

Encina COLUMNS

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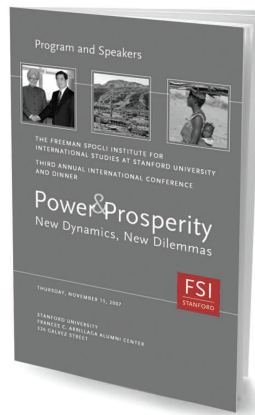
POWER AND PROSPERITY: New Dynamics, New Dilemmas

Freeman Spogli Institute's Third Annual International Conference and Dinner



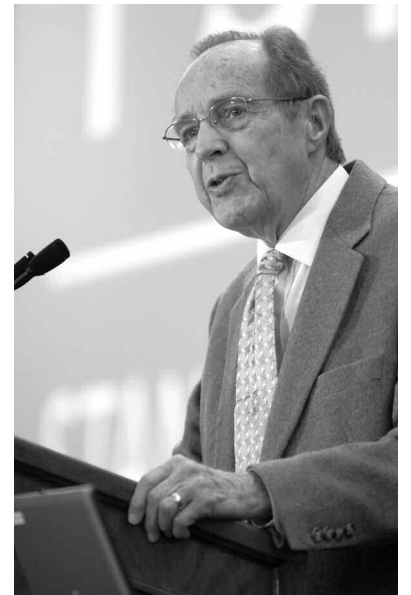
"For more than two centuries, a debate has raged in our country over whether the Congress or the president has the power to start, conduct, and terminate a war. Our great Constitution, which is such a wonderfully prophetic document, is absolutely clear on this subject, but it's clear both ways."

FORMER SECRETARY OF STATE
WARREN CHRISTOPHER



"There is a fundamental conflict between our need to keep nuclear bombs out of the hands of terrorists and our need to reduce carbon emissions. The solution must lie in establishing international protocols for how nuclear plants are operated and how nuclear fuel supplies are controlled."

FORMER SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WILLIAM PERRY



On November 15, 2007, FSI held its third annual international conference, *Power and Prosperity: New Dynamics, New Dilemmas*, examining seismic shifts in power, wealth, security, and risk in the global system. Acting FSI Director Michael McFaul, former Secretary of State Warren Christopher and former Secretary of Defense William Perry offered stage-setting remarks before a capacity crowd of business and civic leaders, diplomats, policymakers, faculty, and students. Interactive panel sessions encouraged exploration of contemporary issues with Stanford faculty and outside experts.

HERE, AND ON PAGES 8 AND 9, ARE CONFERENCE HIGHLIGHTS.



"The India entering its seventh decade as an independent country is one that is open to the contention of ideas and interests within it and outside ... wedded to the democratic pluralism that is its greatest strength and determined to fulfill the creative energies of its people. Such an India truly enjoys soft power in today's world."

FORMER UNDER SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS SHASHI THAROOR



"As Americans, we have not thought systematically about what it means when we use the phrase 'Islamic fundamentalism.' We tend to treat it holistically. If we are going to understand this threat, we have to disaggregate that big thing called 'the Muslim world'—we have to know the difference between Islamic fundamentalist, Islamist, and liberal Muslims."

ACTING FSI DIRECTOR AND POLITICAL SCIENCE PROFESSOR MICHAEL A. MCFAUL

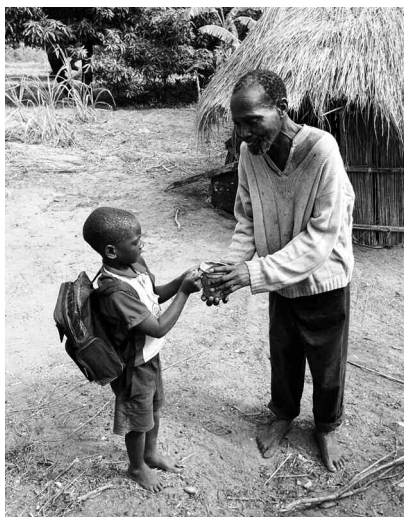


"After 9/11, we had a clash of two grand narratives: 'jihad and martyrdom' where the apostate regimes of the West and the Middle East were about to fall and 'the War on Terror' in which the roots of terrorism would be eradicated and autocratic regimes would tumble, bringing about democracy and a transformation of the Middle East."

PROFESSOR GILLES KEPEL, INSTITUTE OF POLITICAL STUDIES, PARIS

The HIV/AIDS Pandemic and Africa's Orphaned Elderly

BY AMBER HSIAO



“Usually if people foresee a caregiver dying, they would make other arrangements. The fact that you see so many people living alone, despite all these extra arrangements that people make, suggests the orphaned elderly problem is an extreme one.”



HIV/AIDS HAS HAD A PROFOUND IMPACT on all aspects of life for people in sub-Saharan Africa. Even though the region's population accounts for only 11 percent of the world's population, nearly 70 percent of people globally living with HIV/AIDS reside there. The epidemic has posed serious threats to economic and social stability, as family structures are being uprooted in cultures where elders traditionally rely on working-age adults as caregivers.

The HIV epidemic has undercut that structure, leaving as many as 1 million seniors—about the size of the population of San Francisco, according to the team's estimates—with no working-age caregivers.

Much attention has been paid to the issue of children orphaned by HIV/AIDS, but researchers at the Center for Health Policy and Center for Primary Care and Outcomes Research (CHP/PCOR) are currently examining how HIV/AIDS is affecting living arrangements for the elderly population in sub-Saharan Africa. The project, titled “The HIV/AIDS Pandemic and Africa's Orphaned Elderly,” is funded by CHP/PCOR's Center on the Demography and Economics of Health and Aging.

“The HIV epidemic in Africa has disrupted the population in many ways, but one effect that has not been extensively studied is the effect on caregiving for elderly people in Africa,” explained Jay Bhattacharya, a CHP/PCOR core faculty member and one of the researchers involved in the project. “In much of Africa, there is a common family structure where the older people in the family will come and live with their sons and daughters.”

In order to investigate the effect of the HIV/AIDS epidemic, CHP/PCOR core faculty members Grant Miller and Bhattacharya and Stanford University student Tim Kautz obtained data from UNAIDS—the Joint United Nations Program on HIV/AIDS—and have matched that data with another data source of high-quality information on the living arrangements of individuals in 18 countries.

It is fairly novel to use this latter data source—the Demographic Health Surveys—for a study of the elderly, as opposed to the more historically common use of researching women, children, and reproduction in low- and middle-income countries.

“The most interesting part of this study, to me, is not that HIV creates more orphaned elderly—it is almost guaranteed that increases in the HIV mortality rate will leave some elderly without caregivers,” Kautz said. “The surprising part is the magnitude of the problem. ... These 18 countries represent only about 60 percent of the population of sub-Saharan Africa, so the scope of the problem is probably even broader than we estimate.”

By relating the evolution of AIDS mortality in different African countries over time with changes in living arrangements among the elderly, the data have allowed the researchers to parse out rather precise information regarding familial relationships and living arrangements. The focus here, of course, is to examine how elders are being cared for in spite of the epidemic.

“These are not elderly people who are affected only because a working-age caregiver died,” Miller explained. “Rather, these are people for whom there has not been any fallback or alternative arrangement made to live with a distant relative or someone else. These are people who used to cohabit with a working-age caregiver and now don't.”

This distinction makes all the difference. Bhattacharya added, “Usually if people foresee a caregiver dying, they would make other arrangements. The fact that you see so many people living alone, despite all these extra arrangements that people make, suggests the orphaned elderly problem is an extreme one.”

And with little formal public sector support for the elderly—such as the existence of public pension programs seen in wealthier countries—the problem is exacerbated.

“By and large, there aren't long-term care facilities—even if one could afford them—so people really don't have many options aside from relying on their families for long-term care,” Miller said. “A less extreme but potentially very costly or consequential outcome is that you live with a less closely related or unrelated working-age adult, though we can't say directly if that's worse than living with a more closely related adult. And, it imposes dependency burdens on households that previously weren't bearing them.”

HIV/AIDS is also distinctively different from other diseases. Most diseases afflicting large populations tend to kill people at very young and very old ages. HIV/AIDS, however, is unique in that its impact falls disproportionately on adults in their prime working years.

“To put these numbers in context, these are countries where the typical person isn't expected to live to old age in the first place,” Miller said. “Given all the things that tend to kill people before old age, you have a relatively small share of people making it to old age, and some of these people are taking care of their grandchildren, too.”

The team is viewing their research as a pilot project that will provide initial estimates about the size of the problem.

“A nice extension of the work would be to figure out a way to know more about the disability status of these people,” Miller explained. “We make the assumption that people tend to be less healthy when disability occurs at early ages, so these are people likely to be in trouble. But, it would be nice to know more precisely what the functional status of these people is in order to figure out the right way to support them.”

There is considerable country-to-country variation in the social, political, and economic issues to be confronted when addressing the dilemma of the orphaned elderly as well, from infrastructure and government processes to politics and more, so finding a one-size-fits-all solution may be difficult.

“The data suggest that there needs to be some sort of systematic way to address the orphaned elderly problem—right now, it just seems like it's not being addressed at all,” Bhattacharya said. “Solutions will vary a lot by country. In some, it might be possible to have group homes, where you wouldn't limit it to AIDS orphans, but open it to anyone living alone. In other countries, that might not be possible because the concentration of older people living alone is not high enough.”

The researchers hope that defining the dimensions of the problem in their pilot project may help over the longer-term to develop more systematic approaches to care for the sizable elderly and orphaned populations of Africa. ■

PHOTOS ABOVE: A CHILD BRINGS A CUP OF WATER TO AN ELDERLY MAN IN MOZAMBIQUE WHO LIVES ON HIS OWN (ERIC MILLER/WORLD BANK/2002).

STANFORD STUDENT TIM KAUTZ VOLUNTEERED IN KIKWE, TANZANIA, DURING THE SUMMER OF 2005 FOR A PROGRAM IN WHICH HE GAVE A PRESENTATION ON HIV PREVENTION IN LOCAL SCHOOLS. CRAFTING A WOODEN SPOON, KAUTZ AND HIS HOST FAMILY'S GRANDFATHER PAUSE FOR A PHOTO (TIM KAUTZ).

