



BY LUCIAN PERKINS — THE WASHINGTON POST

A man holds out flowers as he leaves Basra, Iraq, while a British armored vehicle heads toward the city. The photo accompanied a story by Washington Post Foreign Editor Keith Richburg, who reported from the embattled country.

The Foreign Correspondent

*A Look at the Journalists Who Provide Eyewitness Accounts, On-Sight Interviews
And Reports of the Trends, Events and Ideas From Around the World.*

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An Integrated Curriculum For The Washington Post Newspaper In Education Program

A Word About The Foreign Correspondent

Having a global understanding is essential to being an educated individual and an informed leader. From locating a visitor's homeland on a map to having knowledge of the culture, economy and political situation of another country, students are better citizens of an interconnected world.

This guide focuses on the foreign correspondents who provide eyewitness accounts, on-sight interviews and reports of the trends, events and ideas from locations around the world. An interview with the Post's Foreign Editor Keith Richburg and two articles written by experienced reporters provide the foundation for understanding the job of the foreign correspondent. Articles by Post foreign correspondents illustrate correspondents covering war, giving context and insight into another culture, and providing perspective and background on political actions in other countries.

Each NIE guide begins with suggested activities to use with *The Post* reprinted articles and those in the daily *Washington Post*. Each guide concludes with academic content standards of the District of Columbia, Maryland, and Virginia that apply to the suggested activities.

Activities involve reading, responding, and writing. "Children should be encouraged to explore print through their reading and writing. When children have opportunities to write their own stories, to read their own and others' stories, and to write in response to reading, they are able to employ much of their knowledge of reading in meaningful ways," as stated in the introduction to the NCTE resolution "On the Importance of a Print-Rich Classroom Environment."

Lesson: The foreign correspondent provides an eyewitness account, on-sight interviews and reports of trends, events and ideas from places around the world. This global understanding is essential to being an educated individual and informed leader.

Level: Low to high

Subjects: Journalism, Geography, Business

Related Activity: Language Arts, Careers, Government

NIE Online Guide

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Meet the Foreign Correspondent

Keith Richburg's prose is concrete and rich in details. For 19 years he was a foreign correspondent before becoming The Post's Foreign Editor. As he answers our questions, he provides a clear picture of the foreign correspondent's responsibility and the personal side of being a correspondent.

Read and discuss "Meet the Foreign Correspondent."

Locate the Correspondents

On a map, stick a pin or place a dot where Post correspondents are posted. You may do this exercise using the list of Washington Post Foreign Bureaus or the datelines in today's *Washington Post*.

What nearby countries might the correspondent in Bogota cover? In Paris? In Shanghai? Which countries in Africa would the correspondent in Nairobi likely cover? In Johannesburg?

Go to washpost.com/nie and download the online Teacher's Manual, Main News, section, go to pages 14 and 15. You will find the three-level lesson, "Culture and Geography Through the Eyes of a Foreign Correspondent."

Follow a Foreign Correspondent

Review the list of Washington Post Foreign Bureaus. Assign or have students select a location. Review where a dateline is found in a news article and what it indicates.

Read the News (A) section of *The Washington Post* for a week. If the *Sunday Post* is read, include the Outlook and Arts sections. Record the date, byline, dateline and headline of articles that report on the location. Summarize the article.

Students may consider the following questions:

- Do they all have the same byline? Is the article written by a Post foreign correspondent, local reporter or wire service?

- Does the foreign correspondent/reporter cover a variety of topics? Do the articles provide follow-up and update an earlier news report?

- In what ways do the articles provide information? (Interviews, personal observations, data are some of the possible answers.)

- Does the article provide historical context? Comparisons and contrasts?

- What new understanding do you have of events, culture, and the people of this country or region?

Read World Briefs

Give students practice in summarizing while they read about international events, places and people. Give students "The World in Brief." You will need copies of The Post that have *The World in Brief* section.

Read a Review

"War Reporting" is a review of a two-part PBS documentary *Reporting America at War*. It can be read and discussed as an example of how to note the weaknesses of a TV program while indicating its strengths. Afterwards, students could be asked to review a TV program.

This piece can also be used by teachers for background on well regarded war correspondents and the expectations of a war correspondent. The sidebar on page 6, "Notable Correspondents" provides works by and about individuals who are identified in the review.

Washington Post Foreign Bureaus

The Washington Post has 19 foreign bureaus. To meet the individuals in these bureaus and to read articles written by them, go to <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/world/foreignbureaus/index.html>.

Baghdad

Beijing

Beirut

Berlin

Bogota

Buenos Aires

Jerusalem

Johannesburg

Kabul

London

Mexico City

Moscow

Nairobi

New Delhi

Paris

Saudi Arabia

Shanghai

Tokyo

Toronto

Listen to Washington Post Foreign editor Keith Richburg every Thursday at noon on Washington Post Radio (107.7 FM and 1500 AM). Richburg and host Sam Litzinger provide a roundup of the latest world news.

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Debate the Fate of Foreign Correspondents

Both “The Vanishing Correspondent” and “Demise of the Foreign Correspondent” were written in January 2007 when the *Boston Globe* closed its remaining three overseas bureaus.

Journalism, Government and Economics students in particular may find the articles of interest. After reading the two articles, the following may be discussed or given on a worksheet to answer:

- What are the reasons a newspaper has foreign correspondents?
- What is the financial reality of the business side of running a newspaper (expenses vs. advertising, individual copy sales and subscriptions)?
- Approximately how much is added to a newspaper’s expenses when a foreign bureau is added? Why do bureaus in Iraq and some other locations have exceptionally high expenses?
- Review the bios of the two reporters. In what ways are their points of view influenced by their experiences?
- When Fred Hiatt questions why the *Boston Globe* would “diminish itself in this way,” is he referring only to numbers? Explain.
- What are the arguments given for closing foreign bureaus? Do students agree or disagree with the reasons given?
- What are the advantages of using individual, freelance reporters rather than staffing a bureau?
- According to Constable, what is happening in TV coverage of international news?
- Should a newspaper have both local and international coverage? Why? What should be the balance

between what a reader needs to know and wants to know?

- Constable provides examples of the stories she has covered and the lifestyle of the foreign correspondent. What do they reveal about being a foreign correspondent?
- Constable believes “Americans’ need to understand the struggles of distant peoples is greater than ever.” What examples does she give to support this concept?
- Hiatt argues that foreign correspondents bring “a sense of the world that worked to readers’ benefit.” Give two examples of events or cultures that a foreign correspondent could help you to understand? [To illustrate Hiatt’s point: In Jan. 2007, John Pomfret, former China and West Coast bureau chief, was appointed Outlook editor.]

After reading the articles and answering and discussing the questions, students should divide into five groups. They will represent the following:

- Owners of newspapers — families, media companies, businessmen; in a small town and in a large city
- Foreign correspondents — experienced as Hiatt and Constable
- Owners of large corporations — some with international branches
- Members of Congress
- Local citizens — media consumers

Each group discusses and forms statements on 1) the importance of having foreign correspondents established in locations around the globe, 2) whether their local media should have foreign correspondents, and 3) what balance should exist between local, national and international news. There may be

By Post Foreign Correspondents

Baker, Peter and Susan Glasser. *Kremlin Rising: Vladimir Putin’s Russia and the End of Revolution*. Paperback, revised edition. Potomac Books (2007).

Constable, Pamela. *Fragments of Grace: My Search for Meaning in the Strife of South Asia*. Potomac Books (2005).

Hoagland, Jim. *South Africa: Civilizations in Conflict*. Houghton Mifflin Co. (1972).

Kelly, Michael. *Martyr’s Day: Chronicle of a Small War*. Vintage (2001).

Pomfret, John. *Chinese Lessons: Five Classmates and the Story of the New China*. Henry Holt and Co. (2006, www.johnpomfret.net)

Reid, T.R. *Confucius Lives Next Door: What Living in the East Teaches Us About Living in the West*. Vintage (2000).

Richburg, Keith. *Out of America: A Black Man Confronts Africa*. Harvest/HBJ Book (1998).

Shadid, Anthony. *Legacy of the Prophet: Despots, Democrats, and the New Politics of Islam*. Paperback. Westview Press (2006).

Shadid, Anthony. *Night Draws Near: Iraq’s People in the Shadow of America’s War*. Picador (2006).

Sullivan, Kevin and Mary Jordan. *The Prison Angel, Mother Antonia’s Journey from Beverly Hills to a Life of Service in a Mexican Jail*. Penguin Press (2005).

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different opinions within each group. If a consensus cannot be reached, divisions within the larger group will write their own statements.

Hold a public forum in which the topics are debated. Teachers or someone in the class should act as the moderator. Be sure to give each point of view the opportunity to speak. At the end, have students discuss which were the most cogent arguments presented.

Have the class vote on the following:

- The local newspaper and other media should provide international news.
- The local media should have foreign correspondents.
- The local media should cover all areas within the community.

