THE NEWSLETTER OF THE FREEMAN SPOGLI INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

Encina COLUMNS

SPRING ISSUE
2006
STANFORD UNIVERSITY

Presidential Fund Awards $1.05 Million

The Office of the President and the Stanford International Initiative announced on February 1, 2006, the award of eight new grants totaling $1.05 million to multidisciplinary Stanford faculty teams. The grants are the first to be awarded from Stanford's new Presidential Fund for Innovation in International Studies (PFIIS) created in 2005.

LEFT TO RIGHT: ROSAMOND NAYLOR, ROMAIN WACZIARG, STANFORD FACULTY, AND JEREMY WEINSTEIN AT THE INTERNATIONAL INITIATIVE OPEN HOUSE.

"The world does not come to us as neat disciplinary problems, but as complex interdisciplinary challenges. The collaborative proposals we have selected for this first round of funding offer great potential to help shed light on some of the most persistent and pressing political issues on the global agenda today—issues acutely important to our common future." JOHN HENNESSY, STANFORD PRESIDENT

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

Promoting New Collaborations

ARTHUR BIENENSTOCK, VICE PROVOST AND DEAN OF RESEARCH AND GRADUATE POLICY

FSI held two, all faculty open houses at the Institute this winter to offer faculty the opportunity to learn more about the Initiative's new research funding, faculty billets, and upcoming symposium, and to encourage formation of new interdisciplinary working groups. The first open house featured remarks by Arthur Bienenstock, vice provost and dean of research and graduate policy; Elisabeth Paté-Cornell, chair of the International Initiative's Faculty Advisory Committee; and Coit Blacker, chair of the Initiative's Executive Committee.

"Technology and globalization have created enormous problems and enormous opportunities," Bienenstock stated, emphasizing that effective solutions to today's global problems will require collaborative efforts in such fields as medicine, economics, science, cultural studies, and political science. Depicting the congenial, intellectually curious, and collaborative atmosphere that distinguishes Stanford from so many other research universities, Dean Bienenstock stated, "Stanford is uniquely positioned in the world to contribute to solutions to the very complex, far-reaching problems we face today." A second open house was held February 27, 2006, at FSI, to support formation of additional, interdisciplinary Stanford faculty teams. A fall faculty symposium is also planned. For additional information, contact Catharine Kristian, ckristian@stanford.edu. ■

FSI STANFORD

FSI International Conference

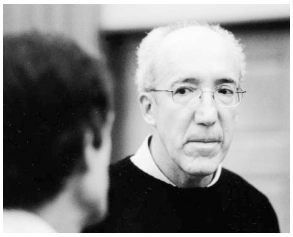
A World at Risk

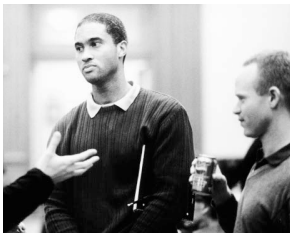
FREEMAN SPOGLI INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
SECOND ANNUAL CONFERENCE AND DINNER

SAVE THE DATE:
NOVEMBER 16, 2006
STANFORD UNIVERSITY

Presidential Fund for Innovation in International Studies Awards New Interdisciplinary Grants Totaling $1.05 Million CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

Projects Address Peace and Security, Governance, Human Well-Being






LEFT TO RIGHT: RAYMOND LEVITT, JUDITH GOLDSTEIN, FRANCISCO RAMIREZ, PETER HENRY, AND GRANT MILLER. INTERNATIONAL INITIATIVE CO-CHAIRS ELISABETH PATÉ-CORNELL AND COIT BLACKER.

"The International Initiative's Executive Committee was encouraged to receive more than 35 proposals of an impressive caliber and, after careful review, to award the first project and planning grants, totaling $1.05 million, to eight deserving faculty teams."

COIT D. BLACKER, DIRECTOR OF THE FREEMAN SPOGLI INSTITUTE AND CHAIR OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The fund supports interdisciplinary research and teaching on three overarching global challenges: pursuing peace and security, improving governance at all levels of society, and advancing human well-being. Priority was given to teams of faculty who did not typically work together, representing multiple fields, and choosing to address issues falling broadly within the three primary research areas of the Initiative. Projects were to be based on collaborative research or teaching, involving faculty from two or more disciplines, and, where possible, from two or more of the University's seven schools.

"The International Initiative's Executive Committee was encouraged to receive more than 35 proposals of an impressive caliber and, after careful review, to award the first project and planning grants, totaling $1.05 million, to eight deserving faculty teams," stated Coit D. Blacker, director of the Freeman Spogli Institute and chair of the Executive Committee.

The projects qualifying for first-round funding of approximately $1.025 million are the following:

- Governance Under Authoritarian Rule. Stephen Haber and Beatriz Magaloni, political science; Ian Morris, classics, history; and Jennifer Trimble, classics. Will examine the political economy of authoritarian systems and, by drawing on methods from history, archaeology, political science, and economics, determine why some authoritarian governments are able to transition to democracy, stable economic growth, and functioning political institutions, while others prove predatory and unstable.
- Addressing Institutional and Interest Conflicts: Project Governance Structures for Global Infrastructure Development. Raymond Levitt, civil and environmental engineering, and Doug McAdam and Richard Scott, sociology. Will examine the challenges of creating effective and efficient public/private institutions for the provision of low-cost, distributed, and durable infrastructure services to underserved populations in emerging economies, drawing on engineering cost management, organizational and institutional theory, political science, political sociology, and transaction cost analysis.
- Combating HIV/AIDS in Southern Africa: The Treatment Revolution and Its Impact on Health, Well-Being, and Governance. David Katzenstein, infectious diseases, and Jeremy Weinstein, political science. Based on the 2005 commitment by the Group of 8 donors to put 10 million people infected with HIV/AIDS on treatment within five years, will research the impact of this treatment revolution on health, well-being, and governance in Sub-Saharan Africa, with an emphasis on South Africa and Zimbabwe. Seeks to develop a systematic protocol for the collection and analysis of biomedical and social science data.
- Evaluating Institutional Responses to Market Liberalization: Why Latin America Was Left Behind. Judith Goldstein, political science; Avner Greif, economics; Stephen Haber, political science; Herb Klein, history; Grant Miller, medicine; and Barry Weingast, political science. Will research the dynamic interaction between inequality and Latin American institutions, formal and informal, in explaining the poor performance of Latin American countries over the past two decades, seeking in particular to explain why liberal institutional reforms, such as trade liberalization, have failed to yield expected economic benefits.
- Feeding the World in the 21st Century: Exploring the Connections Between Food Production, Health, Environmental Resources, and International Security. Rosamond Naylor, FSI/economics; Stephen Stedman, FSI/political science; Peter Vitousek, biological sciences; and Gary Schoolnik, medicine, microbiology and immunology. Launches new research and teaching program at Stanford on Food Security and the Environment (FSE), with an initial priority on two research areas: 1) Food Security, Health, and International Security; 2) Globalization, Agricultural Trade, and the Environment. Seeks to address the problems of global food insecurity and hunger, the "silent killer" of our time, affecting more than 1 billion people globally. Research and teaching will focus on the interconnections between food security, agricultural production, infectious diseases, environmental degradation, and national and international security, with the aim of advancing human well-being by identifying linkages, policy interventions, and new forms of political cooperation.
- Political Economy of Cultural Diversity. James Fearon, political science, and Romain Wacziarg, Graduate School of Business. Will research the effect of cultural diversity on economic and political performance, examining specifically the role of ethnic, linguistic, and religious diversity on economic growth, the free flow of trade and capital across borders, governance, development of democratic institutions, and political stability. Will develop novel measures of ethnic, linguistic, and religious differences within countries and use these to assess their causal impact on important political and economic outcomes.

Two planning grants were also awarded, as follows:

- Global Health by Design. Geoffrey Gurtner, plastic and reconstructive surgery; David Kelley, mechanical engineering; Thomas Krummel, surgery; Julie Parsonnet, medicine, health research and policy; and Paul Yock, medicine, bioengineering. Will design a project to examine how new technology can be used to develop effective, affordable, and sustainable methods and devices to prevent disease in the world's poorest countries.
- Ecological Sanitation in Rural Haiti: An Interdisciplinary Approach to Sanitation and Soil Fertility. Ralph Greco, surgery, and Rodolfo Dirzo, biological sciences. Will develop a plan to test the efficacy of ecological sanitation in decreasing disease and enhancing soil fertility in rural Haiti.

"It is abundantly clear that addressing some of the most significant problems on the global agenda will require imaginative thinking, bold approaches, and interdisciplinary collaboration," Blacker said. The projects will produce new field research and protocols, conferences, research papers, books, symposia, and courses. Additional annual project awards totaling roughly $1 million each will be made in the fall of 2006 and in 2007. ■

FSI's New Program on Food Security and the Environment Tackles Global Hunger and Environmental Destruction

BY ASHLEY DEAN

THIS PAST AUTUMN, THE FREEMAN SPOGLI INSTITUTE (FSI) IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE WOODS INSTITUTE FOR THE ENVIRONMENT launched a program on Food Security and the Environment (FSE) to address the deficit in academia and, on a larger scale, the global dialogue surrounding the critical issues of food security, poverty, and environmental degradation.

"Hunger is the silent killer and moral outrage of our time; however, there are few university programs in the United States designed to study and solve the problem of global food insecurity," states program director Rosamond Naylor. "FSE's dual affiliation with FSI and Stanford's new Woods Institute for the Environment position it well to make significant steps in this area."

Through a focused research portfolio and an interdisciplinary team of scholars led by Naylor and Center for Environmental Science and Policy (CESP) co-director Walter Falcon, FSE aims to design new approaches to solve these persistent problems, expand higher education on food security and the environment at Stanford, and provide direct policy outreach.

Productive food systems and their environmental consequences form the core of the program. Fundamentally, the FSE program seeks to understand the food security issues that are of paramount interest to poor countries, the food diversification challenges that are a focus of middle-income nations, and the food safety and subsidy concerns prominent in richer nations.

CHRONIC HUNGER IN A TIME OF PROSPERITY

Although the world's supply of basic foods has doubled over the past century, roughly 850 million people (12 percent of the world's population) suffer from chronic hunger. Food insecurity deaths during the past 20 years outnumber war deaths by a factor of at least 5 to 1. Food insecurity is particularly widespread in agricultural regions where resource scarcity and environmental degradation constrain productivity and income growth.

FSE is currently assessing the impacts of climate variability on food security in Asian rice economies. This ongoing project combines the expertise of atmospheric scientists, agricultural economists, and policy analysts to understand and mitigate the adverse effects of El Niño-related climate variability on rice production and food security. As a consequence of Falcon and Naylor's long-standing roles as policy advisors in Indonesia, models developed through this project have already been embedded into analytical units within Indonesia's Ministries of Agriculture, Planning, and Finance. "With such forecasts in hand, the relevant government agencies are much better equipped to mitigate the negative consequences of El Niño events on incomes and food security in the Indonesian countryside," explain Falcon and Naylor.