Gates Foundation Gives \$3.8 Million to Stanford University for Biofuels, Food Security Research

BY MARSHALL BURKE AND ROSAMOND NAYLOR



THE BILL & MELINDA GATES FOUNDATION'S Agricultural Development Program has awarded Stanford University's Program on Food Security and the Environment (FSE) and a team of collaborators \$3.8 million over three years to conduct a quantitative assessment of the effect of biofuels expansion on food security in the developing world. This work will determine how different scenarios of expanded biofuels production in rich and poor countries will affect global and regional food prices, farmer incomes, and food consumption of the poor. In three case-study countries (India, Mozambique, Senegal), it will make a more detailed assessment of the opportunities and pitfalls associated with an array of possible biofuels development scenarios (e.g., using different crops for biofuels production, using marginal land versus highly productive land, etc.). We expect the work will represent the first systematic, detailed effort to address the effects of biofuels expansion on welfare in poor countries and the first available analytic tool for assessing possible biofuels investments in individual developing countries. Project collaborators include FSE, the International Food Policy Research Institute, the Center on Chinese Agricultural Policy, and the University of Nebraska.

Through this grant, the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation aims to assess how biofuels may affect smallholder farmers in the developing world. This includes assessing both the risks, such as increasing food prices, and the potential opportunities for smallholder farmers to leverage biofuels to boost their productivity, increase their incomes, and build better lives for themselves and their families. The foundation and Stanford University will disseminate the findings widely to inform a broad audience, including policymakers.

FSE is also very pleased to announce a private gift from Lawrence Kemp for further work in the biofuels area. The Kemp gift will be devoted to building a team of faculty and students on campus who will analyze the transmission of global price effects to local markets, provide policy advice and communication on biofuels, and expand the field-level coverage of Stanford's biofuels work.

In the November 2007 issue of *Environment*, project collaborators Rosamond Naylor (FSE), Adam Liska, Marshall Burke (FSE), Walter Falcon (FSE), Joanne Gaskell, Scott Rozelle (FSE), and Kenneth Cassman demonstrate how high energy prices and biofuels-promoting agricultural policy result in higher food prices generally and then examine in detail the potential global effects of biofuels expansion in four countries for four crops—corn in the United States, cassava in China, sugarcane and soy in Brazil, and palm oil in Indonesia. They argue that in each case, the threats to global food security from biofuels expansion likely outweigh the

benefits, especially in the short run. This is because in many poor countries these crops play an important role in the diets of the poor and because the poorest in the world typically spend more money on food than they earn in income through farming. They also note that “second generation” technologies such as cellulosic biofuels will likely not play a significant role in biofuels production over the next decade or longer—and thus in the near-term are very unlikely to be the win-win that their proponents suggest.

“THE RIPPLE EFFECT: BIOFUELS, FOOD SECURITY, AND THE ENVIRONMENT”

EXCERPTED FROM *ENVIRONMENT*, NOVEMBER 2007

The integration of the agricultural and energy sectors caused by rapid growth in the biofuels market signals a new era in food policy and sustainable development. For the first time in decades, agricultural commodity markets could experience a sustained increase in prices, breaking the long-term price decline that has benefited food consumers worldwide. Whether this transition occurs—and how it will affect global hunger and poverty—remain to be seen. Will food markets begin to track the volatile energy market in terms of price and availability? Will changes in agricultural commodity markets benefit net food producers and raise farm income in poor countries? How will biofuels-induced changes in agricultural commodity markets affect net consumers of food? At risk are more than 800 million food-insecure people—mostly in rural areas and dependent to some extent on agriculture for incomes—who live on less than \$1 per day and spend the majority of their incomes on food. An additional 2–2.5 billion people living on \$1 to \$2 per day are also at risk, as rising commodity prices could pull them swiftly into a food-insecure state.

The potential impact of a large global expansion of biofuels production capacity on net food producers and consumers in low-income countries presents challenges for food policy planners and raises the question of whether sustainable development targets at a more general level can be reached. Achieving the 2015 Millennium Development Goals adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 2000, which include halving the world's undernourished and impoverished, lies at the core of global initiatives to improve human well-being and equity, yet today virtually no progress has been made toward achieving the dual goals of alleviating global hunger and poverty. The record varies on a regional basis: Gains have been made in many Asia-Pacific and Latin American-Caribbean countries, but progress has been mixed in South Asia and setbacks have occurred in numerous sub-Saharan African countries. Whether the biofuels boom will move

extremely poor countries closer to or further from the Millennium Development Goals remains uncertain.

Biofuels growth also will influence efforts to meet two sets of longer-run development targets. The first encompasses the goals of a “sustainability transition,” articulated by the Board on Sustainable Development of the U.S. National Academy of Sciences, which seeks to provide energy, materials, and information to meet the needs of a global population of 8–10 billion by 2050, while reducing hunger and poverty and preserving the planet's environmental life-support systems. The second is the Great Transition of the Global Scenario Group, convened by the Stockholm Environment Institute, which focuses specifically on reductions in hunger and greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions beyond 2050. As additional demands are placed on the agricultural resource base for fuel production, will ecosystem services (such as hydrologic balances, biodiversity, and soil quality) that support agricultural activities be eroded? Will biofuels development require a large expansion of crop area, which would involve conversion of marginal land, rainforest, and wetlands to arable land? And what will be the net effect of biofuels expansion on global climate change?

Although the questions outnumber the answers at this stage, two trends seem clear: Total energy use will continue to escalate as incomes rise in both industrial and developing countries, and biofuels will remain a critical energy development target in many parts of the world if petroleum prices exceed \$55–\$60 per barrel. Even if petroleum prices dip, policy support for biofuels as a means of boosting rural incomes in several key countries will likely generate continued expansion of biofuels production capacity. These trends will have widespread ripple effects on food security—defined here as the ability of all people at all times to have access to affordable food and nutrition for a healthy lifestyle—and on the environment at local, regional, and global scales. The ripple effects will be either positive or negative depending on the country in question and the policies in play. ■

PHOTOS ABOVE: (L) FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ORGANIZATION (FAO); (R) U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE (USDA).

Senior Fellow Martha Crenshaw, CISAC

Terrorists Motivated by Strategy, Not Religion

BY DAN STOBER



MARTHA CRENSHAW

SUICIDE BOMBERS ARE NOT ALL ALIKE. Palestinians prepare elaborate martyr videos before their killings and become celebrities afterward, while Iraqi Sunnis kill their fellow citizens in obscurity. In Afghanistan, the suicide bombers have their own distinction: They are known for their ineptness, often blowing themselves up without killing anyone else.

“They’re not efficient,” said Martha Crenshaw, a senior fellow at the Center for International Security and Cooperation (CISAC) at the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies. She arrived at Stanford this summer, after several decades of studying terrorism as a professor of government at Wesleyan University in Middletown, Conn.

Afghan suicide bombers tend to be poorer, younger and less educated than suicide bombers elsewhere, Crenshaw said during a recent CISAC seminar. She cited a United Nations report that accused the Taliban of strapping explosives to boys, despite a commitment not to recruit those too young to have facial hair. Promises of motorcycles and cell phones have been used as inducements.

One boy whose mission failed was interviewed by U.N. workers. “He somehow thought he would survive the attack and get to spend the money they had promised him, not quite understanding that he would not be there,” Crenshaw said in an interview following her talk.

In Afghanistan, as elsewhere, the person wearing the explosives belt or driving the car bomb is the least valuable person in the terror group, Crenshaw said. The key people are the bomb maker and the organizer: “They never send the bomb maker with the bomb.” In Israel, security officials target the bomb makers for assassination.

“It’s the organization that decides who’s going to be attacked and when and where and why,” Crenshaw said. “Then they recruit somebody to carry it out. So the person carrying the bomb really is just a foot soldier.”

Afghanistan’s most famous suicide attack happened in 2001, just two days before the 9/11 assault on the United States. Al-Qaida operatives masquerading as journalists preemptively blew up tribal warlord Ahmad Shah Massoud in anticipation that he might aid U.S. troops if they eventually invaded Afghanistan in search of Osama bin Laden.

Today, al-Qaida, the Taliban and Hizb-i-Islami (the group led by Gulbuddin Hekmatyar) aim their suicide attacks at U.S. and Afghan government forces, but the victims are overwhelmingly civilian bystanders, often large numbers of children. Many of the bombers, Crenshaw said, are recruited from religious schools across the border in Pakistan.

The predominant motivation for terrorists to employ suicide attacks is strategic, not religious, according to Crenshaw. One suicide bomber kills many people, a perfect example of what the U.S. military calls asymmetric warfare. According to the United Nations, since the 1980s suicide bombers have been involved in only 4 percent of the world’s terror attacks, but have caused 29 percent of the deaths.

Crenshaw gave her CISAC talk the day of the bloody suicide-bomber attack on Pakistani opposition leader Benazir Bhutto. With some 140 deaths and 500 injuries, it was the deadliest of more than 50 suicide attacks in Pakistan in recent years. Bhutto survived without injury, but if she had died, the volatile country could have come unglued, according to Crenshaw. “It shows you how one major suicide bombing could make a big difference,” she said.

Her interest in terrorism began in graduate school in the late 1960s. Her first book, *Revolutionary Terrorism* (Hoover Institution Press, 1978), was on guerilla warfare against the French during the Algerian war for independence from 1954 to 1962. It still sells on Amazon, for \$100.

How does one research suicide bombers, since most of them, by definition, are dead? “We don’t have very

many studies that are based on extensive interviews,” Crenshaw said. The one well-known body of work based on interviews involves failed Palestinian suicide bombers held in Israeli prisons. But the prisoners have told their stories so often that it is difficult to separate truth from imagination, according to Crenshaw.

Scholars of terrorism in general can turn to trial transcripts, databases of newspaper stories or the “Harmony Project” documents captured from al-Qaida and posted online by the U.S. Military Academy at West Point.

But less has been written specifically about suicide bombers. “In Iraq, it’s very difficult to know who they were, even. They’re dead and they’re blown to bits, too,” Crenshaw said. “You might not have a hand with fingerprints, for example. Surprisingly enough, often they do seem to find heads. But still, how do you identify someone in Iraq, where you don’t have a record of who the population is to begin with? There are no identity cards, no nothing. Really, we’re just guessing.”

The predominant motivation for terrorists to employ suicide attacks is strategic, not religious, according to Martha Crenshaw.

Crenshaw’s most recent paper, “Explaining Suicide Terrorism: A Review Essay” (*Security Studies*, Vol. 16, No. 1, January 2007), relied on the bookstore: She bought and read 13 books about suicide bombers, then produced a review of them all as a guide to other researchers. ■

REPRINTED FROM THE STANFORD REPORT, OCTOBER 24, 2007. EDITORIAL NOTE: BENAZIR BHUTTO WAS ASSASSINATED ON DECEMBER 27, 2007, IN PAKISTAN.

CRENSHAW’S RESEARCH AGENDA

Why is the United States the target of terrorism? Crenshaw is answering this question, as a lead investigator with the National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism at the University of Maryland, a Department of Homeland Security Center of Excellence. Her research focuses on groups that have targeted the United States or its interests since the mid-1960s, placing incidents in context by comparing them with instances in which groups displayed similar anti-American ideas but did not resort to terrorism.

