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SITTING DOWN

JUNEAU WORLD AFFAIRS FORUM 2009

MIDDLE EAST FORUM

Monday, November 2 | 5:30 –10:30 PM
Tuesday, November 3 | 4:30 –10:30 PM

Welcome

Dear Friends,

Thank you so much for coming tonight and joining the distinguished panel of speakers who have traveled to Juneau to discuss one of the most complex and vexing issues of our time.

The subject of the Middle East could not be more pertinent or immediate to the United States. At any moment—even as we sit here tonight—events could occur in the region that would plunge the world into a major crisis. Daily reports remind us of some of the flash points and challenges: What are the prospects for peace if the Palestinians are unable to reach accord among themselves? What are the consequences of failed talks over nuclear regulatory controls with Iran? How should the United States, Russia and the European Union

respond? How will Israel respond? What opportunities are created by a peace accord between Israel and Syria?

Listen to the voices of government leaders and scholars who grapple with these matters every day. We seldom have such an opportunity to engage the range and depth of experience and knowledge that is reflected in the composition of our 2009 panel of visitors. For that reason, I welcome you—indeed, encourage you—to ask questions and raise points with our speakers.

Thank you again for coming.

Bruce Botelho
JWAC President

Moderator

Michael Thomas



Michael is a retired attorney who spent five years in the Army and 24 in private practice in Alaska and Washington. He then went back to school, ultimately earning two degrees including a PhD in international relations from the London School of Eco-

nomics. A revised version of his dissertation was published by Routledge in 2007 as *American Policy Toward Israel: The Power and Limits of Beliefs* (paperback 2009). The book analyzes domestic political influences on American policy toward Israel, including AIPAC and Christian Zionism. He continues independent study of American policy in the Middle East, and of international humanitarian law. He met with political leaders throughout the region on trips in July 2007 and May 2009.

November 2 “Differing Perspectives”

How do major actors see the current issues, and what do they expect or hope for from the Obama administration? In particular, how does each major actor assess the chances for success of President Obama’s initiative with respect to Israel and the Palestinians? How do they assess the prospects for a Syria-Israel agreement? How do they assess Iran’s influence in the region, and American efforts to deal with the nuclear issue and Islamist groups? What is the best role for the U.S. in these issues?

- 5:30 Welcoming remarks (JWAC Chair and Juneau Mayor Bruce Botelho)
- 5:40 Introductory remarks
- 5:50 Israeli Consul General Akiva Tor
The Netanyahu government’s positions on regional issues and its priorities; its relationship with the Obama administration.
- 6:25 Ambassador Philip Wilcox
American interests; the Obama administration’s approach and pending decisions.
- 7:00 M.J. Rosenberg
Another view of Israeli positions and options, and the U.S. relationship with Israel.
- 7:35 Break
- 7:50 Yousef Munayyer
Palestinian problems and possibilities, including the recent Fatah conference, unity talks, the siege of Gaza, and the need for elections.
- 8:25 Hussain Abdul-Hussain
The issues that flow through Syria – Iran, proliferation, Lebanese stability, disputes with Israel, Islamist movements.
- 9:00 Farideh Farhi
Differing Iranian views of Iran’s interests; the effects of political turmoil; means of influence; possible approaches.
- 9:35 Matthew R. J. Brodsky
Another view on how the United States should approach Syria and Iran; dealing with authoritarian regimes and their domestic opponents.
- 10:10 Closing remarks



November 3 “Competing Agendas”

How do the positions of the respective actors interact? How do those interactions affect what the United States can do, or suggest priorities or sequencing of efforts?

4:30 Introductory remarks

4:40 Ahmed Salkini

Syria’s positions on regional issues and its priorities; its relationship with the Obama administration; goals for the next year.

5:15 Panel One: “Syria or Iran First?”

President Obama has focused on issues between the Palestinians and Israel as a priority. But what are the advantages and disadvantages of starting with the Syrian issues, or concentrating on issues relating to Iran – Syria’s border dispute with Israel, its relationship with Iran, its support of Islamist groups; Iran’s nuclear ambitions, its support of Islamist groups? Would resolution or amelioration of these issues make the Palestinian issues easier to resolve? [Farhi, Hussain, Brodsky, Salkini; comments by other speakers]

6:25 Panel Two: “Palestinians First?”