FOOD DIVERSIFICATION AND INTENSIFICATION

With rapid income growth, urbanization, and population growth in developing economies, priorities shift from food security to the diversification of agricultural production and consumption. "Meat production is projected to double by 2020," states Harold Mooney, CESP senior fellow and an author of the Millennium Ecosystem Assessment. As a result, land once used to provide grains for humans now provides feed for hogs and poultry.

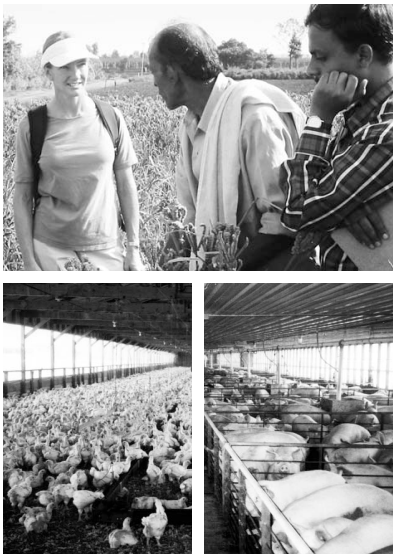
These trends will have major consequences for the global environment—affecting the quality of the atmosphere, water, and soil due to nutrient overloads; impacting marine fisheries both locally and globally through fish meal use; and threatening human health, as, for example, through excessive use of antibiotics.

An FSE project is analyzing the impact of intensive livestock production and assessing the environmental effects to gain a better understanding of the true costs of this resource-intensive system. A product of this work recently appeared as a Policy Forum piece in the December 9, 2005, issue of *Science* titled "Losing the Links Between Livestock and Land."

Factors contributing to the global growth of livestock systems, lead author Naylor notes, are declining feed-grain prices, relatively inexpensive transportation costs, and trade liberalization. "But many of the true costs remain largely unaccounted for," she says, including destruction of forests and grasslands to provide farmland for feed crops destined not for humans but for livestock; utilization of large quantities of freshwater; and nitrogen losses from croplands and animal manure.

Naylor and her research team are seeking better ways to track all costs of livestock production, especially hidden costs of ecosystem degradation and destruction. "What is needed is a re-coupling of crop and livestock systems," Naylor says, "if not physically, then through pricing and other policy mechanisms that reflect social costs of resource use and ecological abuse."

Such policies "should not significantly compromise the improving diets of developing countries, nor should they prohibit trade," Naylor adds. Instead, they should "focus on regulatory and incentive-based tools to encourage livestock and feed producers to internalize pollution costs, minimize nutrient run-off, and pay the true price of water."



ROSAMOND NAYLOR ADDRESSING FOOD SECURITY AND CHRONIC HUNGER, THE SILENT KILLER OF OUR TIME.

LOOKING AHEAD

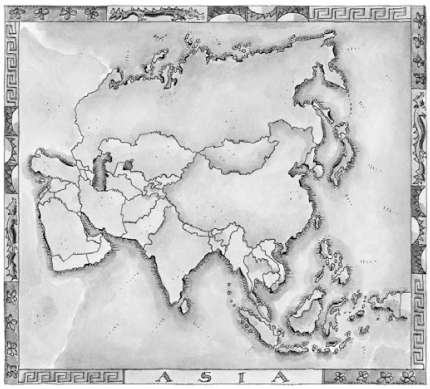
The future of the program on Food Security and the Environment looks bright and expansive. Building on existing research at Stanford, researchers are identifying avenues in the world's least developed countries to enhance orphan crop production—crops with little international trade and investment, but high local value for food and nutrition security. This work seeks to identify advanced genetic and genomic strategies, and natural resource management initiatives, to improve orphan crop yields, enhance crop diversity, and increase rural incomes through orphan crop production.

Another priority research area is development of biofuels. As countries seek energy self-reliance and look for alternatives to food and feed subsidies under World Trade Organization (WTO) rules, the conversion of corn, sugar, and soybeans to ethanol and other energy sources becomes more attractive. New extraction methods are making the technology more efficient, and high crude oil prices are fundamentally changing the economics of biomass energy conversion. A large switch by key export food and feed suppliers, such as the United States and Brazil, to biofuels could fundamentally alter export prices, and hence the world food and feed situation. A team of FSE researchers will assess the true costs of these conversions.

The FSE program recently received a grant through the Presidential Fund for Innovation in International Studies to initiate new research activities. One project links ongoing research at Stanford on the environmental and resource costs of industrial livestock production and trade to assess the extent of Brazil's rainforest destruction for soybean production. "Tens of millions of hectares of native grassland and rainforest are currently being cleared for soybean production to supply the global industrial livestock sector," says Naylor. An interdisciplinary team will examine strategies to achieve an appropriate balance between agricultural commodity trade, production practices, and conservation in Brazil's rainforest states.

"I'm extremely pleased to see the rapid growth of FSE and am encouraged by the recent support provided through the new Presidential Fund," states Naylor. "It enables the program to engage faculty members from economics, political science, biology, civil and environmental engineering, earth sciences, and medicine—as well as graduate students throughout the university—in a set of collaborative research activities that could significantly improve human well-being and the quality of the environment." ■

A Changing Asia: Threat or Opportunity?



FSI STANFORD

AS THE WORLD'S MOST DYNAMIC AND RAPIDLY ADVANCING REGION, the Asia-Pacific has commanded global attention. Business and policy leaders alike have been focused on the rise of China, tensions on the Korean peninsula, Japan's economic recovery and political assertiveness, globalization and the outsourcing of jobs to South Asia, Indonesia's multiple transitions, competing forces of nationalism vs. regionalism, and the future of U.S.-Asia relations.

What is the near-term outlook for change in the region? How might developments in the economic, political, or security sphere affect Asia's expected trajectory? And how will a changing Asia impact the United States? These were among the complex and challenging issues addressed by a faculty panel from the Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center (Shorenstein APARC) and the Eurasia Group at the Asia Society in New York on January 23, 2006.

Moderated by Director of the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies Coit D. Blacker, the Olivier Nomellini Family University Fellow in Undergraduate Education, the panel included Michael Armacost, the Shorenstein Distinguished Fellow, former Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, and former Ambassador to Japan and the Philippines; Donald Emmerson, the director of the Southeast Asia Forum at Shorenstein APARC and noted expert on Indonesia; Harry Harding, the director of research and analysis at the Eurasia Group in New York and University Professor of International Affairs at George Washington University; and Gi-Wook Shin, the director of Shorenstein APARC, founding director of the Korean Studies Program, and associate professor of sociology at Stanford.

COIT BLACKER:

Q. WHAT IS THE MOST DIFFICULT, CHALLENGING ISSUE YOU SEE?

HARRY HARDING:

A. In China, we are seeing a darker side of the Chinese success story. Millions of people *have* been lifted out of poverty, China's role in international affairs *is* on the rise, and China *is* an increasingly responsible stakeholder in an open, liberal global economy. Yet, the world is now seeing the problems China's reform program has failed to resolve. China's new five-year plan seeks to address a number of these issues, providing a plan for sustainable economic development that is environmentally responsible and addresses chronic pollution problems, for a harmonious society that addresses inequalities and inadequacies in the provision of medical care, insurance and pension systems, and for continuing technological innovation, as part of China's quest to become an exporter of capital and technology.

GI-WOOK SHIN:

A. The world should be deeply concerned about developments on the Korean peninsula. Two pressing issues are U.S. relations with South Korea and the nuclear crisis with the North. It is not clear when or whether we will see a solution. Time may be against the United States on the issue. China and South Korea are not necessarily willing to follow the U.S. approach; without their cooperation, it is difficult to secure a successful solution. The younger generation emerging in South Korea does not see North Korea as a threat. Our own relations with South Korea are strained and we are viewed as preoccupied with Iraq and Iran, as North Korea continues to develop nuclear weapons.

DONALD EMMERSON:

A. In Southeast Asia, a key problem is uneven development, both in and between the political and economic spheres. Potentially volatile contrasts are seen throughout the region. Vietnam is growing at 8 percent per year, but will it become a democracy? It has not yet. Indonesia has shifted to democracy, but absent faster economic growth, that political gain could erode. Indonesia's media are among the freest in the region; multiple peaceful elections have been held—a remarkable achievement—and nearly all Islamists shun terrorism. Older Indonesians remember, however, that the economy performed well *without* democracy under President Suharto. Nowadays, corruption scandals break out almost daily, nationalist and Islamist feelings are strong, and the climate is not especially favorable to foreign investment. While Burma's economy lags, its repressive polity embarrasses the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). How long can the generals in Rangoon hold on? Disparities are also international: dire poverty marks Laos and Cambodia, for example, while the Malaysian and Thai economies have done well.

MICHAEL ARMACOST:

A. Japan is a "good news/bad news" story. The good news is that Japan has found a new security niche since the end of the Cold War. Previously, when a security problem loomed "over the horizon," they expected us to take care of it while, if prodded, they increased their financial support for U.S. troops stationed in Japan. During the first post-Cold War conflict in the Persian Gulf, Japan had neither the political consensus nor the legal framework to permit a sharing of the risks, as well as the costs, and this cost them politically. Since then, they have passed legislation that permits them to participate in U.N. peacekeeping activities, contribute non-combat, logistic, and other services to "coalition of the willing" operations, and even dispatch troops to join reconstruction activities in Iraq. Clearly, their more ambitious role is helping to make the U.S.-Japan alliance more balanced and more global.

The bad news is a reemergence of stronger nationalist sentiment in Japan and more generally in Northeast Asia. In part this is attributable to the collapse of the Left in Japanese politics since the mid-1990s. This has left the Conservatives more dominant, and they are less apologetic about Japanese conduct in the 1930s and 1940s, more inclined to regard North Korea and China as potential threats, more assertive with respect to territorial issues, less sensitive to their neighbors' reactions to Prime Ministerial visits to Yasukuni Shrine, and more eager to be regarded as a "normal" nation. Many Asians see the United States as pushing Japan to take on a more active security role and, in the context of rising Japanese nationalism, are less inclined to view the U.S.-Japan alliance as a source of reassurance.

Q. COIT BLACKER: WHAT ARE THE COMPETING AND CONFLICTING TENSIONS BETWEEN REGIONALISM AND NATIONALISM?

A. HARRY HARDING: In China, there has been a resurgence of nationalism over the past 10 to 15 years. Since the end of the Maoist era and the beginning of the reform movement, the leadership has embraced nationalism as a source of legitimacy, but this is a double-edged sword. It places demands on the government to stand up for China's face, rights, and prestige in international affairs, especially vis-à-vis Japan, the United States, and Taiwan, at times pushing Beijing in directions it does not wish to go.

A. DONALD EMMERSON: In Indonesia, it is important to distinguish between inward and outward nationalism. Outward nationalism was manifest in Sukarno's policy of confrontation with Malaysia. ASEAN is predicated on inward nationalism and outward cooperation. Nationalist feelings can be used inwardly to motivate reform and spur development. But there are potential drawbacks. Take the aftermath of the conflict in Aceh. The former rebels want their own political party. Hard-line nationalists in the Indonesian parliament, however, are loath to go along, and that could jeopardize stability in a province already exhausted by civil war and damaged by the 2004 tsunami.

