FREEMAN SPOGLI INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

THE NEWSLETTER OF THE FREEMAN SPOGLI INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

FSI STANFORD

SUMMER 2007

Encina COLUMNS

FREEMAN SPOGLI INSTITUTE
FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

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INSIDE:

FREEMAN SPOGLI INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

WELCOME TO Encina COLUMNS

As Stanford University's primary forum for consideration of contemporary and cross-cutting international issues, FSI engages in research, teaching, and outreach on the defining issues of our time—concerns such as a way forward in Iraq, securing Afghanistan, terrorism, North Korea's and Iran's nuclear programs, infectious diseases, climate change, and energy reform.

FSI continues to welcome renowned leaders, diplomats, and public intellectuals, including Lt. Gen. Karl Eikenberry, who assessed the Afghanistan campaign; Vali Nasr, who analyzed *The Rise of the Shia;* 2007 Drell lecturer Thom Shanker, who profiled *The War on Three Fronts: Iraq, the Pentagon, and Main Street;* Ambassador Robert Hormats, who discussed his new book *The Price of Liberty: Paying for America's Wars;* German Ambassador Klaus Scharioth; and Congressman Mike Honda.

Distinguished Payne lecturers included British novelist Ian McEwan, who offered his *End of the World Blues;* the World Health Organization's Dr. David Heymann, who discussed *Public Health Security in the 21st Century;* and UNAIDS Executive Director Peter Piot, who addressed *AIDS: Pandemic and Agent for Change.*

Stanford President Emeritus Gerhard Casper gave a well-attended Wesson Lecture on *Caesarism in Democratic Politics—Reflections on Max Weber,* and I was privileged to lecture on *U.S.–European Relations After the Iraq War* at Vienna's Renner Institute.

FSI screened an award-winning documentary from the 2007 Sundance Film Festival, *No End in Sight: The American Occupation of Iraq,* followed by a panel featuring Larry Diamond, film director Charles Ferguson, Col. Chris Gibson, and Pulitzer Prize-winning Stanford historian David Kennedy.

As FSI's director, it is gratifying that all of these efforts have attracted new recognition and support for our work. We rely on the generous support of our friends—old and new, established and up-and-coming—to invest in new faculty positions, research, course offerings, and a home for Stanford's international studies community.

I will be taking a brief sabbatical beginning this summer, leaving the institute in the capable hands of Deputy Director Michael McFaul. Mike and I are grateful for the talent, dedication, and generosity of our faculty, staff, and friends. Please plan to attend FSI's third international conference, *Power and Prosperity: New Dynamics, New Dilemmas,* on Nov. 15, 2007—you won't want to miss the seismic shifts and global opportunities it will explore. I'll see you in January 2008.

COIT D. BLACKER, DIRECTOR

Encina COLUMNS

SUMMER ISSUE
2007
STANFORD UNIVERSITY

Disease as Agent for Change

SOMEWHERE, SOMEONE HAS THE FLU. Dr. David Heymann, assistant director-general for communicable diseases at the World Health Organization (WHO), is talking to the Stanford community about infectious diseases and public health security, and his discussion invariably comes back to just that—influenza, or "the flu." The Global Influenza Programme at WHO is one of the organization's most developed, and with good reason: There are 3 to 5 million cases of severe influenza around the world each year, resulting in 250,000 to 500,000 deaths. What Heymann and the WHO influenza surveillance network are on the lookout for are new strains like H5N1 (avian influenza) and seasonal outbreaks in areas not equipped to manage them.

The surveillance network, Heymann explained, is one way that global collective action can reduce vulnerability to infectious diseases—and shows how advances in technology can be used to fill the gaps in official country-by-country reporting. While international health regulations are in place, "they're outdated," he said. Often a "first case of a disease occurs, a country either reports late or doesn't report at all because it doesn't want to let anyone know, and so there's a delayed response, the outbreak is uncontrolled, it makes people sick and kills them in the country, and there's a risk of international spread," said Heymann.

But in February 1999, the Global Public Health Intelligence Network (GPHIN)—an Internet-based, early-warning system developed by the Canadian Ministry of Health—detected an outbreak of fatal influenza in rural Afghanistan, then under control of the Taliban. It was a perfect example of outbreak verification and response—and one that was entirely independent of formal national reporting. And in 2003, as part of WHO efforts to contain SARS, public health officials mapped out clusters of influenza cases, using software the Hong Kong police ordinarily use to track petty crime, said Heymann, citing another example. CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

LEFT TO RIGHT: PETER PIOT (ROD SEARCEY); PETER PIOT, LEFT, WITH CHP/PCOR DIRECTOR ALAN GARBER AND STUDENT (ROD SEARCEY); INDONESIAN HEALTH MINISTER SITI FADILLAH SUPARI LOOKS ON AS DAVID HEYMANN TALKS TO JOURNALISTS DURING A NEWS CONFERENCE IN JAKARTA, MARCH 27, 2007 (REUTERS/BEAWIHARTA BEAWIHARTA).

FSI STANFORD

Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies

Third Annual Conference And Dinner

Power and Prosperity:

New Dynamics, New Dilemmas

SAVE THE DATE:
November 15, 2007
Frances C. Arrillaga Alumni Center
Stanford University

FSI's Michael McFaul and Larry Diamond "Tops" for Stanford Students

THE STANFORD ALUMNI ASSOCIATION announced in May the selection of political science professor Michael McFaul (left), deputy director of the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies, director of FSI's Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law (CDDRL), and the Peter and Helen Bing Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution, as the 2007 Class Day speaker. A world-renowned expert on U.S.-Russian relations, democratization in the post-Soviet world, and efforts at democracy promotion abroad, McFaul also co-directs the Iran Democracy Project and writes widely on contemporary Iran. He received the Dean's Award for Distinguished Teaching in 2005. McFaul received a standing ovation after delivering the address in Maples Pavilion on Saturday, June 16, 2007, to an appreciative audience of graduating seniors, their families, friends, and the leadership of Stanford University.

Hoover Institution senior fellow and CDDRL democracy program coordinator Larry Diamond (right) was selected as Teacher of the Year by the Associated Students of Stanford University and honored during Commencement Weekend with the Dinkelspiel Award for Distinctive Contributions to Undergraduate Education. It was widely agreed among students that Diamond's influential teaching "transcends political and ideological barriers," the ASSU said. The Dinkelspiel Award cited Diamond, *inter alia,* for "his inspired teaching and commitment to undergraduate education; for the example he sets as a scholar and public intellectual, sharing his passion for democratization, peaceful transitions, and the idea that each of us can contribute to making the world a better place; and for helping make Stanford an ideal place for undergraduates." ■

AIDS and Influenza Devastating, but Also Agents for Social Change, Experts Say

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

BY HEATHER BOYNTON

In a world in which increasingly global commerce and rapid contact across national lines have made infectious disease a foreign policy issue, intergovernmental health organizations such as WHO are finding that there are limits to the cooperation and collective sense of responsibility of member countries. After the United States vetoed a revised set of international health regulations in 2006—the last update had been in 1969—Heymann and other public health officials started to redefine the scope of their work. For Heymann, that means continuing to work with countries to develop containment strategies, but using technology to gather and verify information independently.

Heymann concluded two weeks in residence at Stanford on April 12 by giving a 2007 Payne Distinguished Lecture, titled "Infectious Diseases Across Borders: Public Health Security in the 21st Century." Four weeks later, on May 9, another eminent physician and public health activist also delivered a Payne Distinguished Lecture, "AIDS: Pandemic and Agent for Change," to the Stanford community—Dr. Peter Piot, executive director of UNAIDS and under secretary-general of the United Nations. Like Heymann, Piot is no stranger to the "globalization of risk," as he calls it, nor to its implications for international security and development. AIDS is the fourth-leading cause of death worldwide and the number-one killer for 15–59-year-olds. It has infected 65 million people since it was first diagnosed in 1982; 40 million people are living with HIV today.

Dr. Alan Garber, director of the Center for Health Policy and Center for Primary Care and Outcomes Research (CHP/PCOR), described Piot as "perhaps the most important person in the effort to limit the global spread of the HIV virus and to make sure that people have access to treatment." A major factor in Piot's effectiveness in securing political and financial support for new programs has been his ability to view—and challenge others to view—AIDS in a political context.

"AIDS ranks with climate change, international terrorism, and the threat of nuclear war," Piot told his audience. "This is the most important interdisciplinary issue of our time. …This is not a short-lived phenomenon."

"Act early. Don't take that risk. The price the world is paying is now extraordinarily high."

A WOMAN VISITS AN EXHIBITION IN ATHENS' SYNTAGMA METRO STATION DURING WORLD AIDS DAY (REUTERS/YIORGOS KARAHALIS).

Unlike almost every other disease and health indicator, Piot said, AIDS is not a disease of poverty. It is a disease marked by its exceptionalism as well as its wide-ranging implications for security and human well-being; it affects people in their most productive years and "erodes human and social capital, putting development programs into reverse." In some African countries, teachers are dying faster than new ones can be trained. Other governments struggle to fill institutional and parliamentary positions left vacant after incumbents died of disease. Seventy percent of all military deaths in South Africa are from AIDS.

In the 10 years since UNAIDS was founded, its spending on the developing world has increased 40-fold, from $250 million to $10 billion. Two million people are on antiretroviral treatment in that part of the world. But one of Piot's challenges as executive director of UNAIDS has been maintaining political focus on the epidemic. In 2001, the U.N. General Assembly held a special session on AIDS—the very first time such a session was held for a public health issue. It was a "watershed," said Piot. The session concluded with a Declaration of Commitment to Deal with HIV/AIDS; the meeting, according to Piot, put AIDS "on the political map—not just on public health agendas—and world leaders were taking it seriously."

With their combined years of experience and field work, both men have a clear sense of urgency to respond to public health crises when and as they arise. Piot co-discovered the Ebola virus in Zaire in 1976; Heymann was involved in the initial characterization of Legionnaires' Disease and worked in Africa to contain the second outbreak of the Ebola virus. But they also understand the ironies that have unfolded in public health management over the last 40 years. Heymann discussed the program to eradicate smallpox in the late 1960s and 1970s and how political will, the availability of a cheap and stable vaccine, easy clinical diagnosis, and face-to-face transmission all favored eradication efforts. Smallpox eradication was certified in 1980, two years before the first case of HIV/AIDS (a virus that makes the smallpox vaccine toxic to the human body) was diagnosed. "Address infectious diseases when you can," Heymann said. "The window of opportunity may be smaller than anyone realizes."

Similarly, Piot discussed how HIV/AIDS was underestimated in the early 1980s. Twenty-five years and 65 million HIV cases later, Piot said, we now know to "act early. Don't take that risk. The price the world is paying is now extraordinarily high."

Both Heymann and Piot noted that intellectual property protection is necessary for continued production of vaccines despite the challenge it poses to vaccine access: No profit margin means no production. One of the medium-term strategies Heymann offered is to look at industries in developing countries that might have the capacity and include them in the process. In the long term, some combination of technology transfer in an increased market for seasonal vaccines and the development of new technologies that make it easier to develop vaccines will be necessary.