Time has been the enemy of the two-state solution. But if Palestinian issues are to take precedence in American policy, numerous questions must be addressed: Who is prepared to negotiate; who has prepared their constituencies for negotiated concessions; who can implement a deal if one is negotiated? How are Hamas, and the Palestinian schism they represent, to be dealt with? If success is unlikely, will a failed effort make things worse? [Tor, Wilcox, Munayyer, Rosenberg; comments by other speakers]

7:40 Break

8:05 Panel Three: “Domestic Politics”

A number of advocacy groups on Middle East issues have started up, or grown, or established DC offices in the past few years. What effect if any have these developments had to date, and going forward, how do they affect the chances of significant change in US policy in the region? [Wilcox, Rosenberg, Munayyer, Brodsky; comments by other speakers]

9:05 Panel Four: “What Does Progress Toward Peace and Stability Require of the United States? What Does it Require of Each of the Other Actors?”

Given the complexity of the challenges, what goals should the Obama administration set for the next year, and what steps should it take, in what order, to achieve those goals? From the perspective of each actor, what does achievement of its policy goals require of other actors? [Each speaker to give short summary]

10:05 Closing remarks.



Speakers

Consul General Akiva Tor



Akiva Tor serves as Consul General of Israel for the Pacific Northwest Region, headquartered in San Francisco. He has only recently taken up this post, having previously served as World Jewish Affairs Adviser

to the President of Israel. In that post he undertook the organization of the World Jewish Forum, a presidential initiative for creating a

pan-Jewish strategy for stemming assimilation and decline in Jewish life.

Consul General Tor has served as Director of the Israel Economic and Cultural Office in Taipei, and as Deputy Director of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for Palestinian Affairs.

Akiva Tor was a Wexner Fellow at the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. He has written and lectured extensively on Jewish values in the foreign policy of Israel.

Alaska Airlines / Horizon Air

Transportation for the speakers was provided in significant part by Alaska Airlines. JWAC is extremely grateful for Alaska Airline's extensive generosity in enabling this Forum to take place by being so helpful in bringing our speakers to Juneau. Thank you Alaska Airlines!



JWAC is pleased that Western Auto Marine is a sponsor of this forum. JWAC needs the support of local sponsors to provide events like this. In the 33 years since it opened, Western Auto Marine has evolved and grown with the community, and is proud to remain a locally owned operation, and a strong contributor to the Juneau Community. Western Auto Marine continues to provide automotive parts and accessories, household appliances, home and personal electronics, lawn & garden supplies, hardware and home improvement supplies, interior, exterior, and marine paints, sporting goods, sport fishing tackle, commercial fishing gear, hunting supplies, marine hardware and electronics, and of course, outdoor clothing suitable for the Alaska climate.

Ambassador Philip Wilcox



Philip C. Wilcox is President of the Foundation for Middle East Peace, a DC-based foundation devoted to fostering peace between Israelis and Palestinians. He retired from the U.S. Foreign Service in September 1997 after 31 years of service.

Ambassador Wilcox served in Laos, Indonesia, and Bangladesh, among other posts. His last overseas assignment was as Chief of Mission and Consul General in Jerusalem. He served as Special Assistant to the Undersecretary for Management, and Deputy Director for UN Political Affairs in the Bureau of International Organization Affairs. In the Bureau for Middle Eastern and South Asian Affairs, he served as Director for Regional Affairs, Direc-

tor for Israeli and Arab-Israeli Affairs and as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Middle Eastern Affairs. He also served as Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary for Intelligence and Research, and as Ambassador at Large and Coordinator for Counter Terrorism.

Ambassador Wilcox earned a BA in history from Williams College and a law degree from Stanford Law School. He is a graduate of the National War College. He has received the State Department's Meritorious, Superior, and Presidential Honor Awards. He serves on the boards of the Middle East Institute and Americans for Near East Refugee Aid (ANERA) among others. The foundation he currently heads publishes a bi-monthly Settlement Report that is a key resource for those who seek to follow the conflict closely.