Identify Rhetorical Techniques

Read and discuss “Four Rhetorical Techniques.” Be sure students understand the approaches and what distinguishes each from the other. Most writers use a combination of these techniques in one piece, but in many instances one controls the organization of the information.

In addition to being read as examples of the roles played by correspondents (see following sections), “Anguish in the Ruins of Mutanabi Street,” “In Jordanian Camps,” and “Ruling Party Charms a Turkish City,” can be used with “Four Rhetorical Techniques.” Students could work alone or in pairs to label these articles where the different techniques are being used.

“Three Views” presents the openings of three works by or about foreign correspondents. Use them to evaluate the rhetorical techniques

used, to learn about the means employed by correspondents to get the story and to meet three reporters from their words and actions.

Understand Another Culture

Locate Jordan on a map. What do students know about Jordan and other countries near it? What events have taken place in the area in the last ten years? Five years? Month?

Who are the Palestinian people? What relationship do Palestinians have to Jordan?

Read and discuss “In Jordanian Camps, A Sense of Nihilism.”

Questions might include:

- What questions about Palestinians does Shadid answer?
- What questions remain?
- Which sections provide historic background?
- What contemporary perspectives do the people interviewed bring to the story?
- What role of the foreign correspondent has Shadid filled in this article?

Read About Life After a Bombing

Washington Post Foreign Editor Keith Richburg states that the main job of the foreign correspondent is to report news and events and “to provide background, context and texture to events.” Sudarsan Raghavan in “Anguish in the Ruins of Mutanabi Street: In Baghdad’s Literary District, Mourning Loved Ones and a Once-Unifying Place” provides such an example.

At times and in certain locations, the foreign correspondent is a war

Dateline

The dateline is found at the beginning of an article. It indicates the city where the reporter is if he or she is not in the local area. The date may be included if it was written before that day’s newspaper.

Byline *By* JOSHUA PARTLOW
Washington Post Foreign Service

Dateline BAGHDAD, June 2 — Insurger hole in a major bridge on the main dad to northern Iraq on Saturday na

Look at the byline (found below the headline). Under the byline in italics, you will find more information about the Washington Post reporter. For example, you might read “Washington Post Foreign Service.” Do not be surprised to find a dateline at the beginning of articles written by Post Foreign Service reporters.

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correspondent. This article is one example of a reporter's dispatch from a combative area.

The event is a car bomb that took the lives of at least 26 people and injured others.

The place is Mutanabi Street in Baghdad.

The story takes place four days after the bombing and the significance of the place and the impact of the bombing is provided in the words of those most affected and witnessed by the *Post* foreign correspondent.

Grasp Political Events in Other Countries

The nomination of individuals to be Turkey's next president is the news peg. Why should we care? "Long the most secular and modern of Muslim nations, Turkey is in the throes of a social and political transformation" Anthony Shadid provides insight into and background of the current story from Turkey.

Read and discuss "Ruling Party Charms a Turkish City With New

Take on Secular Heritage." Questions might include:

- What questions about Turkey does Shadid answer?
- What questions remain?
- Which sections provide historic background?
- What contemporary perspectives do the people interviewed bring to the story?
- What role of the foreign correspondent has Shadid filled in this article?

Study a Photograph

Using either today's *Post* or the ones included with the articles reprinted in this guide, study photographs that accompany articles written by foreign correspondents and their credit lines. Who was the photographer? Is he or she a *Post* employee? What does this tell students about staffing a foreign bureau? What do the photographs add to the stories?



BY MICHAEL ROBINSON CHAVEZ — THE WASHINGTON POST

A traumatized woman wails in the ruined streets of Bint Jbeil, Lebanon, the scene of some of the most ferocious fighting between Hezbollah and Israeli forces. She had endured three weeks of non-stop bombing and fighting.

Notable Correspondents

Peter Arnett. *Live from the Battlefield: From Vietnam to Baghdad, 35 Years in the World's War Zones* (1995)

Walter Cronkite. *A Reporter's Life* (1998)

Richard Harding Davis. *The Reporter Who Would Be King: A Biography of Richard Harding Davis* by Arthur Lubow (1992)

David Halberstam. *The Best and the Brightest* (1972, 2001 reprint)

Michael Herr, *Dispatches* (1977)

Ryszard Kapuscinski. *The Shadow of the Sun* (2002 reprint)

Joe Lelyveld. *Omaha Blues: A Memory Loop* (2005)

Edward R. Murrow. *In Search of Light: The Broadcasts of Edward R. Murrow, 1938-1961* by Murrow and Edward Bliss (1997)

Ernie Pyle. *Here Is Your War: Story of G.I. Joe* by Pyle and Orr Kelly (2004)

Andy Rooney. *My War* (2002)

Dan Rather, Mark Bernstein and Alex Lubertozzi. *World War II on the Air: Edward R. Murrow and the Broadcasts That Riveted a Nation* (2005)

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Meet the Foreign Correspondent

1. What is the main job of a foreign correspondent? Why is it important for a newspaper to have foreign correspondents?

The main job of the correspondent is to report news, trends, events and ideas from designated places around the world back to the *Post* audience, and to provide background, context and texture to events, to help explain foreign news to *Post* readers — some of whom are very sophisticated consumers of foreign news.

Foreign news is increasingly important, as the world we live in becomes more globalized and interconnected, in ways both good and bad. Contaminated food products from China can sicken pets in America; new cash flows and new wealth in places like India mean more money in U.S. stock markets and more students coming to U.S. universities, as well as more opportunities for American businesses. Trade and immigration agreements hammered out in Congress can have the affect of lifting millions out of poverty in Latin America. Anger at U.S. power and policies and alienation from the Western world



BY JULIA EWAN — THE WASHINGTON POST

Keith Richburg, Foreign Editor

led young men to declare “jihad” and fly planes into buildings on Sept 11, 2001, and to bomb trains in Madrid on March 11, 2004, and bomb the subways in London in July, 2005.

Explaining the connections, drawing the lines that connect the dots, and giving readers the background is today the most important job of the correspondent, and I think one of the most important at the paper.

2. How many years have you been a foreign correspondent?

I was a *Post* foreign correspondent for 19 years, from 1986 until 2005 when I returned to take the job as foreign editor.

3. What are the benefits of being a foreign correspondent?

You get to see the world, and be a frontline witness to some of the most exciting events of our time. You also have broad freedom to pick and choose stories and travel widely to get them. For those with a sense of independence, adventure and excitement, with a love of news, there is no other comparable job.

4. What are the drawbacks of being a foreign correspondent?

The only drawback is that the life can be lonely, for those who do not thrive in an atmosphere of complete independence out of the newsroom.

5. Do foreign correspondents speak the primary language of the countries they are covering? If not, how do they cover the stories? Are *Post* foreign

Telling Individual Stories



Patrick Lozes, one of the few black legislative candidates in Paris.



Adi Huja, 16, who was injured in a suicide bombing at a Jerusalem cafe.



PHOTOS BY KEITH RICHBURG — THE WASHINGTON POST

Li Shan Lin runs a family restaurant from two rooms of his small home in China.

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correspondents expected to learn the languages of the countries they cover?

It depends on the country. In some places, the language is essential, like China, South America, Mexico and Russia, and we provide language training if the reporter does not already have it. In other places, the job is more regional than country-specific, like some of the European postings (Germany, France, Southeast Asia, India) and English is widely spoken, so no language training is needed. Correspondents often hire translators and assistants.

6. What languages do you recommend students study?

Students should first decide what area of the world interests them before deciding on a language to study. It does no good to study Arabic if you are not particularly interested in the Arab world and Arab culture. Likewise, only study Chinese if you are interested in Chinese history, culture, society and

current events. In addition, French and Spanish are useful in many places (French in Africa and Haiti, for example; Spanish in Europe and Latin America).

7. Do the children of Post foreign correspondents attend local schools or private schools?

Many attend international schools and others attend local schools, depending on the country and circumstances. Ed Cody in Beijing is married to a Chinese woman and their daughter attends the local Chinese school.

8. What are the benefits for children of foreign correspondents?

The children, I think, have a unique opportunity to experience growing up in another culture, and learning a language at the age when learning is easier. It can open huge future opportunities.

9. Do foreign correspondents ever worry about their safety and that of their families?

All our correspondents take precautions for themselves, and we do not have families in dangerous places. We do not allow spouses in some jobs, like Afghanistan and, of course, Iraq.

10. What has been the most memorable experience(s) for you in your years as a foreign correspondent?

In 19 years, I have had many, many memorable experiences — being in Hong Kong for the 1997 Handover to China; driving into Kabul just hours after the fall of the Taliban; riding a horse over the Hindu Kush into Afghanistan in 2001; traveling the length of Vietnam and taking the train over the border into China; seeing the sun rise over Angkor Wat; watching a lion pride on the move in the Kenyan masai mara; and interviewing presidents and prime ministers, like Cory Aquino in the Philippines, Aung San Suu Kyi in Burma, and Lee Kwan Yew in Singapore. They are moments to treasure.



BY KEITH RICHBURG — THE WASHINGTON POST

Richburg reported about a heat wave in France that affected wine-growers, like the one above.

