBRIGHT FAMILY WEEKEND

by Ina Belling and Harald Hartmann

Thanks to the "Fronleichnam" holiday on June 14, 15 adult plus four "future" Fulbrighters met in the "Sächsische Schweiz" to enjoy a wonderful extended weekend.

Those who had a long trip from Munich, Frankfurt or any other remote city fighting the mandatory traffic jams were already rewarded by the first views of the narrow, upper Elbe river. Driving by the 361 meter high "Königstein" gave us a first impression of how our weekend would be. We finally met at dawn in the Naturfreundehaus in Königstein where we all stayed for the next three days and nights.



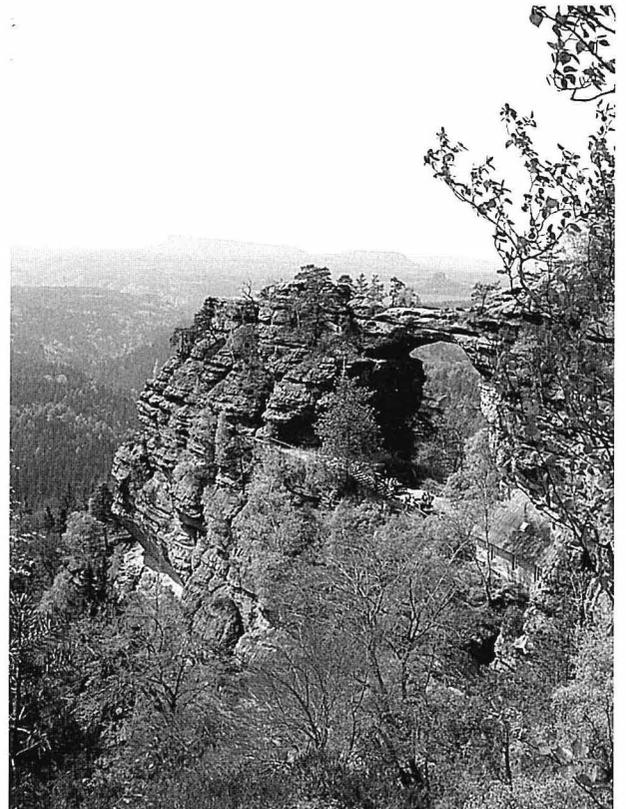
Past and „future“ Fulbrighters.

We began our first adventure at nine o'clock on Friday morning. Our aim was the Czech part of the "Elbsandsteingebirge" with the Prebischtor (czech: Právacický bran), Europe's largest limestone bridge, as one of the main attractions. On our way to the starting point we crossed the Elbe river in Königstein with a nice passengers ferry to jump on the train to Bad Schandau shortly before the Czech border. On foot we crossed the Czech border and walked through Hrensko with its numerous Asian markets to reach the "Stille Klamm" where we took a wonderful boat ride enjoying the quiet nature and the great stories of the Czech boat captain... After the boat journey the group had to separate. The hike up to the "Prebischtor" was not recommended anymore for our families with kids. They had to return, as the remaining six bold Fullies headed for the 20 kilometer long, hilly walk. Although the walk was kind of demanding we had a lot of fun and we were glad to have a short half way stop quenching our thirst with Czech beer. As we finally reached the Prebischtor we were rewarded with wonderful stone formations and great views of the landscape. Our descent was fast but we couldn't help being late for the evening meal in the Naturfreundehaus. That was the moment we

decided to fill up our energy resources in a restaurant in Königstein. In this restaurant the "Westerners" made a great discovery. An unknown dessert named "Eierschecke" was found on the menu - What the hell is Eierschecke? It sounded like "Eierschnecke", but had nothing to do with snails. After we bolt down our main menu we found out that Eierschecke is a well-tasting cake with sweet cheese on top.

Saturday was just as ambitious as Friday. The day started slowly with an idyllic train ride on the "Kirnitzschalbahn" from Bad Schandau to the nice "Lichterhainer" waterfall. By then the walking boots were again our reliable partners on our walk through the extended hiking and climbing area of Bad Schandau. It took us yet once more a couple of hours to explore the "Kuhstall" and its "Himmelsleiter", the "Großer Winterberg" and the bizarre rock formations of the "Schrammsteine". Tired after two days of walking we started our barbecue party in the evening. Several rain showers forced us to move inside, but when Sigrid started her tango dancing lessons for us, we forgot about the rain.

Sunday was then the day to return back home and to remember that Elke and Falk organized an unforgettable weekend for us. ■



The famous panorama of the „Saxon Swiss“

INTRODUCING OUR BOARD



My main goals for 2003 as the president of the Fulbright Alumni e.V. are:

- Provide new impulses to international understanding – within the realistic scope for our alumni association. This goal gains in importance during difficult times where diverging opinions are reflected even within our association.
- Discuss and support ideas for additional activities to further the ideals of our association by “doing more for others”. In my view – while having extended relevant activities – we have by far not exploited our potential and thus have some way to go.
- Recruit additional members by further addressing relevant groups of potential members, such as non-members among the readers of the Fulbright Commission’s publication “Funnel”. This will be focused on the second half of 2003.
- Contribute to reinforcing professionalism in our association’s management practices in close cooperation with the treasurer. The purpose is to help our volunteer organizers of events and regional chapters focus on content rather than administrative issues. ■

FRANKly Questionnaire

If the world would end tomorrow, what would you do today?	Go on as every day
Which public figure would you like to meet some time? Why?	Salvador Dalí, for I enjoy his work
Your favorite name:	Paul – I was about to add my grandfather’s name as my middle name
Your favorite flower:	The rose in my garden
Your favorite writer:	Shakespeare
Your favorite lyric poet:	Erich Kästner
Your favorite composer:	Puccini
Which qualities of a woman do you value most?	Integrity, thinking ahead
Which qualities of a man do you value most?	Integrity, thinking ahead
Which qualities of your friends do you value most?	Integrity, thinking ahead, knowing each other for a long time
Which mistakes do you excuse most easily?	Mistakes not intended
What annoys you most?	Bureaucrats with power
What natural gift would you like to have?	Looking ahead
What do you consider to be the greatest fortune?	Balance with my environment
What do you consider to be the greatest misfortune?	Injustice enforced with power
Your female heroes in history:	Jeanne d’Arc
Your male heroes in history:	Galileo Galilei
Which architectural achievements do you admire most?	Bridges – especially the Golden Gate
Your motto:	No regrets
Your current bedtime reading:	Dresden City History
Your current mental state:	Relaxed

PRESIDENT – MICHAEL SCHEFFCZYK

INTRODUCING OUR BOARD

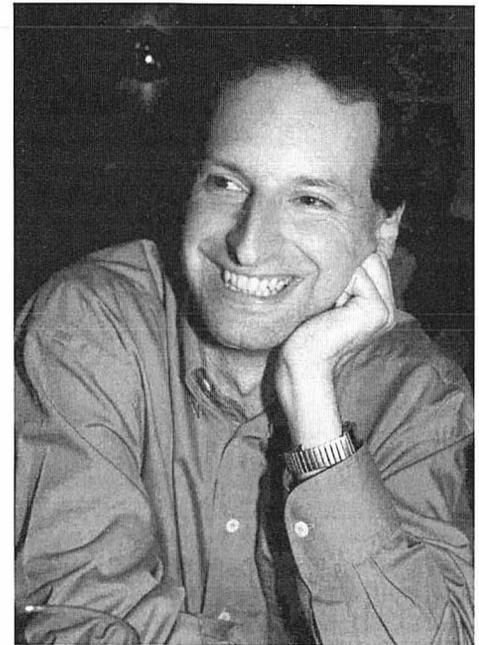


Goals for 2003

The treasurer's job is mostly day-to-day administrative work. This doesn't mean you can have no goals.

One is, of course, to keep the work as professional as possible and to improve the cash management. The tax authorities check our balance sheets this year. Therefore I will try to do the best to keep its impact on our work as low as possible. Probably we have to change the way we handle the financial side of our events. My goal is to have these changes implemented in our bookkeeping process by the end of the year.

In addition to that, I am happy to help any organization team of an event with the financial planning. ■



TREASURER – UWE KOCH

FRANKly Questionnaire

If the world would end tomorrow, what would you do today?	Plant an apple tree today, to do as someone famous said he would.
Which public figure would you like to meet some time? Why?	Bill Clinton, to discuss his view on G.W. and the Fulbright Program
Your favorite name:	Ariane
Your favorite flower:	n/a
Your favorite writer:	Martha Grimes
Your favorite lyric poet:	n/a
Your favorite composer:	n/a
Which qualities of a woman do you value most?	Honesty
Which qualities of a man do you value most?	Honesty
Which qualities of your friends do you value most?	Reliability
Which mistakes do you excuse most easily?	Being a little late
What annoys you most?	Obvious dishonesty
What natural gift would you like to have?	"Schlagfertigkeit" (quick-wittedness)
What do you consider to be the greatest fortune?	Being loved and cared for
What do you consider to be the greatest misfortune?	Being neglected
Your female heroes in history:	Peaceful revolutionaries
Your male heroes in history:	In the former GDR
Which architectural achievements do you admire most?	Livable and environmentally friendly city quarters
Your motto:	Who needs a motto?
Your current bedtime reading:	Pawing in the Past
Your current mental state:	

Annunziata

INTRODUCING OUR BOARD

Goals for 2003

Press Concept

I believe it is very important for an association like ours to maintain a certain professionalism in our dealings with the print media, in order to effectively publicize our ideas, goals and events. I am working on developing certain guidelines and a standard format for our interactions with the print media.