“Contrary to popular belief, only about 10 percent of active terrorist groups have targeted the United States,” she says. “You have to get into the local politics to see what’s going on” with anti-U.S. terrorism abroad. Such attacks can be aimed at the local regime, she explained.

Crenshaw is also editing a book tentatively titled *The Consequences of Counterterrorist Policies in Democracies*, to be published by the Russell Sage Foundation, which supported the research.

And “The Debate over ‘New’ versus ‘Old’ Terrorism,” a paper Crenshaw presented at the 2007 American Political Science Association meeting, is set to appear in an edited volume. Crenshaw questions common claims that terrorism in recent years has taken on a completely new character, more religious and lethal.

“Terrorism has changed over time, but there is no fundamental difference between ‘old’ and ‘new’ terrorism,” she said. Researchers and policymakers should “ask why some groups cause large numbers of civilian casualties and others do not,” she said, “rather than assuming that religious beliefs are the explanation for lethality.” ■

Divided Memories and Reconciliation

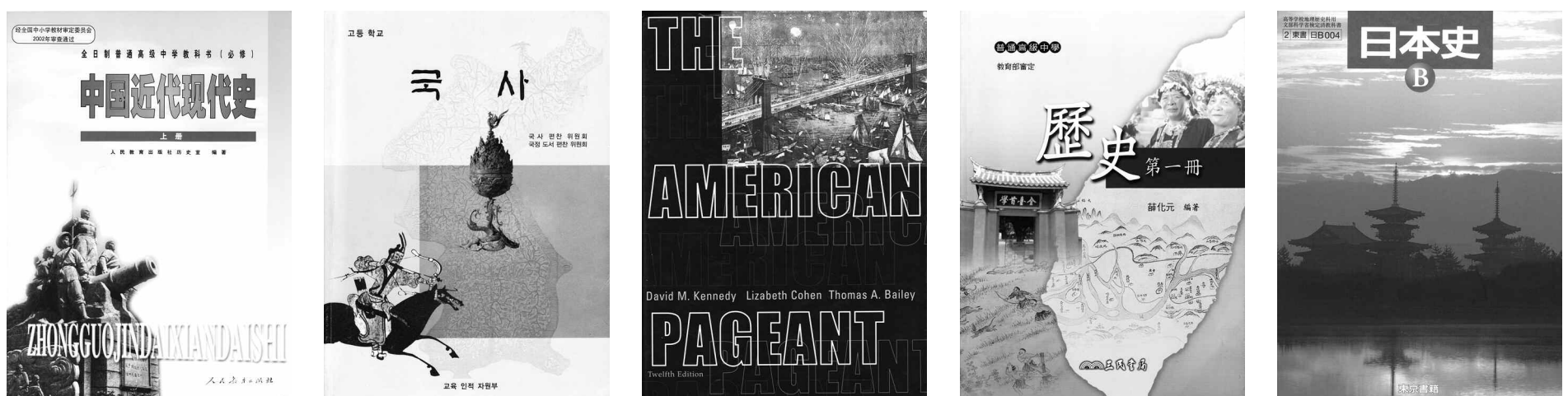
BY DANIEL SNEIDER

THE 70TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE 1937 JAPANESE ATTACK on the Chinese capital of Nanjing, and the mass atrocities that followed, were marked in relatively low-key fashion in China. At a time when the Chinese government is anxious to improve its ties with Japan, it sent only junior officials to the commemoration ceremony unveiling a refurbished museum that attempts to document an event that has become emblematic, for the Chinese at least, of the war with Japan.

Despite the decision to downplay the anniversary, a wave of films, many of them backed by the Chinese government, had already been set in motion, begun at a time when Sino-Japanese tensions were high. Almost a dozen new movies on the “Nanjing Massacre,” including some supported by U.S. and European money, are in production. In Japan, a documentary supported by a group of conservative lawmakers and academics that claims there is no evidence of a Japanese massacre is also slated for release.

The United States is no less guilty of forming its own divided memory of these historical events—witness the response to the controversy surrounding the Enola Gay exhibit at the Smithsonian Institution. And the United States had a key role to play in shaping the failure to confront these historical issues in a timely fashion, through its handling of the postwar justice issues for example and the troubling legacy of the problems left unresolved by the 1951 San Francisco Treaty.

Our research project compares the formation of these divided memories in China, Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, and the United States. The project has begun with a comparative examination of high school history textbooks in those five places, focusing on the period from the beginning of the Sino-Japanese war in 1931 until the formal conclusion of the Pacific war with the San Francisco Peace Treaty. This will be followed by a second comparative study of popular cinema dealing with historical



This is the latest indication of how Asia’s wartime past bedevils its present. From relations between governments to the interactions of ordinary citizens, disputes over past wrongs continue to occupy newspapers, cinema screens, and school textbooks. All nations in the region, rather than taking responsibility, have some sense of victimization and often blame others. Anti-Japanese sentiments seem undiminished in China and Korea, even among the younger generation with no experience of war or colonialism. The Japanese suffer from “apology fatigue,” questioning why they must continue to repent for events that took place six or seven decades ago.

The failure to address historical injustice and to reconcile differing views of the past has strained Sino-Japanese relations and friction between Japan and South Korea about Japan’s colonial past remains intense. Even South Korea and China are sparring over the history of the ancient kingdom of Koguryō. Taiwan as well is immersed in a re-examination of the historical past. The history question touches upon the most sensitive issues of national identity and now fuels the fires of nationalism in Northeast Asia.

There is widespread recognition of the need for reconciliation and the final resolution of historical injustices. But the existence of divided, even conflicting, historical memories is a fundamental obstacle to such reconciliation. All of the nations involved are bound by distinct, often contradictory perceptions of history and separated by different accounts of past events. These perceptions are deeply imbedded in public consciousness, transmitted by education, popular culture, and the mass media.

At the Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center, we have embarked on the “Divided Memories and Reconciliation” project that seeks to tackle the history issue from a comparative perspective. Rather than trying to forge a common historical account or to reach a consensus among scholars on specific events, we believe that a more fruitful approach lies in understanding how historical memory is formed in each country. Recognizing how each country engages in the selective creation of its own, divided memory can lead to mutual understanding. Ironically, the very realization that there is no absolute historical truth on which everyone can agree creates a path to reconciliation.

These divided memories are a foundation of national identity—and the formation of national myths that have a powerful role to this day. Whether it is Japanese atrocities in China or the decision to drop atomic weapons on Japan, no nation is immune from the charge that they have formed a less than complete view of the past. All share a reluctance to fully confront the complexity of that past and tend to blame others.

subjects from roughly the same period. In parallel with these two comparative studies, Shorenstein APARC plans to design and carry out a comprehensive survey of the views of elite opinion-makers in all five countries on these historical issues. The project has garnered important support from donors in Asia and the United States, among them Korea’s Northeast Asia History Foundation, the Taiwan Foundation for Democracy, and the U.S.-Japan Foundation.

The translations of the most widely circulated high school history textbooks—both national and world history textbooks—have been completed. In February 2008, Shorenstein APARC will convene an international conference of historians and other scholars to conduct a comparative analysis of the textbooks and to discuss, from personal experience, the process of textbook writing and revision. Stanford historians Peter Duus and Mark Peattie, the authors of numerous volumes on this historical period, will lead the comparative analysis. Textbook authors from all five countries will also offer their views.

Textbooks have been a subject of particular controversy in Asia since the 1950s, though focused almost entirely on the content of Japanese textbooks and complaints from China, Korea, and elsewhere that they offer a distorted account of wartime events. One approach to solving this problem has been to form joint committees to study history and to create jointly written textbooks. These efforts are ongoing but they have proved so far to be a very difficult path to reconciliation. A Japan-South Korea joint committee to create a shared history was launched in 2001 but has made little real headway. A similar Sino-Japanese joint committee of 20 prominent historians was formed in October 2006 but it also quickly bogged down in disagreements over what to include in a joint history.

These official efforts only reinforce the value of the “Divided Memories and Reconciliation” project. As an effort by scholars, without official involvement, and as the first attempt to treat this issue comparatively, with the inclusion of the United States, it breaks new ground. The February conference will produce not only a book but also will be reproduced in workshops in all the participating Asian countries, held in collaboration with scholarly institutions. Together with our partners, Shorenstein APARC hopes to generate a public dialogue, not only with scholars but also with the general public through media and other venues. The project is also intended to provide policymakers in Northeast Asia and the United States with data and analysis that will aid their own efforts at easing tensions over the history issue. ■

Summer Fellows Program Brings Civic Activists, Policymakers to Stanford

BY HEATHER BOYNTON



“Should the United States promote democracy? Can the United States promote democracy?”



6

LARRY DIAMOND—Hoover Institution senior fellow, CDDRL democracy program coordinator, and former senior advisor to the Coalition Provisional Authority in Iraq—has just discussed causes and consequences of corruption and international efforts to control it with a room full of visiting fellows. This is not just a group of learned political scientists, however, and Diamond does not hesitate to follow a sophisticated piece of analysis with a hard-nosed, view-from-the-ground assessment. He has, for instance, just told the fellows what he thinks of a major development institution. (“I think the World Bank needs to be ripped apart and fundamentally restructured.”) He has extended the concept of a “resource curse” to include not just oil but also international assistance. (“In many countries, aid is like oil; it’s used for outside rents.”) He has recommended that institutions learn the “dance of conditionality” and exercise selectivity, choosing countries to invest in based on demonstrated performance. But the 27 fellows around the table know a thing or two about corruption. Most of them face it in their home countries; many of them have made fighting it part of their work. And almost all of their hands go up to tell Diamond that there is something he missed, or something he got right.

This year’s 27 Stanford Summer Fellows on Democracy and Development—outstanding civic, political, and economic leaders from developing democracies—were selected from more than 500 applicants to take part in the program, which FSI’s Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law (CDDRL) hosted July 30–August 17, 2007. They traveled to Stanford from 22 countries in transition, including Iraq, Afghanistan, Iran, Pakistan, China, Russia, Egypt, Nigeria, Kenya, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. And like their academic curriculum during the three-week program, which examines linkages among democracy, economic development, and the rule of law, their professional experiences and fields of study center on these three areas, assuring that each fellow brings a seasoned perspective to the program’s discussions.