Piot highlighted a number of the changes in international trade agreements and intellectual property systems in the last few years. In 2001 World Trade Organization members (including the United States) signed the TRIPS-Doha agreement, which provides for fair compensation and generic versions of drugs in times of health crisis. "The aim is to make cheaper drugs available to developing countries," Piot said, "but to still provide fair compensation to patent holders." He also discussed the trade agreements for health issues, negotiated by Bill Clinton, which had been publicly announced just a few days prior.

Whether a country refuses to release bird-flu samples to WHO for vaccine production, as Indonesia did earlier this year, or suspends a basic childhood vaccination program, as Nigeria did in 2003, public health has become a globally politicized issue that exposes the basic inequalities between developed and developing countries. It also, Piot poignantly argued, exposes inequity in gender relations in much of the world. Half of HIV-positive individuals are women; among teenagers, HIV infection rates are five to six times higher in women. There are biological factors, such as the efficiency of transmission; but many more are social, such as women's lack of control over their own bodies and gender violence. AIDS, said Piot, "is probably one of the most lethal aspects of inequality between men and women."

As devastating as AIDS and influenza have been, Piot and Heymann both spoke about areas in which disease has unexpectedly worked as an agent for social change—gay rights, patient-doctor relationships, public debate and activism, public accountability, international governance, development assistance programs, gender relations. The message? There is much work to be done, but there is also progress, and we must stick with it. "The world needs greater intellectual power in the fight against AIDS," said Piot, "a brilliant alliance of politics, business, trade unions, and churches, so that it's not just AIDS workers and activists battling the epidemic." ■

The Effect of Global Warming on Animals and Plants: The Findings of the Fourth Assessment Report

BY TERRY L. ROOT

OVER THE LAST 100 YEARS, the average global surface temperature has warmed ~0.75°C (~1.4°F) and is projected to rise at an escalating rate over the next century. This rate of warming is significantly larger than the rate of sustained warming over the 6,000 years it took for the globe to warm about 6°C from the last ice age to our current warm interglacial period. Extrapolating the more recent warming trend, we see that a 7°C/1000 years rise in temperature is some seven times faster than in the last 18,000 years. As the planet warms, the rate will continue to escalate.

Not only are wild species and their ecosystems having to adapt to rapidly warming temperatures but they also have to cope with other human-caused problems, such as pollution, land-use change, and invasive species. The synergistic effects of these stresses are greatly affecting the resilience of many species and ecosystems. Noticeable changes have been measured in species over the last 30 to 40 years while the global temperature increased around 0.5°C. As the Summary for Policymakers of Working Group I of the Fourth Assessment Report of the IPCC explained, the global temperature could rise over the next 90 years as much as 6.4°C if we stay on our current energy path—allowing few species to adapt without severe disruptions.

Hundreds of studies have found that wild animals and plants on all continents are already exhibiting discernible changes in response to regional climatic changes.

CHANGES IN RANGES

As the globe warms, species in North America are extending their ranges north and up in elevation, as habitats in these areas have warmed sufficiently to allow colonization. The movements of species forced by rapidly rising temperatures, however, are frequently slowed or blocked by other human-made stresses, such as land-use changes. Consequently, moving populations have to navigate around, over, or across freeways, agricultural areas, industrial parks, and cities.

Species near the poleward side of continents (e. g., South Africa's fynbos) and near mountaintops will have no habitats into which they can disperse as their habitat warms. Species living in these areas will be

TERRY ROOT AND DENA MACMYNOWSKI BRANDING SONGBIRDS NEAR MONARTO, SOUTH AUSTRALIA, TO ASSIST IN ANALYZING CHANGES IN BIRD MIGRATION AND CLIMATE CHANGE.

further stressed by species from farther inland or farther down the mountain moving into their habitats. Indeed, many species currently on islands, on the poleward side of continents, and near the tops of mountains could easily go extinct unless humans move them to another location and make sure they survive there.

From pre-historic to more recent times, species have been found to move independently from other species in their ecosystem, depending on their unique metabolic, physiological, and other requirements. Such independent movement could tear apart communities and disrupt biotic interactions such as predator-prey relationships.

Progressive acidification of oceans due to increasing atmospheric carbon dioxide is also expected to have negative impacts on marine shell-forming organisms (e.g., corals) and their dependent species. Indeed, by 2100 ocean pH is very likely to be lower than during the last 20 million years.

CHANGES IN TIMING

Species on every continent are shifting their timing, such as frogs breeding earlier, cherry blossoms blooming earlier, and leaves turning color later. Over the last 30 years, around 115 species that have exhibited significant changes (plants and animals) in locations around the globe were found to be changing the timing of a spring event earlier by around five days per decade. Only six out of the 115 species (~5%) showed a later timing change.

EXTIRPATION AND EXTINCTION

The escalating rise in average global temperatures over the past century has put numerous species in danger of extinction. "Functionally extinct" species, or species highly likely to go extinct, include those that cannot move to a different location as the temperature increases due to either lack of available habitat or the inability to access it. Without human assistance the probability of these species going extinct is quite high.

Money, land, personnel, or political will are not available for such adaptive endeavors to occur. Also absent is the long-term commitment to translocate even half of the functionally extinct species we know of today. Consequently, many scientists predict that we are standing at the brink of a mass extinction that would be caused by one very careless species.

Roughly 20 to 30 percent of known species are likely to be at increasingly high risk of extinction if global mean temperatures exceed 2–3°C above pre-industrial temperatures (1.3–2.3°C above current). Somewhere between 340,000 and 570,000 of 1.7 million identified species could be committed to extinction primarily due to our negligence.

If we do not change our present trajectory of carbon-emitting energy, the global average temperature could warm by 4°C, committing more than 40 percent of the known species to eventual extinction. That is an unethically high price to pay.

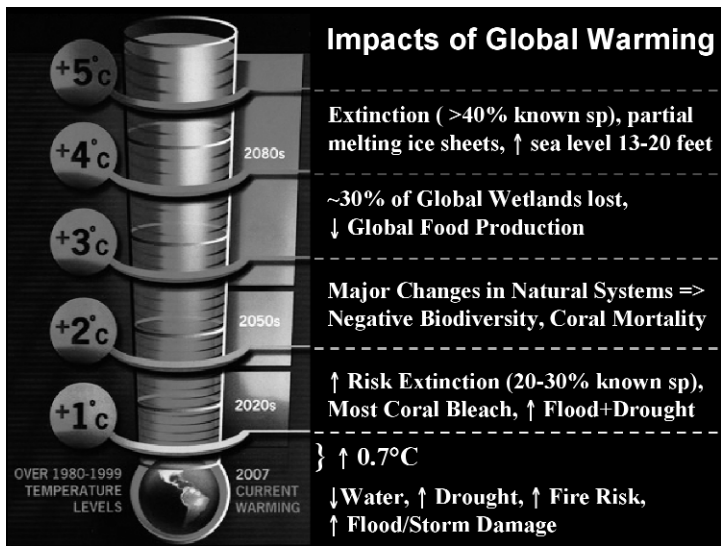
What can we do? LOTS! Just as each vote counts, what each of us does adds up to help the Earth win. Some suggestions: drive fuel-efficient cars; stop using incandescent light bulbs in your home or office; when replacing your roof install an insulating one; use highly energy-efficient windows, heaters, air conditioners, and appliances when remodeling. Use material that does not need to be shipped long distances and make sure those materials are harvested sustainably. Buy as much locally produced food as possible, and, last but by no means least, support government officials who are not afraid to take the lead in solving this problem. ■

Findings of the Fourth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change

BY TERRY L. ROOT

LEFT TO RIGHT: LEAD AUTHORS FROM IPCC WORKING GROUP II MICHAEL OPPENHEIMER, PRINCETON UNIVERSITY; STEVE SCHNEIDER, CO-DIRECTOR OF FSI'S CENTER FOR ENVIRONMENTAL SCIENCE AND POLICY; AND JOEL SMITH, STRATUS CONSULTING, BOULDER, CO.

This time around, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) reports have bluntly stated that humans are indeed causing the globe to warm and the warming is more rapid than it has ever been in the last 18,000 years. In unusually direct language, Working Group I stated that recent warming is "unequivocal" and that humans are very likely to be a major cause in the past several decades at least. Increased heat waves and more intense hurricanes were also said to be associated with this warming trend.



The warming trend is already greatly affecting wild plants and animals Working Group II noted. If we do not kick our carbon-based energy source habits in the not-too-distant future, then the probability of having global average temperatures rise 4°C by 2080–2100 is higher than comfortable, given that the increase could very well directly and indirectly cause more than 40 percent of the species on our planet to be committed to extinction unless humans intercede. Peter Altman of the Natural Environmental Trust, with thoughtful oversight by various authors of the IPCC, constructed this telling graphic (above). ■

Democracy Assistance: Scholars Look at New Ways to Evaluate Programs on the Ground

BY HEATHER BOYNTON

STUDENTS, PAKISTAN (FAISAL MAHMOOD/REUTERS).

WHAT ARE THE PRECONDITIONS for democracy? National identity? Economic wealth? Relative economic equality? How does an unstable, illiberal democracy become a well-functioning, stable one? And what role can assistance play in a country that is transitioning to democracy?

On March 5–6, 2007, the Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law (CDDRL) and The National Academies co-sponsored a conference at Stanford that opened with just such questions. The conference, *Understanding Democratic Transitions and Consolidation From Case Studies: Lessons for Democracy Assistance,* brought scholars on democracy and development together with democracy assistance practitioners from organizations such as the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), National Endowment for Democracy, and Freedom House. Their goal: to review research and methodologies in the field of "applied democratic development."

"Mobilize democracy as a feminist movement and you mobilize half the population worldwide. It is the same for farmers."

Applied democratic development is a relatively new field, one that "melds insights from the academic, policy, and practitioner worlds," according to USAID. Although democracy and governance programs have a 20-year history in U.S. foreign policy, there are few comparative analyses of the effectiveness of this programming, the various factors that interact with it, and how these factors affect each program's likelihood of success. Recognizing the limited rigor in best-practice handbooks and in-house program evaluations, USAID turned to the academic community to help assess and improve methodologies for cross-national research—research that will ultimately provide recommendations for improving existing programs and identify optimal conditions for future ones.

Commissioned to help with this outreach, The National Academies asked scholars including CDDRL and CISAC faculty member Jeremy Weinstein to join a Committee on the Evaluation of USAID Democracy Assistance Programs (CEUDAP). The six-member committee will oversee an independent, third-party study on how to apply quantitative political science research to on-the-ground democracy assistance programs. In addition to ongoing committee meetings in Washington D.C., CEUDAP held a workshop on democracy and governance indicators and the *Understanding Democratic Transitions and Consolidation From Case Studies* conference in order to draw on the work and insight of a larger academic community.

At the end of the yearlong project, CEUDAP will have produced three field studies and a set of recommendations for USAID and other democracy assistance organizations and will incorporate the conference proceedings into the final CEUDAP report. This information will help not only democracy assistance practitioners but also policymakers weighing which programs to support, in what countries.

CDDRL director Michael McFaul, who co-authored *Revolution in Orange: The Origins of Ukraine's Democratic Breakthrough* (2006) with Anders Aslund, opened the conference with an overview of the CEUDAP project and goals for the discussion over the next two days. He also outlined CDDRL's own research project, sponsored by the Smith Richardson Foundation, which seeks to assess all external dimensions of democratization, including European efforts as well as democracy assistance programs conducted by private actors. "We in academia have to do a better job of helping our colleagues in government understand what works and what does not," McFaul remarked. "Democracy assistance is simply too important an enterprise to continue to do without learning from past successes and failures."