Communication - Europe

My goal is to improve the communications among Fulbright Alumni throughout Europe (- at least within the "Fulbright Family.") To this end, I am working on an International Host Program. My idea is that it would be wonderful if we had an instrument that would enable alumni to visit one another throughout Europe, discuss human issues and broaden their horizons through personal contacts. Ultimately, this network would be connect-



ed by an important link: having shared the Fulbright experience.

New Ideas

I also see myself as a representative of the younger generation within the Fulbright Alumni Association. One of my goals is thus to seek to enhance the communication between this younger generation, and the new ideas emerging among them, and the board. I therefore encourage members to contact me with suggestions and new perspectives, which I will then do my best to transmit to the board.

A further important goal to me is to help bring relevant interactions and important topics discussed by the board to the association at large, in order to enhance the association's vitality, and to help guide us in our changing tasks. ■

FRANKly Questionnaire

If the world would end tomorrow, what would you do today?	... go scuba diving ...
Which public figure would you like to meet some time? Why?	Neil Armstrong
Your favorite name:	Lisa, Camillo
Your favorite flower:	Iris
Your favorite writer:	Virginia Wolf, John Steinbeck, Christa Wolf
Your favorite lyric poet:	Hans Magnus Enzensberger
Your favorite composer:	Arvo Pärt, Gustav Mahler
Which qualities of a woman do you value most?	Loyalty, Endurance, Imagination
Which qualities of a man do you value most?	See above
Which qualities of your friends do you value most?	Their patience
Which mistakes do you excuse most easily?	Those caused by passion
What annoys you most?	Hypocrites
What natural gift would you like to have?	The ability to fly
What do you consider to be the greatest fortune?	To have witnessed the invention of the world wide web
What do you consider to be the greatest misfortune?	Seen in the context of the earth's history our achievements are useless
Your female heroes in history:	The suffragettes
Your male heroes in history:	Mahatma Gandhi
Which architectural achievements do you admire most?	The Tower of Babel
Your motto:	Think globally and act locally
Your current bedtime reading:	Christa Wolf: Medea
Your current mental state:	Ready to bounce

VICE PRESIDENT COMMUNICATION - BIRGIT KLOCKE

INTRODUCING OUR BOARD

Goals for 2003

Last year we changed our board structure at the strategy meeting in July. The old structure with three VPs for Regional Chapter / National Events, Infocenter, and International / Returnees had lasted 10 years, but had grown a little out of date: the focus of the board positions needed a relaunch to meet the changed needs from inside and outside of our association. Being Vice President Events, I see three main tasks for my position this year:



1. Coordinating and supporting our national events, which are organized by volunteers in the regional chapters. Please note that it does not need to be the Regional chapter coordinator to taking the lead here: each and every member can come forward with a concept and idea for a conference or meeting! But it takes a core team on site to organize the nitty-gritty stuff. It is work, but it is also a lot of fun when you achieve something in a team. And organizing a national event usually gives a big boost to the local group. We plan a workshop for regional chapter coordinators in conjunction with one of our next national events to exchange ideas, best practices and get to know each other better.

2. Coordinating and communicating our events with all other Fulbright Associations worldwide and serve as a link to communicate their events to our members and encourage them to participate. One example is the 3rd European Fulbright Workshop planned for Slovenia. Furthermore, the Greek Fulbright Association plans their next worldwide conference in Athens in October 2004.

3. Relaunching the Orga-Manual. Besides these jobs originating from the VP's position we plan a workshop for regional chapter coordinators in conjunction with one of our next national events to exchange ideas, best practices and get to know each other better. And living in Berlin, I also serve as our association's link to the Fulbright Commission and the New Traditions Network. The Fulbright Commission has for example asked us if we would like to organize an event in conjunction with next years Berlin Week. The board has just committed to take on the task and now it is my job to get the organization on the road.

It's going to be a busy year but I enjoy fostering the Fulbright idea and give my share in teams of likeminded friends from around the globe.

FRANKly Questionnaire

If the world would end tomorrow, what would you do today?	I would go back to my family today and have a party
Which public figure would you like to meet some time? Why?	Nelson Mandela, Aung San Suu Kyi
Your favorite name:	No comment
Your favorite flower:	Rose, magnolia
Your favorite writer:	John Irving
Your favorite lyric poet:	Carl Sandburg
Your favorite composer:	Currently Tchaikovsky
Which qualities of a woman do you value most?	Honesty
Which qualities of a man do you value most?	Honesty
Which qualities of your friends do you value most?	Honesty
Which mistakes do you excuse most easily?	The ones made out of passion for the cause or for people
What annoys you most?	Arrogance combined with ignorance
What natural gift would you like to have?	Speaking all languages of the earth
What do you consider to be the greatest fortune?	Making people smile and happy
What do you consider to be the greatest misfortune?	War
Your female heroes in history:	n/a
Your male heroes in history:	n/a
Which architectural achievements do you admire most?	n/a
Your motto:	If you dream, if you believe, and if you try there is nothing you cannot do
Your current bedtime reading:	None
Your current mental state:	Anything goes

VICE PRESIDENT EVENTS – WILTRUD HAMMELSTEIN

Announcements

INTRODUCING OUR BOARD

Goals for 2003

The newly created post "Members" is responsible for the members as a whole, regional chapters and returnees. I see the following main tasks for my position this year:

1. Ensure the representation of Fulbright Alumni e.V. at the pre-orientation meetings for Fulbright scholars organized by the Fulbright Commission.
2. Organize the publication of the new membership directory and control the quality of our member database.
3. Creation of a support list of members willing to give a presentation of the Fulbright-Program at their university, to promote the brandname „Fulbright“ in Germany.



4. Locate and then re-integrate our "ghosts" (members who we lost track of), in order to reactivate their great potential for the association.

5. Improve the communication flow and exchange of ideas among the regional chapters. To this end we are planning a workshop for regional chapter coordinators during one of our next national events.

After having served as the association's office manager for five years, this position is very challenging for me. I hope that my work will have the envisaged effect. As a former Fulbright student, I consider it one of our noblest aims to carry on the legacy and vision of Senator Fulbright, and to work for peace wherever we can. I truly hope that everybody makes a little effort for the improvement of the world and that we as an association will make a difference. ■

FRANKly Questionnaire

If the world would end tomorrow, what would you do today?	Celebrate a big party with my family and friends
Which public figure would you like to meet some time? Why?	Dalai Lama
Your favorite name:	Fantaghiró
Your favorite flower:	Rose
Your favorite writer:	Shakespeare
Your favorite lyric poet:	Khalil Gibran
Your favorite composer:	Ludwig van Beethoven
Which qualities of a woman do you value most?	Listening
Which qualities of a man do you value most?	Determination
Which qualities of your friends do you value most?	Reliability
Which mistakes do you excuse most easily?	Mishaps
What annoys you most?	Lies
What natural gift would you like to have?	To be able to fly
What do you consider to be the greatest fortune?	Health
What do you consider to be the greatest misfortune?	War
Your female heroes in history:	Jeanne d' Arc
Your male heroes in history:	John F. Kennedy / J.W. Fulbright
Which architectural achievements do you admire most?	Bridges
Your motto:	Carpe Diem
Your current bedtime reading:	Stefan Klein "Die Glücksformel"
Your current mental state:	Happy

VICE PRESIDENT MEMBERS – PETRA STEINMETZ

The International Workshop by Birgit Klocke

One aspect of the 25th Fulbright Association Conference in Washington was to launch an international meeting of participants to encourage Fulbrighters to work together on different projects. As a result we were able to meet with participants from Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Egypt, France, Greece, Ireland, Korea, the Republic of Moldova, Morocco, Nepal, Poland, Romania and the United Kingdom, those as well as those who initiated the conference. In particular I would like to thank the American Fulbright Association for inaugurating this international collaboration.

The notion of the conference was to generate topics that were more deeply dealt with in discussion groups. The groups would then find several themes or projects that could be worked on at an international level.

The goal of the various working groups was to ponder any basic issues that confront every alumni association; the following are a few of the questions dealt with (and proposed solutions):

- A) How to encourage regional networking and partnerships
 - use the web - www.fulbright.org - as an international resource for Fulbright Alumni
 - launch of an international distribution list, coordinated by the US Association
 - liaison officers of every country's boards to maintain connections
- B) the Organization of Regional/ International Periodic Conferences
 - it would be helpful to have a conference on an international "professional" level every four years, the location dictated by the site of the occurring Olympic games.
 - Apart from that for structural reasons it would be useful to set up a regional meeting in an underprivileged area after two years.
- C) How to motivate Alumni Activity
 - within each country, Fulbrighters have different backgrounds in terms of their professional interests - therefore it is hard to gather them under a unique association
 - to encourage them there is a need to establish a mentor relationship between new grantees and those who are already in the United States in order to continue this relationship after they returned to their home countries
- D) Alumni as an Independent Intellectual Resource
 - viewing of the Fulbright Alumni as an advocacy group for international, educational and cultural exchange whose aim is the common good

- by enhancing understanding and respect for the differences, this group could play a role as a reference for decision-making in different aspects of public and private life of the countries

From my German perspective I was astonished to have learned that we have a very effectively structured organization with a cycle of upcoming events every year and regional meetings like our "Stammtische".

One of the main focus of the conference was to come up with two specific projects in which to work together on an international level:

1) The International Fulbright Conference around the 2004 Olympic games
Rita Panourga (President, Hellenic Fulbright Alumni Association) and Anastasia Papaconstantinou (Past President) offered to organize assisted by a committee of other Fulbright alumni leaders the International Fulbright Conference in Olympia, Greece, 2004.

2) Listserv for Fulbright Alumni Organizations worldwide
The US Fulbright Association is setting up a listserv that will subscribe all the international participants at the conference plus the contacts listed on our web site, with an initial message that will indicate how to un-subscribe if one wishes. For anybody of the German Fulbright Family who would like to subscribe: Contact: Marshall Ellis, Membership Coordinator, US Fulbright Association staff, marshall.ellis@fulbright.org.