A. GI-WOOK SHIN: Korea is a nation of some 70 million people, large by European standards, but small in comparison to the giants of Asia, especially China, India, and Russia, making Korea very concerned about what other countries are doing and saying. Korea is currently undergoing an identity crisis. Until the 1980s, the United States was seen as a "savior" from Communism and avid supporter of modernization. Since then, many Koreans have come to challenge this view, arguing that the United States supported Korean dictatorship. Koreans are also rethinking their attitudes toward North Korea, seeing Koreans as belonging to one nation. This shift has contributed to negative attitudes toward both the United States and Japan.

Q. COIT BLACKER: GENERATIONAL CHANGE IS ALSO A MAJOR ISSUE IN CHINA, THE DPRK, AND JAPAN. WHAT DOES IT BODE FOR POLITICAL CHANGE?

A. MICHAEL ARMACOST: Japan has had a "one and a half party system" for more than half a century. Yet the Liberal Democratic Party has proven to be remarkably adaptive, cleverly co-opting many issues that might have been exploited by the opposition parties. It is clearly a democratic country, but its politics have not been as competitive as many other democracies. As for the United States, we have promoted lively democracies throughout the region. But we should not suppose that more democratic regimes will necessarily define their national interests in ways that are invariably compatible with ours. In both Taiwan and South Korea, to the contrary, democratic leaderships have emerged which pursue security policies that display less sensitivity to Washington's concerns, and certainly exhibit little deference to U.S. leadership.

A. GI-WOOK SHIN: In both North and South Korea, a marked evolution is under way. In the South, many new members of the parliament have little knowledge of the United States. Promoting mutual understanding is urgently needed on both sides. In the North, the big question is who will succeed Kim Jong Il—an issue with enormous implications for the United States.

A. DONALD EMMERSON: Indonesians have a noisy, brawling democracy. What they don't have is the rule of law. Judges can be bought, and laws are inconsistently applied. The Philippines enjoyed democracy for most of the 20th century, but poverty and underdevelopment remain rife, leading many Filipinos to ask just where democracy has taken their nation.

A. HARRY HARDING: China has seen a significant increase in rural protests. There has been an increase in both the number of incidents and the level of violence. People are being killed, not just in rural areas, but also in major cities like Chengdu. We are seeing a new wave of political participation by professional groups, such as lawyers and journalists, galvanizing public support on such issues as environmental protection, failure to pay pensions, confiscation of land, and corruption. A new generation has been exposed to the Internet, the outside world, and greater choice, but it is not yet clear at what point they will demand greater choice in their own political life.

What Would You Advise the President on U.S. Policy Toward Asia?

In the lively question-and-answer session, panelists were asked, "Given the chance to talk to the U.S. President about change and improvement in U.S.-Asia policy, what would you say?"

MICHAEL ARMACOST: I am struck by a mismatch between our interests and our strategy in Asia. In some respects our Asia policy has become something of an adjunct of our policy toward the Middle East—where we confront perhaps more urgent, if not more consequential, concerns. Asia is still the most dynamic economic zone in the world; it is the region in which the most significant new powers are emerging; and it is where the interests of the Great Powers intersect most directly. Also, it is an area where profound change is taking place swiftly. We are adapting our policies in Asia to accommodate current preoccupations in the Muslim world, rather than with an eye to preserving our power and relevance in Asia.

HARRY HARDING: It is striking how much Asian nations still want us around—as an offshore balancer and a source of economic growth. Yet they want us to understand the priorities on their agenda as well as our own. We are seen as obsessed with terrorism and China. We should exhibit more support for Asian institution building, as we have with the European Union. We also need to get our own economic act together—promoting education, stimulating scientific research and technological innovation, and reducing our budget deficits—and quit resting on past laurels. Requiring Japan to accept U.S. beef exports and then sending them meat that did not meet the agreed-upon standards has been a setback for our relations, since the Japanese public regards the safety of its food supply as critically important.

DONALD EMMERSON: Most opinion-makers in Southeast Asia are tired of Washington's preoccupation with terrorism. To be effective in the region, we must deal—and appear to be dealing—with a wider array of economic, social, and political issues, and not just bilaterally. The United States is absent at the creation of East Asian regionalism. For various reasons, we were not invited to participate in the recent East Asia Summit. Meanwhile, China's "smile diplomacy" has yielded 27 different frameworks of cooperation between that country and ASEAN. We need to be more, and more broadly, engaged.

MICHAEL ARMACOST: The establishment of today's European community began with the historic reconciliation between France and Germany. I doubt that a viable Asian community can be created without a comparable accommodation between China and Japan. Some observers believe that current tensions between Tokyo and Beijing are advantageous insofar as they facilitate closer defense cooperation between the United States and Japan. I do not share that view. A drift toward Sino-Japanese strategic rivalry would complicate our choices as well as theirs, and I hope we can find ways of attenuating current tensions.

Addressing Key Issues in Global Health

BY SARA SELIS

CONTINUING TO FOCUS ON MAJOR GLOBAL HEALTH CHALLENGES, the Center for Health Policy/Center for Primary Care and Outcomes Research (CHP/PCOR) recently hosted talks addressing current issues on the policy agenda.

COMBATING DISEASES OF MASS DESTRUCTION: HIV, MALARIA, AND TB

In a December 13, 2005, talk on "Leadership in Combating HIV, Malaria, TB, and Other Emerging Infections," Jack C. Chow (above), former assistant director-general for these diseases at the World Health Organization (now a special envoy of WHO's director-general), described the widespread devastation caused by these three diseases and called for intensified efforts to combat them. Chow urged the attendees to become actively engaged in fighting the illnesses through research, education, innovative partnerships, and political activism. "My aim today is to ignite the Stanford community to become active in global health, to confront the devastation of these diseases, and to raise the level of health around the world," he said. Chow—an M.D. who trained at the University of California at San Francisco and at Stanford Hospital—called HIV, TB, and malaria "the premier diseases of mass destruction of our time."

Chow provided sobering statistics to emphasize the diseases' devastating effects and the global urgency of taking action. He noted that the number of people who die annually from the three diseases—6 to 8 million—rivals the death toll from World War II. Sadly, the world's response has been nowhere near the intensity of the fight waged during World War II. Disease control efforts are impeded by insufficient medications, inadequate personnel, and poor health-care infrastructure, as well as broader factors associated with underdevelopment, including poverty and ignorance.

Lamenting that three-fourths of those who die from malaria worldwide are African children under age five, Chow stated, "This disease is robbing Africa of its future." Regarding HIV, 40 million people are now living with the virus, and 5 million new infections are expected each year. Women are particularly vulnerable to HIV because of a lack of knowledge and empowerment, Chow said. "In many villages in Africa, women have never even heard of HIV, so how can we expect them to protect themselves?"

Chow discussed poverty as a key factor fueling the spread of these diseases and their high mortality rates. In a world where 40 percent of all people earn less than $2 a day, millions die needlessly because they can't afford basic interventions. "A mother who works in a poorly ventilated factory and develops TB dies for lack of a $15 supply of medications," he said. "A boy gets malaria and dies for lack of a simple mosquito net." Many in poor countries buy their medicines on the black market, he added, and end up with counterfeit versions that are worthless.

Another key impediment to progress is a lack of financial incentives to spur research and development of new drugs. The last TB medication used in the standard regimen was released in 1972, while scores of drugs have been developed since that time for other ailments.

Against this bleak backdrop, Chow said, "We must do more and do it now." He called for a multi-pronged approach to improve community health infrastructures, fund more research, train more health-care personnel, and promote partnerships among industry, government, and NGOs. Broader efforts are also needed, he added, to promote economic development, increase education (particularly of women), and ensure universal access to health care.

There is cause for hope, Chow stated, as evidenced by the many collaborative efforts under way, including the Medicines for Malaria Venture, the Global Alliance for TB Drug Development, and BIO Ventures for Global Health.

Chow also cited innovative efforts in academia, such as an Indiana University partnership with a sister hospital in Kenya. Faculty and trainees from the university travel to Kenya to care for patients and educate health-care workers, while personnel from the Kenya hospital spend time in Indiana, learning new medical approaches and techniques.

Sometimes effective solutions arise from surprisingly simple sources. Chow told of how researchers in China discovered that a derivative of a common weed, called Artemisinin annua, is 95 percent effective against the most common form of malaria in Africa. Seeking to cut the therapy's per-treatment cost in half, from $2 to $1, WHO is paying farmers to cultivate the weed in three African countries. "The farmers love it," Chow said. "It's easy to grow, and the farmers are making 60 percent more income" than from growing an equal acreage of corn.

While acknowledging that it can be difficult for U.S. researchers to get attention for projects targeting diseases of the poor, Chow said he's encouraged by the strong interest he has seen from students at Stanford and elsewhere. "The Stanford community has a lot to offer," he said. "With its emphasis on translational research, Stanford is well-positioned to shorten the time between the initial spark of innovation and the deployment of new interventions."

IMPROVING HEALTH CONDITIONS AROUND THE GLOBE: MEASURING COUNTRY PERFORMANCE

Dean T. Jamison addressed the issue of comparative country health performance in a November 28, 2005, talk titled "Exploring Health System and Country Performance on Improving Health Conditions Around the Globe." Jamison is a professor of education and of public health at UCLA, a fellow of the Fogarty International Center of the National Institutes of Health, and chair of the Institute of Medicine's Board on Global Health.

In many countries, "there has been enormous progress in health over the last 50 years," Jamison said, with health inequalities steadily narrowing, life expectancy increasing, and infant mortality decreasing by 2 percent per year. He cited as successes the eradication of smallpox and the near-eradication of polio. Some developing countries are experiencing rising infant mortality and declining life expectancy, however, due to inadequate health-care infrastructures and deadly infectious diseases such as HIV/AIDS and malaria.

And while it is relatively easy to gauge the success of a country's disease control efforts, Jamison said, it is more difficult to make broader assessments of a country's performance on health. "How would you know a good health system if you saw one?" he asked. Measuring countries' health performance is complicated by the large number of variables involved, including population demographics, disease severity, and contextual factors such as a country's water quality, education levels, and cultural norms.

Using as a starting point recent research on hospital and physician outcomes for specific interventions, Jamison discussed different ways to evaluate a country's performance on health.

A country's current health indicators could be compared against those indicators from five or ten years ago, or compared with other countries that have similar demographics. Highlighting this latter approach, Jamison presented a graph that plotted various countries' average life expectancy and infant mortality rates against their average per-capita income and education levels—two commonly used predictors of population health.

He then highlighted the outliers on the graph—countries that have fared significantly better or worse than would be expected given their income and education. "When we identify the outliers, we ask ourselves, 'What do their health systems look like? What's different about them?'" Jamison said.

Surprising to some, U.S. health indicators are worse than those of many less-wealthy nations; the United States ranks 29 among world nations in life expectancy and 38 in infant mortality. "Whatever we're doing for children's health in this country doesn't seem to be working," Jamison said.