The curriculum for the first week focused on defining the concepts of “democracy,” “development,” and the “rule of law” and identifying institutions that support democratic and market development. Using selected articles and book chapters as starting points for discussion, CDDRL Director Michael McFaul and Marc Plattner, National Endowment for Democracy vice-president for research and studies, began the weeklong module with an examination of what democracy is and what definition or definitions might apply to distinguish electoral democracy, liberal democracy, and competitive authoritarianism. Another question discussed was whether there was such a thing as Islamic democracy, Asian democracy, Russian democracy, or American democracy.

Faculty including Diamond, CDDRL associate director for research Kathryn Stoner-Weiss, Stanford president emeritus and constitutional law scholar Gerhard Casper, Stanford Law School lecturer Erik Jensen, and economists Avner Greif and Seema Jayachandran “team-taught” individual sessions as the week progressed. Fellows and faculty discussed how to define and measure development, the role and rule of law in societies, how legal systems affect democratic development, constitutionalism, electoral systems, parliamentary versus presidential systems, horizontal accountability, and market development. Fellows worked in groups to discuss and present their conclusions about an issue to their colleagues, comparing experiences and sharing insights into how well political parties and parliaments constrained executive power and how civil society organizations contributed to democratic consolidation.

In addition to discussing their personal experiences with democracy promotion, economic development, and legal reform, fellows met with a broad range of practitioners, including USAID deputy director Maria Rendon Labadan, National Endowment for Democracy president Carl Gershman, U.S. Court of Appeals Ninth Circuit Judge Pamela Rymer, IREX president Mark Pomar, Freedom House chairman and International Center on Nonviolent Conflict founding chair Peter Ackerman,

SSFDD ALUMNI FOCUS: VIOLET GONDA



A PRODUCER AND PRESENTER for SW Radio Africa (London), Violet Gonda was a Stanford Summer

Fellow on Democracy and Development in 2006, the same year her station was named the International Station of the Year by the Association of International Broadcasters. “CDDRL brings together a cross-section of people from different backgrounds, different careers,” Gonda said. “Politicians, lawyers, activists ... all in the same room. It is an amazing group of people.”

Banned from returning to her home country because of her journalism work at the radio station—“we are

welcome in Zimbabwe but only in the prisons”—Gonda “literally eat[s], breathe[s], and dream[s] Zimbabwe.” The summer fellows program, she said, gave her a broad perspective on what’s going on in other countries; “it is so intensive ... you can really compare and contrast democracy on every continent.” One thing Gonda found is that ““when you look at these leaders, you’d think they all were born of the same mother ... and the ways people respond to these crises are the same.”



“We are building an extraordinary community of democratic activists and officials who have a deeper understanding of the types of institutions that secure freedom, control corruption, and foster sustainable development.”



International Center on Nonviolent Conflict president Jack DuVall, *The Orange Revolution* documentary filmmaker Steve York, and government affairs attorney Patrick Shannon. Guest speakers talked about their fieldwork, offered practical advice, and answered fellows’ questions.

This component grounded the classroom discussions in a practical context. “It was important for our visiting fellows to interact with American practitioners, both to learn about innovative techniques for improving democracy practices but also to hear about frustrations and failures that Americans also face in working to make democracy and democracy promotion work more effectively,” explained McFaul. “We Americans do not have all the answers and have much to learn from interaction with those in the trenches working to improve governance in their countries.”

As the program’s curriculum shifted to democratic and economic transitions for week two, McFaul and Stoner-Weiss balanced the structure of the classroom with guest lecturers, a documentary film premiere, and field trips to Google headquarters and San Francisco media organizations to put into practical context the components discussed theoretically in the classroom. The field trip to San Francisco included a session with KQED Forum executive producer Raul Ramirez, a briefing with the editorial board at the *San Francisco Chronicle*, and a discussion of links between violence against women and children and poverty, health, and security at the Family Violence Prevention Fund.

The third week’s curriculum looked at international and domestic efforts to promote democracy, development, and the rule of law. This integrative module drew on the teaching caliber of Stephen Krasner (FSI senior fellow), Peter Henry (Graduate School of Business), Allen Weiner and Helen Stacy (Stanford Law School), and Nicholas Hope (Stanford Center for International Development) as well as Casper, Jensen, McFaul, and Stoner-Weiss. Through case studies and, in particular, comparison of successes and failures in the fellows’ own experiences, faculty and fellows explored and assessed

international strategies for promoting rule of law, reconciliation of past human rights abuses, democracy, and good governance. The discussions, occasionally contentious, circled in on a set of central questions: Should the United States promote democracy? Can the United States promote democracy? What are the links between democracy and increasing the rule of law, controlling corruption, rebuilding societies shattered by massive human rights violations, and promoting good governance?

Despite the intellectual rigor of the coursework and discussion, and the exploration of practical applicability with guest speakers and field trips, the Stanford Summer Fellows on Democracy and Development Program was designed as much to stimulate connections among field practitioners and to provide a forum in which to exchange ideas. “Through the summer fellows program, we are building an extraordinary community of democratic activists and officials who have a deeper understanding of the types of institutions that secure freedom, control corruption, and foster sustainable development, and who are keeping in touch with us and with one another,” said Diamond. “When I meet our ‘alumni’ fellows in subsequent years, they speak movingly of the bonds they formed and the insights they gained in these three fast-paced weeks.”

To ensure they fulfill their goal of building a small but robust global network of civic activist and policymakers in developing countries, CDDRL launched a Summer Fellows Program Alumni Newsletter. The newsletter is based on an interactive website that will allow the center to strengthen its network of leaders and civic activists and facilitate more groundbreaking policy analysis across academic fields and geographic regions, the results of which will be promptly fed back to its activist alumni in a virtual loop of scholarship and policymaking. “We envision the creation of an international network of emerging political and civic leaders in countries in transition,” said Stoner-Weiss, “who can share experiences and solutions to the very similar problems they and their countries face.” ■

(ALL PHOTOS BY ROD SEARCEY)

Gonda had such a positive experience at Stanford that she decided to apply for, and was accepted to, the prestigious John S. Knight Fellowships for journalists for the academic year 2007–08. “It’s always been Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe,” she said. “Now I finally have time to sit down and read a book, write an article, go to seminars, sharpen my skills.” She is not exactly sitting still however. In December she gave a presentation on Zimbabwe’s political situation for the

Center on African Studies, and will also be discussing Zimbabwe at the Palo Alto Rotary Club and the Bechtel International Center. “Media in America does not have a lot of international news, particularly on Africa,” Gonda said. “So it’s a good opportunity to talk about Zimbabwe, and I will take advantage of it.”

She is also working on developing new content for SW Radio Africa and plans to interview FSI scholars she met through the summer fellows program so

that Zimbabweans can understand what is going on in different countries. Close contact with program alumni means that she has friends and colleagues in other parts of that world who can be called on for their perspective on situations. While SW Radio Africa’s mission is “to record and to expose” developments in Zimbabwe, Gonda explained, “it’s good to compare, to show people we are not alone, that this is happening elsewhere.” ■

Power and Prosperity: New Dynamics, New Dilemmas

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

Freeman Spogli Institute's Third Annual International Conference and Dinner

BY JUDITH PAULUS

“FOR MORE THAN TWO CENTURIES, A DEBATE HAS RAGED IN OUR COUNTRY over whether the Congress or the president has the power to start, conduct, and terminate a war,” stated former Secretary of State Warren Christopher. The issue has been made urgent by what is called the “War on Terror,” regarded by many as almost unlimited in duration and geographic scope. “One frontier issue is whether the commander-in-chief authority gives the president the power to override the Constitution,” he said, specifically “whether or not the president can authorize torture that may offend the Constitution, wiretap American citizens, and suspend habeas corpus.”

Christopher and former Secretary of State Jim Baker are heading a new National War Powers Commission to study and resolve these issues. Planning to do something of a prospective nature, they will focus their recommendations on the 2009 Congress, seeking to bring to bear the collective judgment of both the president and a Congress traditionally reluctant to exercise the power it has under the Constitution.

“I spent most of my adult life under the dark cloud of a nuclear holocaust, a war that threatened no less than the annihilation of humanity,” said former Secretary of Defense William Perry. Now the Cold War is over, but its end did not bring about the end of history. “History is being written every day in the streets of Bagdad, in the deserts of Darfur, in the nuclear test range of North Korea, and in the nuclear laboratories of Iran.”

Perry identified four potential security threats: the danger of a nuclear terrorist attack, drifting into a new Cold War, drifting into an environmental disaster, and the danger that radical fundamentalists will gain ascendancy in the Islamic world. “There is a fundamental conflict between our need to keep nuclear bombs out of the hands of terrorists and our need to reduce carbon emissions,” he stated, for the global movement to increase nuclear power could increase terrorists’ ability to get fissile materials. “The solution must lie,” he advised, “in establishing international protocols for how nuclear plants are operated and nuclear fuel supplies are controlled.”

A complementary route is to work to reduce and then eliminate nuclear weapons. Getting to the political will to take those steps was a major objective of a January 4, 2007, *Wall Street Journal* op-ed, “A World Free of Nuclear Weapons,” published by Perry, George Shultz, Henry Kissinger, and Sam Nunn, and conferences at Stanford. “This conference can teach us *what* to do,” Perry said, “what is needed is the political will to do it.”

Gi-Wook Shin, director of FSI’s Walter H. Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center, chaired Plenary I, “Asia’s Triple Rise: How China, India, and Japan Will Shape our Future.” “While our policymakers are preoccupied with the Middle East, Asia is going to have much more impact on our future,” Shin said. Asia is experiencing a unique moment in Asian and world history. Can three great nations rise simultaneously, creating a regional architecture for stability and security? What role can the United States play?

“There are two defining characteristics of today’s world,” said J. Stapleton Roy, former U.S. ambassador to China, “America’s role as the sole superpower and China’s precipitous rise to power and influence.” Roy traced China’s resource demands, military development, and global economic impact and evaluated China’s influence on U.S. foreign policy. “While we see a more powerful and prosperous China as a security threat,” he stated, “the case could be made for a more optimistic scenario in which growth creates a sizable middle class, greater global dependence, and a more open society as the fifth generation of Chinese leaders takes over, the first to mature in a period of openness to the world and the power of modern democracies.”

“The only democracy in the world with which the United States had endemically bad relations during the Cold War was India. Happily that has changed,” said Robert Blackwill, former U.S. ambassador to India. He addressed our many areas of common interest: the fight against global terrorism, energy security, a healthy global economy, and shared democratic values. Analyzing the pending civil nuclear cooperation deal, he placed India’s need for 15–20 new nuclear reactors in the context of domestic growth. Some 450 million people make less than \$1.50 per day; India will not tolerate outside direction to slow growth. “The United States and India are natural allies,” he concluded.