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Three Views

This Is Baghdad. What Could Be Worse?

By ANTHONY SHADID
Washington Post Foreign Service

• Originally published October 29, 2006

It had been almost a year since I was in the Iraqi capital, where I worked as a reporter in the days of Saddam Hussein, the U.S.-led invasion in 2003, and the occupation, guerrilla war and religious resurgence that followed. On my return, it was difficult to grasp how atomized and violent the city has become. Even on the worst days, I had always found Baghdad's most redeeming quality to be its resilience, a tenacious refusal among people I met over three years to surrender to the chaos unleashed when the Americans arrived. That resilience is gone, overwhelmed by civil war, anarchy or whatever term could possibly fit. Baghdad now is convulsed by hatred, paralyzed by suspicion; fear has forced many to leave. Carnage its rhythm and despair its mantra, the capital, it seems, no longer embraces life.

I had first met Karima Salman during the U.S. invasion. She was a stout Shiite Muslim matriarch with eight children, living in a three-room apartment in the working-class district of Karrada. Trash was piled at her entrance, a dented, rusted steel gate perched along a sagging brick sidewalk. When I visited last year, the street, still one of the safer ones in Baghdad, exuded a veneer of normalcy. Makeshift markets overflowed with goods piled on rickety stands: socks imported from China, T-shirts from Syria and stacks of shoes, sunglasses and lingerie. Down the street were toys: plastic guns, a Barbie knockoff in a black veil, and a pirate carrying an AK-47 and a grenade. There was a "Super Mega Heavy Metal Fighter" action figure and a doll that, when squeezed, played "It's a Small World."

On April 9, 2003, Firdaus Square became the lasting image of the U.S. entry into Baghdad. In its center was a metal statue of Hussein in a suit, his arm outstretched in socialist realist fashion. Like an arena of spectators, columns of descending height encircled him, each bearing the initials "S.H." on their cupolas. By early afternoon that day, hundreds of Iraqis swarmed around the statue with one task in mind: bring it down. It marked the fall. A year later, amid uprisings by Sunni insurgents in Fallujah and Sadr's militia in Baghdad and the south, it spoke of occupation. The square was deserted, guarded by U.S. tanks whose barrels read, "Beastly Boy" and "Blood lust." Soldiers, edgy, had orders to shoot anyone with a weapon. At times, music blared over speakers on a Humvee.

For NBC Reporter, The Job That Won't Go Away Richard Engel Has Made Iraq War Coverage His Life

By HOWARD KURTZ
Washington Post Staff Writer

• Originally published October 26, 2006

Undeterred, Engel took \$20,000, went to Jordan and bought a human shield visa, meaning that he was pledging to chain himself to an Iraqi facility as a deterrent against U.S. bombing. Engel got the visa from an Iraqi official who knew full well he was a journalist but was swayed by a few hundred dollars and some baby clothing that Engel had bought for extra persuasion.

As other journalists either withdrew, were expelled or clamored to get in, Engel was for a brief time the only American television reporter in Iraq. He found himself much in demand by ABC, which still identified him as a freelancer. He did the videotaping himself with a small camcorder. Once Saddam Hussein was toppled, ABC and NBC both offered to hire Engel. He retained a top New York agent and decided he would prefer a fresh start with NBC, "coming in the front door as opposed to climbing up the fire escape and breaking in the back door."

In the invasion's aftermath, Engel would drive each week to such cities as Najaf and Fallujah, poking around to find stories. But that gradually changed as the security situation deteriorated. Now, unless he is embedded with a military unit, Engel usually finds himself confined to the safer precincts of Baghdad, an experience he describes as "a noose tightening around us." He increasingly relies on Iraqi staffers who are from certain neighborhoods or members of the same ethnic group as a given area's residents. But even that can be problematic. "I've gotten rid of the ones who I think cannot be trusted," Engel says.

Lara Logan, Rapid Riser

Guts and Glory for CBS's Chief Foreign
Correspondent

By HOWARD KURTZ
Washington Post Staff Writer

• Originally published May 18, 2006

After serving as a nanny in France and a restaurant hostess in New York, [Logan] enrolled at a South African university and got the Daily News, in Durban, to hire her by complaining that "you don't have anyone young on your staff." She recalls that no one could write about Nelson Mandela, then languishing in prison, without facing criminal prosecution. Logan describes the struggle against apartheid as "a story with a clear right and wrong," as opposed to the murkiness of the Iraq war.

Determined to get into Afghanistan, Logan flew to Russia but still needed a Tajik visa. She found the head of the Tajikistan airline and hired his nephew as a translator, which somehow facilitated her paperwork. Traveling with the Northern Alliance rebels as the U.S.-backed war raged on, Logan, who had been a CBS Radio stringer, began making television appearances and caught the eye of Jeff Fager, then executive producer of *60 Minutes II*.

Although she had been close to a deal with NBC, Logan signed with the CBS newsmagazine and as a general correspondent as well. Not long afterward, she was in an armored Humvee with members of the 10th Mountain Division on the Afghan-Pakistan border when the vehicle was struck by an antitank missile, tearing out the skin inside Logan's mouth and bruising her face. The soldier next to her lost his leg.

The World in Brief

1. Read the following *World in Brief* news accounts.

AFRICA

Nigerian Rebels Call One-Month Cease-Fire

■ **LAGOS, Nigeria** – The main militant group responsible for attacks on foreign oil installations in Nigeria’s lawless south announced a one-month cease-fire Saturday, giving the new president, Umaru Yar’Adua, a chance to resolve a crisis that has helped cause global crude prices to spike.

The Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta did not offer to stop kidnapping foreign oil workers, but it released six hostages who had been seized May 1 – four Italians, one American and one Croatian – as a peace offering to the government.

But hours earlier, gunmen wearing security force garb abducted four other foreign oil workers from their compound in the southern Niger Delta region’s main city without firing a shot.

The group launched its campaign of kidnappings and oil-installation bombings in late 2005, seeking to

force the government to give its impoverished region a greater share of oil funds.

THE MIDDLE EAST

■ **GAZA CITY** – A radical Islamic group threatened to behead female TV broadcasters if they do not wear strict Islamic dress, frightening reporters and signaling a further shift toward extremism in the Gaza Strip.

The threat to “cut throats from vein to vein” was delivered by the Swords of Truth, a fanatical group that has previously asserted responsibility for bombing Internet cafes and music shops.

Elsewhere in the Gaza Strip, Israeli forces shot and wounded two Palestinian men near the border fence with Israel, medical officials said, revising an earlier report that they had been killed.

■ **KABUL** – A boat sank while crossing a river in Afghanistan’s most dangerous province, killing about 60 Taliban fighters and civilians, officials said Saturday. Elsewhere, 34

suspected Taliban insurgents were killed during a military operation.

The vessel went down as it was crossing the Helmand River, which snakes through southern Helmand province, the world’s leading opium poppy region and site of fierce battles the last several months. Hundreds of Taliban insurgents are believed to be in Helmand.

In Pakistan, near the border with Afghanistan, a roadside bomb killed five people in a tribal region that is a hotbed of support for Taliban and al-Qaeda-linked militants, police and officials said.

THE AMERICAS

■ **HAVANA** – Fidel Castro looked healthier and more vigorous Sunday in the first images of the Cuban leader to be broadcast on Cuban state television in four months.

Castro appeared talking and standing in a tracksuit during a meeting Saturday afternoon with the general secretary of Vietnam’s Communist Party, Nong Duc Manh.

2. Summarize each of the above *World in Brief* items in a sentence on your own paper.

3. Outline one of the items for type of information provided.

4. Select an international news article from today’s *Washington Post*. Using the outline that you have created, rewrite the article as a news brief.

Four Rhetorical Techniques

To cover news, the reporter utilizes several rhetorical techniques (ways of presenting information). These include reportorial, explanatory, narrative and descriptive approaches. One of these techniques might dominate an article, but the rhetorical approaches are often used at different points in the article to tell the whole story.

REPORTORIAL

States the information in a straightforward and factual manner. This includes quoting sources. “Who” was involved, “What” took place, and “Where” it took place are often provided in this approach.

BAGHDAD, May 30 — Scores of U.S. troops descended on the vast Shiite district of Sadr City in Baghdad late Tuesday and early Wednesday, residents there said, searching several houses in what appeared to be an intense hunt for a British financial consultant and four British bodyguards abducted Tuesday.

(John Ward Anderson and Naseer Nouri, “U.S. Hunts for 5 Britons Abducted in Iraq,” May 31, 2007)

NARRATIVE

This approach tells a story. Through the relating of the story, the reporter is able to bring to life a scene, introduce people who are involved or impacted by the event in a more personal manner, and help readers to understand the context of the event.

Moussa’s parents were born in the village of Faluja, now in Israel, where Gamal Abdel Nasser, then a burly Egyptian major (later Egypt’s president), held out for four months against Israeli troops in the 1948 Arab-Israeli war. In ensuing years, Faluja would become to Nasser what the Sierra Maestra was to Fidel Castro in Cuba.