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“American Interests: the Obama administration’s approach and pending decisions”

President Barak Obama made a commitment before his election to make peace in the Middle East in two years and promised launch this effort on “day one” of his presidency. Soon after his election he appointed veteran mediator George Mitchell as his special envoy. Mitchell has since made many visits to the region and a senior staffer has visited Damascus. In June, Obama made a stirring speech in Cairo aimed at healing America’s troubled relationship with the Arab and Muslim world that implied a more balanced U.S. policy toward the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Nevertheless, Obama and Mitchell have made little progress. Their chosen opening initiative, a comprehensive freeze of Israeli settlements in return for positive Arab state gestures

toward Israel, has been rebuffed by Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu’s right-wing pro-settlement government. Likewise, the Arab states want evidence that Israel is prepared to withdraw from settlements before moving toward peace. A summit between Obama, Netanyahu, and Palestinian President Abbas in New York in September signaled a change of course by Obama. The President now appears to be seeking early direct negotiations on borders and other final status issues between Israel and Palestine. But Abbas, weakened by Washington’s opposition to the Goldstone Report on Israeli war crimes in Gaza, now says he will not negotiate without a freeze. Given deep divisions between the parties, their lack of internal unity, and Washington’s caution, prospects for an early peace are not bright.

M.J. Rosenberg



M.J. Rosenberg is Senior Fellow on Foreign Policy at Media Matters Action Network. His primary focus is on the Middle East.

From 1998 until this year, Mr. Rosenberg was policy director of Israel Policy Forum, where he wrote *IPF Friday*, one of the most widely circulated Middle

East news letters. He had earlier spent twenty years as an aide to Senator Carl Levin, Rep Rita Lowey, and Rep Jonathan Bingham. From 1982 to 1986, he worked as editor of *Near East Report*, the weekly publication of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee or AIPAC.

This past week, at the J Street Conference, Mr Rosenberg moderated a panel entitled “An Israeli-Palestinian Peace Deal in 24 Months: How to Get it Done.”

PRÉCIS

The election of President Obama, and his unique standing world wide, puts us in a strong position to advance US interests in the Middle East. Obama is himself committed to the two state solution and to America playing the role of “honest broker” mediating between Israelis and Palestinians, a role last played by the first President Bush.

Unfortunately, 10 months into his term, the President has not not made much progress toward re-starting negotiations, largely because Prime Minister Netanyahu has rebuffed Obama's efforts.

The President stated a clear demand for a settlements freeze which Netanyahu essentially ignored. The Palestinians, for their part, say they won't negotiate until a freeze is in place.

Obviously, implementing the two-state solution is in America's best interest—and Israel's too (the Palestinians actually have other op-

tions like letting demography win the struggle for them)—but we seem to be letting the moment pass.

The good news is that the word in Washington is that, behind the scenes, the administration is pushing the Israelis hard and that Special Envoy Mitchell believes negotiations will resume soon.

One can only hope. Without negotiations, it is very likely that a Third Intifada will begin which will only complicate US interests both in the immediate region and as far away as Iran and Afghanistan.

Continuation of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and the fact that we are perceived as totally in Israel's corner, harm America's standing throughout the Muslim world and even Obama's popularity won't change that. America has to deliver.



JWAC would like to recognize the generous support of Hecla Greens Creek Mine. Greens Creek not only provides jobs in Juneau, it provides financial support for important community activities like the Forum. Thank you, Greens Creek.

Yousef Munayyer



Yousef Munayyer has recently been appointed Executive Director of the Jerusalem Fund for Education and Community Development in DC. The non-profit Jerusalem Fund operates the Palestine Center, the Humanitarian Link, and a multifaceted Palestinian cultural program.

The Palestine Center sponsors policy briefings, conferences, research publications and a research library. It focuses on the peace process, international law, media coverage of Israel and Palestine and U.S. foreign policy in the region. The Humanitarian Link extends grants to hospitals, orphanages, schools, and

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From a Palestinian perspective, the situation is almost hopeless. Internal divisions between parties in the Occupied Territories have left most Palestinians without a sense of national strategy in the struggle. Hope in the leadership of President Obama quickly dissipated after his failure to secure a freeze in settlement expansion from Netanyahu. Palestinians, and much of the world know that Israel must respect the desires of the United States in the Middle East but have lost hope in the US playing an honest role as a mediator. Despite these difficulties, Palestinians will never give up their legitimate human rights, including the right to return and the right to self-determination.