In the first morning session, CEUDAP chair and George Mason University professor Jack Gladstone moderated a panel discussion on democratic transitions that included McFaul and CDDRL senior research scholar Terry Karl. Two more afternoon panels also looked at various factors in transitions. Does research support a connection between state strength and regime type? What does democratization in Germany, France, and Spain tell us about preconditions for democratic transitions? Can external actors manipulate the impact of wealth distributions, since countries with highly stratified economies have the hardest time making a transition to democracy?

Jennifer Windsor, executive director of Freedom House, a nonprofit organization that promotes democracy and political transparency, wanted to know what the discussion's implications were for a democracy practitioner. Even in the non-applied fields of democratic development and "quality of democracy," someone offered, researchers are often working toward a shifting target with incomplete information. Risto Volanen, state secretary in the Finnish Prime Minister's Office, suggested changing how we frame democratization. "Democracy is a long historical process that happens in the mind of ordinary humans," he said. "On both sides of the Atlantic, we misunderstand the condition of our democracies."

The second morning examined procedures that work better in consolidating, rather than transitioning to, democracy—stabilizing new democracies rather than trying to "move countries from column A, undemocratic, to column B, democratic," for example. Weinstein suggested looking at indicators of growth rather than growth itself and trying to define a "set of different transition paths we could imagine each country taking."

In the panel that followed, CDDRL democracy program coordinator Larry Diamond and CDDRL predoctoral fellow Amichai Magen discussed combining democratic assistance with other forms of aid to promote consolidation. "Beware," Diamond told the room. "None of this works without political will." He draws from experience as well as research; Diamond was senior advisor to the Coalition Provisional Authority in Iraq, perhaps one of the highest-profile experiments in democracy intervention this decade.

While participants disagreed on specific, ground-level dynamics of democratic development, a few points of consensus broadly took shape. Most people in the room—scholars, policymakers, and practitioners alike—recognized the need to have realistic expectations and to take a long view of democratization. Another area of agreement was that intervention seemed to work best in countries where internal forces are already moving. Finally, a precondition for new democracies seemed to be the development of the "democratic mind"—a democratic culture marked by a robust and engaged civil society. "Mobilize democracy as a feminist movement and you mobilize half the population worldwide," Volanen pointed out. "It is the same for farmers."

Kathryn Stoner-Weiss, CDDRL associate director for research, moderated the first of two roundtables that concluded the conference. Seeking consensus on factors at work in democratization, many in the room realized just how elusive a precise set of guidelines for democracy assistance and intervention actually was. But there are many more months left on the CEUDAP project timetable and many more angles to come at the issue from.

"This is not physics," Diamond said. "It's virtually impossible to control for all forms of data." ■

Addressing HIV/AIDS:

Allying Medicine and Infrastructure With Behavioral Change

BY AMBER HSIAO

WHILE GLOBAL FUNDING FOR HIGH-PROFILE PANDEMICS such as HIV/AIDS has experienced an upsurge in recent years, politics still remain a major barrier to treating HIV/AIDS and reducing its prevalence in many countries. In Zimbabwe especially, international isolation and social turmoil have reduced donor funding, leading to an epidemic of staggering proportions in the relatively small country, according to UNICEF.

Zimbabwe's population is now approximately 9 million, and nearly a quarter of its population is HIV-positive. Zimbabwe receives the lowest donor support for people living with HIV in the southern region of Africa, just $4 per person per year, while neighboring countries such as Zambia receive as much as $184 per person per year. Even as development assistance programs focus on driving down costs for HIV tests and antiretroviral (ARV) drugs to treat HIV-positive individuals, research suggests that people don't always appear to use health technologies to their maximum benefit.

Grant Miller, a core faculty member at FSI's Center for Health Policy and Center for Primary Care and Outcomes Research, is one of six researchers beginning to look at the role that behavioral factors—along with funding and infrastructure development—play in finding a lasting solution to HIV/AIDS. Miller is collaborating with CDDRL and CISAC faculty member Jeremy Weinstein and Stanford professor of economics Seema Jayachandran, as well as Harsha Thirumurthy, professor of public health at the University of North Carolina; Godfrey Woelk, professor in the department of community medicine at the University of Zimbabwe; and David Katzenstein, Stanford professor of medicine.

Their project, "Behavioral Obstacles and Economic Impacts Associated with ART Scale-Up," will investigate behavioral obstacles and economic impacts associated with scaled-up combination antiretroviral treatment (ART) in Chitungwiza, Zimbabwe, located south of the capital city, Harare. The researchers plan to test a new enhanced "antiretroviral treatment literacy" campaign, which would be delivered in conjunction with home-based HIV testing.

"We're going to try to design a greatly enhanced version of information and education about what HIV is and how you get it," Miller explained. "Most people seem to know that to some extent, so more importantly, if you get HIV, what can be done about it? We'll address the logistics of getting treatment, how to comply, and what to expect in terms of side effects. It's hard to figure out how to navigate a complicated system, so we want to assess the role of providing people with information about where to go and what to do to enter the treatment process."

While emigration has depleted funding and the number of health professionals in Zimbabwe, the country does have some local infrastructure and support from the few dedicated physicians left in the country who have developed treatment clinics to deliver care to HIV patients. The group's collaboration with these physicians will aid in the ARV treatment literacy campaign delivery.

"These clinics have worked in Chitungwiza because there are some very amazing doctors who stayed around to deliver care," Jayachandran said. "One of the most impressive aspects of the health infrastructure there is that the government officials dealing with AIDS policy and the doctors on the ground running these clinics are incredibly talented and dedicated. For another town the size of Chitungwiza, they might not have an operable clinic of the same size."

The group is currently collecting baseline data on the cultural and social climate in Chitungwiza. Focus groups are being convened with locals to assess the extent of knowledge deficiencies about HIV/AIDS and AIDS care in order to better inform questionnaire design on HIV treatment modules.

"A big thing that people talk about is stigma. One thing that we're hoping to do in this project is to do tests within the home," Miller said. "We have to figure out a way to deliver a literacy campaign in conjunction with home-based testing in a way that's not advertised as the bright shiny testing van parked in front of your house so everyone knows what's going on inside."

Although the project is not directly taking on issues of stigma, a number of ethical issues arise in doing home-based testing, such as domestic violence, pressure from spouses, and prevailing cultural norms, according to Jayachandran. Gender inequalities in access to health care are also a primary consideration.

"Because most women have kids at some point, in the process of going to prenatal clinics, they are—at least relative to men—getting tested," Miller explained. "So, men don't have this other regular touch point with the health care system. There's probably an important need where a lot of men are slipping through the cracks when women aren't when it comes to at least knowing their HIV status."

Through focus groups, the researchers are also trying to figure out how to frame questions about life expectancy. In an environment where life expectancy has been drastically affected by HIV/AIDS since 1990, dropping from the average 61 years to 42 years for women and 43 years for men, it is difficult to ask people how long they think they will live. Furthermore, without prospects for the future, it is difficult for people to engage in forward-thinking behaviors such as saving and investing in education.

"We suspect that if there is a large increase in how long you think you're going to live, you're going to engage more in forward-looking behavior like saving—but how motivated are you in an environment where inflation sometimes exceeds 2000 percent per month?" Miller posed. "Are you buying durable assets, would you invest in some job training that would enable you to earn rates that negate inflation's impact on the money you stick under your mattress today? We have no idea how someone would even think about saving in an environment like that and have to figure out a lot of logistics."

The researchers have also hired a colleague in Zimbabwe to determine what the standard of care is by talking to locals and those involved in AIDS care.

"Chitungwiza now has ARVs and it didn't used to," Jayachandran said. "Now the bottleneck is getting people to come in and avail themselves of ARVs. That's a better problem to have but it's still a problem. We think counseling can do a better job of convincing and enabling patients to get started on treatment. Our project aims to do that."

The group plans to begin its literacy campaign treatment and home-based HIV testing in the fall of 2007, to learn better ways to connect HIV-positive people with treatment in places like Chitungwiza. Miller is hopeful that the findings will help increase the knowledge and evidence base for what works in the southern Africa context to address HIV/AIDS.

Katzenstein provided much of the help and support in collaborating with the University of Zimbabwe and the Harare public hospitals, while Gerard Kadzirange of the Zimbabwe AIDS Prevention Program has helped link the group to the Chitungwiza General Hospital. The funding for the project came from Stanford's Presidential Fund for Innovation in International Studies, in an award to Weinstein and Katzenstein to conduct research in combating HIV/AIDS in South Africa. ■

RESIDENTS OF CHITUNGWIZA, ZIMBABWE, PARTICIPATE IN WORLD AIDS DAY EVENTS, WITH THE MOTTO OF "STOP AIDS AND KEEP THE PROMISE," MARKED BY SPEECHES, LIVE MUSIC FROM LOCAL MUSICIANS, POEMS, AND DRAMA, ACCOMPANIED BY MESSAGES ON HIV/AIDS AWARENESS AND PREVENTION (NOVATUS MACHEKANO).

Reframing the Nuclear Threat

BY SIEGFRIED S. HECKER

WHAT NUCLEAR THREATS DO WE FACE TODAY? America went to war because its leadership believed Iraq had nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction. We are reminded daily of the potential dangers of Iran turning its quest for nuclear energy into a weapons capability. We are locked in a deep struggle to get North Korea to give up its nuclear status demonstrated in last fall's test. Concerns about Russia's nuclear arsenal are resurfacing. And, we are constantly reminded that we must wage America's "war on terror" to avoid the nexus of international terrorism and nuclear weapons.

All nuclear threats are not alike. How do these and other nuclear threats compare in terms of severity or likelihood? And how can we effectively address them?

It is useful to think of today's nuclear threats at three levels. First is an all-out exchange of nuclear warheads—hundreds of them—that would destroy civilization as we know it. Next is a limited, but still disastrous exchange—tens of warheads—that would create levels of destruction not seen since World War II. The third level is the use of one or several nuclear bombs, which would threaten our way of life. Reframing the nuclear threat in this way allows us to gauge our level of concern and formulate meaningful preventive strategies.

SIEGFRIED S. HECKER

An all-out nuclear exchange could occur today only between the United States and Russia, which still maintain many thousands of warheads in their nuclear inventories. A nuclear war between these two countries represents the only existential threat to the United States.

The end of the Cold War rendered this threat highly improbable but not impossible. An accidental or unauthorized launch followed by a response is still possible. To eliminate this threat, the United States and Russia should follow through on de-targeting and commit to de-alerting their nuclear forces—to remove them from high alert status that allows a launch within minutes to pre-identified targets.

The two nations should commit to making major reductions in their nuclear stockpiles and eventually eliminating them. In the midst of the Cold War, President Ronald Reagan and Soviet General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev reduced their stockpiles and even came close to an agreement to lead the world in abolishing nuclear weapons. Last January in a *Wall Street Journal* op-ed, George Shultz, William Perry, Henry Kissinger, and Sam Nunn called for a renewal of that vision by outlining steps to be taken now.

To move more rapidly toward much smaller numbers, I would add that leaders in both nations should undertake a zero-base nuclear assessment that would answer this question: If you were creating a stockpile from scratch today, how many weapons would you need to meet the current threat? Such a calculus would yield much lower numbers than trying to decide how many weapons you can live without. U.S. and Russian nuclear postures toward China should also carefully avoid provoking a Chinese nuclear buildup.