“Japan has resumed a solid growth track,” said Michael H. Armacost, Shorenstein Distinguished Fellow and former U.S. ambassador to Japan. The country seeks respect and wants a permanent seat on the U.N. Security Council, which it deserves. Japan’s economy is four times the size of China’s; Japan’s military budget is just 1

percent of GDP, yet it is the third largest in the world and the most sophisticated in Asia. Japan has the resources of a great power—huge financial reserves, modern science and technology, and enormous aid and investment flows. As Japan assumes a more robust international role, we should expect the Japanese to “hedge their bets,” he said, balancing strong U.S. ties with other nations and competing with China in pan-Asian community building efforts. Japan-U.S. relations should not be forgotten, he advised, as we focus on China and India.

Shashi Tharoor, diplomat, historian, and former U.N. under secretary-general, mused about “India’s Future as a Great Power.” Asking what makes a country a world leader, he acknowledged that India has the world’s second largest population, fourth largest military, status as a nuclear power, and the fifth largest economy. Yet a nation that cannot feed, educate, or employ its people cannot be termed a “great power,” Tharoor noted. He suggested that India’s greatest asset is its “soft power”—its liberal democracy, social and cultural diversity, and enormously popular culture. All hold important lessons. “The India entering its seventh decade as an independent country,” he said, “is open to the contentions of ideas and interests within it and outside ... wedded to the democratic pluralism that is its greatest strength and determined to liberate and fulfill the creative energies of its people. Such an India truly enjoys soft power in today’s world.”

Lynn Eden, associate director for research at CISAC, chaired Plenary II, “Critical Connections: Faces of Security in the 21st Century,” examining security risks posed by Iraq, nuclear weapons, and food security and the environment—issues, she noted, “that are also central themes of the Stanford International Initiative: improving governance, pursuing security, and advancing human well-being.”

“There are now multiple indications that conditions on the ground in Iraq have improved quite substantially,” said Hoover Institution Senior Fellow and CDDRL faculty member Larry Diamond. Violence is down and there is a return to something approaching normalcy, as a result of the 30,000 “surge” in U.S. troops and a more effective counter-insurgency strategy adopted by General David Petraeus. The new military-sized force and strategy come at a propitious moment, when the Sunni Arab heartland has turned against Al Qaeda. As Al Qaeda has been weakened, fear, fatal bombings, and Iraqi and U.S. fatalities have declined significantly. The problem is that strategic military gains have not been matched with requisite political progress: enacting an oil revenue sharing bill, reversing de-Baathification, and scheduling provincial elections. “The harsh fact is that military progress on the ground is not sustainable,” warned Diamond, “without political progress toward reconciliation in Bagdad and the provinces.”

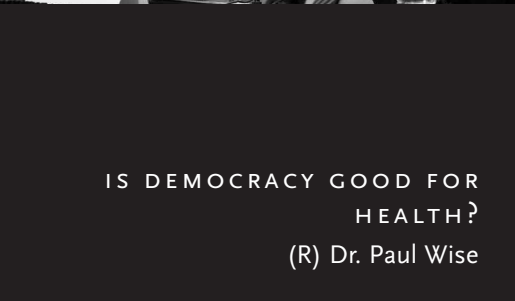
Assessing nuclear proliferation, CISAC Co-Director Scott Sagan said, “In 1963, John F. Kennedy famously relayed his nuclear nightmare that by the 1970s there might be 15–20 nuclear weapons states. Was Kennedy’s fear inaccurate or only premature?” Today there are nine nuclear states, but the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) is cracked and challenges abound. The A.Q. Khan network in Pakistan exported nuclear technology to Libya, North Korea, and Iran. North Korea withdrew from the NPT and conducted a 2006 test, before agreeing to dismantle its nuclear program. Iran has rejected international demands to suspend uranium enrichment. The United States has not lived up to its NPT commitment to work toward eventual elimination of nuclear weapons. For Sagan, keys to nonproliferation include a successful U.N. 2010 NPT Review Conference, peaceful resolution of the North Korean and Iranian crises, developing control of the international fuel cycle, and American ratification of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty.

Turning to human security, Rosamond Naylor, the Julie Wrigley Senior Fellow at FSI and the Woods Institute for the Environment, reported that 1 billion people face acute risks every day from hunger, infectious disease, resource depletion, climate change, and civil conflict. Incredibly, 15 percent of the world’s population lives on less than \$1 per day and 50 percent live on less than \$2 a day. Three billion people are vulnerable to disruptions in food prices because of competing biofuels and climate change. While terrorism kills 3,000 people each year and battle deaths claim 20,000, more than 6–8 million people die every year from hunger and malnutrition. “What can be done?” asked Naylor. We urgently need to conserve our genetic crop resources and invest in rural development, agriculture, and education.

Gilles Kepel, professor and chair, Middle East and Mediterranean Studies, at Sciences Po, delivered the dinner keynote, “Islamic Fundamentalism: On the Rise or the Decline?” “As Americans we have not thought systematically about what it



PLENARY I
ASIA'S TRIPLE RISE
(L to R) Stapleton Roy, Robert Blackwill,
and Michael Armacost



IS DEMOCRACY GOOD FOR
HEALTH?
(R) Dr. Paul Wise



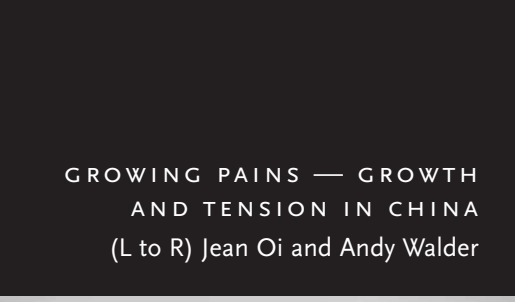
NUCLEAR POWER WITHOUT
NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION?
(L to R) Robert Rosner and
Siegfried Hecker



A CHANGING CONTINENT?
OPPORTUNITIES AND CHAL-
LENGES FOR EUROPEAN
UNION EXPANSION
(L to R) Katherine Jolluck, Mark Leonard,
Monica Macovei, and Wolfgang Munchau



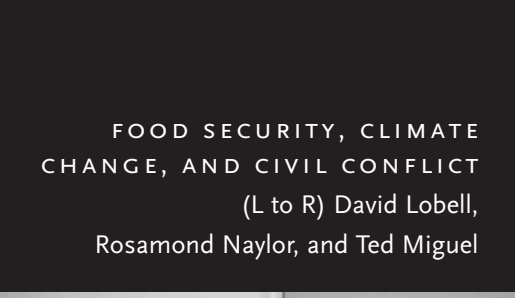
PLENARY II
FACES OF SECURITY IN THE
21ST CENTURY
(L to R) Lynn Eden, Larry Diamond,
Scott Sagan, and Rosamond Naylor



GROWING PAINS — GROWTH
AND TENSION IN CHINA
(L to R) Jean Oi and Andy Walder



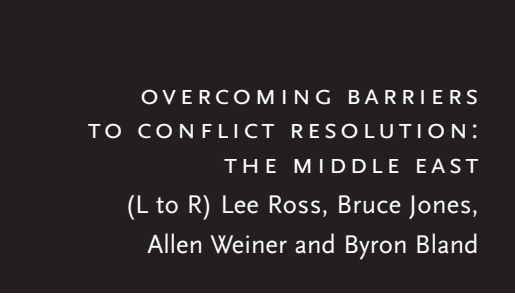
AUTOCRATIC HEGEMONS AND
THE NATIONAL INTEREST:
DEALING WITH CHINA, IRAN,
AND RUSSIA
(L to R) Kathryn Stoner-Weiss and
Larry Diamond



FOOD SECURITY, CLIMATE
CHANGE, AND CIVIL CONFLICT
(L to R) David Lobell,
Rosamond Naylor, and Ted Miguel



FACES OF ENERGY SECURITY
(L to R) Bryan Hannegan and
Chris Mottershead



OVERCOMING BARRIERS
TO CONFLICT RESOLUTION:
THE MIDDLE EAST
(L to R) Lee Ross, Bruce Jones,
Allen Weiner and Byron Bland



means when we use the phrase ‘Islamic fundamentalism,’” said Acting FSI Director Michael McFaul. “If we are going to understand this threat, we have to disaggregate that big thing called ‘the Muslim world’—we have to know the difference between Islamic fundamentalist, Islamist, and liberal Muslims.” Gilles Kepel, a leading author and scholar of the Middle East, who has “invested tremendously in the study of Islam,” was invited to fill that void. “When it comes to understanding Islamic fundamentalism, Paris is the 21st century,” said McFaul. “I see it as a real challenge to all of us to learn from our French colleagues, and tonight I promise you, you will learn from *one* of our French colleagues.”

In a December 2001 manifesto, *Knights Under the Prophet’s Banner*, Ayman al-Zawahiri, Osama bin Laden’s mentor and Al Qaeda ideologue, admitted Islamic jihadists had failed to mobilize the masses to overthrow their corrupt rulers, “the nearby enemy,” and establish Islamic states, Kepel began. By inflicting a massive blow on 9/11 on “the far enemy,” the United States, they would demonstrate that America was weak, Islamic militants were strong, and the masses could revolt against their leaders without fear. The Muslim world and then the whole world would become ruled by Shariah under Islamist aegis. Kepel then asked, “Have they succeeded in what they set out to do?”

Kepel’s answer was no. Since 9/11, he said, “There have been two grand narratives: the narrative of jihad and martyrdom preached by Zawahiri and bin Laden, arguing that the rotten regimes of the West and the Middle East would fall, as jihadists waged copy-cat bombings in Africa, Europe, and the Middle East, suicide operations, and so forth” and “the narrative of the American-led War on Terror,” hammering that the roots of terrorism would be eradicated and autocratic regimes would tumble, bringing about democracy and the transformation of the Middle East.

The 2003 invasion of Iraq opened a new area for radical Islamic mobilization. But the two clashing narratives gave ground to something unexpected: the rise of Iranian influence in the region and “a golden opportunity *not* for Sunni Islamic fundamentalists but for the radical Shia in Iran,” who after the 2005 election of President Ahmadinejad found they could engage in nuclear blackmail with the world and threaten the United States with the activation of Shiite militias in Iraq, where American forces would be at a disadvantage fighting *two* enemies at the same time.

While Zawahiri continues to paint the “triumphal march of Sunni fundamentalism,” Kepel stated, “the discrepancy between his world view and reality is growing bigger and bigger.” To date, the bigger winner from 9/11 is not Al Qaeda but the Islamic Republic of Iran. Iran and Hezbollah have become the heroes and champions of the Muslim world. This fragmentation in the Muslim world, pitting Shia against Sunni, has weakened the Sunni radical movements’ ability to mobilize. How the confrontation plays out, he concluded, will determine the future of the Middle East. ■

(ALL PHOTOS BY ROD SEARCEY)

POWER AND PROSPERITY: NEW DYNAMICS, NEW DILEMMAS

INTERACTIVE PANEL DISCUSSIONS ON CRITICAL ISSUES

In an FSI conference highlight, participants engaged in spirited debate on leading issues with Stanford faculty and outside experts. Audio recordings of the plenary and panel discussions are available on the FSI website, <http://fsi.stanford.edu>.