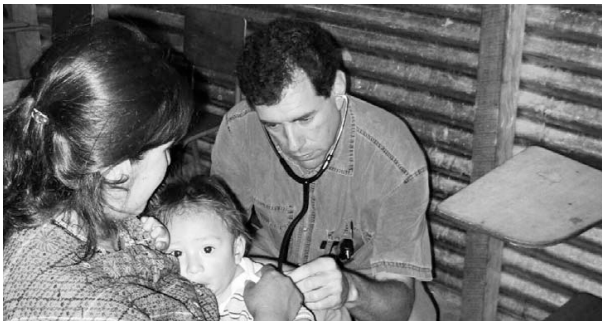
Meanwhile, nations including China, Cuba, and Costa Rica have performed better than expected on their health measures. China's infant mortality rate, for example, was 14 percent lower than expected in 1962 and 73 percent lower in 1977, despite the country's large population and low per-capita income. Jamison also discussed China's campaign in the 1980s aimed at phasing out government-provided health coverage for many workers and villagers and transitioning to a system of personal responsibility in which individuals pay for their care out-of-pocket.

While this effort achieved its goal of drastically reducing the number of Chinese with government health coverage, Jamison said such "reforms" have had a negative impact on Chinese people's health: immunization rates have declined and increasing numbers of people avoid seeing a doctor due to financial constraints. China's experience, Jamison said, shows that countries should be cautious when undertaking major health-system changes. ■

CHP/PCOR Researcher's Other Classroom Is in Guatemala

Exposure to Third-World poverty offers students valuable lessons and unexpected insights

BY ADITI RISBUD



COURTESY OF TRESS GOODWIN

PHOTOS: DR. PAUL WISE, A CORE FACULTY MEMBER AT CHP/PCOR, MAKING HOME AND CLINIC VISITS.

FOR SOME BAY AREA DOCTORS, a getaway from the daily grind means a trip to the Napa vineyards or the Tahoe slopes. Paul Wise escapes to a small town in the highlands of southwestern Guatemala to work in a health clinic.

It is a pilgrimage that Wise, MD, MPH, a core faculty member at the Center for Health Policy/Center for Primary Care and Outcomes Research, has made every few months for the past 30 years. In the time he has spent in San Lucas Toliman, he has worked with others to help support the creation of a network of local villagers who receive special training to provide basic health care. Since joining the faculty in 2004 as a professor of pediatrics, he has invited students from the School of Medicine to accompany him on his trips, believing that it offers vital lessons to future physicians, not to mention health care for those who desperately need it.

At the foot of fog-draped volcanic mountains on the southern side of Lake Atitlan, San Lucas Toliman is a community of indigenous Mayan people. The town's 15,000 residents, who are mostly farm workers, rely solely on income from coffee crops. They typically earn less than $1,000 per person a year. Stemming from this poverty is a range of preventable diseases: one-quarter of the town's children suffer from malnutrition, and diarrhea, dysentery and parasitic diseases are also prevalent. Additionally, the incidence of tuberculosis is 25 times greater than in the United States.

"Twenty-four hours ago you were in the Stanford Shopping Center," Wise recalled telling students last summer, shortly after they arrived in the remote region. "How do you make sense of what you are seeing now?"

The six students—five from Stanford and one from UC-San Francisco—got ready for the expedition by studying relevant diseases and honing their Spanish skills. Still, there was no preparation for what they saw once there while working long hours in clinics, or consultas, as part of a rural health program run by the town parish. At the end of the day, students would gather for evening reflection sessions led by Wise to discuss what they saw and challenges they faced.

"There were definitely times when we were detoxing," said Tress Goodwin, a second-year medical student. "The amount of poverty, it can be overwhelming if you can't talk about it."

The students, like the local doctors and health-care promoters, often had to ride in the back of pickup trucks along dusty, unpaved roads to the town's outlying regions to set up makeshift clinics. "Hanging on for dear life" is how Goodwin remembered some of the commutes. Lines to see the "American doctor" were filled with women and children and formed early in the morning before they began seeing patients.

The idea of bringing students to this remote town in Guatemala can be traced to Wise's freshman year at Cornell, when the campus was in turmoil with protests against the Vietnam War. He wanted to learn firsthand about the plight of people in developing nations and made his first visit to Guatemala as an orderly in a children's hospital.

"The most striking condition was malnutrition," said Wise, who last year assumed the Richard E. Behrman Professorship of Child Health and Society. "Most of these children were small, skeletal figures with swollen bellies and thin, off-color hair."

Moved by the abject poverty he saw during his time in Guatemala, Wise returned to Cornell and became a Latin American studies major, taking "just enough pre-med courses to get into medical school," he said. While studying and training to become a physician—and even after he had joined the faculty at Harvard medical school—he kept going back to Guatemala. By 2001, he had realized that young doctors-to-be would benefit from working in the town and organized the first trip to San Lucas Toliman for students as part of a clerkship program that he has since relaunched at Stanford.

Wise said that he seeks to teach students to use the skills they are learning in the United States to cater directly to what the community most needs, making sure to give the best possible treatment available.

So Goodwin and Bryan Maxwell, a third-year medical student, found themselves one day handing out toothbrushes to children who never had owned one before—and then taking steps to strengthen the enamel of their teeth.

"We were giving fluoride treatments for kids, which doesn't take any skill, but that's what they needed," said Maxwell.

"Their teeth were rotten," remarked Goodwin. "It's a major health issue."

Maxwell added, "A lot of people come down from the United States to Latin America and their mentality is, 'I'm well-trained, I should be well-used down here so what I want out of my experience is that I should be really busy every minute seeing really interesting cases.'" But, he added, the lesson that he and other students learn in Guatemala is to adapt to the local health-care system that Wise and others have worked for years to develop.

And the students learned how difficult it is to provide basic services in an impoverished place. During a late night shift at the clinic, Goodwin and Maxwell faced an unexpected situation with a young expectant mother.

"It was her first child, and she didn't know if she was in labor," said Goodwin.

A nurse was about to perform a pelvic exam when the electricity suddenly went out, leaving the clinic in complete darkness. Maxwell then remembered a hiking headlamp in his backpack. The nurse put it on, and was able to finish the exam. The patient wasn't in labor, but "she was so excited about the headlamp," said Goodwin. "It was perfect—worlds colliding, but in a good way."

A difficulty the students often encountered was helping patients keep up with their medications. By drawing pictures—a rising sun to represent morning, for example—students were able to send patients home with reminders.

"Everybody is speaking a second language," said Maxwell. "You are trying to figure out how to communicate. I think this experience would serve anyone who wanted to practice in California: If you are trying to be a competent physician, you need to speak Spanish."

Goodwin and Maxwell said they would return to San Lucas Toliman at the next available opportunity. Although the students paid for their own trips over the summer, they said the experience was invaluable.

Wise, who has already been back to Guatemala once since his visit last summer with the students, said he plans to return there with fellow Stanford faculty in the upcoming months. The goal will be to enhance the structure of the program for students, while checking in on his patients.

"The younger patients will greet me with 'Hola, doctor,'" said Wise, of the family doctor-type relationships he has cultivated in the last few years. "For the ones who knew me before med school, it's always 'Hola, Pablo.'" ■

ADITI RISBUD WAS A SCIENCE-WRITING INTERN IN THE OFFICE OF COMMUNICATION & PUBLIC AFFAIRS AT THE SCHOOL OF MEDICINE.

REPRINTED AND EDITED FROM STANFORD REPORT JANUARY 25, 2006

"Should the United States promote democracy around the world?"

STANFORD ALUMNA KATHLEEN BROWN, A FORMER FSI ADVISORY BOARD MEMBER, FORMER TREASURER OF THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA, AND CURRENT HEAD OF PUBLIC FINANCE (WESTERN REGION) GOLDMAN SACHS




Troubled Transformations: Fostering Democracy

BY JUDITH PAULUS

HOW ARE DEMOCRACY, DEVELOPMENT, AND THE RULE OF LAW in transitioning societies related? How can they be promoted in the world's most troubled regions? These were among the provocative issues addressed by faculty from the Freeman Spogli Institute's Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law, as part of Stanford Day in Los Angeles on January 21, 2006. Panelists included Michael McFaul, CDDRL director, associate professor of political science, and senior fellow, the Hoover Institution; Kathryn Stoner-Weiss, associate director for research and senior research associate at CDDRL; and Larry Diamond, coordinator of CDDRL's Democracy Program, a Hoover Institution senior fellow, and founding co-editor of the *Journal of Democracy*.

The capstone of a day devoted to "Addressing Global Issues and Sharing Ideas," the CDDRL panel was attended by more than 850 alumni, Stanford trustees, and supporters as part of the nationwide "Stanford Matters" series. Moderated by Stanford alumna Kathleen Brown, a former FSI Advisory Board member, former treasurer of the State of California, and current head of public finance (western region) Goldman Sachs, the panel looked at some of the toughest trouble spots in the world, including Iraq, Russia, and other parts of the former Soviet Union.

"Should the United States promote democracy around the world?" Brown began by asking Center Director Michael McFaul. "The President of the United States has said that the United States should put the promotion of liberty and freedom around the world as a fundamental policy proposition," McFaul responded, noting "it is the central policy question in Washington, D.C., today." It is not a debate between Democrats and Republicans, he continued, but rather between traditional realists, who look at the balance of power, and Wilsonian liberals, who argue that a country's conduct of global affairs is profoundly affected by whether or not it is a democracy. The American people, McFaul noted, are divided on the issue. In opinion polls, 55 percent of Republicans say we should promote democracy, while 33 percent say no. Among Democrats, only 13 percent answer unequivocally that the United States should promote democracy.

Asserting that the United States should promote democracy, McFaul offered three major arguments. First is the moral issue—democracies are demonstrably better at constraining the power of the state and providing better lives for their people. Democracies do not commit genocide, nor do they starve their people. Moreover, most people want democracy, opinion polls show. Second are the economic considerations—we benefit from open societies and an open, liberal world trade system, which allows the free flow of goods and capital. Third is the security dimension. Every country that has attacked the United States has been an autocracy; conversely, no democracy has ever attacked us. The transformation of autocracies, including Japan, Germany, Italy, and the Soviet Union, has made us safer.

It is plausible to believe that the benefits of transformation in the Middle East will make us more secure, McFaul argued. "It would decrease the threats these states pose for each other, their need for weapons, and the need for U.S. intervention in the region," he stated. Democratic transformation would also address a root cause of terrorism, as the vast majority of terrorists come from autocratic societies. There are, however, short-term problems, McFaul pointed out. Free elections could lead to radical regimes less friendly to the United States, as they have in Egypt, Iran, Iraq, and now in Palestine. U.S. efforts to promote democracy, he noted, can actually produce resistance.