This Conference was a huge step towards the idea of participating in the Fulbright Spirit and its projects throughout the world. It seemed to me as if there is something to it: there is an ongoing search for a common ground, and apart from our native languages, different social environments and financial resources the same experience which we have shared keeps us bound together. I hope we will continue on this path that was laid out in October 2002, Washington, D.C. ■



Dr. Dilli Devi Shakya from Katmandu, Nepal explains the problems Fulbright alumni are facing after their return to Nepal.

FULBRIGHT 25TH ANNIVERSARY

Two anniversaries celebrated in Washington D.C.

by Wiltrud Hammelstein

In October 2002 the US capital was the city of attraction for Fulbrighters from around the world in general and for German Fulbrighters in particular.

The German-American Fulbright Commission had organized a symposium called "The German American Fulbright Program at 50: Legacy, Lessons, Leadership" to celebrate its 50th anniversary on October 10 which was preceded by a reception at the residence of the German Ambassador the night before. On October 10th the American Fulbright Association also kicked off its celebration conference for its 25th anniversary: representatives of 16 Fulbright associations got together for an international workshop to enhance the relations among Fulbrighters around the world followed by the annual conference. The conference included the award ceremony for the J. William Fulbright Prize, panels, workshops, luncheon and dinner receptions, and a cultural event in the Turkish embassy. We as German Fulbright Alumni Association were represented at both events to extend our congratulations, participate on panels and discussions, and enjoy the friendship and hospitality of our Fulbright "Family" members.

Congratulations to the German-American Fulbright Program for 50 years of excellent work and we look forward to supporting you in your work for the next 50 (?) years to come! Congratulations also to the US Fulbright Association for a quarter century of "service to the Fulbright "Family". You may not be the oldest association but definitely the largest Fulbright "Family" member and we enjoy working with you to spread the Fulbright spirit.

In the following you will find a summary of Fulbright pictures which we hope you enjoy. And maybe they spur your appetite to participate in one of the next Fulbright conferences where ever they may be! (e.g. Washington D.C. Oct 30th-Nov 2nd, Tashkent Nov. 19th - 22nd, Athens Oct. 2004)

Pictures and captions are provided by: Oliver Steinmetz and Wiltrud Hammelstein

50th anniversary celebration German-American Fulbright Commission



Long-time Executive Director of the German-American Fulbright Commission and current advisory board member of the German Fulbright Alumni Association, Ulrich Littmann (left), enjoys a chat with Fulbright alumni Michael Schefczyk, Dagmar Schreiber, Petra and Oliver Steinmetz at the reception at the German embassy.



The first German Alumni board meeting over the Atlantic! Michael Schefczyk, Dagmar Schreiber, Birgit Klocke and Petra Steinmetz



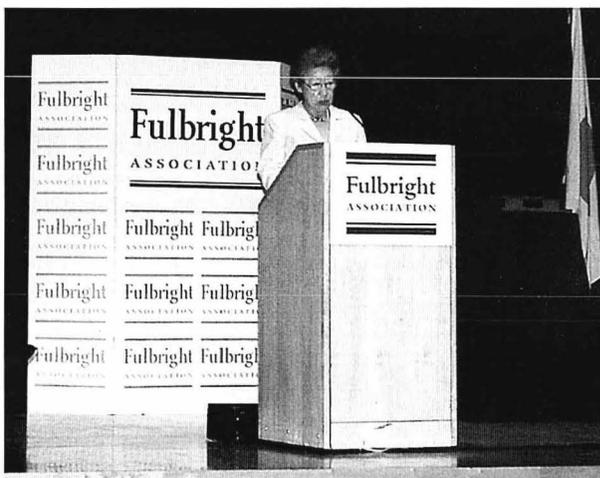
Former Consul to Germany and current advisor to the board of the German Fulbright Alumni Association Thomas Johnson rejoined with German Fulbright alumni Marcus Schaper, Dagmar Schreiber, Petra and Oliver Steinmetz and Michael Schefczyk at the reception in the State Department.

25TH ANNIVERSARY



U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell addresses participants at the reception in the Benjamin Franklin room of the State Department.

Fulbright Association 25th Anniversary Conference "Dialogue of Cultures. Fulbright Contribution"

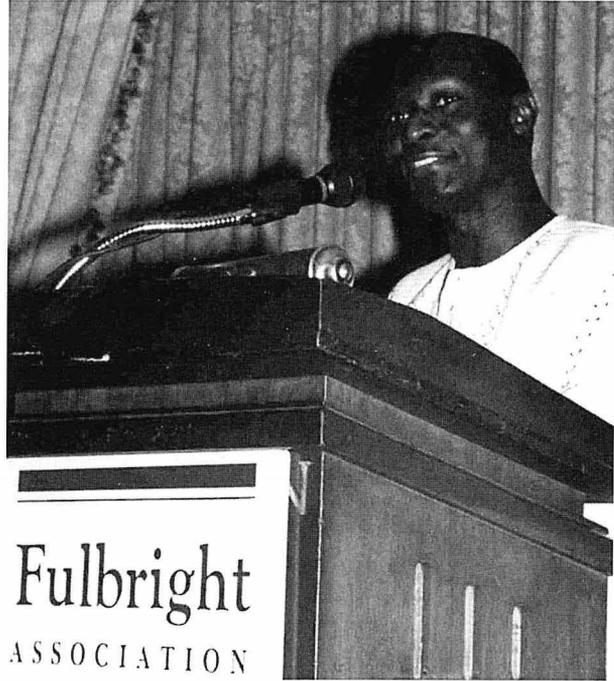


Sadako Ogata, Co-Chair Commission on Human Security, Special Representative of the Prime Minister of Japan on Afghanistan Assistance, UN High Commissioner for Refugees (1991-2000) receives the 2002 J. William Fulbright Prize for International Understanding.



German Fulbright alumna Wiltrud Hammelstein extends her congratulations to Sadako Ogata at the Fulbright Prize reception in the International Trade Center.

FULBRIGHT 25TH ANNIVERSARY



UN Undersecretary and Special Representative of the Secretary General for Children in Armed Conflict, Olara Otunno, Fulbrighter to the USA 1974, addresses the audience at a plenary luncheon on Saturday.



The participants of the anniversary banquet listen in awe to her speech of Linda Vester, Anchor, Fox News Live and Fulbrighter in Egypt 1989, in which she delivers a riveting description of the experiences as a young reporter during the first Gulf war.



Panel "International Philanthropy" moderated by Richard Lundquist, President Fulbright Association. Panelist right to left: Maxine Thomas, Secretary & General Counsel, The Kettering Foundation, US-Fulbrighter to Japan 1988; Suzanne Siskel, Representative, Office for Indonesia, The Ford Foundation, US Fulbrighter to Indonesia 1983; and Bruce Sievers, Visiting Scholar Stanford University, US Fulbrighter to Germany 1968.

25TH ANNIVERSARY



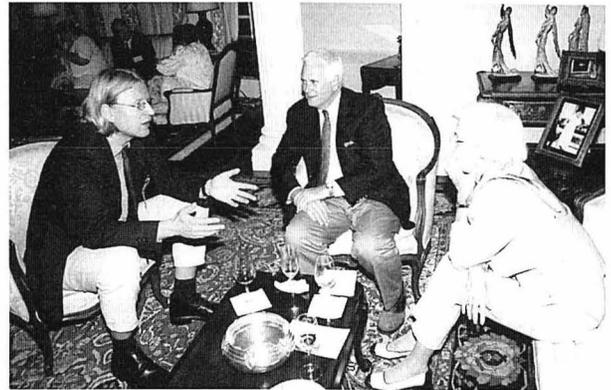
H.E. Osman Faruk Logoglu (middle), Ambassador of Turkey to the USA, and Fulbright alumnus (USA 1967) hosts the cultural event at his residence.



Linda Scanlan (left), R. Fenton May (middle) both members of the board of the US Fulbright Association share a laugh with Anastasia Papaconstantinou, President Hellenic Fulbright at the reception at the Turkish embassy.



Current Executive Director of the German-American Fulbright Program and Fulbright alumnus Georg Schütte in a lively discussion after the plenary luncheon.



German Fulbright alumnus Fred Stabe (left) in discussion with Thomas Farrell (State Department) and Leslie Anderson at the reception at the Turkish embassy.



Michael Schefczyk, President German Fulbright Alumni Association, John Hurley, President Irish Fulbright Alumni Association, Michele van de Roer, President Association France Fulbright, and Jane Anderson, Executive Director of the US Fulbright Association report on their associations' activities on the panel "International Fulbright Activities".

SHORT TRIP TO MOROCCO

by **Guglielmo Fittante**

The extraordinary hospitality we found in Toledo two years ago had a positive result for a motivated group of Spanish and German Fulbright Alumni members who were able to accept the very kind invitation by one of the Moroccan participants, Professor Si Bennasseur Rzozi, to visit them „down there“, meaning actually ... up north in Africa, and precisely in the Mid Atlas region for possibly the first encounter ever in that continent. More about the mixed group later ...