An exchange of tens of nuclear warheads is somewhat less improbable than nuclear war between Russia and the United States. But at this level, potential confrontations include nuclear exchanges between India and Pakistan, or between the United States and China—over Taiwan, for example, or on Russia's southern border, or in the Middle East, between Israel and possibly Iran in the future. To limit the possibilities, it is crucial to stop more countries from acquiring nuclear weapons. The fewer fingers on the nuclear trigger, the better.

The United States should play a leading role in reinforcing the nuclear nonproliferation regime, centered on the 37-year-old Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), which allows a country to come within a whisker of building a bomb. A global expansion of nuclear power will pose additional challenges to the system. We need new rules of engagement for expanding nuclear power, including viable international controls on uranium enrichment and plutonium reprocessing.

To encourage non-nuclear weapon states to keep their end of the NPT bargain and refrain from acquiring the bomb, the five nuclear weapon states must show a greater commitment to working in good faith toward eventual elimination of their arsenals, as pledged under Article VI of the treaty.

Security guarantees from the United States and other nuclear weapon states can help curb some countries' nuclear ambitions by alleviating fears of invasion by major world powers or by regional foes. India and Pakistan—two nuclear weapon states that aren't parties to the NPT—should continue to pursue confidence-building measures to avoid miscalculation and potential nuclear war. We should help realize the nuclear-free zones that states are calling for in the Middle East, on the Korean peninsula, in Central Asia and in as many other regions as possible.

The United States and other states with nuclear weapons can also lower the risk of limited war by declaring a no-first-use policy, reserving nuclear weapons only as weapons of last resort.

The use of one or several nuclear bombs today is more likely than it was during the Cold War. If detonated in a big city, the damage would be catastrophic. Humankind would survive such a catastrophe, but it could gravely threaten our way of life. A country or a terrorist group in possession of a rudimentary nuclear bomb could deliver such a weapon in a van, boat, or plane. North Korea could do so, in desperation; Israel could do so in response to an existential threat; and under current doctrine, the United States or Russia could do so in response to a chemical, biological, or radiological attack. More likely, and hence of greater concern, is that terrorists would use a nuclear bomb, if they could get one.

The most likely route for terrorists to acquire a bomb is to devise one from stolen or diverted fissile materials. Theft or diversion of a ready-made weapon is far less likely. Building a rudimentary bomb is not easy but is judged to be within the capabilities of some sophisticated terrorist groups if they are able to obtain fissile materials.

Although it is widely recognized that keeping bomb materials out of terrorists' hands is essential, the difficulty of doing so, especially from a technical standpoint, is not well understood. Only a few tens of kilograms of plutonium or highly enriched uranium are required for a bomb, yet almost 2 million kilograms of each exist in the world today, and some of it is not adequately secured. Securing these materials requires greater commitment to nuclear materials safeguards by all countries that possess them. It calls for greater urgency to protect and eventually eliminate highly enriched uranium in research reactors and facilities around the world. Bilateral or multilateral sting operations to intercept nuclear black market trade may help locate material already outside of state control. International cooperation in building databases and detection systems will improve nuclear forensics and attribution.

Each level of nuclear threat implies a different strategy of prevention. But three common aspects emerge as priorities for national and international policymaking:

– The fewer nuclear weapons, the better.

– The fewer fingers on a nuclear trigger, the better.

– Keeping fissile materials out of terrorists' hands is essential.

Finally, this is not a problem for the United States alone to solve. It can only be solved through international cooperation. ■

Each level of nuclear threat implies a different strategy of prevention. But three common aspects emerge as priorities for national and international policymaking:

- *The fewer nuclear weapons, the better.*
- *The fewer fingers on a nuclear trigger, the better.*
- *Keeping fissile materials out of terrorists' hands is essential.*

SIEGFRIED S. HECKER IS CO-DIRECTOR OF THE CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND COOPERATION. THIS ARTICLE IS BASED ON HIS PRESENTATION DURING THE FIRST PLENARY SESSION OF THE WORLD AFFAIRS COUNCIL'S 61ST ANNUAL CONFERENCE AT ASILOMAR, MAY 4, 2007.

Into Asia: Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center Delegation Interacts With Chinese Scholars, Policymakers, and Business Leaders

BY DANIEL SNEIDER

WALKING DOWN A SIDE STREET in Shanghai's French Concession, a partially preserved corner of that city's gloried and turbulent past, visitors come upon an ivy-covered house that served as the headquarters for the Shanghai branch of the Communist Party in the 1940s. Here the spartan quarters of Mao's second in command, Zhou Enlai, are carefully preserved, the narrow beds and wooden desks evoking a simpler, revolutionary China.

A short ride away, across the murky waters of the Huangpu River, monuments to the new China are being erected in what was farmland less than two decades ago. The Pudong New Area, with its clusters of high-rise office towers and multi-story shopping malls, is emblematic of the rush to wealth and economic power that now drives China.

These were among the images from a visit to China by a delegation of scholars from the Walter S. Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center from April 8–14, 2007. Though time was short, the group managed to visit Shanghai, Hangzhou, and Beijing.

Fulfilling Shorenstein APARC's mission to carry its work "into Asia," the delegation met senior officials from government and business and held wide-ranging exchanges with Chinese scholars and policymakers at leading universities and research institutions. The conversation ranged from China's development strategy to the current state of relations between China and its longtime rival and neighbor, Japan.

The delegation was led by Shorenstein APARC director and professor of sociology Gi-Wook Shin and by professor of political science Jean Oi, who has launched the center's new China studies program. The group included Shorenstein distinguished fellow Ambassador Michael Armacost, associate director for research Daniel Sneider, and senior program and outreach coordinator Neeley Main. In Beijing, Freeman Spogli Institute director Coit Blacker joined the delegation, as did Shorenstein APARC's Scott Rozelle.

The trip started in Shanghai, a dynamic center of finance and industry that has drawn in many Stanford graduates. State-owned enterprises such as Baosteel, one of the world's largest steel producers, are in the midst of becoming players in the global marketplace. From Baosteel's sprawling complex of docks, blast furnaces, and rolling mills along an estuary of the Yangtze River, products are now being dispatched around the world. In a meeting, the leadership of the Baosteel Group expressed an eagerness to tap into the educational and training opportunities offered at Stanford University.

Shanghai is not only the business capital but also a political center, rivaling Beijing. The Shanghai Institute for International Studies is an unofficial foreign relations arm of the Shanghai government. Shanghai Institute scholars are also players in national policy debate on many key issues facing China, such as relations with Taiwan, with Japan, and even with the Korean peninsula.

The scholars presented their views on a wide range of issues, from the preparations for the 17th Congress of the Communist Party this coming fall to emerging structures of regional integration in East Asia. Professor Xu Mingqi, who is also a senior leader of the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, explained that China's development strategy is shifting toward a more balanced approach. Whereas local government officials previously were pressed to meet targets for GDP growth, foreign investment, and export volume, now they must also raise employment levels, close the growing income gap, and provide social security.

TOP TO BOTTOM: CRANE IN PUDONG AREA OF SHANGHAI, CHINA; SHORENSTEIN APARC AT BAOSTEEL OUTSIDE SHANGHAI, CHINA (LEFT TO RIGHT: GI-WOOK SHIN, MICHAEL ARMACOST, JEAN OI, NEELEY MAIN, AND DANIEL SNEIDER).

Hangzhou, considered one of the most beautiful cities in China, is a two-hour drive south of Shanghai. The modern roadway passed a tableau of the suburbanization of this part of China's countryside, with multi-story brick homes mushrooming amidst the fields. The delegation arrived at Zhejiang University, considered among the best of China's provincial higher educational institutions and growing rapidly in size and scope.

The Shorenstein APARC delegation met with faculty members from Zhejiang's social science departments, who briefed the delegation on their research work in areas such as distance education, international relations, Chinese history, even a school of Korean studies. Zhejiang is also the site of a new research institution, the Zhejiang Institute for Innovation (ZII), founded by Stanford engineering graduate Min Zhu, a Silicon Valley entrepreneur who is determined to bring the lessons of Stanford and the valley to his home province and his undergraduate alma mater. ZII aims to foster applied research that can tie the university to the vibrant entrepreneurial culture of Zhejiang province. Shorenstein APARC researchers may soon be carrying out fieldwork in this laboratory of change, based at ZII.

Beijing, however, is still the place that matters most in China, not only in the realm of government but also when it comes to academic scholarship. The delegation met with two of Shorenstein APARC's longtime corporate affiliates in China—PetroChina, the state-owned oil and gas giant, and the People's Bank of China. Shorenstein APARC dined with a lively group of Chinese journalists, organized by former Stanford Knight fellow Hu Shuli, the editor of *Caijing Magazine,* considered China's leading independent business publication.

The substantive task was to forge new ties with key research institutions. The current state of China's development strategy was again on the agenda when the delegation met with senior officials from the National Development and Reform Commission (NDRC), formerly China's State Planning Commission. Alongside the NDRC, the delegation met as well with the leadership of an offshoot of China's State Council, the China Development Research Foundation, which is doing important work in promoting good governance in areas such as poverty alleviation, nutrition, and budgeting. Those conversations were echoed later in our meetings with scholars from Peking University's School of Government.

Shorenstein APARC's own China program, as Oi explained, is focused on understanding the tensions that arise as China grapples with the consequences of its rapid economic development. Out of the meetings in Beijing, an ongoing dialogue has begun, to be advanced this summer with a visit from a NDRC delegation and in the fall with an international conference at Stanford on China's *Growing Pains.*

The delegation also engaged in frank and useful exchanges on a variety of international relations issues. We had an extended meeting with scholars and leaders of the China Reform Forum (CRF), a think-tank associated with the Communist Party's Central Party School, the premier institution for training party leaders and officials. The CRF is credited with authoring important concepts such as the foreign policy doctrine of China's "Peaceful Rise." These discussions were followed by a visit and exchange with scholars from Peking University's widely respected School of International Studies.

The scholars shared analysis of the current state of the North Korean nuclear negotiations, as well as evaluating the outcome of Chinese Premier Wen Jibao's visit that week to Japan. Over dinner with CRF Vice Chairman Ding Kuisong, the conversation turned to the American presidential politics and the future direction of U.S. foreign policy.

Professors Blacker, Shin, and Oi also met with senior officials of Peking University, as part of an ongoing dialogue about cooperation between these two premier institutions of higher education. ■

Forum on Contemporary Europe (FCE)

Problems of Membership: Seeking Solutions to Expansion, Integration, and Intervention in a Globalized Europe

BY ROLAND HSU

LEFT TO RIGHT: DANIEL COHN-BENDIT, EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT'S GREEN/EUROPEAN FREE ALLIANCE CO-PRESIDENT, ENGAGES WITH PARTICIPANTS AT FCE'S 2006–2007 "EUROPE NOW" LECTURE (ROD SEARCEY); THE EUROPEAN UNION FLAG, UNCHANGING AS THE UNION ENLARGES; GERMAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES KLAUS SCHARIOTH ADDRESSES *THE GERMAN PRESIDENCY IN THE EUROPEAN UNION*, MAY 30, 2007 (MARGARITA AYALA).