IS DEMOCRACY GOOD FOR HEALTH?

Alan M. Garber, Grant Miller, Douglas Owens, and Paul Wise

NUCLEAR POWER WITHOUT NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION?

Scott D. Sagan, David G. Victor, Robert Rosner, and Siegfried S. Hecker

A CHANGING CONTINENT? OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES FOR EUROPEAN UNION EXPANSION

Katherine R. Jolluck, Mark Leonard, Monica Macovei, and Wolfgang Münchau

GROWING PAINS — GROWTH AND TENSION IN CHINA

Andrew G. Walder, Jean Oi, Scott Rozelle, and Xueguang Zhou

AUTOCRATIC HEGEMONS AND THE NATIONAL INTEREST: DEALING WITH CHINA, IRAN, AND RUSSIA

Kathryn Stoner-Weiss, Larry Diamond, Michael McFaul, and Abbas Milani

FOOD SECURITY, CLIMATE CHANGE, AND CIVIL CONFLICT

Rosamond L. Naylor, David Lobell, and Edward A. Miguel

FACES OF ENERGY SECURITY

David G. Victor, Bryan J. Hannegan, and Chris Mottershead

OVERCOMING BARRIERS TO CONFLICT RESOLUTION: THE MIDDLE EAST

Allan S. Weiner, Byron Bland, Bruce Jones, and Lee D. Ross

Questions of Integration: Social, Political, and Economic Incorporation of New Europe in a Globalized World

BY ROLAND HSU

DURING 2007–2008 THE FORUM ON CONTEMPORARY EUROPE launched the second phase of its comprehensive, multi-year analysis of Europe and the EU's global relations in the context of an expanding European Union. What began last year with analysis of political membership this year added a focus on implications of expanded membership in key areas, including social integration of immigrant communities. Forum researchers and invited scholars addressed questions central to understanding the process of European integration and areas of concern it raises. During the fall of 2007, in seminars, keynote speeches, and international conferences, Forum researchers addressed such questions as:

- What explains the electoral results of populist parties, with their nationalist and anti-immigrant platforms, gaining where they had previously remained marginal (Switzerland) and declining where they had regularly held influence (France)?
- How should OSCE member states and election monitors respond to the denial of visas for monitoring Russia's parliamentary elections?
- What is inflaming renewed outbursts of violence in multiple urban centers? Do the riots reveal urban youth segregated by race? Compelled by fundamentalism? Or disaffected with the promised EU economic mobility?
- Do instances of violence against ethnic minorities reveal a return to a pre-modern xenophobia or an old behavior used to express a new rejection of EU integration?
- Will laws protecting historical memory, such as the Spanish act to rebury victims of Fascist forces and German and Austrian laws criminalizing Holocaust denial, resolve or inflame neo-fascist parties?
- What stance can the EU take in regard to Turkey's article 301 criminalizing historical comments as denigrating the heritage of the Turkish state?
- Does EU membership mollify or magnify cultural tensions behind separatist movements in cases such as Flanders, Catalonia, Corsica, Basque homelands, and, potentially, Kurdish regions of Turkey?

Highlights of the following fall 2007 events illustrate forum research on these vital questions.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON ETHNICITY IN TODAY'S EUROPE

The forum joined with the Stanford Humanities Center to organize an international conference on "Ethnicity in Today's Europe." Amir Eshel, director of the forum, opened the conference with remarks on the growth of immigrant communities, and their increasingly widespread origins, as well as implications for security and integration. The Stanford faculty organizing committee identified and attracted the top scholars on the subject from both sides of the Atlantic, including professors Saskia Sassen (sociology, Columbia), Alec Hargreaves (French, Florida State), Leslie Adelson (German studies, Cornell), Kader Konuk (Germanic languages and literatures, Michigan), Rogers Brubaker, (sociology, UCLA), Carole Fink (history, Ohio State), Salvador Cardús Ros (sociology, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona), and Bassam Tibi (international relations, University of Göttingen). Panels were moderated by Stanford faculty: Helen Stacy (law school), J.P. Daughton (history), Joshua Cohen (political science, philosophy, FSI), Pavle Levi (art), and Josef Joffe (FSI).



Panelists and a large, engaged public audience convened for a screening of the award-winning film *Fortress Europe* and a discussion with the film-maker Željimir Žilnik. The conference-related Presidential Lecture by Partha Chatterjee (political science, Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, Calcutta; anthropology, Columbia), brought a capacity audience to open the conference with a study of the historical foundations of inter-ethnic relations in post-colonial Europe. The forum's assistant director, Roland Hsu, has invited participants to contribute to a volume he will edit and introduce on *Ethnicity in Today's Europe* to be published in 2008.

FSI INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE: FCE PANEL ON EUROPE — A CHANGING CONTINENT?

The forum invited three leading figures on EU policy to speak on the FCE panel at the FSI international conference. Engaging the theme of power and prosperity, Wolfgang Münchau, writer for the *Financial Times*; Monica Macovei, former justice minister, Romania; and Mark Leonard, executive director of the European Council on Foreign Relations and Open Society [Soros] Foundation, spoke on the challenge of interpreting recent EU electoral, juridical, economic, and social reforms. This panel examined economic growth in the newest member states in the East, the challenge of political and social integration in the West, and countervailing pressures for consolidating post-communist governments and transparency reforms. The European Union's expansion to 27 member nations promises a vast Euro-zone and a stronger trans-Atlantic partner. Questions from the audience engaged the panel on what level of confidence should be placed in this promise. The dilemma over Kosovo, pending Serbian EU accession, the expansion eastward to include societies bordering former Soviet

republics, the question of Turkey's membership, as well as tightening labor markets and welfare budgets in Western Europe, led the panel and audience to anticipate with cautious optimism the potency of EU integration and foreign policy initiatives.

AN EVENING WITH ORHAN PAMUK

Forum-affiliated faculty brought such questions to a special lunch with Nobel Laureate Orhan Pamuk; and then joined an overflow audience event at Memorial Auditorium titled "An Evening with Orhan Pamuk." The forum co-sponsored the visit by Pamuk, along with Mediterranean Studies, the Office of the Provost, and the FSI S.T. Lee lecture series.

Research and public programs on these subjects will continue at the forum in the following selected events:

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE TRAFFICKING OF WOMEN IN POST-COMMUNIST EUROPE

Designed by forum acting director Katherine Jolluck, this international conference will examine the trafficking of women for sexual slavery, a trade that has rapidly expanded since the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe and the USSR. The conference will bring together scholars, policy experts, and NGO analysts to discuss the issue from economic, legal, and human rights perspectives. Special attention will be devoted to strategies to combat the problem and address the needs of victimized females. Madeline Rees, head of Women's Rights and Gender Unit, U.N. Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, former U.N. high commissioner for human rights in Bosnia, has been invited to give the keynote speech.

JAN ELIASSON: THE FUTURE OF DARFUR

The forum has invited Jan Eliasson, former Swedish foreign minister and current U.N. special envoy to Darfur, to speak on his work on behalf of the international community and the EU-African Union mission to bring peace and humanitarian relief to Darfur and its neighboring states.

KOSOVO: PROSPECTS FOLLOWING THE DECEMBER 2007 U.N. STATUS TALKS

The forum has invited multiple affiliated centers including the Center for Russian, Eastern European, and Eurasian Studies, the Department of History, and the Stanford Law School to co-sponsor a panel discussion following the December 2007 U.N.-EU deadline for status talks. Elez Biberaj, director of the Eurasia division at VOA, and Obrad Kesic, formerly at IREX and also former advisor to Yugoslav President Slobodan Milošević, will speak on prospects for the status of Kosovo and the efficacy of potential EU membership to mediate Kosovo-Serbian relations. ■

FROM TOP: PARTHA CHATTERJEE, RIGHT, PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AT THE CENTRE FOR STUDIES IN SOCIAL SCIENCES, CALCUTTA, CONFERS WITH HELEN STACY, SENIOR LECTURER IN LAW AND FCE RESEARCH AFFILIATE, PRIOR TO CHATTERJEE'S PRESIDENTIAL LECTURE, THE BLACK HOLE OF EMPIRE, NOVEMBER 7, 2007.

ORHAN PAMUK, WINNER OF THE 2006 NOBEL PRIZE IN LITERATURE, ENGAGES WITH A CAPACITY AUDIENCE IN THE MEMORIAL AUDITORIUM DURING AN EVENING WITH ORHAN PAMUK, OCTOBER 22, 2007.

SALVADOR CARDÚS ROS, PROFESSOR OF SOCIOLOGY AT THE UNIVERSITAT AUTÒNOMA DE BARCELONA, SPEAKS WITH PARTICIPANTS DURING THE ETHNICITY IN TODAY'S EUROPE CONFERENCE, NOVEMBER 7–9, 2007.

(ALL PHOTOS BY STEVE CASTILLO)

The Myth of the Authoritarian Model

How Putin's Crackdown Holds Russia Back

EXCERPTED FROM *FOREIGN AFFAIRS*, JANUARY/FEBRUARY 2008

BY MICHAEL MCFAUL AND KATHRYN STONER-WEISS

THE CONVENTIONAL EXPLANATION for Vladimir Putin's popularity is straightforward. In the 1990s, under post-Soviet Russia's first president, Boris Yeltsin, the state did not govern, the economy shrank, and the population suffered. Since 2000, under Putin, order has returned, the economy has flourished, and the average Russian is living better than ever before. As political freedom has decreased, economic growth has increased. Putin may have rolled back democratic gains, the story goes, but these were necessary sacrifices on the altar of stability and growth.

This conventional narrative is wrong, based almost entirely on a spurious correlation between autocracy and growth. The emergence of Russian democracy in the 1990s did indeed coincide with state breakdown and economic decline, but it did not cause either. The reemergence of Russian autocracy under Putin, conversely, has coincided with economic growth but not caused it (high oil prices and recovery from the transition away from communism deserve most of the credit). There is also very little evidence to suggest that Putin's autocratic turn over the last several years has led to more effective governance than the fractious democracy of the 1990s. In fact, the reverse is much closer to the truth: To the extent that Putin's centralization of power has had an influence on governance and economic growth at all, the effects have been negative. Whatever the apparent gains of Russia under Putin, the gains would have been greater if democracy had survived.