First Day (Saturday)

Following a very remarkable organizational effort by the Moroccan team, the eleven of us reached the ACSA Club in Rabat at times ranging from early Friday afternoon to 2.30 a.m. (actually 3.30 if you consider the gain of one hour when flying eastbound), so a proper reunion took place only on the following morning around the breakfast table. Shortly afterwards, off we went as planned, with two official vehicles of the University Agronomy Institute bravely complemented by the only private car that made it all the way from Madrid (congratulations, Angel), to the mountainous region north-east of Rabat which proved to be rich in historic sites and beautiful landscapes. A first stop at Itto „legend view“ on our way to the ancient berber city of Azrou enabled us to contemplate the vast plateau of volcanic origin that in the writer's memory compares very well with some parts of South Africa near Capetown; here, however, colors and plant varieties were different, let alone the puzzling ease of watching fossils that revealed how far the ocean must have gone in prehistoric times. That stop was also a first taste of the perfect, almost philological competence and accuracy of our guides, who could tell us so much about local history, flora and fauna (Itto, for example, is the name of an ancient Berber queen who seemed almost to come back to life on her white horse in their words). Even more scientific insights were available at the following stop at the ittology station of Ras Al Ma, where engineers illustrated to us the water life of the area and the research and educational projects going on there. The open-air lunch that followed under a generous sun will not be detailed here in order to temper the absents' envy ... if only for tasting mint tea, anybody should actually travel to Morocco!

The afternoon was marked by further sightseeing in the varied landscape of the area surrounding Azrou, sometimes barren and rocky, sometimes green and covered with forests, with special and inevitable attention to the huge, about 700 year-old „Goureaud“ cedar tree named after a French soldier with a sixth (!) finger looking like the lowest branch running parallel to the actual trunk of the tree. The numerous and rather shy monkeys present did not disdain our offer of nuts as soon as they felt we were sufficiently far or friendly. To have a more complete picture, it should be noted that that cedar forest is the largest in the world with its

area of 150,000 hectares. It hosts a monkey population of tens of thousands (including the only one that managed to steal a piece of our bread). While there are plans to reintroduce the Atlas lion as a way of preserving the forest, our hosts would welcome the establishment of an international, possibly non-governmental organization having this general aim; as a matter of fact, some support is already being given by U.S. organizations like, for example, a Mormon university in Utah. However, the interest in gaining such support from Europe, possibly via the European Fulbright community or development funds of the European Union appears equally strong.

The evening in Azrou, which in turn takes its Berber name literally from a rock in the middle of the city, offered us a first glimpse of the mosque and the market as well as a further taste of local cuisine in a cozy restaurant of the city center, hardly ten minutes on foot from the hotel. Those of us who later ventured for a final beer in the bar beside the hotel were presented with the pleasant surprise of being advised to go to another bar just round the corner – quite different from our generally accepted concept of competition, isn't it? – where live music and Berber dance shocked us into awareness of something quite different or, in a way, beyond belly dancing as we know it – if only from movies; most remarkable of all was the jolly atmosphere of the place and the enthusiasm of some clients who ended up following suit at the compelling rhythm of the drums. By this time some participants had already explored the market deeply enough to negotiate successfully the purchase of handicraft objects, especially made from wood, that would definitely cost much more in Europe, even irrespective of the ritual negotiation just mentioned.

Second Day (Sunday)

The morning drive brought us again to the cherry blossoms of Ain Leuh that we had been able to wonder only shortly the evening before at sunset. After a further stop at Wivane Lake which ended



Gruppenbild bei der Forellenzucht im mittleren Atlas.

SHORT TRIP TO MOROCCO

the subsequent arid part of that drive, we were confronted once again with a unique geographical spot, the 40 springs of Oum Rbia that contribute more than one third of all water supply and energy also thanks to the dam projects implemented by the late king Hassan II. Here a steep, unreal calcar mountain dominates the valley where the power of Oum Rbia river deploys fully in sound and color contrasts. Again, one comparison could be drawn with Japan in this case, as the place looks so inviting for meditation, and one more contrast arose, on the one hand, from the rather tourist nature of the spot, which was filled both by students enjoying the Sunday and foreign explorers like us and, on the other hand, by the presence of people actually living there in their tents. In any event, admitting that some of us were able to plunge into meditation, a tasty picnic provided the objective and successful distraction for all!

Despite the relatively long drive back to Azrou, which was literally illuminated right after sunset by what, judging from its north-west orientation, should have been the comet Ikeya-Zhang, first observed by Johanne Hevelius in 1661, there was still enough time in the evening for a thorough exploration of the city market before dinner ... at the same cozy restaurant of the Saturday night. Before you ask, yes, some ventured again the special Berber bar of the Saturday night as well, meaning not all the same people as then, but also some who had not been there yet.

Third Day (Monday)

The third day had a quite dramatic beginning for one of our guides, Taleb, who learnt over the telephone of his assistant's death in his own car following an accident that happened many miles away from Azrou, and left also one of his close friends badly injured. As a consequence, he had to get back right after driving with us to the city of Meknes, and we could only say goodbye in a premature and sad way to one of the most kind and most active persons you can imagine. See you again soon, Taleb, be it Morocco, Algeria or Europe!

Another interesting illustration of plant varieties and educational programs awaited us at the Horticultural Institute of Meknes, where Bennasseur himself conducted some research years ago. The Director of the institute led us through gardens and greenhouses and showed to us the tea house built some 400 years ago for the only Berber wife of the sultan (read again: not the only wife), of course in the shape of a Berber tent. The high-level educational tradition of this Institute, centered on a hands-on approach permitting to apply consistently what is learned in the classroom, can only be defined as impressive and explains very well the wealth of exchange programs with diverse places throughout the world having a specific interest in this approach (especially France, Germany and Quebec in Canada).

The exceptional couscous prepared for us in the canteen at the end of the visit more than offset the disappointing contribution given by the weather on the day, which we simply decided to ignore also during the afternoon visit of Meknes, an imperial city boasting impressive architectural defense works like the barn (granary), capable of holding supplies for up to twenty years of siege and the adjacent stables, hosting up to 12,000 horses (don't read again, the number was right). Some more negotiations at the local market filled some participants' bags again ... and some more negotiations generously made by our guides late in the evening when back again at ACSA Club in Rabat avoided us a painful dinner-skipping (in Meknes we had already had to split in two groups, those who would stay there and come back to Spain by car on the following morning and those like myself who were „forced“ to stay at least until Wednesday due to flight availability.) What we all had to skip because of time and weather issues was the city of Khenifra, where the queen mother was born and Bennasseur himself attended high school, however, would you think of a better motivation to come back to Morocco again? As a matter of fact I would, just wait another few lines.

Fourth Day (Tuesday)

The lucky ones among us who were „forced“ to stay until Wednesday as mentioned had only to regret the departure of the motoring group to Spain, because the final day spent together proved relatively lucky with the weather and quite lucky with sightseeing in Rabat, which included the area of the Royal Palace, the ancient city (Medina), Roman ruins complemented by subtropical flora together with eels lurking in a murky pond and – as ever in Morocco – myriads of storks nesting everywhere as well as tasty doses of (you guessed) mint tea and cultural visits to (you guessed again) both the most famous restaurant and coffee-shop in Rabat, this time special courtesy of our guide Mariem. Since you couldn't guess this, the restaurant's name is „La Mamma“ (no translation or explanation needed) and the coffee-shop name is Café Paul (founded 1889, or, misleadingly enough, two centuries ago), of clear French origin and drift. After all, it should be kept in mind that Morocco became independent only shortly after the end of World War Two (i.e., not misleadingly, slightly more than half a century ago). Ironically, we were faster than the ubiquitous Japanese group in taking pictures before the Royal Palace, and when we decided to follow them in an attempt to exploit their legendary organization we ended up in the bus parking lot only to see them off to well-planned destinations that will remain unknown to us for ever. All of us managed, however, to see the magnificent tomb of king Hassan II, who died four years ago, just a few months after king Hussein of Jordan, leaving then the Western world worried (on reflection, too much worried as usual) to see

1ST CONFERENCE GREEK ASSOCIATION

the possible end of two tolerant muslim countries in the Arab world. Back to the future, what Morocco is preparing for in only one week time is the royal wedding of Hassan's eldest son, Mohammed VI, with a future queen who, judging simply from the pictures on all magazines and newspapers and the few things heard through the grapevine, should possess a strong personality and indeed a culture and a beauty intimidating to say the least. But what about the other group, you might ask? Well, after some more Monday attempts to enjoy the market in Meknes despite the weather, the impressive Roman settling of Volubilis awaited them on this fourth day on their way through enchanting landscape to a very nice hotel in Tangier. The stay there proved to compensate for the bad luck in Meknes, as celebrations of the hotel's 72nd anniversary had brilliant gastronomic consequences for all guests who happened to be staying on that evening; whether that lucky coincidence also compensated for the bad weather on the next day, preventing use of the planned speed boat to Spain, will remain an open and highly subjective question! The slower boat ride that was the other option left the group in Algeciras as late as 2.30 p.m. with a much reduced possibility of exploring the surroundings. A bit more luck perhaps was experienced by Martin, traveling alone after his difficult search for a hotel in Marrakech, as he was not only able to appreciate the different and equally appealing features of that other part of the country, but also to have quite interesting conversations with the local people (trains are always ... conducted, but also specially conducive in this respect!) and to learn of the possible postponement of the Royal Marriage due to the present tensions in the Middle East (which happened indeed).

Conclusions

We feel indebted to Bennasseur and all the carefully selected members of the team with Mariem, Moustafa, Taleb, let alone the essential contribution of the drivers (one waited for a delayed flight until 1.30 a.m. at Casablanca airport, guess whom, to take him / me safely to Rabat in the middle of the night) not only for the exceptional organization and flexibility in planning shown throughout our stay, but also and above all for their personal dedication and commitment, their readiness to help and be of assistance in any circumstance - what about Mustafa, driving us to the railway station at six in the morning?