In regard to the nuclear issue, it is hard to imagine any state in Iran's place not seeking the ultimate deterrent considering the geopolitical realities that surround it and the pres-

ence of WMDs in Israel. Iran has flexed its regional muscle through proxy groups with which it has associations to remind Israel of the capabilities it has on its borders should Israel consider an unjustified attack on Iranian facilities.

There have been some changes in American domestic politics but on the Palestinian question this has yet to come close to the critical mass needed for the right adjustment in policy. While a shift seems to be present at the highest levels of government, the Congress has yet to change and has stood in the way of effective US policy.

The US needs to be actively engaged and in an evenhanded manner in line with international law and human rights. Other parties involved must be expected to do the same. Until now, this has not been the case.

Hussain Abdul-Hussain



Hussain Abdul-Hussain is a journalist and expert on the Middle East. He is currently a correspondent with the Kuwaiti daily *Al Rai*, and a Visiting Fellow with the leading British policy institution, the Royal Institute of International Affairs, known as Chatham House.

Mr. Abdul-Hussain worked for the Arabic television service funded by the US Congress,

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Syria has its hands in several areas of conflict in the region namely Lebanon, Iraq and the Palestinian Territories. Syria also maintains a strong alliance with Iran, and has been holding intermittent peace talks with Israel since 1991.

But while Damascus is a spoiler for stability in most of the conflict areas, the regime of Bashar Assad—unlike that of his father and predecessor Hafez—is unable to deliver on its promises for solutions. In Lebanon, while Assad the father kept a lid on Hezbollah and used this militant group as leverage against Israel and the West, Assad the son allowed the group to be armed to the extent that it went out of control for Damascus. Any solution for the armed Hezbollah now goes through Tehran only.

In Iraq, the Assad regime has repeatedly

offered “cooperation” to “facilitate” US withdrawal, while insisting that Syria never interferes in Iraqi affairs. But like in Lebanon, while Syria seems able to cause trouble in Iraq, it does not seem in a position to help stabilize the country for other forces, namely Iranian militants and radical Islamists, who often act on their own.

He is a graduate of the American University of Beirut, where he studied the history of the Middle East and political studies.

The Lebanese and Iraqi examples also apply to Hamas in Gaza.

As it stands, Syria’s influence around the region is giving way to the Iranians. Syria today pretends it can make deals with the West and deliver, while in fact it has clearly given up the driver’s seat to Iran and has taken a back seat, a thought which should make Washington and the world think twice before investing in engaging Syria and trying to flip it away from Iran.

Alhurra, as a news producer. Previously he had been a reporter and editor for *The Daily Star* of Beirut. He has contributed articles to the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, the *Christian Science Monitor*, the *International Herald Tribune*, *USA Today* and the *Baltimore Sun*, and has appeared on CNN, MSNBC and the BBC.



JWAC appreciates the strong financial support of AEL&P. Alaska Electric Light and Power Company has the oldest ongoing business license in the state of Alaska. It serves the capital city primarily using low-impact, renewable hydroelectric power from four projects. The newest is the Lake Dorothy project. It has been adding 20% to Juneau’s hydro capacity since August.

Farideh Farhi



Farideh Farhi holds positions as Independent Scholar and Affiliate Graduate Faculty at the University of Hawaii at Manoa, where she teaches Middle East politics. For most of the 1990s, she lived and worked in Iran, teaching comparative politics at the University of Teheran and Shahid Beheshti University and serving as an English editor and Research Associate at the Institute for Political

and International Studies.

She has been a grantee of the United States Institute of Peace, has served as consultant to the International Crisis Group and the World Bank, and most recently was Public Policy Scholar at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.

Her publications include *States and Urban-Based Revolutions in Iran and Nicaragua*, and numerous articles on comparative analyses of revolutions and on Iran's politics and foreign policy.

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Islamic Iran is going through its 30th year with almost as much political noise as it generated at its inception. On the one hand, Iran's nuclear program and the confrontation it has engendered are daily reminders of the regional and global dimensions of Iran's revolution. On the other hand, the June 12 election and its aftermath, involving the first major popular mobilization against the government since the 1979 revolution, as well as continued squabbling among different political factions, point to the reality that Iran is a place in which there are very divergent views among the elite as well as the population about the direction the country.