BIGGER IS NOT BETTER

The myth of Putinism is that Russians are safer, more secure, and generally living better than in the 1990s—and that Putin himself deserves the credit. The Russian state under Putin is certainly bigger than it was before. In some spheres, such as paying pensions and government salaries on time, road building, or educational spending, the state is performing better now than during the 1990s. Yet given the growth in its size and resources, what is striking is how poorly the Russian state still performs. In terms of public safety, health, corruption, and the security of property rights, Russians are actually worse off today than they were a decade ago.

Security, the most basic public good a state can provide for its population, is a central element in the myth of Putinism. In fact, the frequency of terrorist attacks in Russia has increased under Putin. The murder rate has also increased, and public health has not improved. Despite all the money in the Kremlin's coffers, health spending averaged 6 percent of GDP from 2000 to 2005, compared with 6.4 percent from 1996 to 1999. Russia's population has been shrinking since 1990, thanks to decreasing fertility and increasing mortality rates, but the decline has worsened since 1998. Noncommunicable diseases have become the leading cause of death (cardiovascular disease accounts for 52 percent of deaths, three times the figure for the United States), and alcoholism now accounts for 18 percent of deaths for men between the ages of 25 and 54.

In short, the data simply do not support the popular notion that by erecting autocracy Putin has built an orderly and highly capable state that is addressing and overcoming Russia's rather formidable development problems.

A EURASIAN TIGER?

The second supposed justification for Putin's autocratic ways is that they have paved the way for Russia's spectacular economic growth. As Putin has consolidated his authority, growth has averaged 6.7 percent. The last eight years have also seen budget surpluses, the eradication of foreign debt and the accumulation of massive hard-currency reserves, and modest inflation so far. The stock market is booming, and foreign direct investment, although still low compared to other emerging markets, is growing rapidly. Since 2000, real disposable income has increased by more than 10 percent a year, consumer spending has skyrocketed, unemployment has fallen from 12 percent in 1999 to 6 percent in 2006, and poverty has declined from 41 percent in 1999 to 14 percent in 2006. Russians are richer today than ever before.

The correlations between democracy and economic decline in the 1990s and autocracy and economic growth in this decade provide a seemingly powerful excuse for shutting down independent television stations, canceling gubernatorial elections, and eliminating pesky human rights groups. These correlations, however, are mostly spurious.

Economic decline after the end of communism was hardly confined to Russia. It followed communism's decline in every country throughout the region. Given the dreadful economic conditions, every postcommunist government was compelled to pursue some degree of price and trade liberalization, macroeconomic stabilization,



and, eventually, privatization. During this transition, the entire region experienced economic recession and then began to recover several years after the adoption of reforms. Russia's economy followed this same general trajectory—and would have done so under dictatorship or democracy.

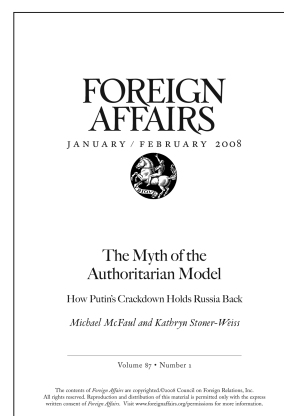
Putin's real stroke of luck came in the form of rising world oil prices. Growing autocracy inside Russia obviously did not cause the rise in oil and gas prices. If anything, the causality runs in the opposite direction: increased energy revenues allowed for the return to autocracy. With so much money from oil windfalls in the Kremlin's coffers, Putin could crack down on or co-opt independent sources of political power; the Kremlin had fewer reasons to fear the negative economic consequences of seizing a company like Yukos and had ample resources to buy off or repress opponents in the media and civil society.

If there is any causal relationship between authoritarianism and economic growth in Russia, it is negative. Russia's more autocratic system in the last several years has produced more corruption and less secure property rights. Asset transfers have transformed a thriving private energy sector into one that is effectively state-dominated and less efficient. Renationalization has caused declines in the performance of formerly private companies, destroyed value in Russia's most profitable companies, and slowed investment, both foreign and domestic.

Perhaps the most telling evidence that Putin's autocracy has hurt rather than helped Russia's economy is provided by regional comparisons. Between 1999 and 2006, Russia ranked ninth out of the 15 post-Soviet countries in terms of average growth. Similarly, investment in Russia, at 18 percent of GDP, although stronger today than ever before, is well below the average for democracies in the region.

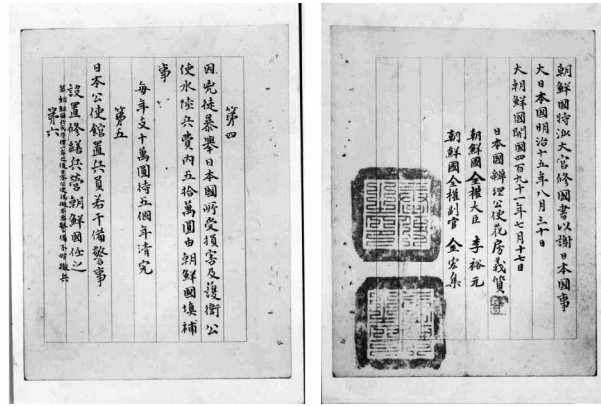
One can only wonder how fast Russia would have grown with a more democratic system. The strengthening of institutions of accountability—a real opposition party, genuinely independent media, a court system not beholden to Kremlin control—would have helped tame corruption and secure property rights and would thereby have encouraged more investment and growth. The Russian economy is doing well today, but it is doing well in spite of, not because of, autocracy. ■

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Introducing U.S.–South Korean Relations in U.S. High Schools

BY RYLAN SEKIGUCHI AND JOON SEOK HONG



THE STANFORD PROGRAM ON INTERNATIONAL AND CROSS-CULTURAL EDUCATION (SPICE) serves as a bridge between FSI’s research centers and elementary and secondary schools throughout the United States. Over the past year, SPICE curriculum writer Rylan Sekiguchi and Joon Seok Hong (MA, East Asian Studies, 2007) have been developing a curriculum unit for secondary schools called “U.S.–South Korean Relations” in consultation with Professor Gi-Wook Shin, director, Korean Studies Program (KSP). The KSP was formally established in 2001 at the Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center with the appointment of Professor Shin as the founding director. “U.S.–South Korean Relations” is the result of SPICE’s first formal collaboration with the KSP.

For more than half a century, the United States and South Korea have been close and strong allies, a relationship nurtured under war and the pursuit of common interests. Despite this long and established alliance, U.S.–South Korean relations and Korean history are

not adequately taught in American secondary schools. “U.S.–South Korean Relations” seeks to fill the gap by exposing students to the four core pillars of the alliance: democracy, economic prosperity, security, and socio-cultural interaction. Each pillar supports the U.S.–South Korean relationship in a different and important way.

Lesson One examines South Korea’s maturing democracy, providing students an overview of South Korean democratization and engaging them on the concept of democracy. Students also study how the U.S.–South Korean relationship affected South Korea’s democratization and vice versa. Ultimately, students consider how common political and social values serve to strengthen relations between two countries and societies.

Lesson Two introduces students to the economic aspect of the U.S.–South Korean relationship and encourages them to recognize how economic interdependence between the two countries has served to draw them closer together. Students examine modern-day trade,

such as the recently concluded U.S.–South Korean Free Trade Agreement (KORUS FTA), and also learn about the historical role the United States played in helping South Korea industrialize after the Korean War.

Lesson Three outlines the security concerns that South Korea and the United States have shared since the Korean War and the signing of the Mutual Defense Treaty in 1953 to the recent nuclear weapons issue with North Korea. Students study the history of the U.S.–South Korean security alliance and evaluate why both Seoul and Washington have considered the alliance so important and beneficial.

Lesson Four complements the broad country-to-country perspective of the first three lessons and encourages students to consider how the U.S.–South Korean relationship has influenced the individual lives of Koreans and Americans. Students contemplate how the cultural interactions between the two countries have influenced both societies and changed the lives of their people.

The U.S.–South Korean relationship is one of the most successful bilateral relationships in the world. SPICE hopes that the curriculum unit, “U.S.–South Korean Relations,” not only offers U.S. secondary students a broad overview of this relationship but also inspires students to enroll in college courses on Korea through programs such as the KSP. ■

PHOTOS: (L) AMERICAN AND SOUTH KOREAN SOLDIERS PULLING TOGETHER IN A TUG-OF-WAR MATCH. COURTESY OF OSAN.AF.MIL. (R) TWO PAGES FROM THE CHEMULPO TREATY, THE FIRST TREATY BETWEEN KOREA AND THE UNITED STATES

Transitional Justice

BY ALLEN WEINER



ALLEN WEINER

THE 2005–06 IRAQI TRIAL OF SADDAM HUSSEIN highlighted the increasingly prominent role of “transitional justice”—the various institutional approaches taken by societies emerging from situations of mass atrocity to address abuses perpetrated in the past—and in particular the role of criminal prosecutions. But the reasons for holding such trials are not always obvious. Trials can surely lead to punishment of the perpetrators, but it is also possible to exact retribution without the formality of a trial.

(History is replete with instances of revenge killings at the conclusion of violent conflicts.) And while we rely on trials, in normal times, to determine the actual guilt or innocence of accused persons, this may be less important in the mass atrocity context, at least where evidence of crimes and a leader’s responsibility for them is well-established in the public record. What functions, then, do trials in transitional justice settings advance beyond those served by extrajudicial retribution? Although such trials are justified by a range of rationales, we know little about whether the criminal prosecutions in fact promote those goals.

VICTIM-CENTERED JUSTICE

Proponents of criminal trials argue that they enable victims to confront their abusers in an official forum, a psychologically important step in the social reintegration of victim groups. But in the context of mass atrocities, only a handful of victims are likely to have an opportunity to testify. Whether trials can serve a therapeutic effect for victims who do not participate in court proceedings is understudied and unclear.

CONTRIBUTING TO PEACE AND RECONCILIATION

Criminal trials sometimes are said to contribute to peace and reconciliation in societies emerging from conflict. Particularly in conflicts with ethnic or sectarian dimensions, criminal trials focus responsibility for abuses on particular perpetrators. By individualizing guilt, trials allow victims to move beyond collective condemnation of the groups from which their abusers came, thereby enabling once-divided groups to begin to reconcile. But in view of the vast number of persons likely to have participated in crimes in a mass atrocity situation, there is little chance that *all* guilty individuals will be brought to justice. Whether representative or even symbolic trials can produce individualization of guilt is unclear. And the passions generated during the Saddam trial suggest that such proceedings can in some cases fuel, rather than ameliorate, ethnic group conflicts.