Exchanges like this can only improve the already excellent relations between Morocco and Europe, not to mention other countries or regions of the world equally interested in development at large and mutual understanding. Bennasseur's initiatives, including the incoming research or academic visits to Italy and the United States do help to send a message to a Western World that tends

to worry too much on one side and not to care enough on the other. Will we be able to be part of this common effort? That's one better reason to go back to Morocco, the other is:

The Group

Local team: Bennasseur, Mariem, Moustafa, Taleb, the drivers;

All our hosts throughout Morocco, all the people of Morocco who were so often ready to smile to foreigners and show their friendliness;

Motoring from Spain: Angel, Lorraine (only U.S. participant), Concha and Eva;

Flying from Europe: Christiane (German completing her doctorate in London), Martin (German having just completed his Master's program and eyeing possibly a doctorate in Germany after, inter alia, a six-month research and training period in India), Berta, Victor, Manuel and Begoña (who knew only one among all participants before this journey) and Guglielmo (Italian living in Germany), who tried to fix these travel impressions immediately after the end of it, but will hardly forget anything.

The Punch Line

Have a look at the group composition above including my biased comments, forget Star Wars for a moment and simply consider this:

May the Fulbright spirit be with you, whether or not you studied in the U.S. with that program. ■

1st International Conference of the Greek Association of Fulbright Scholars by Simon Möhringer

It was surprisingly warm, 15 degrees centigrade, when we arrived on the 1st of December at Athens' old Athina International Airport. From there we continued by car through the chaotic traffic of



European Cultural Center Delphi

Athens and had a very scenic drive with a constantly changing landscape on our way to Delphi.

Delphi, the famous historical site in Greece that promoted peaceful gatherings and weighty discussions in ancient times was selected by the Hellenic Association of Fulbright Scholars for their First

1ST CONFERENCE GREEK ASSOCIATION

International Conference. My wife and I had been invited by Anastasia Papaconstantinou, President of the conference and the Association of Fulbright Scholars in Greece. It took place from 1 through 3.2000.

When we arrived, everything had been prepared and organized very well. We had the opportunity to stay in Europi, the wonderful guest houses of the European Cultural Center in Delphi. The architectural arrangement is very impressive. The entire complex is naturally embedded into the landscape and all the rooms have a direct view onto the Gulf of Delphi, which we were able to see at the horizon. We really could imagine how the ancient Delphi was connected to the sea when the harbor had been much closer than nowadays.

The site was an ideal venue for the Fulbright idea of mutual understanding of people and for the academic topic "Delphic Friendship, Friendship of



From left zu right: Simon Möhringer, Anastasia Papaconstantinou, Andrea Möhringer

the Nations and the Fulbright Concept on Human Being" of this conference. This was due to the fact that the Delphic rites (Delphic Amphictionies) were initiated in Greece, in ancient times. The purpose then was to bring together the city-states and to establish thus a united nations' force. The Amphictiony took decisions on matters of common concern, decided about war and peace, made social renovations and discussed economic issues. This initial idea is mirrored today in the federal political system in Germany, the United States of America, the United Nations and the European Community. In Delphi, the omphalos (navel) of the world, was first developed the idea of friendship and collaboration of nations.

Purpose of the conference was to establish a friendship forum where energy and capacity of the members could develop. This purpose has been fulfilled excellently, indeed.

The conference took place in the European Cultural Center of Delphi (ECCD) covering a broad number of topics. Among them, the following core topics were addressed by the conference panels: "Art and Philosophy", "Anthropology and Bio-Medicine", "Medicine and Ethics", "Education", "Economics and Technology", "Language and Culture" and "Journalism". There were interesting international themes such as "Mapping the Genome: Genetic Revolution with some Troubling Issues" or "Is Over-information Dangerous for Democracy?". However, we were especially fascinated by speakers contributing with Greek specific themes such as "Philhellenism – A Token of Friendship and Bond between Nations" and "The Role of the Olive Tree in Culture". Referring to the topic Economics and Technology, I had the honor to give a speech on "Communication of Corporate Competence".

More than forty speakers coming from all over the world gave presentations during the two main days of the conference. Therefore, major parts of the sessions were conducted simultaneously. The final program and the abstracts of all the speeches were professionally documented in an conference booklet, which was handed out to all participants. During the breaks there were lots of opportunities to gather and to come to know not only speakers and other Fulbrighters but also Greek students and further participants. Because of the international constellation of the conference and the variety of themes, many highly rewarding conversations and ideas were generated.

Besides the conference, there was an entertaining program as well. One of the highlights was the visit of the Delphi Museum and the famous archeological site.

Finally, on our way back we took the chance to visit the Akropolis of Athens together with other international Fulbrighters. It was very impressive to see this unforgettable monument during a time of the year when the outside temperature is comfortable and there are hardly any tourists.

We would like to thank Anastasia Papaconstantinou and the Greek Fulbrighters for inviting us and for conducting this successful first International Conference in Delphi. We wish all the best for the coming one. The next International Conference in Greece has been announced for the year 2004, when the Olympics will take place in Greece. ■

EXCELLENT CONDITIONS

Excellent Conditions for Excellent Scholars - The Work of the German-American Fulbright Commission

by Georg Schütte

For the German-American Fulbright Commission the year 2002 was completely dominated by the fiftieth anniversary of the program. Overshadowed by these celebrations, several changes and program innovations took place, the effects of which are only now being felt in 2003. Close cooperation between the Fulbright Alumni e.V. and the secretariat of the Fulbright Commission continues to contribute substantially to the effort to ensure that these innovations are noticed by applicants as well as the wider academic exchange community.

Improvements began in autumn 2001 when an expert commission summoned together by the Fulbright Commission recommended an improvement in the grant benefits for Fulbright grantees from German universities. The commission's executive committee then decided to markedly increase the number of full scholarships to a third of all awards for university - and shortly also for Fachhochschule - grantees. Full scholarships finance the living costs of the scholar as well as travel expenses and the considerable university tuition and fees. The cost of living varies depending upon the location of the university in the USA. It is based on the recommendation of the Institute of International Education (IIE) and the respective guest university and lies between approximately \$800 and \$1,200 per month. In addition the board reduced by the amount that partial-scholarship recipients must contribute to their living costs by 100€ to 400€ per month.

According to the rational drawn up by the board, a program can only advance excellence if it itself offers excellent grant benefits. With the new full scholarship regulation the commission ensures that Fulbright scholarships will be awarded on a "need-blind" basis; all candidates, who fulfill the academic and personal selection criteria for the Fulbright program will be eligible for the scholarship regardless of their financial situation. Full scholarships will first be given to grantees in the most financial need and any remaining full grants will then be distributed to the most qualified applicants.

The Fulbright Commission finances university tuition and fees, the most expensive part of an exchange, for all grantees. The principle of choosing the best candidates and the program's openness to all academic disciplines (except medicine) hardly permits the commission to reach agreements with departments or schools from selected American universities in the matter of reduced tuition. Instead, the Fulbright Commission tries each year to place grantees based on their academic interests and individual desires. Also in the area of university placement the Fulbright

Program demands excellence. Except for a few well-justified cases all grantees study and research at the leading 125 research universities in the USA, that means at the top 3% of all American institutions of higher education.

Not every grantee gains entrance to an Ivy League school. Often, German students, who apply for a Fulbright scholarship in their third or fourth semester of study, have not yet demonstrated the level of achievement necessary to compare favorably in the international competition for admission to universities like Harvard or Stanford. In the end, however, the Fulbright Commission always manages, sometimes through quite intense personal advising, to identify and place the grantee in a program that is fitted to his or her academic needs and wishes. To be sure, each year there are qualified grantees whose academic plans demand and justify placement at an Ivy League institution, especially in the case of advanced study or research. In those cases, the Fulbright Commission then finances tuition and fees of \$30,000 or more.

In order to make this process more transparent and to inform grantees about the variety of schools and programs in the United States, for the past two years the Fulbright Commission has held a one-day orientation meeting for grantees shortly after their selection. At the beginning of December, the candidates can begin speaking with experts from the USA as well as alumni of the program in order to win a better picture of the myriad of possibilities.

The reorganization of the grantee selection process for full and partial scholarships is another sign of increasing transparency. In late autumn 2002 an expert commission gave the impetus for a critical examination of the procedure. Further suggestions came from specialists in recruiting and Fulbright alumni now with the Boston Consulting Group, who brought their specialized knowledge of the academic and occupational motivations of students and the employment of different selection instruments into the discussion. In addition, Fulbright liaison professors from various universities contributed important suggestions. The result was, that in the spring of 2003 the Fulbright Commission sent detailed evaluation forms to the international offices at German universities for use in rating applicants. At the same time, the Commission supplied detailed information about the selection criteria and selection process to prospective candidates. Referring the applicants to additional sources of information should also help them to prepare for the individual steps in the application process.

Some parts of the application process will remain the same. Prospective applicants, who are currently studying, will still apply through the international office at their school. Those who have already

EXCELLENT CONDITIONS

graduated will apply directly to the Commission. Usually, the international offices organize a pre-selection process including personal interviews. If they should base their decisions solely on written applications, they must then inform the Fulbright Commission accordingly. Those candidates are then examined much more attentively and more critically during the selection process.

In the second stage the applications are then evaluated on their academic quality. In order to ensure an appropriate evaluation of applications from all disciplines, the Commission extends its consultant pool for this stage. The selection process will continue to finish with a personal interview. More clearly than in the past, the emphasis of these interviews will be on personal qualities, in particular intercultural dialogue and transferability. The interview time will be considerably extended to allow the individual qualities of each applicant time to unfold. This presents the opportunity for Fulbright alumni with experience in personnel or in international academic exchange to participate in the interview process, bringing with them their professional expertise.

These changes have been accompanied by intensified information and advisory activities on the part of the Fulbright Commission. During the Commission's anniversary year it published new brochures providing a summary of programs and made available a new series of posters. In 2003 followed the re-launch of the Commission's web-site and its newsmagazine, the Funnel, as well as the publication of an annual report. This year, for the first time, the Fulbright Alumni e.V. and the Fulbright Commission distributed to German universities a list of former Fulbrighters willing to arrange information meetings on academic exchange with the USA. The meetings would be held at individual universities for those interested. In support of this project, the Fulbright Commission has made a PowerPoint presentation available through its website.