THE FORUM ON CONTEMPORARY EUROPE achieved two major goals in 2006–2007, by developing FCE into a trans-Atlantic hub for policy and academic leaders and guiding research affiliates to answer pressing questions about European Union membership. To do so the forum launched and greatly expanded research and public programs on Europe's Eastern, Scandinavian, and Iberian regions and addressed dramatic change and instability in the west in governing coalitions and the social fabric of Europe's traditional powers.

Forum projects addressed several important, interrelated questions. Can the EU integrate its members into a unified polity and civic society, or should it retreat to a sole project of a common market? Should and can the EU Commission form a European foreign policy? How far should Europe's union extend—to Turkey, to the former Soviet republics, to the North African Maghreb? Answers to these questions have implications for trans-Atlantic and EU-NATO-UN relations and for post-industrial labor, immigration, and welfare policy, democratization and human rights initiatives, and regional crisis intervention. An engaging and productive year of analyzing Europe's policy dilemmas has clarified the benefits and burdens of the emerging European model of political, social, and economic membership.

WESTERN EUROPE: ELECTIONS AND UNCERTAIN PROMISE

On Jan. 1, 2007, Europe enlarged its union to 27 nations. As Europe extended its borders from Portugal to Bulgaria, and from Sweden to Greece, the EU Council of Ministers reiterated its commitment to shepherd seven more nations, including Turkey, to meet the Copenhagen Criteria for membership. However, elections, resignations, and new leaders in Europe's traditional powers have clouded this optimistic vision, and the forum addressed pressing concerns along with the promise of expansion.

Four highly anticipated forum events—the French presidential election roundtable, a "Europe Now" lecture by Daniel Cohn-Bendit, a Payne Lecture by Ian McEwan, and an address by German Ambassador Klaus Scharioth—raised issues for all forum programs. Throughout the year, the forum invited a spectrum of research centers to co-sponsor its events, including CISAC, CDDRL, the Program on Global Justice, the Woods Institute, the France-Stanford Center, Humanities Center, Abbasi Program on Islamic Studies, Mediterranean Forum, Stanford Law School, and the Graduate School of Business.

On prospects for integrating Europe's polity and society, Cohn-Bendit and McEwan spoke on separate occasions to overflow FSI audiences. Cohn-Bendit, head of the European Parliament Greens/New Alliance party, noted the diverse political cultures in Western and Eastern Europe, as well as the region's significant Muslim community, and envisioned the EU as the institution to create a polity governed federally and based nevertheless on commonly agreed upon European values. McEwan, delivering a preview of a work to be published soon, characterized post-9/11 Western modernity by tracing a history of fundamentalism since the origin of the Christian West. Communalism and exclusive claims to truth, in McEwan's reading, are organic to the West and may plague the rationalizing project of a new Europe. Scharioth discussed German Chancellor Angela Merkel's ambition to revive a European constitution. Merkel, the first German post-war leader to have been a citizen of the GDR, sees integration not as an option but as a necessity after 1989 and is brokering with a group of European partners to carry the project forward. The chancellor may gain support from new French President Nicolas Sarkozy, who proposes to move forward by avoiding popular referenda in favor of parliamentary treaties.

On post-election France, five affiliated researchers from Stanford and UC Berkeley, representing different disciplines across the humanities and social sciences, joined for a roundtable discussion of the conduct and consequences of the French presidential election. Speaking to a standing-room-only audience, the panel debated voting patterns and the future of the main parties and offered an insider's early look at where France is headed and the implications of the Sarkozy presidency for Francophone, EU, and trans-Atlantic relations.

France, of course, is one of the last of Europe's major powers to elect a leader with no personal memory of World War II. Sarkozy, like Merkel, Blair, and Zapatero, also held government posts during Europe's paralysis in the Balkan genocide. The boast that the EU eliminated war from Europe may therefore be increasingly less compelling for Europe's new generation of leaders. Without articulating the origins of his policy, this new French president makes it difficult to divine his view of Europe. It has been noted that Sarkozy, in his inaugural speech, declared that "France is back in Europe"; however he confused both sides of the Atlantic on what "in Europe" means to him by categorically rejecting the EU Commission's commitment to pursue Turkish accession. It remains to be explained how he understands what France is in a European polity and economy, who the French are in a post-colonial immigrant society, and how France will position itself as both a global actor and a trans-Atlantic partner.

The forum planned the faculty roundtable as the first pillar of a multi-year study of European elections, to continue in 2007–2008 with a major address on reform at the heart of European political culture. Next year, the forum will host an address by the president of France's École Normale Supérieure on the vision of a new European liberalism—a political philosophy responding to European post-war socialism and U.S. neo-conservativism and labeled by some political theorists as "social liberalism." This will coincide with programs on the United Kingdom and its run-up to elections and what could amount to a referendum on the earliest of the post-war generation governments—the Blair administration and Britain's New Labor. Also planned is the forum's 2007–2008 "Europe Now" lecture by Sweden's former foreign minister Jan Eliasson, who currently serves as the U.N. special envoy for Darfur.

NEW EUROPE: EXPANSION AND A GLOBAL REACH

Finally, this author is conducting a study of European Union international intervention missions. The initiative to form a common European security and defense policy (ESDP), and to marshal member nation troops, is perhaps the greatest challenge confronting European ambition to address global issues. In 2007, the EU Council noted, "The idea that the European Union should speak with one voice in world affairs is as old as the European integration process itself."* Our study investigates case studies of EU missions in Kosovo, Congo, and Darfur, in which EU policies fluctuated between robust and tentative goals, revealing divisions on the goal of acting as one within and beyond Europe. ■

*OVERVIEWS OF THE EUROPEAN UNION ACTIVITIES: FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY, HTTP://EUROPA.EU/POL/CFSP/OVERVIEW_EN.HTM

Global Justice: Looking Forward

BY JOSHUA COHEN

FSI'S PROGRAM ON GLOBAL JUSTICE (PGJ), now finishing its first year, explores issues at the intersection between political values and the realities of global politics. The aim is to build conversations and research programs that integrate normative ideas—toleration, fairness, accountability, obligations, rights, representation, and the common good—into discussions about fundamental issues of global politics, including human rights, global governance, and access to such basic goods as food, shelter, clean water, education, and health care. PGJ begins from the premise that addressing these morally consequential issues will require a mix of normative reflection and attention to the best current thinking in the social sciences.

In PGJ's first year of operation, we had several visiting fellows. Adam Hosein and Helena De Bres, both dissertation fellows from MIT, spent the year researching and writing dissertations in political philosophy on issues about global distributive justice. Larry Simon, a professor at Brandeis University's Heller School, director of Heller School's Sustainable International Development Programs, and associate dean of academic planning, spent the winter and spring quarters working on a book on the relevance of the work of Paulo Freire to today's poor.

Next year we will scale up the fellowship program. Helena DeBres will stay on as a postdoctoral fellow, continuing her research on utilitarian approaches to global poverty and fair distribution. She will be joined by Avia Pasternak, an Oxford PhD writing on issues about citizens' responsibility in wealthy democracies to address issues of injustice elsewhere. Brad McHose, a UCLA PhD, and Kirsten Oleson, a recent PhD from Stanford's IPER program, will also be affiliated with PGJ. Thorsten Theil will be a predoctoral fellow in the fall, writing on deliberative democracy and postnational politics. And Charles Beitz, a distinguished political theorist from Princeton whose *Political Theory and International Relations* (1979) remains the basis for much contemporary discussion of global justice, will be visiting in the winter and spring, working on a project on human rights.

Our principal activity for this past year was a regular workshop (coordinated with Stanford's Humanities Center) covering a wide range of themes, from corporate social responsibility to the philosophical foundations of global justice, with participation from graduate students, research fellows, and faculty from political science, philosophy, economics, education, law, literature, and anthropology. In one of the liveliest sessions, Abhijit Banerjee, MIT economist and director of MIT's Poverty Action Lab, presented his research and reflections on the strategy of using randomized field experiments to assess aid projects in developing countries. In a seminar jointly sponsored with CDDRL, Banerjee, a self-described aid optimist, expressed doubts about contemporary understanding of the determinants of economic growth and emphasized the importance of project-specific assistance and evaluation.

Richard Locke, a political scientist from MIT's Sloan School, presented a paper based on his research at Nike and other lead firms in global supply chains that use corporate codes of conduct in their relations with suppliers. The principal finding of Locke's research is that such codes have not been very successful in improving compensation, working conditions, or freedom of association for workers in firms that supply products to lead firms.

Amherst political theorist Uday Mehta presented a paper contrasting ideas about peace and non-violence to a seminar jointly sponsored with CISAC. Tracing the idea of a principled commitment to non-violence to Gandhi, Mehta suggested there are important costs to that principle (perhaps it requires devaluing justice), but that there are also costs to emphasizing peace as an alternative to principled non-violence: in particular, that the more conditional commitment to non-violence may end up being very permissive about the use of force.

Stanford economist Seema Jayachandran presented research on strategies for dealing with problems of odious debt. And we had workshops on the foundations of global justice with political theorists Michael Blake, Adam Hosein, Jennifer Rubenstein, and Sebastiano Maffetone; on citizenship and immigration with legal theorist Ayelet Schachar and anthropologist John Bowen; on human rights with Chip Pitts, a human rights lawyer; and on the World Bank with Sameer Dossani, a Washington political activist.

Next year, PGJ will initiate—in conjunction with Locke and his colleagues at MIT—a project called *Just Supply Chains*. The premise of the project is that the globalization of production is redefining employment relations and generating the need for fundamental changes in the basic institutions governing the economy. Corporations, unions, NGOs, national governments, and even international labor, trade, and financial organizations are all searching for new ways to adjust to the new international order and ensure that workers in global supply chains have *decent levels of compensation, healthy and safe workplaces,* and *rights of association.*

The project will explore three broad strategies for achieving these goals. First, it will address corporate codes of conduct and monitoring mechanisms to enforce these codes. Today, monitoring for compliance with "private voluntary codes of conduct" is one of the principal ways both global corporations and labor rights NGOs seek to promote "fair" labor standards in global supply chains. Likewise, a number of multi-stakeholder initiatives (MSIs) have banded together to promote a more collaborative/coordinated approach to improved labor standards. (The Joint Initiative for Workers Rights and Corporate Accountability in Turkey and the MFA Forum Project in Bangladesh are two of the best known examples.) But these initiatives, like the corporate codes, have produced very mixed results.

Second, much has been written about pro-labor administrative reforms by national governments (e.g., Dominican Republic, Argentina, Cambodia, and Brazil). But very little is known about whether these efforts are successful and, if they are, how to diffuse their success to other countries struggling with many of the same issues.

Third, there is speculation about how efforts at the ILO and WTO, joining labor standards to trade rules, might produce global improvements in compensation, work, and rights of association.

To explore these issues, the *Just Supply Chains* project will start next year with a series of workshops, bringing together "practitioners" engaged in these institutional experiments and scholars studying global supply chains, corporate responsibility, regulatory strategies, and normative ideas about global justice. We will examine what is already known about the conditions under which new arrangements and strategies can succeed in promoting fair wages and work hours, decent working conditions, and basic rights, including the right to organize collectively. The larger aim will be to define a research agenda animated by ideals of global justice, informed by understanding of current circumstances and social possibilities, and aimed at improving both our understanding and global well-being. ■

TOP TO BOTTOM: FACTORY WORKERS IN BRAZIL (ERIC MILLER/WORLD BANK); WOMEN IN A CLOTH FACTORY IN BRAZIL (YOSEF HADAR/WORLD BANK); A VILLAGE SHOP IN SRI LANKA (DOMINIC SANSONI/WORLD BANK); SEMINAR ON THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN SOCIETY IN TAJIKISTAN (GENNADIY RATUSHENKO/WORLD BANK).