Moussa was born in Karameh, a Jordanian village where, on March 21, 1968, an Israeli force of 15,000 attacked. The raid was retaliatory — guerrillas had staged attacks from the village, just across the Jordan River. But in a rare success, Palestinian guerrillas forced an embarrassing Israeli withdrawal with the help of Jordanian artillery and armor. In time, Karameh assumed mythic proportions in an Arab world accustomed to humiliating defeat, helping lay the groundwork for the PLO’s emergence. Comic books were published in Lebanon about the battle.

(Anthony Shadid, “In Jordanian Camps, A Sense of Nihilism,” April 7, 2007)

EXPLANATORY

Information is provided to help the reader understand the event, issue or idea. This includes history, comparisons and contrast, facts and data, and background. The “How” something was achieved and the “Why” behind an event or action are provided in this approach.

BIR ALI, Yemen — The journey from Somalia ends and begins anew in Bir Ali. ...

By virtue of geography and a relatively lenient government, Yemen has emerged as the way station from East Africa to Saudi Arabia, other wealthy Persian Gulf states and occasionally Europe. Passage on rickety fishing boats costs \$50 to \$120 for a 180-mile trip that lasts two, three or sometimes four days.

(Anthony Shadid, “A Desperate Voyage of Hope and Peril,” May 31, 2007)

DESCRIPTIVE

Although reporters are usually infrequent users of adjectives and adverbs, the reporter who wants to take a reader to the location, not just state it, will use the descriptive technique. The people, place or event is related in such details that the reader becomes a fellow eyewitness.

BAGHDAD, March 9 — On a pile of bricks, someone had left a pink plastic flower, a pair of glasses and a book with crisp, white pages. They glowed in the black debris of Mutanabi Street, which by Friday had become a graveyard of memories. At 9:03 a.m., a man in a rumpled brown suit walked past dark banners mourning the dead. He stopped near the flower and the book, which was opened to a chapter on the virtues of Baghdad.

(Sudarsan Raghavan, “Anguish in the Ruins of Mutanabi Street,” March 10, 2007)

Identify rhetorical techniques used in these four paragraphs:

BIR ALI, Yemen — The journey from Somalia ends and begins anew in Bir Ali.

Along the Yemeni coast near this ramshackle fishing village, where white sandy beaches wash over a stark volcanic plateau, as many as 100 people a day are arriving across the Gulf of Aden in a sprawling and largely unnoticed exodus from Africa to the Middle East. Tens of thousands have made the trek, forced by war and misery from a failed state to a failing one. Since last year, more than 1,000 of them have died, their decaying corpses often washing ashore and buried in unmarked mass graves near Bir Ali. ...

Abdullah [Ruqiya Abdullah, a 22-year-old Somali] fled Mogadishu in January after Ethiopian troops backing Somalia’s transitional government seized the notoriously lawless capital from an Islamic group that had taken control six months earlier. She bided her time in Bosaso, a Somali port that the United States says has become the world’s busiest smuggling city. On Wednesday of last week, she found room on a boat with 75 others and took what she had: dates and water for the trip, two shirts, two shawls, shoes and \$100 for life in Yemen.

“The smugglers told us not to move. If you tried to move one inch either side, just to stretch, they beat you,” she said. Her face was framed in a black veil that fell across her brown skirt. “It’s their nature. They beat everybody — men, women and children.”

(Anthony Shadid, “A Desperate Voyage of Hope and Peril,” May 31, 2007)

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Demise of the Foreign Correspondent

Walter Cronkite warned that pressure by media companies to generate increasing profits is threatening our nation's values and freedom by leaving people less informed. "The need for high-quality reporting is greater than ever," he said.

By PAMELA CONSTABLE
Washington Post Staff Writer

• Originally published February 18, 2007

When I think back on the most momentous events of my professional life, they include scenes of both devastation and deliverance. The boulevards of Manila, flooded with peaceful demonstrators chanting for Philippine dictator Ferdinand Marcos to abandon power. The slums of Port-au-Prince, Haiti, where a joyful, gyrating mob of slum-dwellers is celebrating the election of populist priest Jean-Bertrand Aristide as president. The highlands of Guatemala or Peru, where grave sites conceal the victims of atrocity.

If the *Boston Globe* had not sent me abroad as a foreign correspondent in 1983, and allowed me to spend a decade in Latin America and other regions of the world, I would never have been able to witness these historic changes — and bring them alive to readers back home. Even then, the *Globe* was one of only a handful of American newspapers willing to invest in the luxury of its own foreign staff, and I was keenly aware of how privileged I was to do all this while drawing a steady paycheck.

Today, Americans' need to understand the struggles of distant peoples is greater than ever. Our troops are fighting in Iraq and Afghanistan, countries that we did not know enough about when we invaded them and that we are still trying to fathom. We have been victimized by foreign terrorists, yet we still cannot imagine why anyone would hate us. Our economy is

intimately linked to global markets, our population is nearly 20 percent foreign-born, and our lives are directly affected by borderless scourges such as global warming and AIDS. Knowing about the world is not a luxury; it is an urgent necessity.

But instead of stepping up coverage of international affairs, American newspapers and television networks are steadily cutting back. The *Globe*, which stunned the journalism world last month by announcing that it would shut down its last three foreign bureaus, is the most recent example.

Between 2002 and 2006, the number of foreign-based newspaper correspondents shrank from 188 to 141 (excluding the *Wall Street Journal*, which publishes Asian and European editions). The *Baltimore Sun*, which had correspondents from Mexico to Beijing when I went to work there in 1978, now has none. *Newsday*, which once had half a dozen foreign bureaus, is about to shut down its last one, in Pakistan. Only four U.S. papers — the *Journal*, the *Los Angeles Times*, the *New York Times* and *The Washington Post* — still keep a stable of foreign correspondents.

It takes a lot of money to maintain an office in a foreign capital. A typical newspaper bureau overseas costs at least \$250,000 a year, according to foreign editors, and a large, security-conscious news operation in a city such as Baghdad can hemorrhage four times that.

But today many readers are switching to other information sources — including Web sites and even blogs — that have left newspapers struggling

to survive. Many family-owned papers have been acquired by corporations that see foreign coverage as an indulgence they can't afford.

In an effort to cut costs, newspapers are replacing bureaus — which require staffs and cars and family housing — with mobile, trouble-shooting individual correspondents. The erstwhile bureau chief in New Delhi or Cairo, chatting with diplomats over rum punches on the veranda, is now an eager kid with a laptop and an Arabic phrase book in her backpack. Freelancers can help cover more remote or incremental stories, and newswire agencies can cover breaking news in global hot spots — but neither is enough.

Television, meanwhile, continues to bring us instant images of the latest Baghdad market bombing or flimsy refugee shacks in Sudan's Darfur region, but its coverage of the world is increasingly selective as well as superficial.

Although more than 80 percent of the public obtains most of its foreign and national news from TV, the major networks are also closing down foreign bureaus, concentrating their resources on a few big stories such as Iraq.

In the 1980s, American TV networks each maintained about 15 foreign bureaus; today they have six or fewer. ABC has shut down its offices in Moscow, Paris and Tokyo; NBC closed bureaus in Beijing, Cairo and Johannesburg. Aside from a one-person ABC bureau in Nairobi, there are no network bureaus left at all in Africa,

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India or South America — regions that are home to more than 2 billion people.

In a speech at Columbia University last week, veteran TV news anchor Walter Cronkite warned that pressure by media companies to generate increasing profits is threatening our nation's values and freedom by leaving people less informed. In today's complicated world, "the need for high-quality reporting is greater than ever," he said. "It's not just the journalist's job at risk here. It's American democracy."

Even at their best, newspapers are also a limited medium. I have always been acutely aware that no matter how deeply I burrowed into a society or how many people I interviewed, I was only peeling back the most superficial layers of complex, murky worlds in which people routinely lied, every incident had a contradictory version, and no 1,500-word article could possibly do justice to the truth.

Yet newspapers can also fill an important niche between television and academe, offering an accessible way for busy people to learn about distant events and an outlet for writing that captures the essence of a time and place without polemics or pedantry. They can put events in context, explain human behavior and belief, evoke a way of life. Foreign correspondents can burrow into a society, cultivate strangers' trust, follow meandering trails and dig beneath layers of diplomatic spin and government propaganda.

As a young reporter, I devoured the work of famous foreign correspondents and yearned to follow in their footsteps as they chronicled human travails and endeavors: the flight into exile, the search for work, the upheaval of war, the pilgrimage of faith. Joe Lelyveld, accompanying black workers on their daily bus commute into a South African city. Michael Herr, following a

psychedelic trail of tears through the jungles of Vietnam. Freya Stark in the 1930s, following the great frankincense road: "On its stream of padding feet the riches of Asia travelled; along its slow continuous thread the Arabian empires rose and fell." Some may call this highbrow tourism, but I agree with the late Polish correspondent Ryszard Kapuscinski: There is something more valuable and more enduring than facts.