The academic year 2003/2004 was the first in which three German students of artistic disciplines crossed the Atlantic. Thus the exchange between German and American academies of art has also been put on a bilateral basis.

In the competition for qualified students the Fulbright Commission is confident to continue to win excellent candidates for the academic and cultural exchange with the USA. Cooperation with the Fulbright Alumni e.V. is, in this context, an important element in bringing prospective candidates to the Fulbright program. The network of former grantees is at the same time the face, as well as the competitive advantage, of the Fulbright program. For this reason, the Fulbright Commission is cooperating closely with the Fulbright Alumni e.V. in the preparation of a career development workshop. This workshop will take place as part of this year's returnee meeting. Selected German Fulbrighters, who are almost finished with their studies, will be given the possibility to talk to representatives from several different firms and inform themselves about career possibilities in various fields. Thus, even after the grant to the USA, the Fulbright program remains an important point of reference for former scholarship holders. ■

FULBRIGHT AT FIFTY

by Georg Schütte

Fiftieth birthdays usually invite contemplative review: pride in what has been achieved, celebration of what has been accomplished in the last half century. Not so in the anniversary year of the German-American Fulbright Program. The 50th year after the program's establishment on July 18, 1952, was one of new challenges in the German-American relationship, which also shaped the anniversary celebrations of this, the oldest German-American exchange program. The horror over the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, the mourning for the victims and the sympathy with the survivors marked the beginning of the anniversary year. At its end was the diplomatic alienation of the German and American governments over how to react, both politically and militarily, to these terrorist attacks. Thus, the chance to reflect came just in time. It served primarily as a reminder of common goals and values, which can serve as a foundation for the future of transatlantic relations.



1953 and 2002 grantees at the anniversary workshop in Washington, D. C.

In the political transition of 2002 the anniversary celebrations of the German-American Fulbright Program offered opportunities for communication and understanding. The climax of the year was the ceremony in the World Hall of the German Department of State in Berlin, held on March 10, 2002 during which Joschka Fischer, Minister of Foreign Affairs, declared that the anniversary "is also a good occasion to think about what connects Americans and Germans, what separates us, and what we can do to work toward our common goals through common action." The differing political rhetoric used in the USA and Germany as a reaction to September 11 led Fischer even then to remind that "as much as we sympathize with the Americans after these murderous attacks, as much as international terrorism threatens our free society as well - the public opinion on this side and on the other side of the Atlantic is not the same. It is important to become acquainted with these different moods and expectations, to understand them and also to communicate them. In addition there is a need

on both sides, beyond politicians and officials, for people, who work to a certain extent as 'translators'. For many years Fulbrighters and others have taken on this task in Germany and the USA.

More than ten years after the term "Fulda Gap" transformed from a synonym for the threat scenarios of the Cold War into the name of a clothing store in that north Hessian city the Fulbright program still has an important role to play, remarked Secretary of State Colin Powell at the ceremony in the Franklin Room of the State Department in Washington D.C. to over 200 invited guests, among them representatives of the Fulbright Alumni e.V. "It has grown and flourished creating deep, human bonds between Germany and the United States, bonds that transcend the ebbs and flows of politics and commerce," Powell said.

A few weeks later, Bill Clinton added to this sentiment in Fayetteville, Arkansas, at the unveiling of a Fulbright statue on the campus of the University of Arkansas. "As we move into the 21st century, we recognize that the program Senator J. William Fulbright created is more important than ever, and his vision of mutual understanding among nations is every bit as powerful."

The continuing durability of the German-American relationship became clear during the workshop, "Legacy, Lessons and Leadership - The German-American Fulbright Program at Fifty" held last October at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. For example, the USA is Germany's second largest trading partner after France. Germany is the USA's fifth largest partner. Academic relations are also close. After Turkey, Germany is the European country with the most students studying at American universities. For German students in the natural sciences, the USA is the number one destination. And for American students, Europe is still the most attractive continent on which to study abroad. Behind Great Britain, France, Spain, and Italy, Germany is the fifth most sought after European guest country. The German and American Fulbright alumni present at the workshop in Washington recommended all Fulbrighters, present and former, to actively seek out discussion with politicians and other social actors. "Informed criticism" is one of the concrete benefits of academic exchange.

A special segment of the transatlantic academic exchange, the cooperation between German Fachhochschulen and their American partners, was the focal point of a conference held on July 18, 2002, the anniversary of the Fulbright Program. At the invitation of the Fulbright Commission approximately 120 representatives from Fachhochschulen all over Germany attended the conference at the Fachhochschule Bonn-Rhein-Sieg. They discussed the accreditation of new courses of study in Germany and the USA, the introduction of new academic degrees in

FULBRIGHT AT FIFTY

Germany and their compatibility with American degrees of the same name, as well as the expectations companies have of Fachhochschule graduates.

In 1971 the Fulbright Commission sponsored the first Fachhochschule students. In the beginning, only two American universities, New Jersey Institute of Technology (then Newark College of Engineering) and the Cleveland State University accepted the German students. In the following years the program expanded. Today, the Fulbright Commission sponsors between 50 and 60 Fachhochschule students each year. They are registered at a wide variety of guest universities in the United States.

Two prominent alumni from the early classes of the German-American Fulbright Program, William Bader, President of the Naval College and former Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs, and David Binder, veteran correspondent at the New York Times, came to Bonn in the summer of 2002 to celebrate the anniversary of the signing of the original agreement that began the Fulbright Program. Both Bader and Binder are Fulbrighters from the class of 1953. During a visit to the Gobelien Hall in Palais Schaumburg, the location of the original signing, they met up with John McCloy II and Konrad Adenauer III, son and grandson respectively of the original signers of the Fulbright agreement.

During the evening ceremony, the experiences that the American Fulbright grantees had in the war-destroyed Germany of the fifties came alive again. At the same time, it became clear what a considerable contribution American Fulbright professors made to the reconstruction of academic structures and during the reintegration of German science into the international scientific community.

Completely different transatlantic connections were on display during two fireside chats in Berlin's Hotel Adlon. The first discussion was held between German astrophysicist Reimar Lüst and American astronaut Joe Allen. They discussed "Space Exploration in the New Century." Reimar Lüst, a former president of the Max-Planck Society and the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation, was, in his long career, also the general manager of the European Space Agency for many years. As a Fulbright scholar he studied at the University of Chicago in 1955. Joe Allen participated in two space shuttle missions (1982, 1984) and spent altogether 314 hours in outer space. He spent the academic year 1959 as a Fulbright scholar at the University of Kiel. "Mars makes old men mobile," quipped the Berlin newspaper Tagesspiegel playfully after the discussion. Still, it managed to capture the amazement of two veterans of space and space research at the achievements and discoveries made in the extraterrestrial depths.

The German filmmaker and Fulbright alumna Doris Dörrie, who spent 1990 as a Scholar in Residence at Hollins College in Roanoke, Virginia, participated in the second fireside chat. Her discussion partner was architect Daniel Libeskind, who at the beginning of 2003 made headlines with his award-winning idea for the redesign of Ground Zero in New York City. Libeskind spent a year as an American Fulbrighter in Finland. The film maker and the architect were brought together by a love for opera, which the former discovered while working on *Così fan tutte*, and the latter had secretly harbored since a child before making his passion known with a production of *Saint François d'Assise* at the German Opera in Berlin. The discussion was fittingly titled "Innovation on Stage" and was moderated with much empathy and skill by the director of Eastern German Broadcasting Brandenburg (ORB), Fulbright alumnus Hans-Jürgen Rosenbauer.

It became evident during the anniversary year in Germany that there is not a shortage of interests or discussion material on either side. From Rostock to Munich, from Leipzig to Saarbrücken, partners and friends of the Fulbright Program in nine cities organized workshops, lecture series, and trade conferences in cooperation with the Fulbright Commission. Topics ranged from German-American business relations to "Migration and the Transatlantic Future;" from "USA and Teacher Training" to the "Future of E-Learning." Often Fulbright Alumni helped organize the meetings or participated as guests. In this way the German-American Fulbright Program demonstrated social relevancy during its anniversary year as well. In a year in which dialog on the level of the political elite became increasingly strained, the Program showed that in education and science, economics, literature and art the possibility still exists for varying and extremely intense discussion.

"Fulbright at Fifty - Building the Transatlantic Future" was the ambitious motto set by the German-American Fulbright Commission for its anniversary year. At the end of the year the draft for the transatlantic future looked less clear than it had at the beginning and in years past. A half century after the begin of the German-American Fulbright exchange, more than 10 years after the end of the Cold War, which had shaped the context of this exchange for decades, German-American relations are partially beginning to redefine themselves. The anniversary year of the Fulbright Program has shown in how many different ways the two societies are interwoven. It made clear that contrary to the often over-heated portrayal of the political discourse by the media, many shared interests, communication channels, and cooperation projects still exist. In addition, it clarified that the need for mutual "translation services" will rise. The appeal of the German Minister of Foreign Affairs made in March 2002 is still relevant today.

THE BERLIN WEEK

by Wiltrud Hammelstein

One of the absolute highlights in the German-American Fulbright year is the so called Berlin Seminar to which the Fulbright Commission invites all current American Fulbright scholars in Germany and a group of American Fulbrighters from other European countries.

In 2002, the year of the 50th anniversary of the German-American Fulbright Program more than 400 people participated in the 6-day event from March 10 through 16 in the German capital.