On the Front Line of International Health

BY BELINDA BYRNE

EVERY SUMMER U.S. PHYSICIANS AND MEDICAL STUDENTS travel to developing countries performing charitable work and learning firsthand about the delivery of primary health care on a shoestring. My teen-age daughter and I joined a Stanford-led team of pediatricians, infectious disease specialists, and medical students last August in the rural Kaqchikel-speaking communities of Guatemala. We captured our unforgettable journey in a series of photographs that show how a handful of determined medical volunteers working alongside indigenous health workers is able to transform humble resources—a pickup truck, a binful of medical supplies, a makeshift clinic—into vital health outcomes.

At the volunteers' home base in the town of San Lucas Toliman (1) an early-morning gathering of medical trainees from Stanford, Harvard, and Columbia combs through donated medical supplies, organizing them for deployment in the field. Bronwyn Baz, MD (standing center), a Stanford pediatric resident, is on her fourth visit to the area and serves as a team leader. FSI's Cross-Campus International Fund is sponsoring her trip to Guatemala this summer.*

Patients crowd into the makeshift clinic, set up that day in the dusty outbuilding of a local elementary school (2) as part of an organized program of health services. Devin Briski (seated), a 16-year-old volunteer from Menlo School, searches the village's patient records, while Stanford medical student Kimberly Montez stands behind her, ready to see her first patient. Working with the health promoters from the village, the clinic was able to serve 100 or more villagers in a single day.

Stanford infectious disease specialist Manual Amieva (3) examines a child as Harvard medical students Norris Kamo and Shanthini Kasturi gain valuable primary care skills under the close supervision of Amieva and other physicians. The students encounter a variety of medical problems, from severe scabies to epilepsy. Gastrointestinal infection and diarrhea are particularly insidious and widespread health threats.

With tooth decay rampant, volunteers try to schedule regular visits to local schools to administer prophylactic fluoride treatments (4) and dispense basic dental supplies, such as toothbrushes and toothpaste, to children. ■

*FSI WELCOMES DONOR PARTICIPATION IN ITS CROSS-CAMPUS INTERNATIONAL FUND TO HELP SPONSOR MEDICAL TRAINEES' TRAVEL TO GUATEMALA AND OTHER DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AS PART OF THE STANFORD SCHOOL OF MEDICINE'S COMMITMENT TO INTERNATIONAL HEALTH.

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Finding Mandela

BY BYRON BLAND


BYRON BLAND

SEVERAL YEARS AGO, a high-level Israeli official asked me to tell him everything I could about how the Israelis might find their Palestinian Mandela. His question was interesting and appropriate but also troubling because the Afrikaners didn't really "find" Mandela. It took several months before the answer came to me. Show me the Palestinian to whom you Israelis are willing to lose, and I will to show you your Palestinian Mandela.

My friend had overlooked the fact that Mandela and the African National Congress had won in South Africa. The decisive element in the so-called miracle was that white South Africans had, in one way or another, accepted this outcome and had made it, if not their victory, then certainly something other than their defeat.

Much has been written about the many factors that drove the process forward, but no one would deny that Mandela's leadership played a decisive role. Although he was offered his freedom numerous times if he would just give up the struggle against apartheid, it was a deal that only a quisling would make. Made of sterner stuff, Mandela refused to make the fundamental concession that the Afrikaners sought.

De Klerk's decision to release Mandela unconditionally came in response to the unrest that had rendered the country ungovernable. De Klerk had hoped to engage Mandela in a lengthy process of negotiation in which he could be coaxed into making critical compromises. Nevertheless, after many ups and downs, it was de Klerk, not Mandela, who made the fundamental compromises.

How did this unbelievable turn of events come about? I think that a fundamental shift took place in the way de Klerk saw Mandela. De Klerk came to power thinking that Mandela was the only African who could make the concessions needed to keep Afrikaner South Africa afloat. Slowly, he came to see Mandela instead as the African who could give Afrikaners a future they could live with.

Mandela let no opportunity pass to talk about the place of white South Africans in the new South Africa. He emphasized time and again that majority rule did not mean the domination of the white minority by a black majority. Seeking a "middle ground between white fears and black hopes," Mandela laid the very foundation for peace—"We do not want to drive you into the sea"—because there would be no peace unless white South Africans heard and believed his words.

In virtually every statement, Mandela presented a vision of the future in which white South Africans would be appreciated and respected. Those who heard him felt that they, their family, and their community could have a satisfying and secure life in what he was describing. Rather than offering concessions that would prop up the old, Mandela was offering a future to many who had begun to doubt that they had one.

It is worth noting that Mandela had no particular liking or even personal respect for de Klerk. Their relationship was often rancorous, especially at crucial moments toward the end of the negotiations. Indeed, Mandela went so far as to say publicly that de Klerk was "not fit to be a head of a government," and yet his worst nightmare was that de Klerk might not be there when he needed him. Mandela confessed, "Whether I like him or not is irrelevant. I need him."

Israelis need to find a Palestinian Mandela, and Palestinians need to find an Israeli Mandela. However, the Mandela they need to find is not the leader who will make the concessions they seek but the one to whom they can make the concessions they say they cannot offer. Mandela was this kind of leader: His actions and unequivocal words gave witness to a future that Afrikaners could embrace without fear.

Progress toward peace between the Israelis and Palestinians is not stalled because no one can envision the final settlement. Every thoughtful observer knows that some rough approximation of the Clinton formula is the only deal possible. The question is not so much what is needed—this much is known. The real question is who will lead us there. ■

THE STANFORD CENTER ON INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT AND NEGOTIATION EMPHASIZES THE INTERACTION BETWEEN THEORY AND PRACTICE IN REAL CONFLICT SITUATIONS. THIS OP ED WAS WRITTEN FOR ITS ISRAELI AND PALESTINIAN PARTNERS, TRANSLATED INTO HEBREW, AND PUBLISHED IN *YEDIOT AHARONOT,* THE LARGEST DAILY NEWSPAPER IN ISRAEL.

Applying Design Thinking to Improve the Social and Economic Development of Colombia:

IOP Promotes a New Collaboration With the Universidad Javeriana in Cali

BY REINHOLD STEINBECK

BUSINESS, GOVERNMENT, AND ACADEMIC COMMUNITIES increasingly recognize the role that entrepreneurship and innovation play in addressing some of the world's most complex problems. At Stanford, the new Hasso Plattner Institute of Design, also known as the d.school (http://www.stanford.edu/group/dschool), takes innovative design approaches beyond the traditional disciplines of product and industrial design. There, students and faculty use design thinking to tackle difficult problems that demand interdisciplinary solutions. Research projects and classes range from building better elementary schools to enabling farmers to step out of poverty to changing how small businesses innovate.

Design thinking, a methodology that grew out of the Design Division at the School of Engineering at Stanford, has been refined over the years through programs such as Engineering 310, "Team Based Design Innovation with Corporate Partners." At the core of Design thinking lie 1) a human-centered approach to finding solutions, 2) a strong collaborative culture that brings together multidisciplinary teams and encourages diverse perspectives, and 3) a continuous prototyping process.

In April 2007, Professor Larry Leifer, director of the Stanford Center for Design Research (CDR) and a member of the d.school, together with Philipp Skogstad, executive director of E 310, visited the Pontificia Universidad Javeriana (PUJ) in Cali, Colombia. During the three-day visit, sponsored and facilitated by IOP, the Stanford University International Outreach Program (http://iop.stanford.edu/), the Stanford delegation negotiated a detailed plan to engage two teams of 5th-year students at PUJ with two Stanford master level teams on a corporate project in the E 310 program. Professors Larry Leifer and Mark Cutkosky will co-lead this nine-month international collaboration, which will start in fall 2007 and will include regular videoconferences, online collaboration, and short-term visits.

The goals of this collaboration are twofold. 1) Students and instructors at PUJ and Stanford will have an opportunity to learn from each other as they participate in E 310. For Stanford participants, it will be the first time to have a South American perspective represented in the globally distributed E 310 program. For PUJ participants, it will be an opportunity to learn more about design thinking as the university develops its own design program, allowing them to strengthen the connection between the university and industry, a bridge that traditionally has been weak across South America. 2) Both universities will be able to build upon the E 310 opportunity and apply the design thinking approach to other socially and economically useful innovations, with a particular emphasis on global challenges that have a strong impact on developing countries.

The collaboration between PUJ and Stanford is well matched with IOP's goal of promoting new multidisciplinary curriculums that address global challenges, introduce innovative learning and teaching approaches, and take advantage of appropriate uses of information and communication technologies. ■

Engaging the World: FSI Faculty Address Policy Issues in San Francisco, New York, and London

BY NEIL PENICK

FSI FACULTY MEMBERS discussed global risk, democracy, and security issues this spring before Stanford alumni and friends in San Francisco and New York City. Elizabeth and Joe Mandato, parents '03, hosted a faculty panel in San Francisco and Ruth Porat '79 and Anthony Paduano welcomed FSI faculty and friends to their home in New York.

In San Francisco, Scott Sagan, professor of political science and co-director of the Center for International Security and Cooperation; Larry Diamond, senior fellow at the Hoover Institution and coordinator of the democracy program at FSI's Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law; and Rosamond Naylor, Julie Wrigley Senior Fellow and director of the Program on Food Security and the Environment at FSI, joined a panel moderated by FSI Director Chip Blacker.

Sagan spoke about North Korea and commented on the recent conclusion of the six party talks that resulted in an agreement by North Korea to suspend nuclear weapons production. He argued that the United States will be most successful in containing North Korea's nuclear ambitions by taking regime change off the table. Diamond addressed conditions on the ground in Iraq and the limited choices now facing U.S. policymakers. He argued that they should focus on securing a viable political agreement among the Kurds, Sunnis, and Shiites in Iraq, but warned that the danger of chaos is great. Naylor emphasized the ways in which hunger and malnutrition jeopardize security and create havoc for women, children, and governments worldwide.

TOP TO BOTTOM: FSI DIRECTOR CHIP BLACKER CONFERS WITH FSI ADVISORY BOARD MEMBER KEN OLIVIER; SAN FRANCISCO PANEL MEMBERS (LEFT TO RIGHT) SCOTT SAGAN, LARRY DIAMOND, CHIP BLACKER, AND ROZ NAYLOR.

She examined the "deadly connections" that link food security, climate risk, poverty, and civil conflict—challenges whose resolutions are critical to human survival over the long term.

In New York, faculty members from FSI's Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law addressed *Democracy, Security, and the National Interest: Dealing with Iraq, Iran and Russia*. Michael McFaul, deputy director of FSI and director of CDDRL, and Kathryn Stoner-Weiss, associate director for research at CDDRL, joined Larry Diamond for the discussion. Chip Blacker moderated, and Stephen Krasner, professor of political science and former director of CDDRL who just stepped down as director of policy planning at the U.S. State Department, commented.