Having advanced a positive case, McFaul asked FSI colleague Stoner-Weiss, "So, how do we promote democracy?" Stoner-Weiss, also an expert on Russia, said it is instructive to see how Russia has fallen off the path to democracy. In 1991, when the Soviet Union collapsed, it seemed to be an exciting time, rife with opportunity. "Here was an enemy, a major nuclear superpower, turning to democracy," she stated. Despite initial U.S. enthusiasm, the outcome has not been a consolidated democracy. Russia, under Vladimir Putin, is becoming a more authoritarian state, a cause for concern because it is a nuclear state and a broken state—with rising rates of HIV and unable to secure its borders or control the flow of illegal drugs.

"So can we promote democracy?" Stoner-Weiss asked. The answer is a qualified yes, from Serbia to Georgia, and the Ukraine to Kyrgyzstan. But Russia has 89 divisions, 130 ethnicities, 11 time zones, and is the largest landmass in the world, she noted. Moving from a totalitarian state to a democracy and an open economy is enormously complicated. As Boris Yeltsin said in retiring as president on December 31, 1999, "What we thought would be easy turned out to be very difficult."

Where is Russia today? It ranks below Cuba on the human development index; it is moving backward on corruption; and its economic development is poor, with 30 percent of the public living on subsistence income. Under Putin's regime, private media have come under pressure, television is totally stated controlled, elections for regional leaders have been canceled, troops have remained in Chechnya, and Putin has supported controversial new legislation to curb civil liberties and NGO's operating in Russia.

"How did Russia come to this?" she asked. In retrospect, the power of the president has been too strong. Initial "irrational exuberance" in the United States and Europe about what we could do has given way to apathy. Under Yeltsin, rule was oligarchical and democracy disorganized. Putin came to office promising a "dictatorship of law" to rid the country of corruption. Yet Russia under Putin, who rose through the KGB and never held elective office, has become far less

"The President of the United States has said that the United States should put the promotion of liberty and freedom around the world as a fundamental policy proposition, and it is the central policy question in Washington, D.C., today." CDDRL DIRECTOR MICHAEL MCFAUL



and Development in a Quickly Changing World

democratic. He has severely curtailed civil liberties. The economy, dependent on oil and natural gas, is not on a path of sustainable growth.

"What can the United States do?" Stoner-Weiss asked. We have emphasized security over democracy, she pointed out, and invested in personal relations with Russia's leaders, as opposed to investing in political process and institutions. We do have important opportunities, she noted. Russia chairs the G-8 group of major industrial nations this year, providing major opportunities for consultation, and wants to join the World Trade Organization. The United States should advance an institutional framework to help put Russia back on a path to democracy, a rule of law, and more sustainable growth, she argued.

Diamond, an expert on democratic development and regime change, examined U.S. involvement in the Middle East, noting that it is difficult to be optimistic at present. "Democracy is absolutely vital in the battle against terrorism," he stated. The United States has to drain the swamp of rotten governments, lack of opportunity for participation and the pervasive indignity of human life. "The dilemma we face," he pointed out, "is getting from here to there in the intractable Middle East." There is not a single democracy in the Arab Middle East. This is not because of Islam, but rather the authoritarian nature of regimes in the region and the problem of oil.

"Can we promote democracy under these conditions?" Diamond asked. We need to get smart about it, he urged, noting that success depends on the particular context of each country. "If we want to promote democracy, the first rule is to know the country, its language, culture, history, and divisions," he stated. We need to know, he continued, "who stands to benefit from a democratic transformation and, conversely, who stands to lose?" Rulers of these countries need to allow the space for freedom, for civic and intellectual pluralism, for open societies and meaningful participation. The danger is that there could be one person, one vote, one time. A second rule is that "academic knowledge and political practice must not be compartmentalized." "To succeed," Diamond stated, "we need to marry academic theories with concrete knowledge of these countries' traditions, cultures, practices, and proclivities."

In the lively question-and-answer session, panelists were asked, "Under what conditions is it appropriate to use force to promote democracy?" McFaul answered that we cannot invade in the name of democracy—we rebuilt Japan in that name but we did not invade that nation. We invaded Iraq in the name of national security. We know how to invade militarily, but still must learn how to build democracy. Effectiveness in the promotion of democracy, Diamond pointed out, requires the exercise of "soft" power—engagement with other societies, linkages with their schools and associations, and offering aid to democratic organizations around the world. Stoner-Weiss concurred, noting that we have used soft power effectively in some parts of the former Soviet Union, notably the Ukraine. People-to-people exchanges definitely help, she added.

To combat Osama bin Laden and the threat of future attacks in the United States, Diamond stated, we must halt the proliferation of nuclear weapons. North Korea and Iran are two of the most important issues on the global agenda. And we have got to improve governance in the Middle East in order to reduce the chances that the states of the region will breed and harbor stateless terrorists. A democratic Iran is in our interest, McFaul emphasized. Saudi Arabia must change as well—the only issue is whether change occurs with evolution or revolution. Democracy, economic development, and the rule of law, McFaul concluded, are inextricably intertwined.

Asked by alumnus and former Stanford Trustee Brad Freeman what needs to happen to re-democratize Russia, McFaul pointed out that inequality has been a major issue in Russia—a small portion of the population controls its wealth and resources and, therefore, the political agenda and the use of law. Russia has been ruled by men and needs the rule of institutions, said Stoner-Weiss. We should insist that Putin allow free and fair elections, freedom of the press, and freedom of political expression, and re-focus efforts on developing the institutions of civil society, she stated.

Reform is a generational issue, McFaul emphasized. We need to educate and motivate the young so they can change their country from within. The Stanford Summer Fellows Program, which brought emerging leaders from 28 transitioning countries to Stanford in the program's inaugural year of 2005, provides an important venue for upcoming generations to meet experienced U.S. leaders and others fighting to build democracies in their own countries. Such exchanges help secure recognition that building support for democracy, sustainable development, and the rule of law is a transnational issue. ■

LEFT TO RIGHT PHOTOS: KATHLEEN BROWN, CDDRL PANEL, CENTER DIRECTOR MICHAEL MCFAUL, FSI DIRECTOR COIT BLACKER WITH STANFORD ALUMNI ASSOCIATION PRESIDENT HOWARD WOLF, KATHRYN STONER-WEISS, PANEL, LARRY DIAMOND, AND THE MODERATOR KATHLEEN BROWN.

A FOREIGN POLICY FIRMLY GROUNDED IN DEMOCRATIC VALUES makes it possible for small states to stand up for their rights in the face of the shifting interests of large states, Estonia's President Arnold Rüütel said Jan. 20.

"It is precisely action based on values that can provide answers in complicated situations," Rüütel said. "This also makes it possible to distinguish long-term important issues from short-term changing interests."

During a lunchtime speech at the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies, Rüütel thanked the United States for maintaining its policy of nonrecognition of the Soviet occupation of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania from World War II until 1991, when Baltic independence was restored in a bloodless revolution. "For us, this represents a powerful confirmation of a values-based foreign policy that remains crucial also today," he said.

Rüütel, a onetime Communist who helped orchestrate Estonia's transition to independence, spoke to about 100 students, faculty and donors at an event hosted by management science and engineering Professor William Perry, who also is the Michael and Barbara Berberian Professor, a former U.S. Secretary of Defense and co-director of the Stanford-Harvard Preventive Defense Project. Accompanied by an Estonian delegation, Rüütel also met with Institute Director Coit Blacker and visited the Hoover Institution, where archival specialist David Jacobs had prepared an exhibit of Baltic-related material.

The display included a series of informal photographs from the personal album of Nazi Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop taken during his visit to Moscow to sign the 1939 Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, which was concluded just a few days before the beginning of World War II. The pact, which included a secret protocol dividing Eastern Europe into Soviet and Nazi spheres of influence, sealed the fate of the Baltic states for a half-century. Soviet officials denied the protocol's existence until 1989. The unpublished photographs, obtained by

Estonian President Voices Support for Foreign Policy Based on Democratic Values

BY LISA TREI

U.S. forces after World War II, include a rare image of an enthusiastically grinning Stalin taken just after the pact was signed. "That's a smile from the heart," Rüütel remarked in Estonian.

Rüütel's speech, which was translated into English, discussed Estonia's two-year-old membership in the European Union and NATO. While the union gives opportunities for economic and social development in a globalizing world, Rüütel said, membership also offers Estonia a chance to contribute to international stability. And while NATO offers unprecedented protection, he continued, Estonia also is obliged to contribute to international security.

"NATO is not only a toolbox from which different tools can be taken," Rüütel said. "It is an important mechanism for political and military cooperation among 26 states. We need it." Public support for the organization remains at a steady 65 to 70 percent, he explained. "The NATO airspace control operation in the Baltic states certainly plays a role in this context," he said. "Last year, U.S. planes contributed to it. We are grateful to the U.S. government."

As a member of NATO, Estonia plans to increase its defense expenditure to 2 percent of gross domestic product by 2010, Rüütel said. The country also has participated in the "coalition of the willing." Estonian soldiers fighting in Iraq alongside U.S. forces "have proved to be worthy combatants," Rüütel said. "Responsible tasks lie ahead of us in Afghanistan. The Estonian parliament has decided to send up to 150 soldiers at a time there this year. Allow me to recall that there are 1.4 million inhabitants in Estonia."

The president said that military operations can help to restore stability in conflict areas by providing security but that long-term success can be achieved only through the establishment of a free society based on democratic principles and the rule of law.

"We need considerably higher capabilities for the strengthening of the civilian component in crisis management and [ensuing] reconstruction than we have today, both at the level of states and international organizations,"

"The more successful the reconstruction and the strengthening of good governance are, the faster our peace forces can be [brought] home."

ARNOLD RÜÜTEL ESTONIA'S PRESIDENT

he said. "The more successful the reconstruction and the strengthening of good governance are, the faster our peace forces can be [brought] home."

Rüütel also discussed his country's role in combating international terrorism. "Estonia is determined to be a credible partner," he said. "Among other things, this means making sure that our territory [is] not used by terrorists to prepare operations, to move money or for any other purpose."

After the speech, Blacker asked about Estonia's relationship with neighboring Russia. A border agreement between the two countries remains unsigned. In response, Rüütel offered a history lesson about the consequences of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact after the Soviet Union forcibly annexed Estonia. Many of the country's leaders were arrested, murdered or sent to death camps in Siberia, he said. Following the Nazi occupation of Estonia during the war, Soviet repression continued after 1945. In a country of 1.2 million inhabitants, about 70,000 people were deported to Siberia and more than 100,000 escaped to the West. As a result of World War II and its aftermath, he said, Estonia lost one out of every five citizens. "Practically, every Estonian family was somehow touched by these events," he said. "This is something really difficult to forget." Russia has failed to deal with its history in an honest way, he said.