It has been a good tradition that members of the Fulbright Alumni e.V. are invited and are also asked to provide input to the seminar's program. It is a combination of cultural events like the legendary concert on the last night, presentations of the projects the American Fulbrighters are working on, workshops on current political topics, and tours through the city and the vicinity of Berlin. In addition the more "official" part includes ceremonies and receptions.

In 2002 members of the Fulbright Alumni e.V. organized the workshop for American students and teaching assistants on "Transition into professional life". We gave insights, information, and tips on how to successfully jump the hurdle into the German job market after the Fulbright year. The atmosphere was very informal and especially the American panelist could tell valuable anecdotes about how they have succeeded to get a job in Germany.

Another workshop organized by members was called "The war on terrorism". One German and two American Fulbrighter gave short presentations on the following topics: the cause of military



Harriet Mayor Fulbright and Wiltrud Hammelstein at the Anniversary Art Exhibit in the Amerika-Haus

operations, the diverging views of American and Europeans on the Middle East and the effect of the war on US-European relations. Afterwards the participants discussed in an absolute packed room in a heated and emotional discussion. All agreed that although we could not find THE answer it is very important to share opinions and listen to the others view and arguments.

Other workshops covered the topics "German-American Relations in the 21st century", "German-American Academic cooperation: future fields of research", a theater workshop at the Berliner ensemble, and a workshop at the Centrum Judaicum on "An update on German



Präsident Rau addresses Fulbrighters in the Bundespräsidialamt.

Jewish community, right-wing extremism and Germany's immigration policy in an election year".

But the participants not only discussed but were also given the opportunity to see more of and learn more about the multiple aspects of the vibrant history and presence of Germany's capital: guided tours to the tourist sites in East and West Berlin, Prenzlauer Berg, Unter den Linden, "the Red Berlin" (remnants of Berlin's GDR history), Berlin Architecture, Berlin by boat, Berlin Underground and to sites of the Holocaust. Participants could also go on a tour to Sachsenhausen and to Potsdam.

In an anniversary year receptions and ceremonies are an integral part of the program. In 2002 the 50th anniversary ceremony took place in the "Welsaal" of the German Foreign Ministry. Dr. Georg Schütte as Executive Director of the Fulbright Commission (and a Fulbright alumnus!) welcomed the guests, and thanked Foreign Minister Fischer for his hospitality. (see also "Fulbright at 50" by Georg Schütte in this edition) Afterwards Joschka Fischer, Foreign Minister Germany, Daniel Coats, Ambassador of the USA to Germany, Patricia de Stacy Harrison, Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs, Caroline A. Matano Yang, J. William Fulbright Foreign Scholarship Board, Harriet Mayor Fulbright, former Executive Director, President's Committee on the Arts and the Humanities and second wife to the late Senator Fulbright, and John Hasler, American Fulbrighter in 2002, addressed the audience. (The speeches are published in the FUNNEL edition Spring 2002. the FUNNEL is the publication of the Fulbright Commission). In addition Joschka Fischer recognized Prof. Dr. Thomas König as the Distinguished

ALOHA FROM HAWAII

Chair in German Studies and Daniel Coats presented Dr. Peter Vogt with the J. William Fulbright Dissertation Prize.

Afterwards the participants could meet old friends and make new acquaintances at the buffet and the reception. A number of members had followed the invitation. Two of us were even interviewed for a feature on Fulbright for the Deutschlandradio.

On the last day of the Berlin Week, the Governing mayor of Berlin, Klaus Wowereit, had invited the more than 400 participants to a discussion in the Bear Hall (Bärensaal) of the Old City Hall (Altes Stadthaus). After a short speech on the current state of the German capital and the German-American relations he opened the floor for questions and took some additional time out of his busy schedule to answer quite openly and knowledgeable which left a deep impression on a lot of American grantees.

In the afternoon the participants were invited to a reception in the Bundespräsidialamt, hosted by

the Federal President of Germany Johannes Rau.

Two of the cultural highlights of the Berlin Week were the Fulbright Anniversary Art Exhibit, opened on March 12th in the Amerika-Haus and the Fulbright Music Gala which took place on March 14 in the Concert Hall of the University of the Arts. Current American Fulbright artist and music grantees had teamed up for both events. The artists displayed their current work e.g. paintings, woodcut prints, jewelry, photos, and installations. The musicians performed a vast variety of classical tunes and contemporary pieces, both instrumental and vocal.

I would like to thank the Fulbright Commission in the name of all participating members for their kind invitation to the various events throughout the Berlin Week.

In 2004 the Berlin Week will be held for its 50th time and we as Fulbright Alumni e.V. have already been asked to organize a joint event. I am sure you will read about this in one of our next FRANKlys. ■

Aloha from Hawaii!

by **Oliver Köhne**

The Fulbright Alumni e.V. sponsored the grant of the author. He received the Fulbright Enterprise Scholarship.

I am one of the lucky Fulbright scholars who were offered the chance to spend one year in Honolulu, the most remote State capital of the United States. When I arrived here last July I was not really sure what to expect from such a magical place with so many myths being attached to it. Are the Hawaiians really addicted to pineapple? Will I spend my precious study time relaxing at the beach and flirting with Hula beauties while riding 20ft waves on my surfboard? After careful observation it turned out that not many people in Hawaii seem to like pineapple, especially not the local Hawaiian population. What is even worse is that most of the pineapples that are sold here do not even come from Hawaii, they are imported from Asia! It also turned out that I was not surrounded by Hula beauties, but instead ended up being surrounded by the members of my project groups which definitely was not as appealing as the first scenario.

But as I do not want you to become too jealous I should continue about giving you a deeper insight into the studies that I conducted in Hawaii. Based on my strong interest in Asia Pacific, I decided to enroll in the China-Focused MBA Program which is a joint venture of the University of Hawaii at Manoa and the Japanese America Institute of Management Science. I have selected this program for several reasons. One of them is the very good reputation of the University of Hawaii for international business and its strong focus on Asia

Pacific. A major part of our classes is conducted by research fellows from the East West Center and famous academic institutions in the United States as well as in Asia, such as Keio University in Tokyo, Japan or the China Europe Business School in Shanghai, China. A second important reason to join this program was the integrated language and culture component that helped me to further improve my Chinese language skills and my knowledge about doing business in Asia.

The program turned out to be very intense as it includes a complete MBA curriculum within 15 months. Actually I have spent a major part of my time either in the classroom or in the 24h study lounge to cope with the high amount of work-



Oliver Köhne on Hawaii

load that is required to complete the courses. It seems that the definition of "enough sleep" does not quite apply to MBA students! This also contributes to the fact that my surfing as well as Hula skills did not make great progress during this year,

10 YEARS OREGON ALUMNI

however I strongly plan to come back one day to enjoy the Hawaiian Islands from a tourist's perspective with no obligation to finish class presentations or case studies.

Currently I am already in the last week of the Hawaii part of the program before I will leave for my capstone internship in Singapore at the beginning of August. Definitely one of the most valuable experiences of my program was – and still remains – the cultural variety of students that participate: Besides 15 students from the United States the participants come from South Korea, Thailand, Japan, China, India, Malaysia, Russia and Indonesia. This requires a lot of cultural sensitivity, especially with regard to the various group projects that I had to complete. Besides Hawaii also provides a perfect place to get in touch with various cultures such as the Japanese or Polynesian culture and to observe how they merge with the Hawaiian-American culture and amongst each other.

As it seems that I am approaching the end of my report I should still give an answer to the question whether I had enough time to enjoy the "exotic" and "relaxing" aspects of the Hawaiian Islands. Hawaii offers a great variety of activities. And of course being a "good" Fulbright scholar means that I had to find the time to explore some of them. One of the most exciting activities that I encountered were ridge hiking on Oahu, whale watching and helicopter flights over the "Na Pali" coast of Kauai. What makes all these activities even more attractive are the "compact" dimensions of Hawaii. It takes a 20 minute car ride from Honolulu to reach green rainforest valleys that offer great opportunities to escape the urban side of Oahu. It takes approximately the same 20 minutes to fly to Kauai to get a feeling of how it was to be a dinosaur (this relates to the fact that most of the jungle scenes of the "Jurassic Park" movies were shot on Kauai). And it takes 20 min to cruise on a boat to the national humpback whale sanctuary which is directly located off the coast from Waikiki beach. However these are only a few things that I did during my exciting stay. Even one year is not enough to grasp all the tempting

opportunities that emerge. As mentioned before it will be inevitable to come back one day.

Finally I have arrived at the end of my report. I hope you did not get too bored by my attempts to capture the Aloha spirit. I am looking forward to going back to Germany to share all my experiences and impressions that I have going during this stay and to utilize them for my future life and prospective career. I would like to express my special thanks to the people of the Fulbright Commission who gave me this opportunity and who supported me during my stay in the United States. ■

10 Years of Friendship with Oregon Alumni by Monika Drück and Hans-Ulrich Wandel

It all started out in Oregon. Filled with energy from our exchange year in the United States, we hit again the slow-paced German universities. "Reverse culture shock" experts in the field would call what followed – 14 Oregonians founded the "Oregon Alumni Association" in Frankfurt. That was back in January 1990, and gave start to a series of joint events with the Fulbright Alumni.

Some of the highlights were: the (from today's point of view) historic visit to Carl Zeiss Werke in Jena, the Munich seminar at Wacker Chemie that ended up as a Rock-and-Roll party at the Hofbräuhaus, the Marketing Workshop at Hewlett-Packard in Böblingen with Mr. Underberg as a special guest, the Internet-(Hype) Sessions at the University of Stuttgart with Coca Cola and Pizza, and the Intercultural Communication Seminar at Hoechst in Frankfurt, both of them already presenting subjects anticipating later social-political discussions.