The best work that I produced over the years, and that resonated most with readers, were the stories that took the time and space to portray an alien world in detail. The road trip across Afghanistan during Taliban rule, where veiled women told me they finally felt safe from marauding militias. The train ride across India with a family to baptize their son in the Ganges, which they fervently believed would protect him for life. The portrait of a poor Afghan village where tiny children begged me not to destroy the family's opium poppy crop. The trial of the Pakistani man who carved up his wife's face in a jealous rage, and then told me with great satisfaction that he had avenged his family honor.

Although many people have a glamorous image of foreign correspondents, theirs is a lonely, gritty and often dangerous way of life. During my years on the road, I have landed in capitals where I knew no one, all hell was breaking loose and I had 10 hours until deadline. I have lain in sweltering hotel rooms staring at spiders, outrun drunken soldiers waving pistols, interviewed hysterical teenagers who vowed to murder all Americans, inhaled tear gas with angry mobs, gone weeks without a hot meal or shower.

I never regretted a minute of it — and I never thought I'd be a member of a dying breed. I know that change is inevitable, that fewer people are buying our products and that the news business must adapt or sink.

But putting aside my nostalgia for literary nomadism, I am convinced that cutting back on first-hand reporting from abroad and substituting cheaper, simpler forms of overseas news delivery is a false economy and a grave mistake.

Don't we learn more about Islam from Anthony Shadid's wide-ranging Post interviews with thoughtful Muslims in Egypt and Turkey than from images of the latest bombing in Baghdad? Don't we identify more with Sharon LaFraniere's New York Times portraits of village customs in Malawi and Mozambique than with dry reports about the grim toll of AIDS across Africa? If newspapers stop covering the world, I fear we will end up with a microscopic elite reading *Foreign Affairs* and a numbed nation watching terrorist bombings flash briefly among a barrage of commentary, crawls and celebrity gossip.

Even amid the broader wave of newspaper cutbacks, the announcement that the *Globe* was shutting down its foreign bureaus hit a special nerve among newspaper journalists. Somehow it seemed a watershed in the inexorable surrender of an honorable craft to the bottom line.

Many of us knew and admired Elizabeth Neuffer, a *Globe* correspondent who spent several years searching for mass killers in Rwanda and Bosnia, and later published a riveting book about her findings. Elizabeth, who died in a car accident in Iraq in 2003, believed in following the truth to its source, and the paper she worked for gave her the space and resources to do so. Now I fear we are witnessing the demise of the kind of journalism that permitted such quests at all.

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The Vanishing Foreign Correspondent

By FRED HIATT

• Originally published January 29, 2007

When my wife and I worked as foreign correspondents for *The Post* in Tokyo 20 years ago, we befriended and competed against a host of other American reporters, including two talented writers from the *Boston Globe*, Colin Nickerson (still a *Globe* foreign correspondent) and Tom Ashbrook (now a star of public radio).

The reporting corps had diverse views on the central questions of the time, and even on what the central questions were, and the reports we sent home reflected that. Readers benefited from the diversity and competition.

I thought of this last week when the *Globe*, now owned by the New York Times Co., announced that it would close its remaining three overseas bureaus, which no longer include Tokyo, to conserve resources for coverage of local news.

The announcement punctuates what seems to be an accelerating trend. Journalist Jill Carroll, studying foreign news coverage for a report published by the Shorenstein Center at Harvard University last fall, found that the number of U.S. newspaper foreign correspondents declined from 188 in 2002 to 141 last year. (If you include the *Wall Street Journal*, which publishes editions in Europe and Asia, the decline was from 304 to 249.)

I find it disheartening that a fine newspaper such as the *Globe* would feel compelled to diminish itself in this way. But maybe that's the nostalgia of a dinosaur. After all, there are some very smart business people who see no harm in newspapers cutting back on foreign reporting.

Jack Welch, for example, the former chairman of General Electric Co. who has expressed interest in buying the *Globe*, said earlier this month on CNBC, "I'm not sure local papers need to cover Iraq, need to cover global events. They can be real local papers. And franchise, purchase from people very willing to sell you their wire services that will give you coverage."

Brian Tierney, who bought the *Philadelphia Inquirer* last year, expressed similar views in a November interview with *The Post's* Howard Kurtz. "We don't need a Jerusalem bureau," he said. "What we need are more people in the South Jersey bureau."

"I don't see us sending 25 people to do me-too coverage of Katrina," Tierney went on to say. "I can get what's going on in Iraq online. What I can't get is what's happening in this region."

There's no doubt that wire reporters from the Associated Press and elsewhere perform a courageous and indispensable service in Iraq and around the world, as they have for generations. And thanks to the Internet, those determined to follow, say, Japan have easy access to far more information than when I was filing reports from Tokyo. They can regularly consume English-language editions of Japan's top-notch newspapers, then move on to the Web sites of think tanks that analyze Japanese politics, and those of universities, and beyond.

On the other hand, what Tierney dismisses as "me-too coverage" often allowed for a depth and variety of reporting, analysis and interpretation beyond what wire services and foreign media provide. Foreign bureaus helped

regional newspapers attract talented reporters, who in turn returned to their home newsrooms with a sense of the world that worked to readers' benefit.

And evidence suggests that newspapers aren't replacing their own reporting with an equal amount of copy from elsewhere. After Sept. 11, there was nearly universal acknowledgment that Americans would be better off if we knew more about the world. Yet by 2004 the percentage of articles related to foreign affairs that American newspapers published on their front pages had dropped to "the lowest total in any year we have ever studied," according to a report by the Project for Excellence in Journalism and Rick Edmonds of the Poynter Institute. (It was 14 percent, down from 21 percent in 2003 and 27 percent in both 1987 and 1977.)

Maybe the old model just can't work anymore. Though *The Washington Post* has managed to maintain its stable of 20-plus foreign correspondents, no newspaper, including *The Post*, is insulated from the pressure of Internet competition for advertising dollars. Nor are the television networks, which have cut way back on their foreign bureaus as well.

Yet in an era when clan structures in Somalia or separatist movements in the Philippines may have a direct bearing on U.S. national security — when the people who run multinational companies such as GE regularly complain that Americans don't understand the world — we should all worry about who, if anyone, will report from abroad.

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War Reporting, Between the Lines On the Front Lines

By KEN RINGLE

• Originally Published November 5, 2003

Those weary of the media's ever-increasing preoccupation with their own importance (and isn't everyone?) will want to approach the two-part PBS documentary *Reporting America at War* with more than a little skepticism.

No sooner has Christiane Amanpour proclaimed, "The great correspondents believe ... We are the first eyes, the first ears. ... Without us, who?" than you want to hurl a brick through the TV screen and get on with something approaching real life.

That, however, would be a mistake. Despite a few large and inexcusable flaws and an occasional tendency toward breathlessness, these programs by filmmaker Stephen Ives, airing tonight and next Wednesday at 9 on Channel 26 and at 10 on Channel 22, provide uncommonly intelligent and provocative television.

They don't really tell us that much new about the journalism of war, but in the process of reporting on the reporting, they give us some remarkably thoughtful insights into war itself, and into the fragile, vital neurons that connect it with the people back home. This may not help you sort out Iraq, but it provides an illuminating up-close-and-personal tour through the conflicts of the 20th century and the awful, hypnotic spell they cast over society's professional witnesses.

The dual aims of the documentary are captured in the titles of its two chapters. Tonight's 90-minute segment, "The Romance of War," explores the moth-and-flame relationship that keeps some in journalism hovering over the grisly calling that masks itself in great adventure. Next week's chapter, "Whose Side Are You On?," spends most of its time on the Vietnam War, the highly skeptical reporting that evolved there, and the impact of that reporting and of today's technology on subsequent conflicts like the war in Iraq.

Both programs quickly dismiss the sort of war correspondence that parrots official reports of body counts and territorial gains. They argue instead that since war is ultimately about thousands of shattered bodies and shattered lives, the real question for journalists is how best to convey the appalling enormity of that through detail — if, indeed, the whole grotesque truth about war is even capable of transmittal.

How many horrific scenes can readers and viewers be told about and shown without distress, titillation, disengagement or denial?

Edward R. Murrow gave a sort of answer after the liberation of the Buchenwald concentration camp during World War II. He told radio audiences: "There are no words for what I saw."

The programs feature filmed interviews with such high-profile war correspondents as David Halberstam, Peter Arnett and Walter Cronkite. Andy Rooney on World War II and Ward Just on Vietnam are particularly insightful. But even more telling and eloquent is the work of the correspondents themselves. Richard Harding Davis at the start of World War I, slowly comprehending the cataclysm ahead in the "inhuman" endlessness of the "steel gray" German army marching past him through Belgium: "It held the mystery and menace of fog rolling toward you across the ocean." Edward R. Murrow's bomb-punctuated radio voice in 1940 with its famous introduction: "This ... is London." And Ernie Pyle's wrenching, indelible portrait of loss and leadership etched in 800 words describing the mule-back journey of a single officer's corpse down a mountain trail in Italy.