Although Estonia cannot forget the past, Rüütel said his country is ready to cooperate with Russia and he expressed hope that a border treaty would soon be completed. "I would like to hope that Russia, one day, will understand that we are good neighbors living side by side with each other," he said. ■

REPRINTED FROM STANFORD REPORT JANUARY 25, 2006

New Technological Horizons: The IDL Program's Collaboration in South Africa

BY KATHERINE KUHNS

THE INITIATIVE ON DISTANCE LEARNING (IDL) has for six years offered courses on international security issues to Russian regional universities via distance-learning technologies. Thanks to a seed grant from the Whitehead Family Foundation, the Freeman Spogli Institute's IDL program is currently pursuing a promising collaborative project with the Tshwane University of Technology (TUT) and the University of Pretoria, which will adapt the IDL program for use in institutions of higher education in South Africa. In the interdisciplinary spirit of FSI, the project affords IDL the opportunity to work with Stanford's Center for Innovations in Learning, the School of Education, and the Woods Institute for the Environment, forming the E-Learning Initiative in South Africa, or ELISA.

ELISA offers an opportunity to adapt the IDL delivery model and academic content to meet the interests of its South African audience, while allowing all three institutions to pursue their common interest in the potential for hand-held mobile devices to enhance the experience for learners in a distance-learning milieu. In South Africa, mobile communication devices have the ability to supplant computers as the technology of choice in higher education, offering advantages of desktop computing while eliminating connectivity barriers. We hope to demonstrate the power of mobile phone devices in improving teaching and learning, providing an important leverage point in student educational empowerment. The project will help our team design

cell-phone-based teaching, learning, and assessment activities; evaluate their effectiveness; and yield information to help build a knowledge base for those actively working to integrate technology into higher education.

Mobile, hand-held technologies are nearly ubiquitous in South Africa, making it an ideal environment to assess their efficacy in teaching. More students have access to a cell phone (99.4 percent) than have an e-mail account (0.4 percent) in the Unit for Distance Education at the University of Pretoria[1]. Wireless technologies are allowing many developing countries to "leapfrog" ahead of developed countries by adapting mobile and flexible communication technologies, rather than investing in costly land-line infrastructures. Distance-learning educators need to take advantage of this new technology, in order to explore ways to enhance the learning process for receptive students.

This is particularly important in South Africa, which plays an increasingly prominent leadership role in addressing the political and economic development issues facing the African continent and the global community. Dedicated to training a cadre of leaders to approach pressing issues from multiple perspectives, South Africa has undertaken educational curriculum reform over the past 15 years. Educators are seeking to make education more widely available to all levels of society: reforming institutions of higher education, experimenting with innovative technology to reach students in remote areas, and participating in distance-learning courses within Africa and from abroad.

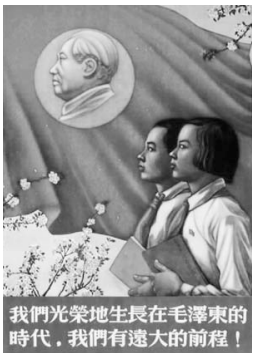
Mobile technologies have the potential to bridge the "digital divide," offering the functionality of mini-computers, with less expense and greater portability. Students who might otherwise not be able to attend classes gain access to course materials, assignments, and learning interactions on demand. Students can use text, graphics, and video to express their ideas through mobile devices. Students can receive guidance and work plans from faculty or collaborate with fellow students; faculty can record their students' work for analysis and grading. IDL welcomes this chance to study the ability of mobile devices to supplant computers as the technology of choice in higher education in South Africa.

ELISA will offer its first course to Tshwane University of Technology students in 2006, and expand the program in subsecquent years. ■

[1] INTERVIEW MARCH 10, 2005, DR. JOHAN HENDRIKZ, MANAGER, UNIT FOR DISTANCE EDUCATION, UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA.

Educating the Next Generation: SPICE Perspectives on China and Japan

BY SELENA LAI AND STEFANIE LAMB



THE STANFORD PROGRAM ON INTERNATIONAL AND CROSS-CULTURAL EDUCATION (SPICE) develops innovative materials on key issues in international affairs for K-14 students in the United States and independent schools abroad. Multidisciplinary SPICE materials serve as a bridge between classrooms of receptive students and teachers and FSI scholars and collaborative partners. SPICE offered a number of important new publications for an emerging generation of scholars this year.

One new curriculum unit is titled *China's Cultural Revolution*. The Cultural Revolution (1966–1976) was a decade of enormous upheaval under the leadership of Mao Zedong with a lasting impact on China, its citizens, and the world. This unit teaches students about the social, educational, political, and economic transformations in China during this tumultuous era. Students examine primary source materials to hone their analytical and critical thinking skills, and gain exposure to a variety of perspectives on the Cultural Revolution. As part of the lessons, students evaluate official government documents, speeches, memoirs, eyewitness accounts, propaganda art, revolutionary songs, textbook coverage from three countries, and the book, *Red Scarf Girl,* by Ji-li Jiang.

As with all SPICE projects, collaboration with scholars and other experts on the Cultural Revolution was essential to the development of this unit. Andrew Walder, former director of the Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center, served as principal advisor and was instrumental in the conceptualization of the curriculum. Connie Chin of Stanford's Center for East Asian Studies translated entries from a Chinese textbook that students compare with textbooks of Taiwan and the United States. Jiang, a local author and survivor of the Cultural Revolution, oversaw the development of a lesson that features her book, *Red Scarf Girl.* Jiang worked with many Chinese who provided their own memoirs of the Cultural Revolution for the curriculum, exposing students to first-hand experiences of Chinese youth during this time.

Another new SPICE unit, titled *Tea and the Japanese Tradition of Chanoyu,* results from a collaboration with the Urasenke Foundation of Kyoto, Japan. This unit traces the history of tea from its origins in China 5,000 years ago to modern times, with an emphasis on its prominent role in Japan. By the 16th century, Japan's tea practice had become formalized by Sen Rikyu, who integrated art, religion, social interaction, and economics into his tea practice. He so revolutionized chanoyu that he is universally recognized as the most important tea master who ever lived. The Urasenke School of Tea was established by one of his descendants some 400 years ago, and the Sen family has continued to pass on its way of tea for 16 generations.

SPICE worked with two of Sen Rikyu's descendants, Great Grand Master Sen Soshitsu XV and Grand Master Sen Soshitsu XVI Iemoto, to develop this unit. Each wrote a personal letter, expressing their excitement about introducing American students to a cherished Japanese tradition. Grand Master Sen Soshitsu XVI Iemoto says, "In the age of globalization, there is a great need for truly international people, that is, those who understand and appreciate their own culture as well as that of others, and those who value both the diversity of mankind and the universality of the human spirit. These are the people who will enrich and reinvigorate our global society in the future." His father, Great Grand Master Sen Soshitsu XV, adds, "I am very happy to have been involved with this project which, I pray, will help to contribute to world peace and goodwill through my motto 'Peacefulness through a Bowl of Tea.'" ■

War-torn Afghanistan Yearns to Join Family of Nations, Ambassador to U.S. Says

Said Tayeb Jawad asserts terrorists are defeated in country, but not eliminated; calls for more investment and expertise

BY LISA TREI

FOUR YEARS AFTER THE OUSTER OF THE EXTREMIST TALIBAN GOVERNMENT, Afghanistan is moving ahead but needs investment and expertise to recover from 30 years of war, the country's ambassador to the United States said during a Nov. 14 luncheon at the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies.

"Afghanistan has come a long way but the journey has just started," said Said Tayeb Jawad, a former exile who returned to work for his homeland in 2002. The one-time San Francisco-based legal consultant was named Afghanistan's ambassador to Washington two years ago by then-Interim President Hamid Karzai. "We would like to join the family of nations once again and stand on our own feet as soon as possible," he said.

In an address to about 100 faculty, students, staff and donors, Jawad spoke of his country's strategic role in the war on terrorism. "Global security is one concept," he said. "In order to fight terrorism effectively, better investment in Afghanistan is needed to stabilize the country and make [it] a safer place for Afghans and, therefore, global security."

Afghanistan has established all the institutions needed for the emergence of a civil society, Jawad said. A new constitution was approved in January 2004, presidential elections took place in October of that year and elections for a new parliament were held two months ago. "The constitution we have adopted is the most liberal in the region," he said. Although problems abound—Afghanistan is the poorest country in Asia, only 6 percent of its residents have access to electricity and only 22 percent have clean water—the ambassador expressed hope for the future. About 3.6 million refugees have returned home, he said, and 86 percent of Afghans think they are better off today than four years ago, according to an Asia Foundation survey.

Émigrés are the leading investors in the country, Jawad said, noting that an Afghan American recently pumped $150 million into the country's nascent cell phone system. Many others, including Jawad himself, have heeded President Karzai's call for émigré professionals to aid their homeland. Other international expertise is also moving in: Eleven foreign banks have opened for business and 60,000 skilled workers from Pakistan and Iran have moved to Kabul. "We are trying to reconnect the country by building roads and the communication system," Jawad said. "Reconnecting the country is important for national unity but also for the fight against terrorism and narcotics."

Tackling the profitable opium trade is a top challenge facing the government and its greatest obstacle to national reconstruction, Jawad said. "Its proceeds feed into terrorism and lawlessness," he said. In the past, horticulture comprised 70 percent of Afghanistan's exports. But 30 years of war decimated a generation of farmers and destroyed traditional farming. "If you have a vineyard or orchard, you have to have a prospect of 10 years," the ambassador said. "If you don't have a sense of hope, you grow poppy seeds. It takes three months to harvest poppy. You can put it in a bag, take it with you and become a refugee again."

While terrorists and the Taliban are defeated in Afghanistan, Jawad said, they are not eliminated and they continue to attack what he described as soft targets: schools and mosques and aid workers. But in the last two days, a U.S. soldier and NATO peacekeepers were killed in attacks, which police blame on al-Qaida. To help counter this, efforts are under way to build a trained national army and police force. More than 36,000 soldiers already have been trained. While the country is grateful for foreign military assistance, the ambassador said, "It's our job to defend our country."

The country's leadership also allowed lower-ranking Taliban to join the government; three former officials have been elected to the new parliament. "This was a decision that was difficult to take," Jawad said. "But we want to deny terrorists a recruiting ground. We are trying to pursue a policy of reconciliation. We cannot afford to have another circle of violence and another circle of revenge."

At the end of the address, Institute Director Coit Blacker reiterated a formal statement initially made in August inviting President Karzai to visit Stanford. ■

REPRINTED FROM STANFORD REPORT NOVEMBER 16, 2005

U.S. Can Help Liberia Break With Its Violent Past

BY STEVE RADELET AND JEREMY M. WEINSTEIN

ELLEN JOHNSON SIRLEAF'S INAUGURATION AS THE PRESIDENT of Liberia marks a watershed in the country's tumultuous history.

Twenty-five years of misrule and civil war under Samuel Doe, Charles Taylor, and successive interim governments have left the country in ruins. Nearly 300,000 Liberians lost their lives, average income is one-eighth what it was in 1980, and large majorities of the population subsist in dire poverty.

Since United Nations and U.S. troops ousted Taylor in 2003, a fragile peace has taken hold, supported by 15,000 U.N. peacekeepers. With free and peaceful elections under their belts, Liberians are feeling new optimism and hope. Markets here are bustling, stores are freshly painted and open for business, and newspapers and radios feature lively debate.