As in San Francisco, Diamond offered his view of the Bush administration's policy in Iraq. He stressed the need for a coherent strategy for extracting U.S. troops from Iraq and urged that the United States make conclusion of a power-sharing agreement among Sunni, Shiite, and Kurdish factions a top priority. McFaul discussed two options for America in shaping policy with Iran: pursue regime change or make a deal to disarm the regime. He argued that while both goals are worthwhile, the only way to change the regime and stop Iran from developing nuclear weapons is to actively engage it. Kathryn Stoner-Weiss discussed trends in Russia away from democracy under President Putin. She argued that while Putin has posed as a democracy reformer, he has systematically undermined democracy and consolidated political and economic power. Stephen Krasner reviewed some of the conceptualizations and longer-term policy initiatives that characterize policy planning and reflected on the high degree of uncertainty policymakers face in the current international environment.

An FSI presentation to alumni and friends in London in June, on the topic of *The Future of the Trans-Atlantic Relationship,* completed the institute's outreach events for this academic year, as FSI actively supports a key goal of The Stanford Challenge: to bring Stanford to the world. ■

SPICE and The Stanford Challenge:
30 Years of Educating New Generations of Leaders

BY GARY MUKAI

"Preparing the next generation of leaders and creating more informed elementary and secondary students means changing and improving curricula, setting higher standards, and ensuring that content is based on current research relevant to the world's critical problems and urgent issues." COIT "CHIP" BLACKER, FSI DIRECTOR AND CO-CHAIR, THE INTERNATIONAL INITIATIVE

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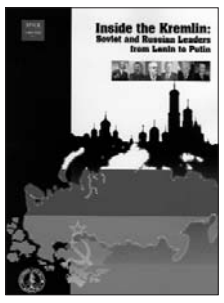

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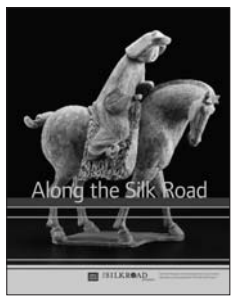

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SPICE WAS ESTABLISHED more than 30 years ago and serves as a bridge between FSI and elementary and secondary schools in the United States and independent schools abroad. SPICE's original mission in 1976 was to help students understand that we live in an increasingly interdependent world that faces problems on a global scale. For 30 years, SPICE has continued to address this original mission and currently focuses its efforts primarily in three areas: (1) curriculum development for elementary and secondary schools; (2) teacher professional development; and (3) distance-learning education. SPICE hopes to continue to educate new generations of leaders by addressing five key initiatives of The Stanford Challenge, announced by President Hennessy last fall.

INITIATIVE ON HUMAN HEALTH / 1

SPICE is working with the School of Medicine and the Center for Health Policy on a high school curriculum unit that focuses on HIV/AIDS. SPICE is collaborating with Drs. Seble Kassaye, David Katzenstein, and Lucy Thairu of the School of Medicine's Division of Infectious Diseases & Geographic Medicine. Using an epidemiological framework, students will be encouraged to consider the many issues involved in the pandemic, including but not limited to poverty, gender inequality, and biomedical research and development. Two Stanford undergraduates, Jessica Zhang and Chenxing Han, are working with the physicians on this unit.

INITIATIVE ON THE ENVIRONMENT AND SUSTAINABILITY / 2

SPICE recently completed a curriculum unit called *10,000 Shovels: China's Urbanization and Economic Development. 10,000 Shovels* examines China's breakneck growth through a short documentary that integrates statistics, video footage, and satellite images. The documentary, developed by Professor Karen Seto of the Center for Environmental Science and Policy, focuses on China's Pearl River Delta region while the accompanying teacher's guide takes a broader perspective, exploring many current environmental issues facing China. Stanford's School of Earth Sciences is helping to promote this unit and documentary.

THE INTERNATIONAL INITIATIVE / 3

All of SPICE's curriculum units focus on international topics. Two of SPICE's most popular units are *Inside the Kremlin: Soviet and Russian Leaders from Lenin to Putin* and *Democracy-Building in Afghanistan*. *Inside the Kremlin* introduces students to key elements of Soviet and Russian history through the philosophies and legacies of six of its leaders—Lenin, Stalin, Khrushchev, Gorbachev, Yeltsin, and Putin. The unit includes (on DVD) six lectures by six FSI faculty members, including FSI director Coit Blacker; professors David Holloway and Gail Lapidus, CISAC; professor and deputy FSI director Michael McFaul; history professor Norman Naimark; and history professor Amir Weiner, Forum on Contemporary Europe.

Democracy-Building in Afghanistan is a teacher's guide for a film called *Hell of a Nation*. The film's lead advisor and SPICE's key advisor was former CDDRL fellow J. Alexander Thier. *Hell of a Nation* documents the lives of two Afghans participating in the political process to develop a new constitution for Afghanistan—illustrating the "human face" of democracy-building and elucidating the complexities and difficulties of democratic construction in a divided and historically conflict-ridden nation.

ARTS AND CREATIVITY INITIATIVE / 4

Following 9/11, SPICE decided to develop a unit called *Islamic Civilization and the Arts,* which introduces students to various elements of Islamic civilization through a humanities approach. Lessons on art, the mosque, Arabic language and calligraphy, poetry, and music provide students with experience analyzing myriad primary source materials, such as images, audio clips, sayings of Muhammad, and excerpts from the Quran. In each lesson, students learn about the history, principles, and culture of Islam as they pertain to particular forms of art.

SPICE recently completed a new unit called *Along the Silk Road,* which explores the vast ancient network of cultural, economic, and technological exchange that connected East Asia to the Mediterranean. Students learn how goods, belief systems, art, music, and people traveled across such vast distances to create interdependence among disparate cultures. This was a collaboration with the Silk Road Project, the Art Institute of Chicago, Stanford's Cantor Arts Center and Center for East Asian Studies, and the Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center.

THE K–12 INITIATIVE / 5

SPICE develops curriculum based on FSI scholarship, conducts teacher professional development seminars locally, nationally, and internationally, and also offers a distance-learning course called the Reischauer Scholars Program to U.S. high school students. At seminars at Stanford, FSI faculty members offer lectures to the teachers and SPICE curriculum writers give curriculum demonstrations that draw upon the content presented in the lectures. Last summer, Stanford professor Al Dien (Asian Languages) and the SPICE staff gave a workshop for 80 teachers in the Chicago Public Schools. World-renowned cellist Yo-Yo Ma performed at the workshop.

The Reischauer Scholars Program (RSP) is a distance-learning course sponsored by SPICE. Named in honor of former ambassador to Japan Edwin O. Reischauer, a leading educator and noted scholar on Japanese history and culture, the RSP annually selects 25 exceptional high school juniors and seniors from throughout the United States to engage in an intensive study of Japan. This course provides students with a broad overview of Japanese history, literature, religion, art, politics, and economics, with a special focus on the U.S.-Japan relationship. Top scholars affiliated with the Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center (including Ambassador Michael Armacost, Professor Daniel Okimoto, and Professor Gi-Wook Shin), leading diplomats, and young professionals provide Web-based lectures as well as engage students in online dialogue. These lectures and discussions are woven into an overall curriculum that provides students with reading materials and assignments.

SPICE has for many years focused on the initiatives that have been identified by President Hennessy to be at the core of The Stanford Challenge. By continuing to focus on these initiatives, the SPICE staff hopes to continue to make FSI scholarship accessible to a national and international audience of educators and students, with the ultimate goal of empowering a new generation of leaders with the tools needed to deal with complex problems on a global scale. ■

No End in Sight: The American Occupation of Iraq

FSI Screens Award-Winning Film With Panel Discussion

BY JUDITH PAULUS

ON MAY 1, 2003, President Bush publicly declared an end to combat in Iraq. Four years later, the conflict had only intensified, fueled by a violent insurgency, sectarian strife, and a resurgent al-Qaeda in Iraq. More than 3,000 American servicemen and servicewomen had been killed and 790,000 Iraqi civilians were dead. What had gone so disastrously wrong? Charles Ferguson, an MIT-trained political scientist, determined to find out.

Drawing on shockingly frank interviews with U.S. government officials, military personnel, diplomats, journalists and Iraqi leaders and citizens, his first film, *No End in Sight: The American Occupation of Iraq,* examines comprehensively how the Bush administration constructed the Iraq war and subsequent occupation. The film won the Special Jury Prize, documentary competition, at the 2007 Sundance Film Festival, as a "timely work that clearly illuminates the misguided policy decisions that have led to the catastrophic quagmire of the U.S. invasion and occupation of Iraq."

On May 23, the Freeman Spogli Institute hosted a special screening of the film, followed by a distinguished panel of experts. Among the film's central themes was the failure to commit sufficient troops to maintain order, secure the borders, or protect government ministries, historic sites, or ammunition depots. The destruction of national treasures, depicted vividly, was heartbreaking.

Soon after one watershed—the toppling of Saddam Hussein and the defeat of the military—there was another watershed, characterized by widespread looting, lawlessness, and a growing feeling among Iraqis that Americans could not protect them. The film chronicles three especially fateful decisions: to halt the formation of an Iraqi interim government (as Iraqi opposition leaders felt they had been promised) and impose an American occupation instead; a wide-ranging campaign of de-Baathification—the purging of higher-level Baath Party officials who ran the civil service and even staffed many schools and hospitals; and the hasty decision to disband the Iraqi military and intelligence services.

Said Col. Paul Hughes (Ret.), "We could have used Iraqi units to clean up, build roads, and rebuild their country." Instead, the military were told they were going to be out of work, leaving millions of Iraqis suddenly without support. The film recounts, "Overnight rendered unemployed and infuriated are 500,000 armed men," one of many ill-advised moves that ignited resentment, desperation, and a still-raging insurgency.

Ambassador Barbara Bodine recalled, "When we were first starting the reconstruction, we used to joke that there were 500 ways to do it wrong and two to three ways to do it right. What we didn't understand is that we were going to go through all 500."

The riveting documentary was followed by a lively panel discussion among Stanford political scientists, historians, and experts on the war in Iraq. Moderating the panel was Larry Diamond, Hoover Institution senior fellow and coordinator of the Democracy Program at FSI's Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law, who called the war "one of the greatest policy tragedies in American history." Diamond served as an advisor to the Coalition Provisional Authority and wrote a book about the experience, titled *Squandered Victory: The American Occupation and the Bungled Effort to Bring Democracy to Iraq*.

Writer and director Charles Ferguson noted that the shooting to inclusion ratio was 100:1 and said he will release more than 100 hours of film and 3,000 pages of transcripts as a public archive for the historical record. Col. Christopher Gibson, a 2006–07 National Security Affairs fellow at the Hoover Institution, who served in both the Gulf and Iraq wars, observed in his opening remarks, "For this to work in a republic, soldiers have to be there to take the tough questions." Drawing on his experience during two tours of duty supervising national elections, he underscored the Iraqi people's desire for freedom and "their deep and sincere desire for democracy."

David Kennedy, Stanford's Donald J. McLachlan Professor of History and a 2000 Pulitzer-Prize winner, commended the film for making an important contribution to the historical record. Future historians will have to consider a number of major questions, Kennedy said, including these two: "What was the deep strategic rationale for this war and how was that rationale related to the declared reasons for going to war," namely the now discredited claims that the regime possessed weapons of mass destruction and had verifiable links to al-Qaeda.