The power of those descriptions approaches that of literature, echoing age-old tales of great endeavor and of loss, and to Ives's great credit, he gives us more than a few such passages to ponder. He also draws, particularly from Rooney and Just, fruitful reflection on the moral imperative for a correspondent to experience the dangers he can walk away from that the fighting men around him cannot.

Unfortunately, the programs tend to blur the line between that sense of professional responsibility and the sort of trench-coat posturing engaged in by those correspondents who merely bask in the reflected glory of great events.

"It is the dream of every young man to be a foreign correspondent, is it not?" asks Gloria Emerson, who once covered Vietnam for the *New York Times*.

Well, no. Most young people, particularly today, have only the vaguest idea what a foreign correspondent does. Those few who ponder it at all probably confuse it with being a television star — an impression today's media tend to foster. *Reporting America at War* spends a commendable effort examining serious correspondents who immerse themselves in their subject. It spends far too little on the growing phenomenon of journalistic careerists who dip in and out of conflicts to pad their resumes, never acquiring either the military knowledge or the cultural sensitivity to become more than hand-wavers at Pentagon briefings.

The 1991 Gulf War was particularly replete with these.

Likewise, so besotted is Ives with his concept of the romance of war that he tends toward revisionist history. For example, we are told that American journalists who flocked in the 1930s to the Spanish Civil War were "committed" poets and writers intent on halting fascism. Unmentioned is how many of these were committed even more to the romance of communism. The role of the Soviet Union and the American Communist Party in recruiting trendy young leftists to fight against Franco seems to have escaped Ives's notice, as has journalism's all-too-frequent whitewash of Joseph Stalin during the same period.

Similar sloppiness is evident as the series nears its conclusion. Next week's treatment of the Vietnam War and its journalists is one of the clearest explanations of the war's evolution and demise ever broadcast. Far less complete is its depiction of journalism during the Gulf War, when Ives would have us believe all journalists were captives of Pentagon restrictions.

Curiously — almost criminally — omitted from the program is any mention of the late Michael Kelly, who, like the best journalists of the past, simply ignored the generals and found his own way to the Gulf War battlefield. His stunningly eloquent, award-winning dispatches for the *New Republic* not only brought the war vividly and poignantly to life, they produced *Martyrs' Day*, the only memorable book to emerge from that conflict. Since Kelly would be one of the first journalists to die in the current conflict in Iraq — lured back to that country by a sense of commitment very much at the heart of Ives's story of what makes war correspondents tick — his omission is all the more puzzling in a program of such ambition.

Also ignored is Ted Koppel, which is equally puzzling. Ives's interviewees bemoan the fact that journalism is getting less serious amid the gee-whiz fascination with real-time broadcast technology. Yet it was Koppel, returning from Iraq as one of the elder statesmen among correspondents, who pointed out that live broadcast of war might be television, but it wasn't journalism. Journalism, he declared, involves the filtering of details and scenes through a human brain. It is an attempt to make some sense of scenes and events, even those as essentially incoherent as those on the field of battle. That's a thought worth considering in a program that, despite its flaws, remains as ambitious and thoughtful as *Reporting America at War*.

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Anguish in the Ruins of Mutanabi Street

In Baghdad's Literary District, Mourning Loved Ones and a Once-Unifying Place

By SUDARSAN RAGHAVAN
Washington Post Foreign Service

• Originally published March 10, 2007

BAGHDAD, March 9 — On a pile of bricks, someone had left a pink plastic flower, a pair of glasses and a book with crisp, white pages. They glowed in the black debris of Mutanabi Street, which by Friday had become a graveyard of memories. At 9:03 a.m., a man in a rumpled brown suit walked past dark banners mourning the dead. He stopped near the flower and the book, which was opened to a chapter on the virtues of Baghdad.

"There is no God but God," he said, his voice disappearing in the cracking sound of a shovel against debris. He stared at the gutted bookshops, hollowed like skulls by the blast and the flames. He lowered his head, fighting back tears.

Then he turned and walked away.

On Friday morning, Iraqis continued to drift to Mutanabi Street, four days after a car bomb took the lives of at least 26 people and injured dozens more. Some came to hunt for the remains of loved ones. Others came to mourn a street that represented the intellectual soul of a nation known for its love affair with books. For many, the narrow warren of shops had seemed to defy Iraq's woes.

Mutanabi Street had long been considered "the unifier of Iraq," said Khalid Hussein, a bookseller with cropped hair and thick forearms. Before the bombing, he said, this was "the only place that hadn't been touched by sectarianism."

The evidence was lodged in the dense heaps of twisted metal and the mangled cars. Here, a page from a Bible. There, a page from a Koran. Tattered posters of Imam Ali, Shiite Islam's revered saint, littered the ground near the 8-foot-wide crater left by the bomb. The shop that sold Wahhabi Sunni literature was in ruins.

The day after the attack, blackened body parts covered with cardboard and pink stationery sat near a storefront. A note read: "The remains of Hadi Hassan.



BY SUDARSAN RAGHAVAN — THE WASHINGTON POST

A memorial to those killed on Mutanabi Street, a district described by one of its booksellers as "the only place that hadn't been touched by sectarianism."

Hummus seller." He was a Shiite from Najaf, said those who knew him.

A few inches away, a dusty, charred cellphone lay next to an empty yellow plastic bag and a shard of burned flesh stuck to cloth. A note read: "This is the only remains from this person. Everyone is going back to God."

By Friday, the body parts had vanished. Around Khalid Hussein were fathers and sons, strangers and friends. The smells of smoke and burned paper lingered. Scavengers looked for loot, but nobody paid attention.

"This is his shoe," a man cried out. "I bought it for him."

It was 9:06 a.m. The man was slim, with peppery hair and square, gray-tinted glasses. He clutched a black chunk of flat leather melted by the heat. "I bought it for him."

He kissed the piece of leather, then placed it gently on a warped metal box next to the flower, the eyeglasses and the book.

"Come and see it," he yelled to five men delicately digging through debris. "It is his size." He broke into tears.

"This is your shoe," he yelled, looking toward the pale blue sky. "My son, I bought it for you."

He fell to his knees, sobbing.

The six men, all relatives, were hunting for a teenager's remains. The boy had been shopping for notebooks on Mutanabi Street, named for a 10th-century poet. They had been digging since Wednesday, morning till evening.

They stared blankly at the shoe. No one had the heart to tell the father the truth.

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BY SUDARSAN RAGHAVAN — THE WASHINGTON POST

Iraqis examine the destruction on Baghdad's Mutanabi Street, four days after a car bomb killed at least 26 people and gutted the area's famed bookstores.

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So they kept digging.

"Don't step hard," the father said. "Don't harm him."

At 9:15 a.m., Najah al-Hayawi, short with gray hair and a white mustache, emerged with his son from a building with smoke-covered Grecian pillars. The car bomb had exploded in front of their family's Renaissance bookstore, one of the street's oldest.

"We've been here since 1957," Hayawi lamented.

Hayawi's brother Mohammad, a burly Sunni Arab with twinkling honey-colored eyes, was killed. So was his nephew, the only son of another brother, Nabil. Nabil, miraculously, survived and was being treated in a hospital.

"We haven't told Nabil yet what happened," Hayawi said. "It will be difficult."

He walked away with his son. They passed a black banner with yellow writing. It said that the Hayawi family mourned the loss of Mohammad and his nephew, "who were assassinated by the cowardly bombing at Mutanabi Street."

At 9:23 a.m. the man searching for his son spoke again.

"You'll find him," he said to his relatives. "You will find his ID, his jacket. You'll find them just as you found this," he added, picking up the flattened shoe.

The men nodded and kept digging.

When asked how he knew his son was buried there, he replied: "My heart tells me so."

He wouldn't give his name. When asked his son's name, he answered: "His name is Iraq."

A few minutes later, he broke into tears again.

Iraqis passed him, gingerly stepping through the debris. Across the street from the Hayawis' bookshop, the remains of the Shahbandar Cafe sat silent. For decades, Iraqis had gathered there, waxing about politics and culture over water pipes and sweet tea. Beautiful black-and-white photos of Baghdad had adorned its walls.

At 9:48 a.m. Khalid Hussein was rattling off the names of the dead.

"I am trying to rebuild myself," he said. "We cannot leave Mutanabi Street. Outside of Mutanabi Street, we feel lost."

At 10:04 a.m., a man in a green shirt stood before a shattered shop, screaming for a man named Moean.

"Moean. Answer me back. Moean."

He fell to the ground, crying. A friend helped him up, and slowly they walked up the street, away from the debris where the five men kept digging.

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In Jordanian Camps, A Sense of Nihilism

By ANTHONY SHADID
Washington Post Foreign Service

• Originally published April 7, 2007

AMMAN, Jordan — Ahmed Abu Amira stared down a road of the Hussein Refugee Camp, strewn with moist garbage and bordered with concrete and cinder block in a generic scene of poverty. It headed west, as it has for six decades, toward the home of his parents.