The noise persists because of domestic quarrels over the nature of Iran's relationship to the world, particularly to its sole remaining superpower, the United States, as well as to itself.

The United States, in turn, despite lack of diplomatic relations with Iran for three decades, has nevertheless inserted itself in Iranian politics by maintaining a long-standing policy of sanctions and containment.

Domestic disagreements and external pressures are reasons why despite impressive improvements in social indicators such as health and education, and pursuit of a muscular and strident foreign policy, Iran's politics remain underwritten by both contestation and insecurity.

The decision by the Obama administration to engage with Iran offers the potential of transforming Iran's relations to the world as well as its domestic politics, but only if engagement is underwritten by genuine effort to improve relations rather than used as yet another instrument to pressure Iran further.

Geoff and Marcy Larson

JWAC is lucky to have supporters like Geoff and Marcy Larson who donated generously to help make this Forum possible. They have major contribution to Juneau in a number of ways and JWAC appreciates their assistance in bringing international issues to their hometown.

Matthew R.J. Brodsky



Matthew R. J. Brodsky is a Research Fellow at the American Foreign Policy Council in Washington, DC. A specialist in Middle Eastern politics and history, he holds

a Master of Arts from Tel Aviv University. From September 2008 to August 2009, Matthew was a Legacy Heritage Fellow at the American Foreign Policy Council. He writes frequently on Lebanon and Syria, Islamist groups, and American policy in the region.

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Mr. Brodsky will discuss diplomatic engagement and negotiations and the problems with the Obama Administration's approach.

He will then discuss American policy options when approaching Iran, Syria, and the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

Ambassador Imad Moustapha



Dr Imad Moustapha has served as Syrian Ambassador to the United States since March 2004. Previously he was Dean of the Faculty of Information Technology at the University of Damascus,

and Secretary General of the Arab School on Science and Technology. He was a consultant to numerous international organizations on Science and Technology policies, including UNDP and UNESCO.

Dr Moustapha was co-author of the groundbreaking UN-sponsored 2003 *Arab Human Development Report: Building a Knowledge Soci-*

ety. He was a member of the Syrian team responsible for drafting reform strategies for the ministries of Culture, Education, and Higher Education.

He is a prolific writer. He has authored and edited several books in English and Arabic, and over 200 articles in major Arab and American publications. He has appeared on nearly all major US, British, Syrian and Arab TV news programs, and has lectured in many Arab and American cities. He writes a blog in English that comments on life, culture, and friends in Washington.

Dr. Moustapha holds a PhD in Computer Science from the University of Surrey, in the U.K.



JWAC is especially grateful for the sponsorship of the Forum by Prowler Fisheries, LLC, our neighbor from Petersburg. Since Alaska fish products sell all over the world, enterprising Alaska fishers have first hand experience dealing commercially with our international neighbors. JWAC thanks Prowler Fisheries, LLC for being such a supportive, good neighbor to Juneau.

Ahmed Salkini



Ambassador Moustapha apologizes for the last minute change in plans. Ambassadors are frequently called to their countries for consultations. The Ambassador has authorized Mr. Salkini to fill his spot in this forum.

Ahmed Salkini has been the Spokesperson of the Syrian Embassy in Washington and a political advisor to the Ambassador since 2006. His work has been

published in the *Washington Post*, the *Boston Globe*, the *LA Times*, the *Financial Times*, the *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*, and *Forward Magazine*. He has appeared on Fox News, BBC, Aljazeera International, Al-Hurra, Radio Sawa, and Russia Today, and has given interviews to all major American and Arab newspapers and magazines. He also gives lectures to visiting university delegations in Washington. Mr. Salkini holds a BA in Economics and History from Ohio Wesleyan University, and an MA in International Relations from the American University in Washington D.C.

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Syria has a clear and principled vision for the Middle East. It includes ending the illegal Israeli occupation of Arab territories and lifting the siege on the Palestinian people. This is achieved only through a just and comprehensive peace agreement brokered by the US and backed by international support. The notion that a country occupies parts of another in the 21st century in defiance of international conventions is absurd. It is just as unacceptable that future Arab and Israeli generations are doomed to an eternal cycle of violence as a result of this occupation. Syria aims for a stable and prosperous region where we maintain our brotherly bonds with Arab countries, and maintain strong relations with our non-Arab neighbors. We also seek a Middle East

free of WMDs. Israel needs to join the ranks of the world and sign the NPT. The region will never enjoy full security while Israel amasses the largest nuclear weapons arsenal per capita in the world.