The new government is a clear break from a past characterized by rule by force, extensive corruption, and a culture of impunity. Sirleaf, the first African woman elected head of state, has been an outspoken champion of accountability, transparency, and good governance for decades, a stance that landed her in jail twice and was a hallmark of her opposition to past governments and campaign for the presidency.

Already change is under way. She has instituted a code of conduct and full financial disclosure for senior officials, and endorsed a program that will install internationally recruited financial controllers in several state enterprises and create a strong anti-corruption commission. Her government plans to publish financial accounts on the Web, make it easier for whistleblowers to report infractions, and rewrite Liberia's outdated constitution to firmly establish participatory democracy, decentralize power, and install robust checks on the executive.

Recovery from deep conflict in Africa is not easy, but we know it is possible. Mozambique was destroyed by civil war in the 1980s, but its democratically elected government led the way to peace, stability, and a doubling of income in a dozen years. Sierra Leone suffered a blood bath in the 1990s, but the 1999 peace agreement and 2001 elections brought stability and economic growth of 7 percent a year. Rwanda's genocide was followed by a recovery that few could have imagined.

But Sirleaf faces a daunting task. Liberia's recovery will depend mainly on Liberians themselves, but it will require strong international support, just as in Mozambique, Sierra Leone, and Rwanda.

West Africa's civil wars have spawned widespread smuggling of diamonds, transshipment of drugs, and easy money laundering opportunities for global terrorist groups. Liberia's historic moment provides the U.S. administration a chance to show it is serious about supporting nascent democracies, creating stability in a volatile region, and providing economic opportunities for Africa's poorest countries.

First, the United States must continue its crucial role in the demobilization of combatants and commit to long-term rebuilding of Liberia's police and army. The new government must be able to maintain and enhance security to begin to recover.

Second, the administration should support rapid and comprehensive forgiveness of Liberia's debts, which were mainly undertaken and wasted by the rapacious Doe government. It makes no more sense to stick today's Liberians with the bill, including 20 years of accumulated interest, than to force today's Iraqis to pay Saddam Hussein's bills.

Third, and perhaps most urgent, Congress should approve supplemental funding of $50 million to $100 million to support the new government. Unfortunately, Congress recently cut the administration's initial request for Liberia, a short-sighted step that sent the wrong signal to a struggling democracy and old ally at a crucial turning point. These funds would build critical infrastructure, put kids back into schools, and continue vital training for security forces. It would give Liberians their best chance of securing peace and basic freedoms. ■

ORIGINALLY APPEARED IN BOSTON GLOBE, JANUARY 17, 2006

Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law: The New Wave

AN INTERVIEW WITH KATHRYN STONER-WEISS

INTEREST IN DEMOCRACY, ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, AND THE RULE OF LAW is clearly on the rise. Just as global attention in 2005 remained riveted on establishing and protecting the fundamentals of democracy in transitioning societies—the parliamentary elections in Afghanistan, the constitutional vote in Iraq, the threat to civil liberties in Russia—these issues took on increasing prominence on the Stanford campus, for policymakers and students alike.

STANFORD SUMMER FELLOWS PROGRAM

The Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law (CDDRL), the Freeman Spogli Institute's newest research center, hosted its first annual Summer Fellows Program on campus in August. This innovative program is designed to help emerging and established leaders of transitioning countries in their efforts to create the fundamental institutions of democracy, fight the pernicious problem of corruption, improve governance at all levels of society, and strengthen prospects for sustainable economic development. In contrast to other programs of democracy promotion, which seek to transfer ready-made models to countries in transition, the Stanford program provides a comparative perspective on the evolution of established democratic practices, as well as theoretical and practical background on issues of democracy and good governance, to assist with needed economic, political, and judicial reform.

The three-week 2005 leadership seminar attracted 32 participants from 28 countries for specialized teaching, training, and outreach, including leaders from the Middle East, North and Sub-Saharan Africa, Central Asia, and parts of the former Soviet Union, whose stability is so vital to the international system. The curriculum draws on the combined expertise of Stanford scholars and practitioners in the fields of political science, economics, law, sociology, and business and emphasizes the dynamic linkages among democratization, economic development, and the rule of law in transitioning countries. The summer 2006 Summer Fellows Program runs from July 31–August 18, 2006, on the Stanford campus. Consult CDDRL's website, http://cddrl.stanford.edu/summerfellows for additional details.

DEMOCRACY, DEVELOPMENT, AND THE RULE OF LAW

In the fall quarter of 2005, a new undergraduate course, titled Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law (PS/IR 114D), examining the dynamic and interactive linkages among democratic institutions, economic development, and the framework of law proved to be an all-star attraction for Stanford students. Conceived by the research faculty and staff at CDDRL as an important introduction to fundamental concepts and team-taught by a number of prominent Stanford scholars—including University President Emeritus Gerhard Casper (Stanford Law School), Larry Diamond (Hoover Institution), CDDRL Director Michael McFaul (Hoover Institution and Department of Political Science), and Peter Henry (Graduate School of Business), the course attracted a record number of students this fall. *Encina Columns* recently interviewed Kathryn Stoner-Weiss, associate director of research and senior research scholar at CDDRL, the course convener, to glean a few highlights.

Q. WHY DID YOU CHOOSE TO OFFER THE COURSE AT THIS TIME?

A. CDDRL research staff and faculty decided to offer the course in the fall of 2005 as a launch for what we hope will become an honors program. We wanted to use PS/IR 114D as a gateway course into other courses taught by our faculty, as well. For example, Larry Diamond teaches a very popular course on democracy, and we thought our course would be a good way to introduce undergraduates to some of the basic themes of that course, while also introducing them to connections between democracy and economic development and the interplay of these with the rule of law.

Q. DID YOU ENVISION A QUARTER-LONG OR YEAR-LONG COURSE? WHY?

A. The course was always envisioned as just a quarter-long course. This is to provide a launch into the menu of other courses that are offered by our faculty.

Q. WERE YOU SURPRISED BY THE STUDENT RESPONSE?

A. We were very surprised to have 130 students in the course this fall. We ran the course as a "beta test" in the spring of 2005 with just 25 students, but apparently the buzz among undergraduates was good and our enrollment numbers jumped in September when we offered the course again. The political science department was caught a little off guard and we had to hustle to find enough teaching assistants to staff the course.

Q. WHO WERE YOUR MAIN LECTURERS AND WHAT WERE THEIR TOPICS?

A. We had 13 lecturers in all including Gerhard Casper, on what rule of law means and why people choose to follow law or not; Larry Diamond, on meanings of democracy and Iraq; Avner Greif, on how economic institutions are established historically; and Jeremy Weinstein, on international aid and development in Africa, to name but a few.

Q. WHAT TOPICAL THEMES HAVE BEEN EXPLORED WITH YOUR STUDENTS?

A. The Iraq lecture by Larry Diamond was particularly topical and the students clearly learned a lot from him. They also enjoyed Jeremy Weinstein's lecture on debates on aid policy in Africa. He set it up in an engaging way so that students had to decide whether "conditionality" was a good idea in providing aid to Africa or not.

Q. DID YOU FIND THAT PARTICULAR ISSUES HAD SPECIAL "RESONANCE" FOR STANFORD STUDENTS?

A. I think that there is growing interest among Stanford undergraduates in how democracy can be promoted and to what extent the United States should be involved in this project. Many students in our course are interested in doing some sort of work in the development field, so they wanted to explore cases of when democracies have become consolidated versus situations where they slid back into dictatorship. They are also particularly interested in when or whether force is appropriate in promoting or establishing democracy in the Middle East and Afghanistan, for example.

Q. WHAT PROVED MOST GRATIFYING TO YOU? DID YOU GAIN NEW INSIGHT?

A. I always gain new insights when I interact with smart students who are deeply interested and engaged in these issues. I also find it a real privilege to actually sit down and listen to my colleagues deliver lectures on areas of their expertise. That is truly a treat.

Q. WHAT'S NEXT? WILL YOU OFFER THIS COURSE AGAIN?

A. Yes, we intend to offer the course every fall quarter. We are also currently planning to launch an honors program, perhaps this spring. As part of that we will offer a seminar for juniors interested in writing theses on the general themes of democracy, development, and the rule of law in the developing world.

2006 SHORENSTEIN JOURNALISM AWARD

This annual award, which carries a cash prize of $10,000, honors a journalist not only for a distinguished body of work, but also for the particular way that work has helped American readers to understand the complexities of Asia. It is awarded jointly by the Walter H. Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center (Shorenstein APARC) in the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies, Stanford University, and the Shorenstein Center on Press, Politics, and Public Policy in the Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University.

This year's recipient is Melinda Liu. Ms. Liu was named *Newsweek's* Beijing bureau chief in September 1998, returning to the bureau she herself opened in 1980. Prior to that, she served as diplomatic correspondent, operating out of *Newsweek's* Washington bureau between 1992 and 1998. Liu has reported extensively on international policy, both in the U.S. and abroad.

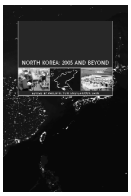
"Few journalists have covered Asia's dramas more insightfully than Melinda Liu," says Donald Emmerson, director of the Southeast Asia Forum at Shorenstein APARC and Shorenstein Award jury member.

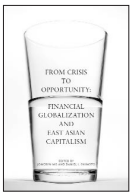
In the spring of 1989, Liu supervised *Newsweek's* coverage of the Tiananmen Square student protests. In September 1988 she was the only Western staff correspondent in Rangoon when the Burmese military launched a violent takeover. In 1986 and 1987, Liu covered the fall of Philippine strongman Ferdinand Marcos and unsuccessful coup attempts against President Corazón Aquino.

Liu joined *Newsweek* in 1980 and opened the magazine's Beijing bureau the same year. Prior to joining *Newsweek,* Liu was China-economy correspondent for the *Far Eastern Economic Review,* and a Taipei stringer for *Newsweek,* the *Washington Post,* and *CBS News.*

Melinda Liu gave a lecture on February 16, 2006, titled "China in the World: A View from Beijing," offering insights into her experiences as a journalist in Asia with a specific focus on China.

SHORENSTEIN APARC PUBLISHES TOPICAL NEW MONOGRAPHS ADDRESSING NORTH KOREA AND FINANCIAL GLOBALIZATION IN EAST ASIA





In February 2006, Shorenstein APARC published two new titles in its series of topical in-house monographs. Shorenstein APARC Distinguished Fellow Michael H. Armacost oversees the series, which is distributed by Brookings Institution Press.

The first volume, *North Korea: 2005 and Beyond,* edited by Philip W. Yun and Gi-Wook Shin, asks: Can North Korea be plugged into the world? Ten years ago, in the summer of 1995, it was fashionable in Washington and Seoul to predict the imminent collapse of North Korea's political and economic systems, and even the state itself. While clearly an errant forecast, it is easy to see why pundits and analysts thought as they did. Ten years on, this volume aims to rectify misconceptions and increase collective understanding about North Korea. It is intended to present a snapshot of what is happening in North Korea now—economically, politically, and socially. The distinguished contributors—specialists in politics, economics, human rights, and security—advocate a subtler, more multidimensional approach to the North Korea problem. Offering cautionary perspectives on this poorly understood place, they highlight recent positive developments and suggest solutions to seemingly intractable problems. Most attest that economics, commerce, and integration—all arenas in which slow progress is being made—may be the most powerful forces for change on the Korean peninsula.