“Palestine is a long way away,” he said, standing amid customers picking through his potpourri of cheap goods: combs, toothpaste, leather wallets and nail polish in yellow and green. “This conflict doesn’t have any end. It will end when the world does.” Bahdala, he called it, a mess. “I swear to God,” he said, his face contorted in the anger of resignation, “death would be preferable.”

The more than 1.8 million Palestinian refugees and their descendants in Jordan registered by the United Nations, along with hundreds of thousands of others in Lebanon and Syria, remain a sideshow to the region’s more turbulent crises and wars, a 60-year-old diaspora whose permanence denies the notion that refugee status is temporary. But in conversations along the streets of Jordan’s 10 camps, the Palestinians tell a story, however anecdotal, of a landscape where secular politics has withered, Islamic activism is ascendant and, perhaps more important, a sense of dejection, even nihilism, is rising, with uncertain consequences.

“Look at my face and tell me what it expresses,” said Abu Amira, a 55-year-old with short-cropped hair and a trimmed gray beard. “There’s not one person who laughs here.” Traffic snarled the street outside his storefront. “Hope, these days, has died.”



BY SALAH MALKAWI — GETTY IMAGES

Palestinians are estimated to be a majority of Jordan’s people, with many living at sprawling refugee camps such as this one in Baqaa.

Palestinians are estimated to represent a majority of the small desert kingdom’s nearly 6 million inhabitants, but only a fraction are registered as refugees with the United Nations, among them the great-grandchildren of Palestinians who fled Israel’s creation in 1948. Unlike other Arab countries, Jordan granted citizenship to almost all of the refugees, even though their presence in camps like Hussein, virtually a neighborhood of Amman today, was considered temporary. Officially, it still is.

For years, Jordanian officials, wary of Palestinian dissent, have watched uneasily as the camps, once bastions of the secular nationalism of the Palestine Liberation Organization, have turned toward mainstream Islamic currents. Officials say Palestinians represent the majority of the rank and file of the Islamic Action Front, the Jordanian branch of the Muslim Brotherhood. In the camps, perhaps only half of schoolgirls a decade ago wore the hijab, a veil that covers the hair but not the face. Today, virtually all do.

But in the past five years, perhaps even more striking has been the growth of a

pervasive, often angry disillusionment with any politics, secular or mainstream religious, with the onset of factional strife in the Palestinian territories and chaos in Iraq.

“You run away from one danger and go to a greater danger,” said Taher al-Masri, a Palestinian and former prime minister.

The camps in Jordan remain far more quiescent than those in Lebanon, where the most radical of factions have taken a higher profile. In Ein al-Hilweh, many arguments erupt into armed clashes among young men bristling with weapons. In another camp, Nahr al-Bared, the Lebanese army has laid siege to the camp in an attempt to arrest followers of a splinter group, Fatah al-Islam, that joins Palestinians with other Arabs and was blamed for the bombings of two buses in mid-February in a town near Beirut.

But even in the Jordanian camps, once-taboo subjects are broached as residents talk openly of a conflict that in their view can no longer be resolved and that in some ways they no longer

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recognize. Despairing, some say they would settle for compensation from the United Nations or elsewhere rather than insist on the right to return to their pre-1948 homes, a principle once deemed inviolable. Others angrily frame the conflict, long a struggle of competing national claims to land, in the most epochal of terms.

"If peace doesn't happen, then war follows," said Fawzi Ahmed, a grocer tossing pink and white mints on a scale.

Koranic chants floated along his street, littered with scraps of bread, broken eggshells and soggy lettuce. Vendors behind rickety tables of fruit and vegetables shouted their offers: "Beans for a half-dinar!" A little ways down was Ibrahim Moussa, a retired government employee, who insisted on sharing coffee before speaking. His heavy, gray mustache bore the yellow stains of nicotine.

"Our problem here is what? It's how to eat, how to drink, and how to forget about our problems. We can't do anything else," he said, coffee in one hand, a cigarette in the other. "That cultivates hatred. It's the hatred of not being able to do anything."

Moussa's parents were born in the village of Faluja, now in Israel, where Gamal Abdel Nasser, then a burly Egyptian major (later Egypt's president), held out for four months against Israeli troops in the 1948 Arab-Israeli war. In ensuing years, Faluja would become to Nasser what the Sierra Maestra was to Fidel Castro in Cuba.

Moussa was born in Karameh, a Jordanian village where, on March 21, 1968, an Israeli force of 15,000 attacked. The raid was retaliatory — guerrillas had staged attacks from the village, just across the Jordan River. But in a rare success, Palestinian guerrillas forced an embarrassing Israeli withdrawal with the help of Jordanian

artillery and armor. In time, Karameh assumed mythic proportions in an Arab world accustomed to humiliating defeat, helping lay the groundwork for the PLO's emergence. Comic books were published in Lebanon about the battle.

"Those memories have died," said Ibrahim Salem, a 32-year-old barber in Karameh, where the sole graffiti declares, "Islam is the solution," along a street of shops with names like Haifa and Jerusalem. "The Arabs no longer have Palestine in their heart."

In camps like Baqaa, 10 miles north of Amman, their streets washed of color, residents watch the smoldering conflict between the Islamic movement of Hamas and loyalists of Palestinian Authority President Mahmoud Abbas with bitterness and bewilderment. Often, anger at America and Israel is conflated with resentment at Palestinian politicians who the residents say work solely in their own interests.

"Everyone wants to protect his seat of power," said Khitam Ramadan, a 30-year-old pharmacist, in her threadbare store.

Down the street, Suheil Ajouri, a 30-year-old father of two, shared her condemnation. His words poured out like a dam breaking. "I don't trust any of them. They have no principles," he said. Money motivates them, he declared, "no more, no less."

Like many, he spoke of justice, a word heard far more often in the camps than freedom. He catalogued his expenses — clothes, food and rent for his family, school for his children — then contrasted it with his income of \$360 a month as a shopkeeper, not nearly enough. He declared that the conflict was divinely ordained to end in their favor. But as his anger grew, he blurted out an alternative.

"They're never going to solve it in my lifetime," he said. "There's no solution, absolutely."



BY JULIA EWAN — THE WASHINGTON POST

About Anthony Shadid

Anthony Shadid, a *Washington Post* foreign correspondent, was named the first winner of the Michael Kelly Award.

Shadid was chosen because he displayed both physical and intellectual courage in his reporting from Iraq, and embodies the fearless expression and pursuit of truth recognized by the Kelly award. "Shadid's dispatches were very much in the spirit of Michael Kelly's distinctive journalism during the Persian Gulf War a dozen years earlier," according to a statement from the judges.

The \$25,000 award was established to honor Michael Kelly, who was killed April 3, 2003, while covering the war in Iraq in its first weeks. He was embedded with the Third Infantry Division and died in a Humvee accident south of Baghdad. Kelly was editor of two Atlantic Media publications, *The Atlantic Monthly* and *National Journal*, and was a columnist for The Post's Writers Group.

Visit www.washpost.com/nie and select *Force of Freedom: Whether in the Cradle of Civilization or an emerging democracy, voters are rejecting fear and choosing freedom* (Volume 4, Issue 6, February 21, 2005). This NIE guide provides several examples of Shadid's Iraq coverage and activities to use with them.

An Integrated Curriculum For The Washington Post Newspaper In Education Program

Ruling Party Charms a Turkish City With New Take on Secular Heritage

By ANTHONY SHADID
Washington Post Foreign Service

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KAYSERI, Turkey — Six decades of work has arched his back, age has slowed his speech. But Ahmet Hamdi Gul was quick to praise the people running this city in the heart of Anatolia, awash in a transformation from backwater to bustling entrepot, from stronghold of Turkey's ultranationalists to redoubt of the religiously rooted party that rules the country.

"They've done well for the city," the 81-year-old Gul said simply, during a visit to a factory where he worked until last year.

The words were not unusual, but the speaker was. He is the father of Foreign Minister Abdullah Gul, whose nomination as Turkey's president, eventually derailed, touched off a political crisis last month. The father's modesty says something about Gul's grass-roots appeal in Kayseri. And his words say something about the ruling Justice and Development Party's draw here — as modernizers, populists and devout guardians of the poor.

Long the most secular and modern of Muslim nations, Turkey is in the throes of a social and political transformation that began nearly 60 years ago and crested with the Justice and Development Party's surprising ascent to power in elections in 2002. It is sometimes cast as a simple contest between the secular orthodoxy of Turkey's founder, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, and the ruling party's origins in the country's Islamic movement of the 1990s. But the party's success in Kayseri shows how it has leveraged the rise of a new elite to create a broad, subtle, sometimes visceral appeal.

The Justice and Development Party has no equivalent in the Muslim world. Despite its roots, its leaders — Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan and others — disavow the label Islamic.

In a region imbued with skepticism of the West, it has embraced the goal of membership in the European Union by undertaking far-reaching, liberal reforms. Its politics are decidedly capitalist, pushing ahead Turkey's integration into the world economy. Its religious demands are articulated not in the context of Islam, but in the language of human rights.