In a lively discussion among panelists, it was agreed that the calculus was complex and many factors converged—an Iraq believed both to be a menace and weakened by many years of sanctions under a brutal leader; a son wishing to redress the policy of the father and avenge a near assassination attempt. But the ideological factor was significant—the belief that we had the ability to effect political change in a country that would transform the character of an entire region.

The debate addressed other critical issues—could the outcome have been better had policy been better informed and more skillfully implemented? Could anything change the outcome now? Said Diamond, the only thing that could materially change the outcome now "would be to combine a military surge with a diplomatic surge," involving the United Nations, the European Union, the United States, and a cooperative Iraqi leadership. The United States should let Iraq know we'll leave, he stated, if Iraqi leaders fail to undertake the requisite political reconciliation and compromise. As the lively debate and discussion with more than 300 audience members ended, there was little doubt that all these questions would be debated for some time to come. ■

"Overnight rendered unemployed and infuriated are 500,000 armed men," one of many ill-advised moves that ignited resentment, desperation, and a still-raging insurgency.

LEFT TO RIGHT: FILM DIRECTOR AND PRODUCER CHARLES FERGUSON, HOOVER INSTITUTION NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS FELLOW COL. CHRISTOPHER GIBSON, DONALD J. MCLACHLAN PROFESSOR OF HISTORY DAVID KENNEDY, AND HOOVER INSTITUTION SENIOR FELLOW AND CDDRL DEMOCRACY PROGRAM COORDINATOR LARRY DIAMOND DISCUSS PROSPECTS FOR IRAQ BEFORE A RAPT AUDIENCE ON MAY 23, 2007 (PHOTO CREDIT: GUS JEWELL).

CDDRL

State Department director of policy planning returns to Stanford

Stephen Krasner, former director of CDDRL and deputy director of FSI, has returned to Stanford following his two-year tenure at the State Department as director of policy planning. While there Krasner worked on foreign assistance reform and other issues related to the promotion of democracy and good governance.

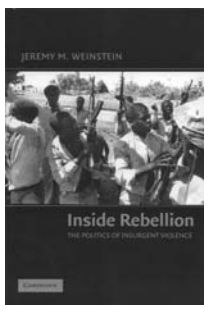
At Stanford, Krasner will be a CDDRL affiliated faculty member and will resume his teaching duties as the Graham H. Stuart Professor of International Relations. In 2007–08 he will teach classes on state-building, on the resource curse with Professor Thomas Heller, and on policymaking with Professor Stephen Stedman as part of Stanford's newly endowed International Policy Studies program.

In addition to teaching, Krasner will pursue his research interests in state-building and American foreign policy and will work on an edited volume of papers to be published by Routledge. He will also "continue to remain involved in the State Department's activities related to promotion of good governance and democratic institutions around the world," said State Department spokesman Sean McCormack. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice will continue to draw on Krasner's counsel after his return to Stanford, according to McCormack.

Karl receives Roland Volunteer Service Prize

CDDRL senior research scholar Terry L. Karl received the 2007 Miriam Aaron Roland Volunteer Service Prize at the fourth annual Community Partnership Awards Luncheon in May. The prize recognizes Stanford faculty who engage and involve students in integrating academic scholarship with significant volunteer service. Karl, a political science professor, motivates her students to consider devoting their lives to community service, particularly to human rights internationally.

Publications



Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence (Cambridge Studies in Comparative Politics)
Cambridge University Press, October 2006
By Jeremy M. Weinstein, CDDRL and CISAC faculty member

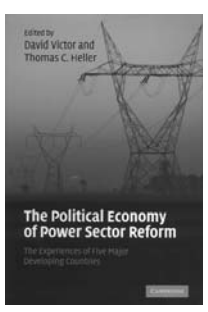
Some rebel groups abuse non-combatant populations, while others exhibit restraint. Insurgent leaders in some countries transform local structures of government, while others simply extract resources for their own benefit. In some contexts, groups kill their victims selectively, while in other environments violence appears indiscriminate, even random. This book presents a theory that accounts for the different strategies pursued by rebel groups in civil war, explaining why patterns of insurgent violence vary so much across conflicts.
— *Cambridge Press*

CESP

Rozelle receives honors from AAAE, Chinese Ministry of Education

Helen F. Farnsworth Senior Fellow Scott Rozelle has been selected as a fellow of the American Association of Agricultural Economics (AAAE). This is the association's highest honor. Rozelle was also appointed a Yangtze Scholar by the Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China. In this capacity he will be collaborating with Remin University in teaching, research, and mentoring.

Publications



The Political Economy of Power Sector Reform: The Experiences of Five Major Developing Countries
Cambridge University Press, March 2007
Edited by David G. Victor and Thomas C. Heller

Over the last 15 years the world's largest developing countries have initiated market reforms in their electric power sectors from generation to distribution. This book evaluates the experiences of five of those countries—Brazil, China, India, Mexico, and South Africa—as they have shifted from state-dominated systems to schemes allowing for a larger private sector role. As well as having the largest power systems in their regions and among the most rapidly rising consumption of electricity in the world, these countries are the locus of massive financial investment and the effects of their power systems are increasingly felt in world fuel markets. The book includes a provocative introduction and conclusion by PESD director David Victor and FSI senior fellow Tom Heller.

CHP/PCOR

Owens receives VA Under Secretary's Award for Health Science Research

CHP/PCOR core faculty member and Veterans Affairs (VA) Palo Alto investigator Douglas Owens is the recipient of the VA's most prestigious national research award—the Under Secretary's Award for Health Science Research. The award includes a personal special cash prize of $5,000 and up to $50,000 annually in VA research funds for up to three years.

New core faculty member Sally M. Horwitz joins CHP/PCOR

CHP/PCOR is pleased to announce a new core faculty member, Sally M. Horwitz. Dr. Horwitz is an international authority on the epidemiology of mental health disorders in childhood, an emerging arena of research central to child health policy deliberations and reform. She is also recognized as a national leader in medical and public health education, having served in a variety of senior positions with responsibility for training in epidemiology, health services evaluation, and translational research.

CISAC

Renowned nuclear scientist named CISAC co-director

Siegfried S. Hecker, a prominent U.S. expert on nuclear technology and policy, was appointed co-director of the Center for International Security and Cooperation (CISAC) on Jan. 16. He also assumed positions as a professor (research) in the School of Engineering's Department of Management Science and Engineering and a senior fellow at FSI.

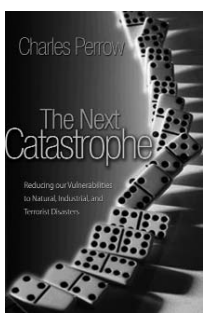
Hecker's "scientific achievements as a metallurgist, his leadership and talent as the head of a renowned U.S. Department of Energy laboratory and his decades-long dedication to improving global security make him an extraordinary choice to help direct CISAC in the years ahead," FSI director Coit D. Blacker said, announcing the appointment.

Physicians for Social Responsibility honors CISAC's Abrams

Herbert Abrams, a member-in-residence at CISAC, received the Physicians for Social Responsibility (PSR) Distinguished Leadership Award on Feb. 24. Abrams, an emeritus professor of radiology at the Stanford School of Medicine and former chair of radiology at Harvard University, was honored for his "service to the cause of world peace."

A PSR board member for more than 20 years, Abrams co-chaired the organization in the 1980s. He was founding vice-president of the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, which won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1985 for its campaign to halt the nuclear arms race. Abrams was invited to give the commencement address at the Stanford School of Medicine in June.

Publications



The Next Catastrophe: Reducing Our Vulnerabilities to Natural, Industrial, and Terrorist Disasters
Princeton University Press, May 2007
By Charles Perrow

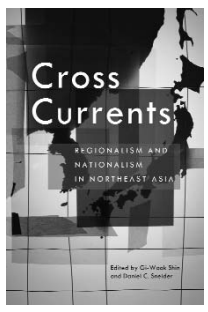
Charles Perrow is famous worldwide for his ideas about normal accidents, the notion that multiple and unexpected failures—catastrophes waiting to happen—are built into our society's complex systems. In *The Next Catastrophe,* completed while he was a visiting professor at CISAC in 2005–06, he offers crucial insights into how to make us safer, proposing a bold new way of thinking about disaster preparedness. Perrow argues the threat of catastrophe is on the rise, whether from terrorism, natural disasters, or industrial accidents. He offers the first comprehensive history of FEMA and the Department of Homeland Security and examines why these agencies are so ill equipped to protect us.

SHORENSTEIN APARC

Shorenstein APARC's Okimoto receives high honors from Japan

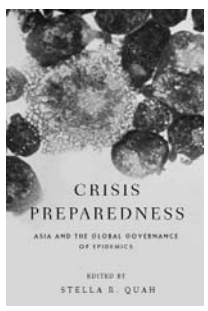
The government of Japan has selected Daniel Okimoto, Shorenstein APARC director emeritus, to receive the prestigious Order of the Rising Sun. According to the Consulate General of Japan in San Francisco, Okimoto was chosen for his contributions to Japan, which include establishing the Walter H. Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center, the Japan-U.S. Legislative Leaders Meeting and Asia-Pacific Roundtable, and the Asia-Pacific Scholarship Program.

Publications



Cross Currents: Regionalism and Nationalism in Northeast Asia
Published by the Walter H. Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center, summer 2007
Distributed by the Brookings Institution Press
Edited by Gi-Wook Shin and Daniel C. Sneider

Northeast Asia stands at a turning point in its history. The key economies of China, Japan, and South Korea are growing increasingly interdependent, and the movement toward regionalism is gaining momentum. Yet interdependency also spurs nationalism in all three countries and beyond in East Asia. Today, Northeast Asia feels the presence of all three complex forces—national, regional, and global—which connect, compete, and collide in myriad ways. The essays in this book assess current interactions of national and regional forces in Northeast Asia, in the context of U.S. presence in the region. Reformulating these interactions constructively is one of Northeast Asia's most pressing contemporary challenges.



Crisis Preparedness: Asia and the Global Governance of Epidemics
Published by the Walter H. Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center, June 2007
Distributed by the Brookings Institution Press
Edited by Stella R. Quah

Throughout history, nations have waged war against epidemics, from bubonic plague to pulmonary tuberculosis. Today, we confront HIV/AIDS, SARS, and avian influenza, among other major infectious diseases. Scientists around the world scrutinize viruses and bacteria more intently than ever. Yet while scientific advances are crucial, they are insufficient. The world is not well prepared for the next health crisis. This timely book argues that the battle against infectious disease epidemics must be fought on two fronts. The first is within the laboratory; the second is located in a wider social context that involves ordinary individuals and groups, legislators, and the state.

FSI

Josef Joffe joins FSI as a senior fellow

Scholar-journalist and Europeanist Josef Joffe has been appointed as a senior fellow at FSI, effective Sept. 1, 2007. A renowned expert in U.S.-Europe relations and publisher-editor of *Die Zeit,* the venerable German newspaper, Joffe is noted for his ability to bridge the worlds of journalism, academics, and policy analysis. His recent book *Überpower: The Imperial Temptation in American Foreign Policy,* published in 2006, examines the role of the United States as the world's lone superpower and the importance of global institutions in achieving strategic goals.

Joffe will spend fall quarters at Stanford, working primarily with the Forum on Contemporary Europe, the Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law, and the Hoover Institution. He will also teach a course on U.S. foreign policy.

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