Regarding the US, we are redrawing a road-map of bilateral relations. The previous administration left a heavy and damaging legacy in this regard, but the challenges we face are grave and the common goals are significant. We both seek a fair and comprehensive peace in the region; a unified, free, and prosperous Iraq; a stable and sovereign Lebanon; and a working bilateral relationship. We must always remember that the thorny issues are not a result of bilateral grievances; they are solely hostage to a third party.



It's JWAC's job to bring interesting programs and speakers on international affairs to Juneau. It's Holland America's job to bring visitors to Juneau. JWAC salutes Holland America for generously combining their role with ours by being a Forum sponsor – thereby helping to support JWAC's financial ability to bring our speakers to Juneau. We appreciate the Baranof's providing rooms for some of our speakers. Holland America has continually supported local events in Juneau that make our community a better place to live for us all.



JWAC has enjoyed a warm and productive collaboration with the University of Alaska Southeast for many years. And, why not – our missions are compatible in many ways. JWAC seeks to stimulate thought and debate about international affairs among residents of Juneau in order to promote mutual understanding. UAS seeks to instill critical thinking in its students and to encourage civil discourse about contemporary issues of importance in their communities and the world which they will inherit. JWAC sincerely thanks UAS for its generous financial and logistical support of the Forum, and for providing this most fitting and lovely venue for our proceedings.



JWAC truly appreciates the support of Frontier Suites, the Juneau hotel, and the Madsen family in sponsoring the forum. One of Juneau's newest hotels, the Frontier Suites Airport Hotel is already a first choice for business, legislative, and leisure travelers to Juneau. Featuring an array of beautifully furnished, comfortable standard rooms and one-bedroom suites, all equipped with full-sized kitchens with cooking and table service, the Frontier Suites provides a true home away from home.



JWAC appreciates Chatham Electric's sponsorship of the Forum and generous financial support. Chatham Electric is a homegrown company that provides construction services throughout Southeast Alaska. Chatham's expertise includes telecommunications line and lan/data fiber optic cabling, commercial and industrial electrical wiring and power line construction and maintenance. Its main office is in Juneau at 789-9899.



JWAC's job is to connect Juneau with international events that affect American foreign policy. GCI's job is to connect Alaskans to each other and the lower 48. GCI has helped JWAC do its job of bringing the Forum to Juneau through its generous financial support as a Sponsor. JWAC and GCI both operate from the same basic policy – namely, that we are all connected.



JWAC Forum 2009

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Upcoming JWAC events

Place and time details will be determined as events approach. Check our website for new information, and be sure to join our e-mail notifications list to receive regular updates.

“Innovating Bureaucracy: Getting Government to Share”
with Andrea Baker.
Wednesday, December 9. Details soon.

“Lessons for Cuba from Normalization with Vietnam, Laos & Cambodia” with John McAuliff.
Wednesday, January 6. Details soon.

WorldQuest 2010! This year featuring fewer, better questions and a new caterer!
Friday, February 19. Centennial Hall.

Steve Levine. Mr. Levine is an author and a journalist for Business Week.
Wednesday, March 17. Details soon.

“Terrorist Financing: The War Behind the War on Terror”
with John Cassara.
Wednesday, April 14. Details soon.

“The Closest of Enemies: The U.S. and Cuba” with Wayne Smith.
May. Details soon.

About JWAC

The Juneau World Affairs Council (JWAC) is a private, non-profit 501(c)(3), non-partisan membership organization. Our goal is to encourage dialog and understanding of important international, economic, political and social issues through expert presentation, informed discussion, and other educational activities.

In pursuit of this goal, JWAC organizes presentations, lectures and panel discussions for the benefit of our members and the public. Speakers have included ambassadors, professors, business leaders, politicians, explorers and more.

The majority of JWAC's presentations are free of charge and everyone is encouraged to attend. JWAC is funded by members' dues and contributions from the community. All work in the organization is performed by its members and a volunteer board of directors.



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