



BOOKS

Close *Does* Count

Cyprus: The Search for a Solution

David Hannay, I.B. Taurus, 2005, \$45, hardcover, 256 pages.

REVIEWED BY DANIEL J. LAWTON

Is it possible — contrary to the old adage that “close only counts in horseshoes and hand grenades” — that coming close to solving a longstanding international conflict counts in the world of diplomacy? Lord David Hannay, who served as the British Special Representative for Cyprus from 1996 to 2003, argues that it does in his comprehensive insider’s view of the most recent round of United Nations-led Cyprus negotiations. More promising than any of the many previous international efforts to resolve the conflict since U.N. peacekeepers were originally deployed to the island 41 years ago, last year these sustained efforts nevertheless also ended in failure.

Judging from this account, no one can accuse Hannay of unfairly favoring either the Greek Cypriots or the Turkish Cypriots — he criticizes both sides liberally. In particular, he chronicles the opportunities missed by their aging leaders, Greek Cypriot Glafcos Clerides and Turkish Cypriot Rauf Denktash. And with clinical, hyper-rational precision, Hannay dissects the emotion-laden issues and bargaining positions dividing the two sides, diagnosing their preference for zero-sum and “blame game” negotiating.

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The substantive issues are many: How would a reunited Cyprus be governed without leading to the secession of the Turkish Cypriots or to domination by the Greek Cypriots, 80 percent of the island’s population? How would both communities, the Guarantor Powers (Turkey, Greece and the United Kingdom) and the United Nations ensure the security of Cyprus? How would the line between the two populations be adjusted to better reflect their relative sizes? How would the property claims of the many persons displaced by the Turkish intervention of 1974 and post-independence intercommunal strife be settled? And how would the Turkish Cypriots’ demand for international recognition/sovereignty prior to negotiating a settlement be handled?

If these difficult questions were not daunting enough, a number of influential, overlapping relationships

in the region forced negotiators to play what Hannay aptly calls “three-dimensional chess.” Hannay documents in detail how relations between Greece and Turkey, Greece and the recognized government of Cyprus, and Turkey and the unrecognized government of northern Cyprus, as well as domestic politics throughout the region, all complicated an already complex issue.

Cyprus’ bid to join the European Union, coupled with Turkey’s own aspirations to start E.U. accession negotiations, however, provided significant new incentives and an action-forcing timetable for all sides. Would Cyprus join the E.U. in 2004 as a divided or reunited island? And to what extent would Turkey use its influence in northern Cyprus to help advance its own E.U. aspirations?

Hannay’s chronological narrative provides ample case study material for conflict-resolution theorists and practitioners. Cyprus’ mediators tried it all: confidence-building measures and track-two diplomacy, indirect proximity talks off-island, and mediated face-to-face talks on the island.

Years of patient preparatory work by United Nations Special Representative Alvaro de Soto culminated in Secretary General Kofi Annan presenting in swift succession three detailed, non-binding U.N. settlement proposals, known informally as Annan I, II and III.

But the constellations over Cyprus — again — did not align. Just prior to Cyprus’ signing the treaty of accession to the E.U. (as a divided island) in



2003, Denktash rejected Annan III. One year later, with pro-settlement/pro-E.U. opinion sweeping northern Cyprus, the U.N. managed to persuade both sides to put Annan III to separate referenda. While the Turkish Cypriots overwhelmingly approved of the U.N. secretary general's plan (despite lingering opposition from Denktash), Clerides' presidential successor and the Greek Cypriots roundly rejected it (despite the retired Clerides' endorsement).

Even though these conflict-resolution efforts did not succeed, Hannay rightly underscores some of the ancillary benefits of conflict management, such as the dramatic relaxation of restrictions on crossing the U.N. buffer zone. In addition, potentially destabilizing military exercises on Cyprus were canceled and the E.U. promised (though it has not yet fully delivered) trade and greater aid to northern Cyprus.

Moreover, Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots appear increasingly aware that the division of Cyprus remains a stark anomaly and anachronism in a Europe transformed, whole, free and at peace.

Eschewing both self-doubt and self-pity, Hannay argues persuasively that a Cyprus solution, although not imminent, is still possible, particularly if Turkey's E.U. prospects and Greece-Turkey rapprochement prosper. The strategic and moral imperatives to reach a just and lasting settlement are still valid. Annan III, which continues to enjoys broad international support, remains the most compelling alternative to no solution. The constellations can someday align over Cyprus.

Daniel J. Lawton, a Foreign Service officer since 1990, was the senior Cyprus desk officer from 1999 to 2001. He is currently a political offi-

cer in Copenhagen. This review reflects the author's personal views only.

Spy vs. Spies

Denial and Deception: An Insider's View of the CIA from Iran-Contra to 9/11

*Melissa Mahle, Nation Books, 2005,
\$26.00, hardcover, 403 pages.*

REVIEWED BY DAVID T. JONES

Denial and Deception: An Insider's View of the CIA from Iran-Contra to 9/11 comes on the market as part of a trio of "insider" stories addressing the current CIA. The other titles are *A Spy's Journey: A CIA Memoir* by Floyd L. Paseman and *Blowing My Cover: My Life as a CIA Spy* by Lindsay Moran (which could be subtitled *Sex and the Single CIA Agent*). In a personal comment regarding the latter, Melissa Mahle pre-empts questions by saying that she is "not *that* one." But she does admit encountering what she presumed would be career-limiting, if not career-ending, circumstances at the Central Intelligence Agency — circumstances she suggests would make a great story, but one which under security regulations she is not permitted to disclose. That caveat is relevant and substantial, as it makes it impossible for a reader to determine whether there is an additional agenda beyond what is presented.