However, Oregon Alumni are not just party animals, they also actively promote the annual Thanksgiving Dinner for American exchange students with all-you-can-eat turkey, wine and beer. God bless America and Germany!

Let us toast on ten more years of friendship!

Oregon Alumni Association ■



Conference of the Oregon Alumni Association in Frankfurt, 1999

MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION



FULBRIGHT ALUMNI E.V

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MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION



FULBRIGHT ALUMNI E.V

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Von (Name und Anschrift des Kontoinhabers):

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an den Fulbright Alumni e.V., 60008 Frankfurt/Main.

Hiermit ermächtige ich Sie widerruflich, die von mir zu entrichtenden Zahlungen bei Fälligkeit zu Lasten meines Girokontos durch Lastschrift einzuziehen.

Grund: Mitgliedsbeitrag Euro (Studenten/Erwerbslose 25 Euro)
..... Euro (Berufstätige mindestens 40 Euro)
Spende Euro
Betrag: Euro

Konto-Nr. BLZ
bei (Bank/Sparkasse)

Wenn mein Girokonto die erforderliche Deckung nicht aufweist, besteht seitens des kontoführenden Geldinstituts keine Verpflichtung zur Einlösung. Teileinlösungen werden im Lastschriftverfahren nicht vorgenommen

Ort, Datum Unterschrift

Den FAIN (Fulbright Alumni Internal Newsletter) möchte ich per E-mail erhalten:

ja nein

An den
Fulbright Alumni e.V.
Postfach 100 865
60008 Frankfurt am Main

FULBRIGHT ALUMNI GERMANY

The German Fulbright Alumni e.V. is guided by the idea of the program's founder, Senator J. William Fulbright, to bring together people of different nations and contribute to world peace through better mutual understanding. The members of FAeV, „Fullis“, as we refer to ourselves, are active in regional chapters throughout Germany. These chapters organize events locally, and most of them have a „Stammtisch“-meeting once a month. The Board of Directors is comprised of the president, the treasurer, and three vice presidents, each with a special focus, such as communication, event coordination, and members.

Executive Board

President: Michael Schefczyk
 Treasurer: Uwe Koch
 VP Communication: Birgit Klocke
 VP Event Coordination: Wiltrud Hammelstein
 VP Members: Petra Steinmetz

Extended Board / Coordinators

FAIN: Reinhard Koch
 FRANKly: Simon Möhringer
 Member Database: Hermes Winands
 Electronic Media: Joe Straight
 Press / Public Relations: Anke Dassler
 Coordinator Mailing Lists: Holger Schöner
 International Relations: Ulrich Hueck

Activities

Based on a young, lively and broad-based membership, our association organizes a diverse range of regional as well as nationwide events, which are usually open to the public.

Welcome Meetings

Each fall our Welcome Meetings offer the opportunity for contacts and networking between former and new German returnees as well as American Fulbrighters currently in Germany. The meetings also serve as forums for the discussion of any issues relevant to people after a year abroad:

1986 Frankfurt
 1987 Frankfurt
 1988 Aachen
 1989 Bonn
 1990 Frankfurt
 1991 Tübingen
 1992 Frankfurt
 1993 Hamburg
 1994 Berlin
 1995 Cologne
 1996 Mülheim / Ruhr
 1997 Nuremberg

1998 Stuttgart
 1999 Leipzig
 2000 Frankfurt
 2002 Dresden

German-American PowWows

1987 Frankfurt
 1988 Minorities, Conservatism and Design, Frankfurt
 1989 Playground Future, Stuttgart
 1990 The Future of the Information Society, Personal Communication in a Crisis? Hamburg
 1991 Traffic Concepts for the Future – How Mobile will our Society be in the Year 2000? Munich
 1994 Where is our New Frontier? Stuttgart
 1995 First Fulbright Fun & Future Camp, Lenggries
 1996 A Chance for Global Understanding, Berlin
 1999 Biotechnology – Gene technology, Convent Frauenchiemsee
 2001 Food/Nutrition, Stuttgart
 2002 Quo Vadis U.S.A.? Berlin

Seminars / Special Focus Conferences

In addition, the regional chapters organize several national conferences and seminars every year, usually covering a specific topic.

1988 The U.S. and Germany – Corporate Cultures in Comparison (Business Admin.), Mannheim
 1989 The French Revolution in American and German Perspectives (History), Regensburg
 1990 Signs for Tomorrow's Architecture, Landscape and Urban Development in Europe and the U.S. (Architecture), Darmstadt
 1991 German Reunification and the Future of German-American Relations (Political Science), Berlin
 1991 Living and Working in Changing Structures (Interdisciplinary), Todtmoos / Black Forest
 1992 Health, Cologne
 1993 Market Leadership and Brand Names, Böblingen
 1993 Ecology and Structural Change, Essen
 1994 Organizational Development and International Competitiveness, Frankfurt
 1995 Environmental Strategy, Heidenheim
 1996 Multimedia, Stuttgart

FULBRIGHT ALUMNI GERMANY

1997 Managing Public Organizations, Frankfurt
1998 Intercultural Communications, Frankfurt
1999 Educational Systems, Frankfurt

Regional Chapter Activities

Regional chapters organize more informal cultural and social events on a monthly basis, including lectures, discussions, and "Stammtische". To find out about the next "Stammtisch" in your area, contact the regional coordinator listed below:

Aachen

Sebastian Bülte
(0241) 1699487
aachen@fulbright-alumni.de

Berlin

Stefanie Alteheld
(0178) 4686868
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Bremen

Ingeborg Mehser
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bremen@fulbright-alumni.de

Cologne-Bonn

Thomas Dickmann
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Dresden

Elke Brosin
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Franken

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Frankfurt a. M.

Claudia Detje
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Hamburg

Maren Winter
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Leipzig

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Munich

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Niedersachsen

Gabriele Launhardt
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niedersachsen@fulbright-alumni.de

Ruhrgebiet/Westfalen

Karl-Walter Florin
(02309) 609056
ruhrgebiet@fulbright-alumni.de

Stuttgart/Southwest

Ulrich Schlecht
(0711) 6742214
southwest@fulbright-alumni.de

Other Activities

Our association has put an emphasis on strengthening personal contacts among Fulbright Alumni all around the world. One example was the 1993 "European Fulbright Alumni Convention" in Brussels. In 1996, members participated in the World Fulbright Alumni Conference in Budapest, Hungary "The Spirit of Global Understanding" and in August 1998 we organized a workshop for all European Fulbright associations in Strasbourg. In 2000 30 members participated in the 3rd European Fulbright Alumni workshop in Toledo/Spain. Fulbright Alumni from various countries joined our international sailing trips on the Baltic Sea "Bright People under Full Sail" in August/September 1991, 1993, 1995, 1997, and 1999.

The association publishes a national journal, an internal newsletter, an Alumni Membership Directory, and maintains a web page. In service to the general public, the national office provides information and assistance to any private person, university or institution on questions of cultural and academic exchange with the United States.

Each regional chapter contacts and assists American Fulbright visiting scholars in its local area. A host program for American Fulbrighters in Germany was successfully established in 1993.

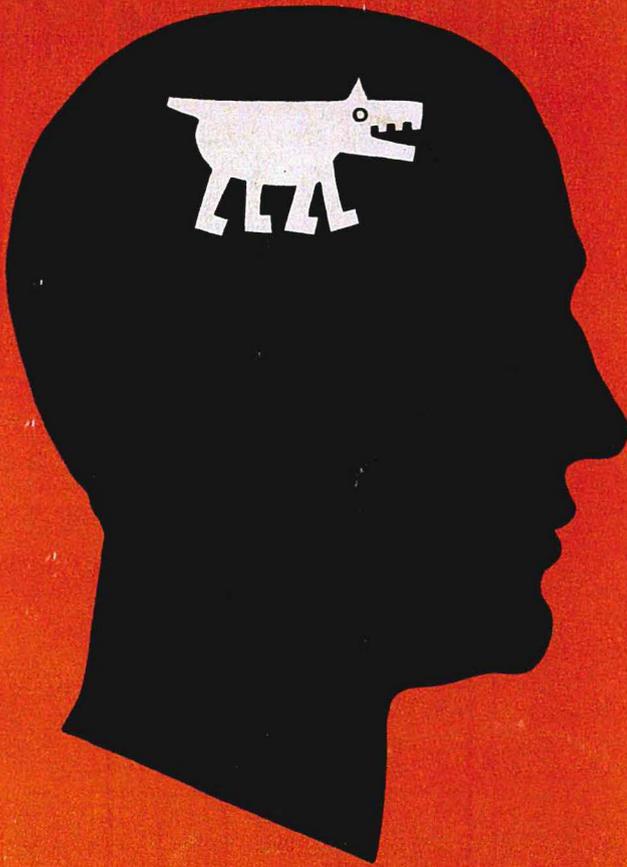
In promoting its political support for the Fulbright program, our association stays in close but independent contact with the Fulbright Commission in Berlin. The Fulbright Alumni e.V. is supported by its members only. Grants and contributions from foundations, corporations and individuals are welcome.

Besides the FRANKly, the association publishes an internal newsletter ("FAIN") to members with current information; it also has several e-mail distribution lists, the main ones of which are also used as a discussion forum for members. The list was originally set up thanks to our Spanish Fulbright friends. You can get information about the association and its media on our web page under www.fulbright-alumni.de or by contacting our office in Frankfurt:

Fulbright Alumni e.V.
Postfach 10 08 65
D-60008 Frankfurt/Main

E-Mail: info@fulbright-alumni.de
Phone and fax: +49 (69) 4059664
Office hours: Wednesdays, 3 pm to 6 pm

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Ingrid Samuel (02 11) 30 11-31 83 oder

Inka Rethfeldt (089) 23 17-43 61, www.bcg.de

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