The second book, edited by Jongryn Mo and Daniel I. Okimoto, is titled *From Crisis to Opportunity: Financial Globalization and East Asian Capitalism.* Since the mid-1990s, China, Japan, and Korea have come under severe pressure to restructure and reform their economic systems. Indeed, across East Asia, governments are attempting to address their structural problems with a variety of reform programs. This volume identifies and accounts for empirical regularities across East Asian countries and sectors, which previous studies have left largely unexplained. In general, the distinguished contributors to this collection conclude that the interaction between financial globalization and domestic politics is the key to unlocking the reform process. In particular, the authors address issues important to the study of East Asian political economies—their receptivity to financial globalization, their financial integration, the convergence or divergence of their economic institutions, and the impact that their institutional transformations will have on national competitive advantage and the global economic system.

Copies are available from Shorenstein APARC or the Brookings Institution Press.

CESP AWARDS AND PUBLICATIONS

Awards

This November the Stanford Alumni Association presented CESP senior fellow Pamela Matson with the 2005 Richard W. Lyman Award for exceptional volunteer service to the University. Matson is the Chester Naramore Dean of the School of Earth Sciences and the Richard and Rhoda Goldman Professor in Environmental Studies. The award recognizes her participation in a wide range of alumni events, including leading 10 international travel-study programs. "Whatever the venue, Matson is an inspiring, passionate speaker who motivates alumni to learn more about environmental issues and Stanford's role in addressing them," states Howard E. Wolf, president of the Alumni Association.

PESD Publications

PESD director David Victor published a scholarly piece on sustainable development titled "Recovering Sustainable Development" in the January/February 2006 issue of *Foreign Affairs.* Sustainable development—the notion that boosting economic growth, protecting natural resources, and ensuring social justice can be complementary goals—has lost much appeal over the past two decades. It has become the victim of woolly thinking and interest-group politics. Victor argues the concept can be relevant again, but only if its original purpose—helping the poor live healthier lives on their own terms—is restored.

□

Victor, with PESD research fellows Joshua House and Sarah Joy, published "A Madisonian Approach to Climate Policy" in the September 15, 2005, issue of *Science.* Climate change is a global phenomenon, but the institutions needed to implement effective policy reside mainly with national governments. This mismatch explains why serious efforts to control emissions of greenhouse gases, such as markets for emission credits, are fragmented across national and regional lines. Climate policy is emerging from the bottom up rather than through globally orchestrated treaties such as the Kyoto Protocol. Fuller efforts to control emissions will require serious engagement of the United States and developing countries, as well as viable schemes for integrating the many fragmented policies that are arising as governments grapple with the climate challenge.

□

The September 2005 issue of *Energy Policy* included an article written by contributing author David Victor titled "An Energy Model for a Low Income Rural African Village." The article reports on efforts to extend a MARKAL energy model for South Africa to include rural energy choices, allowing for computation of optimal energy systems in a typical (non-electrified) rural village. A previous study (Howells et al. 2002) highlighted deficiencies in earlier efforts to build models of rural household energy behavior. The present study incorporates a new village energy survey. It also deploys TIMES, an extension of MARKAL, that allows explicit modeling of time-of-day load curves, for demand side management analysis, and the representation of storage devices and end-use technologies that meet more than one energy service concurrently.

CISAC RESEARCH DOMINATES FALL 2005 *INTERNATIONAL SECURITY*

In the fall 2005 *International Security,* CISAC scholars wrote three of five articles, offering policy suggestions to address new nuclear challenges and complex regional security issues.

"India and Pakistan's Unstable Peace: Why Nuclear South Asia Is Not Like Cold War Europe," by CISAC visiting professor Paul Kapur, argues that nuclear danger facilitates conventional cross-border conflict in South Asia. With India, Pakistan and other nations that seek to gain regional security by acquiring nuclear weapons, Kapur warns that diplomacy based on Cold War lessons is likely to backfire. Instead of aiming for nuclear stability as the United States and Soviet Union did, he suggests diplomatic efforts in South Asia, and perhaps Northeast Asia and the Middle East as well, should focus on resolving regional disputes.

In "Ringing In Proliferation: How to Dismantle an Atomic Bomb Network," CISAC fellow Alexander Montgomery says successful strategies for preventing states from obtaining nuclear weapons must combine diplomatic, social and economic benefits to the states that support proliferation, along with clear prohibitions and credible threats. These efforts, which Montgomery advocates over regime change, should focus on second-tier proliferators—the illegal suppliers of nuclear weapons technology—rather than squarely on the countries seeking nuclear weapons.

Also in this issue of *International Security* is "Regime Insecurity and International Cooperation: Explaining China's Compromises in Territorial Disputes," by former CISAC fellow M. Taylor Fravel, an assistant professor of political science and member of the Security Studies Program at Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

SEED MAGAZINE NAMES CISAC FELLOW A 2005 SCIENCE ICON

Seed magazine named CISAC science fellow Jonathan Farley as one of 15 "science icons" for 2005. The magazine, which covers science and culture, named as icons "people who have shaped the global conversation about science in 2005." It recognized Farley for his use of mathematics in fighting terrorism. Farley has shown how lattice theory, a mathematical study of order and hierarchy, can help identify how many terrorists—and which ones—need to be captured to disable a terrorist cell. He founded Phoenix Mathematical Systems Modeling, a company that applies mathematical approaches to specific problems in countering terrorism.

CISAC SCIENTIST OUTLINES SYMPTOMS TO WATCH IN SENATE NERVE AGENT ALARM

A nerve agent alarm that went off in the Russell Senate Office Building was likely false, CISAC science program director Dean Wilkening told CNN, as eight senators and more than 200 staffers awaited test results in a parking garage near the building. People in the building would have shown "very distinct, very sudden-onset symptoms if they had been exposed to a nerve agent," Wilkening said.

Further tests after the initial alarm found no evidence of chemical warfare agents. Wilkening, who researches biological and chemical terrorism threats, was interviewed on CNN *Paula Zahn Now,* CNN *Larry King Live* and ABC's *KGO-TV7* news in San Francisco.

BOARD OF VISITORS RENAMED FREEMAN SPOGLI INSTITUTE ADVISORY BOARD

The Freeman Spogli Institute's Board officially changed its name at year-end 2005 from the "Board of Visitors" to the "Advisory Board of the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies at Stanford University" and, in common parlance, will be known as the "FSI Advisory Board." In announcing the change, FSI Director Coit Blacker stated, "This is a much more accurate description of the board's role in offering advice and counsel to me, and to other leaders and faculty of the Institute. I welcome the change, and hope others do, too." The board, currently led by Reva B. Tooley, chair, and Philip W. Halperin, vice chair, is comprised of 35 national and international leaders and supporters of the Institute, many of whom are Stanford alumni, drawn from such fields as business, government, law, academic affairs, and philanthropy. The roster of FSI Advisory Board members appears on page 15 of this issue.

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THE ENCINA PROJECT

Building an International Studies Community at Stanford

Under the auspices of Stanford's International Initiative, FSI will lead a new fundraising effort to complete the renovation of the Encina complex, expanding the home base for Stanford's international studies community. The newly renovated complex will provide space for growing activities of the Institute and collaborative international programs with the schools of humanities and sciences, business, law and medicine. The internal courtyard of the Encina complex will be reconfigured to encourage community and provide a unique outdoor setting for Bechtel Conference Center events.

As one of the University's architectural treasures, the Encina complex embodies the historic flavor of the original Stanford campus. Renovations will restore many of the unique features of the early design, transforming the 19th century dining halls of the Commons into collaborative spaces that will engender the personal connections and creative exchange that spark and sustain innovative cross-disciplinary work.

As with the earlier renovation of Encina Hall, Stephen D. Bechtel Jr. has again provided a lead gift to start the project. Following his inspiration, efforts are now being undertaken to complete renovation funding.

For information about making a gift to FSI in support of this or other objectives of the Institute, please contact Evelyn Kelsey, associate director for development and public affairs, at 650-725-4206 or by email at ezkelsey@stanford.edu.

FREEMAN SPOGLI INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

Stanford University
Encina Hall
Stanford, CA 94305-6055

Phone: 650-723-4581
Fax: 650-725-2592
Email: fsi-information@stanford.edu
http://fsi.stanford.edu

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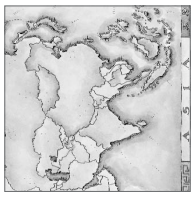
EDITOR: Judith Paulus EDITORIAL BOARD MEMBERS: Sharan L. Daniel, Ashley Dean, Elodie Escobar, Ganka Hadjipetrova, Evelyn Kelsey, Neeley Main, Sara Selis, Robert Sherman, Victoria Tomkinson, and Johanna Wee
DESIGN: AKA Creative Group, Palo Alto, CA

SPRING 2006

INSIDE:



FREEMAN SPOGLI INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

WELCOME TO Encina COLUMNS

For those of us deeply involved with and committed to the Freeman Spogli Institute and the Stanford International Initiative, it has been an exhilarating six months.

- In October 2005, we launched a $3 million venture fund, the Presidential Fund for Innovation in International Studies, to support collaborative research and teaching on three overarching global issues: promoting peace and security, improving governance, and advancing human well-being. In February 2006, we awarded the first grants, totaling $1.05 million, to eight deserving Stanford faculty teams.
- We held two Open Houses to offer faculty from Stanford's seven schools the opportunity to learn more about the International Initiative's research funding, faculty billets and upcoming symposium, and to encourage faculty to join interdisciplinary working groups now forming to develop Initiative programs.
- Honoring our commitment to take Stanford to the world, we featured a prominent panel from the Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law in Los Angeles on January 21, as part of the Stanford Matters series. Moderated by Kathleen Brown, the panel included Michael McFaul, Kathryn Stoner-Weiss, and Larry Diamond, who jointly addressed a primary issue on the global agenda: Can and should the United States seek to promote democracy around the world?
- In partnership with the Asia Society, we took a distinguished panel from the Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center to New York on January 23 to address "A Changing Asia? Threat or Opportunity." Panelists included Michael Armacost, Donald Emmerson, Gi-Wook Shin, and the Eurasia Group's Harry Harding.
- We welcomed prominent leaders to the Institute, including former Japanese Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto, Estonian President Arnold Rüütel, Dean Emeritus of Harvard's John F. Kennedy School Joseph Nye, British Ambassador H.E. Sir David Manning, and the winner of the 2005 Shorenstein Journalism Award, *Newsweek* Beijing Bureau Chief, Melinda Liu.

As the Director of the Institute, and a steward of the International Initiative, I am heartened by our accomplishments and humbled by the road ahead. We will continue to invest in new faculty positions, new research that would not otherwise be possible, the internationalization of the student body, and a common home for Stanford's international policy endeavors. Stay tuned. We welcome your involvement and comments.

COIT D. BLACKER, DIRECTOR