Nevertheless, this is not another breathless "tell-all" by the disgruntled. Instead, Mahle has provided a serious — if arguably protracted, at over 400 pages — review of the agency and its problems over the past two decades, from William Casey

through George Tenet. She succeeds in filling a niche between the baseline books of the post-World War II generation — e.g., Sherman Kent's *The CIA and the Craft of Intelligence* — and the exposés that in recent years seem to have been the only material extant on the agency's activities.

Chapter by chapter, and director by director, Mahle walks us through the history of the modern CIA. She describes the agency's effort to reinvent itself in the post-Cold War era, even as force reductions changed the CIA mantra from "global presence" to "global reach;" that is, attempting to cover emergencies in places with no CIA station through hasty TDY efforts to revive old contacts and develop new ones. Mahle spent much of this period as a field operative, but she also provides comprehensive detail of the agency's internal turmoil and its struggles with the executive branch and Congress. She provides engaging capsule summaries of each director, itemizing their strengths and weaknesses and the outcomes of the agency's struggles both with external operational catastrophes (e.g., Iran-Contra, Somalia, the hunt for Osama bin Laden) and a series of internal security disasters, of which Aldrich Ames was only the most public.

Mahle's judgments lead inexorably to the conclusion that the CIA is still groping to find effective ways to manage its new challenges in global terrorism following 9/11 and enhance internal personnel security. Developing capable analysts is a lengthy process, requiring career-long education — for which the new Sherman Kent School for Intelligence Analysis (opened in 2000) is just the beginning. As for beefing up internal security, she suggests that draconian polygraph techniques stemming from the



Aldrich Ames spy case (among others) have destroyed careers and make recruiting new CIA officers other than “white bread” U.S. citizens surprisingly difficult.

Deception and Denial suffers from some semi-ritualistic feminist laments over “glass ceilings” and scattered “look at me” black redactions of text deleted at the last minute by the CIA. Still, this is a solid piece of analysis that should be particularly interesting for those who think that bureaucratic life is uniquely convoluted at State and that diplomats are alone in their professional travails.

Retired Senior Foreign Service officer David T. Jones is a frequent contributor to the Journal.

From Hubris to Leadership

The Opportunity: America's Moment to Alter History's Course

Richard N. Haass, Public Affairs (Perseus Books Group), 2005, \$25.00, hardcover, 242 pages.

REVIEWED BY BILL HARROP

This thoughtful, slim volume lays out a new American foreign policy for the 21st century, much different from that of President George W. Bush. A better organized and more coherent opposition political party than we now have in this country might incorporate these recommendations into its platform.

Haass develops the multilateral, consultative, essentially liberal American leadership approach many commentators (e.g., Zbigniew Brzezinski and Joseph Nye) assert is required to address the challenges of the current era, which simply do not lend themselves to unilateral or military solutions. He coins the term “integration” for bringing together the rest of the world, forming coalitions, exerting quiet and consistent American leadership, and setting aside excessive notions of nationalism, pre-emption, military solutions and unilateral power.

Although he strives for a nonpartisan tone, as befits a president of the Council on Foreign Relations, Haass puts down, both explicitly and implicitly, the policies and style of

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the current administration. His analysis and forceful rebuttal of the various rationales for launching a preventive war in Iraq (not a preemptive war, as the White House claimed, says the author) are particularly clear and cogent. So it is perplexing that Haass served for several years as director of policy planning in Colin Powell's State Department while disagreeing utterly, he now reveals, with the neoconservative values that inform the administration.

This paradox also informs an elegant review of the book by former United Nations Under Secretary Brian Urquhart (*The New York Review of Books*, Aug. 11, 2005). As Urquhart explains, Haass defines the policies which the United States

should pursue and which the world desperately needs, but does not address in any way how such a turnaround in U.S. foreign policy could be effected given the domestic political realities of our times.

Urquhart describes these realities as "the firm hold of the big corporations, especially on environmental and energy policy; the neoconservative ideology that rejects international organization and international treaties and conventions and favors unilateral and military ventures; the growing influence of evangelical religion on the White House, on domestic policy and on some aspects of foreign policy, including the administration's approach to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict; and the relentlessly hostile partisanship of

congressional politics, which can have a paralyzing effect in Washington."

The Opportunity repeatedly argues that diplomacy is the essential tool for the effective projection of United States influence, and implies that the Bush administration has neglected this tool at substantial cost to the nation. But ultimately, this book is about policy, not diplomacy. ■

A former AFSA president, Bill Harrop was an FSO from 1954 to 1993, serving as ambassador to Guinea, Kenya, the Seychelles, Zaire and Israel, and as inspector general of the State Department and Foreign Service. He is on the boards of five diplomacy-related organizations.



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