Kayseri, a city of 700,000, is a laboratory for those policies. Here on the dry, wind-buffed Anatolian steppe, the party has won the loyalty of the conservative but brash entrepreneurial class challenging Turkey's old money. But it has also cemented the support of those left on the sidelines by that globalization — the thousands of poor people given food each day at soup kitchens it has helped organize. Across the city, the party has measured success less by resolving the debate over the wearing of head scarves in public than by making Kayseri a model of responsive administration.

The result: The party and its predecessors have run the mayor's office since 1994. In the last election, it won seven of the city's eight seats in parliament; its goal this summer is the last seat. The influence of its long-standing rival, the Nationalist Action Party, has shriveled as supporters defect, some complaining that the party lacks a program beyond a vision of stern nationalism.

"Kayseri will be the Istanbul of the future," boasted Sedat Colak, a 20-year-old Justice and Development supporter headed for military service, as he sat in a leafy park by a brick path winding to a newly built cafe shadowed by medieval Ottoman monuments.

Before Gul's entry into politics, Kayseri was perhaps best known for its pastirma, a spicy cured beef. Its politics were no less pungent. A generation ago, it was renowned as a stronghold of the Gray Wolves, a right-wing paramilitary organization with a name taken from

Turkish mythology. Then and now, the city has also celebrated its commercial prowess, underlined by the saying that families will send their smart sons into business, their dim-witted ones to school.

These days, the city hews to its mercantile reputation, if not its nationalist past.

"A president like Gul brings good to the country," reads a banner hanging from the balcony of the local chapter of the Independent Industrialists and Businessmen's Association.

The association, effectively a chamber of commerce, caters to the entrepreneurial class that emerged in the traditional, religiously conservative towns of Anatolia in the 1980s, vying for influence with the more traditional elite, in cities such as Istanbul and Ankara, that often grew to prominence with state patronage. It doesn't hide its religious sensibilities, handing out Islamic literature along with information on its 28 branches and 2,700 members across the country. But its members speak an aggressively self-assured language of emerging markets, exports, high technology standards and integration with the global economy.

"The only language the West understands is success," said Saban Copuroglu, 41, head of the Kayseri chapter. "As Turkey opens to the outside, Kayseri has seen big changes, and we didn't want to just stand by and watch them happen."

The influence of Anatolian businessmen such as Copuroglu is remaking this city, as it is the rest of Turkey. Day flights to Kayseri and other remote centers are often filled with young businessmen. Stores marketing Kayseri's exports — furniture and appliances, for instance — line stately boulevards. Copuroglu, in

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a dark suit with a green tie that bordered on fluorescent, calls these businessmen “the new generation.”

As he spoke, the banner for Gul fluttered outside. His loyalties to Gul and Erdogan were evident, echoing the sense among many businessmen in the city that the party has managed to both reflect and articulate their ambitions.

“Both represent the real Anatolia,” Copuroglu said. “They’re the best example of ‘we’ instead of ‘me.’”

The mayor here is Mehmet Ozhasaki, who was first elected in 1994 as a member of a ruling party predecessor, the more avowedly religious Welfare Party, which was banned in 1998. He won office a year later with its successor, the Virtue Party. That organization was banned in 2001, and Ozhasaki joined the Justice and Development Party, winning office again in 2004 with more than 70 percent of the vote.

The party’s secular critics — still entrenched in the military, judiciary and bureaucracy — suspect a hidden agenda; with Gul’s election, they feared, the party would reveal its colors and press ahead with Islamization. Particularly upsetting to many was the prospect of Gul’s wife, who wears a head scarf, living in the presidential palace, a citadel of the secular state. But religion figures little in Ozhasaki’s administration, which, like Erdogan’s government, has tried to turn day-to-day civic effectiveness into an ideology.

Mehmet Yuksel, a 61-year-old retiree, stood with a rake and a packed lunch at an urban garden set up by Ozhasaki’s office, where residents pay less than \$100 a year for a small plot. He gave his version of the trains running on time — traffic lights worked, he said, a tramway connected the city, workers were busy on a new stadium, and green space has grown eightfold.

Problems with water or electricity? “You call them, and in 15 minutes, a car comes and sorts it out,” Yuksel said.

Across town, after midday prayers, women in head scarves and cheap sandals gathered at a soup kitchen, known as an asevi, that opened last year. There are about 40 around town, organized by the mayor’s office, serving 5,000 people a day.

“Even when our son got married, they went and got help for him,” said Fadime Adsiz, a 55-year-old woman in line. She listed the aid: furniture, beds, pots and pans, blankets, appliances, even a bus ticket so her son could travel to Istanbul for his military service.

“My son, too,” added Nirgul Dener. Mustafa, 24, was married five months ago.

Kayseri is a conservative city, and the debates raging along Turkey’s fault lines — between tradition and modernity, religion and secularism, the power of the center and the emerging periphery in Kayseri and elsewhere — are reflected here. The state’s view of secularism, in which religion is subservient to the state and its bureaucracy, is seen as anachronistic by many ruling party supporters.

Since 1950, parties, and even the military, have flirted with the idea of a growing role for Islam, motivated by political expediency or the quest for popular support in a country that is 98 percent Muslim. But the debate has rarely been so pronounced. Critics of the ruling party believe it is out to dismantle Ataturk’s ideals, pointing to proposals such as the recriminalizing of adultery as evidence of intent. The party’s supporters counter that they, too, are secularists, but of a different ilk. To them, the state should not enforce secularism as an ideology, but rather stand aside, allowing people to freely express their devotion — be it head scarves in universities or public prayers.

“This secularism is only serving a small part of the society,” insisted Serife Gul Atila, 20, a nursing student at Erciyes University who was sitting with a friend in the downtown park, a statue of a martial Ataturk on a horse in the distance.

Atila considers herself devout but does not wear the veil, having been forced to remove it when she entered Erciyes University in 2001. She quit, then returned months later wearing a wig as a substitute. Atila said she had hoped the party would change the laws, but knew that the secular establishment, laying claim to the legacy of Ataturk, would prevent it.

“They’re not the only ones who are pro-Ataturk,” she said of the secularists, her voice rising. “I am pro-Ataturk, too. At the same time, I don’t want to turn him into an icon and pray to him.”

The Nationalist Action Party, which formed the militant Gray Wolves in the 1960s, still attracts support in Kayseri, but its fortunes are dwindling. Unlike the well-lit headquarters of the Justice and Development Party, its offices are dark, staffed by men with crescent mustaches who forgo kisses on each cheek for a slight tap on the head. The doors are closed. The clock is stuck at 7:50, the second hand frozen.

“Nationalism, nationalism, nationalism,” said Aykut Iltekin, 35, a fitness equipment vendor who voted for the party in parliamentary elections in 1999. “It’s like saying you can just survive on water, that we need nothing more.”

Iltekin is now deputy head of the Justice and Development Party in Kayseri. “I got clever,” he quipped.

His frustration was echoed in a shopping mall in the city, where another debate was going on. Standing with friends and customers, Hamza Ersungur, the 27-year-old owner of a cellphone shop, said he had voted for the nationalists in every past election. The party’s triple-crescent banner was proudly emblazoned on the rear window of his white Volkswagen Golf.

But these days, he said a little sheepishly, “something was missing.”

“I no longer trust them,” he said. “If I vote for them, I want them to run the country, and I’m not sure they know how.”

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Academic Content Standards

This lesson addresses academic content standards of Maryland, Virginia and the District of Columbia.

Maryland

Social Studies: Students will use geographic concepts and processes to examine the role of culture, technology, and the environment in the location and distribution of human activities and spatial connections throughout time. (Standard 3.0 Geography)

Social Studies: Students will analyze the major sources of tension, cooperation and conflict in the world and the efforts that have been made to address them. (History)

Social Studies: Analyze interrelationships among physical and human characteristics that shape the identity of places and regions around the world. (Grade 7, Geography, Topic: Geographic Characteristics of Places and Regions)

The Maryland Voluntary State Curriculum Content Standards can be found online at <http://mdk12.org/mspp/vsc/index.html>.

Virginia

World Geography: The student will analyze how the forces of conflict and cooperation affect the division and control of the Earth's surface by explaining and analyzing the different spatial divisions ...; analyzing ways cooperation occurs to solve problems and settle disputes.

The student will develop skills for historical and geographical analysis including the ability to

- a) identify and interpret artifacts and primary and secondary source documents to understand events in history;
- c) compare and contrast historical events;
- e) make connections between past and present;
- g) interpret ideas and events from different historical perspectives.

Standards of Learning currently in effect for Virginia Public Schools can be found online at www.pen.k12.va.us/VDOE/Superintendent/Sols/home.shtml.

Washington, D.C.

Social Studies: Geography, Human Systems: Students understand how economic, political and social processes interact to shape patterns of human population, interdependence, cooperation, competition, compromise and conflicts in controlling the Earth's surface.

Social Studies, Geography: Students use map and globe skills to determine the absolute locations of places and interpret information available through a map or globe's legend, scale, and symbolic representations. (2.1)

Learning Standards for DCPS are found online at www.k12.dc.us/dcps/Standards/standardsHome.htm.