PROMOTING THE RULE OF LAW

Subjecting a former dictator to a court of law, rather than a firing squad, can reflect a transitional regime’s commitment to the rule of law. It represents the new government’s acknowledgement that the state may exercise authority over citizens solely on the basis of general rules and transparent procedures applied by neutral decision makers, and not merely based on the whims or caprice of the ruler. Particularly in trials before national courts, however, the demands of victim groups for swift and decisive retribution can create severe pressure on courts to deliver politicized outcomes, “victor’s justice,” rather than affirm the rule of law.

This last justification is less prudential than the others; holding trials is important not because of what the affected society *gets*, but what it *is*, or *wants to be*. But a society that elects to pursue criminal accountability to express its commitment to the *value* of rule of law may discover that such trials generate few, if any, short-term practical or policy benefits. ■

Program on Energy and Sustainable Development

Reducing Greenhouse Gases: Improving the Clean Development Mechanism

BY ROSE KONTAK

THE CLEAN DEVELOPMENT MECHANISM (CDM) is a means for industrial nations, known as Annex 1 countries, to meet their greenhouse gas emissions reductions targets by taking credit for reductions from projects they fund in developing countries. The idea is that projects to reduce emissions will cost less to develop and implement in the developing countries where technology is further behind. Industrialized countries can achieve more reductions via investment in the developing countries, achieving greater emissions reductions for less sunk cost. At least this is the idea under the Kyoto Protocol. A researcher at the Program on Energy and Sustainable Development (PESD), Michael Wara says this, in fact, is *not* how the CDM is working.

Wara lectures at Stanford Law School, teaching the popular class *International Environmental Law*. A graduate of Stanford Law School, Wara also has a PhD in Ocean Sciences from the University of California, Santa Cruz. His doctoral work on the interaction between climate change and ocean-atmosphere dynamics in the tropics echoes in his current research on the CDM. He understands the science of greenhouse gases and how they affect Earth and its climate. One of those greenhouse gases is HFC-23, a byproduct of manufacturing refrigerants. HFC-23 is one of the gases countries targeted to reduce under the CDM; it can be eliminated rather easily and has been seen as the “low hanging fruit” of the CDM. In fact, more than half the greenhouse gas reductions of CDMs to date have been reached via reducing HFC-23 in developing countries. For the reductions, the project sponsor countries receive credits to put toward meeting their own reductions targets. These credits are called Certified Emission Reductions or CERs.



MICHAEL WARA

This is where Wara noticed a big discrepancy between what was credited through the CDM and what was actually happening on the ground. The CERs are not just feel-good pieces of paper that countries collect as proof of their doing good but are certifications of equivalent reductions of one metric tonne CO₂ emissions. Carbon is the standardizing greenhouse gas and so regardless of what greenhouse gas is reduced with the CDM the sponsoring country is credited with CERs. But these “carbon credits” have a value—carbon is a traded commodity on many global markets. Wara could directly compare the CDM effect versus the credits issued. Since the cost of implementing the reductions was known or could be calculated, and since the credits were standardized to a greenhouse gas being traded on an open market, Wara could quantitatively critique the CDM.

Wara’s finding showed a major flaw in the CDM design. Looking at the large percentage of greenhouse gas reductions met within the CDM by eliminating HFC-23, the value of the credits created by these reductions were more than *four times* as valuable as the cost of implementing the reductions. This is not small change, as billions of dollars worth of CERs have been credited for the projects. What is more, the credits for eliminating the HFC-23 byproduct of manufacturing refrigerant were far more valuable than the refrigerant itself, creating incentives to build these manufacturing plants in order to cash-in on the CERs. Exposing these loopholes has brought attention to Wara’s work. He has presented his findings at numerous conferences and published his report (*Nature* 445, 595-596 (8 February 2007) doi:10.1038/445595a) and derivatives broadly. Wara continues to study the CDM and the global market for greenhouse gases and the post-Kyoto regime for reducing their emissions. ■

The Wrigley Legacy: A New Interdisciplinary Senior Fellowship



THE WILLIAM WRIGLEY SENIOR FELLOWSHIP CELEBRATORY DINNER (L TO R) BILL MCDOWELL, JULIE ANN WRIGLEY, ROSAMOND NAYLOR, ALISON WRIGLEY RUSACK, GEOFFREY CLAFLIN RUSACK (STEVE CASTILLO)

HONORING THE LEGACY OF THEIR HUSBAND AND FATHER, WILLIAM WRIGLEY, Julie Wrigley ’71 and Alison Wrigley Rusack ’80, along with Alison’s husband, Geoffrey Claflin Rusack, have joined together to endow a new senior fellowship that will span both the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies and the Woods Institute for the Environment.

Wrigley and the Rusacks were motivated to provide permanent funding for an interdisciplinary faculty member as part of Stanford’s multidisciplinary, cross-school efforts to conduct cutting-edge research on global environmental policy under the international and environmental initiatives of the university’s current campaign, The Stanford Challenge.

Rosamond Naylor will be the inaugural William Wrigley Fellow. As director of the FSI-Woods Institute Program on Food Security and the Environment—as well as the Goldman Honors Program in Environmental

Science, Technology, and Policy—Naylor has long pursued a multidisciplinary approach to environmental policy research. An associate professor of economics (by courtesy) as well, Naylor focuses on the environmental and equity dimensions of intensive food production.

She has been involved in a number of field-level research projects throughout the world, addressing issues of aquaculture production, agricultural development, biotechnology, and food security, climate change, and civil conflict. Under Naylor’s leadership, the Program on Food Security and the Environment aims to generate innovative solutions to the persistent problems of global hunger and environmental sustainability by directing an interdisciplinary team of graduate students, faculty, and other researchers.

COMMITTED ENVIRONMENTAL PHILANTHROPISTS

Julie Wrigley, who lives in Sun Valley, Idaho, serves as president and CEO of Wrigley Investments, president of the Julie A. Wrigley Foundation, manager of Glen Nova Landholdings, and managing member of Wrigley Ranches.

Among her philanthropic efforts, Wrigley is founder and co-chair with Rob Walton, chairman and CEO of Wal-Mart, of Arizona State University’s Global Institute of Sustainability. She also serves on the board and was chair of the Peregrine Fund Inc. and has served as a member of the Nature Conservancy Board of Governors and a state trustee for the conservancy in Idaho and Nevada. She served on the advisory board of the Freeman

Spogli Institute for International Studies at Stanford and is a member and co-founder with her late husband of the USC/Wrigley Institute for Environmental Studies.

As a former member of FSI’s Advisory Board and a strong environmental advocate, Julie Wrigley recognized Naylor’s pivotal role in addressing global environmental problems early on, with a term gift that has supported Naylor as the Julie Wrigley Senior Fellow since 2001. This new gift, joined by family members, culminates her history of support, establishing a permanent endowment.

Wrigley graduated from Stanford, with a degree in anthropology, and earned a law degree from the University of Denver College of Law.

Alison Wrigley Rusack and Geoffrey Claflin Rusack jointly own Rusack Vineyards, a 7,500-case winery located in the Santa Ynez Valley. She is a lifetime member of the Benefactor Member Board for the private, non-profit Santa Catalina Island Conservancy, and he is the Santa Catalina Island Conservancy’s immediate past chairman of the Board of Directors. A member of the Stanford class of 1980, Alison Wrigley Rusack worked for 16 years in the entertainment industry. Geoffrey Rusack worked as a defense attorney and as an aviation attorney. He earned a bachelor’s degree from Bowdoin College and a law degree from the Pepperdine University School of Law. ■

CDDRL

In the winter 2007–08 issue of the *Washington Quarterly*, CDDRL Director Michael McFaul and Francis Fukuyama argue for continued American efforts to promote democracy and offer a plan to strengthen democracy promotion policy tools. While “rhetorical attention devoted to promoting freedom, liberty, and democracy has greatly outpaced actual progress in advancing democracy” and caused many Americans to view this goal with skepticism, McFaul and Fukuyama argue that “pursuing traditional foreign policy objectives does not trade off with democracy promotion” and that a more effective strategy for promoting democracy and human rights is needed and available.

In the January/February 2008 issue of *Foreign Affairs*, McFaul and Kathryn Stoner-Weiss, CDDRL associate director for research, take on “The Myth of the Authoritarian Model: How Putin’s Crackdown Holds Russia Back.” In this article they argue that contrary to popular wisdom, Russia’s turn away from democracy under President Vladimir Putin has not made the country better governed or its economy grow faster. In fact, the reverse is much closer to the truth: To the extent that Putin’s centralization of power has had an influence on governance and economic growth at all, the effects have been negative.

CHP/PCOR

CHP/PCOR executive director and senior scholar Kathryn M. McDonald was the recipient of the Eugene L. Saenger Distinguished Service Award for 2007. The award was given to McDonald in recognition of her service, leadership, and contributions to the Society for Medical Decision Making (SMDM). She was presented with the award at the Society’s 29th Annual Meeting held in October.

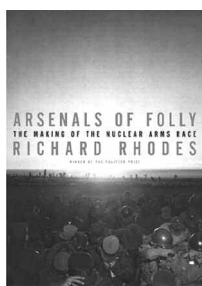
The 2007 Eisenberg Legacy Lecture featured a presentation from CHP/PCOR core faculty member Victor R. Fuchs, who is a nationally and internationally renowned expert in health economics, health services research, and health policy. The talk, “Reflections on Health, Health Care, and Health Care Reform,” was co-sponsored by CHP/PCOR, the Center for Health Research at UC Berkeley, and the Philip R. Lee Institute for Health Policy Studies at UC San Francisco.

CISAC

William Perry, co-director of the Preventive Defense Project at CISAC, has been appointed to the Defense Policy Board. Perry, who served as the 19th U.S. secretary of defense, is one of five new members Secretary of Defense Robert M. Gates appointed to the board, which provides independent advice to the Department of Defense’s secretary, deputy secretary, and undersecretary for policy. Gates also appointed a new chair, John J. Hamre, who is president and CEO of the Center for Strategic and International Studies and a former deputy secretary of defense.

CISAC faculty member Larry Wein was recently honored with the 2007 President’s Award from the Institute for Operations Research and the Management Sciences (INFORMS) for the policy contributions of his research on smallpox, anthrax, and botulinum toxin attacks, container security, and border security. CISAC research associate Pavel Podvig and his colleague Anatoli Diakov received the 2008 Leo Szilard Lectureship Award for outstanding accomplishments by physicists in promoting the use of physics for the benefit of society. For her work as a journalist at the McClatchy Baghdad Bureau, CISAC visiting scholar Huda Ahmed was recognized with a Courage Award by the International Women’s Media Foundation.

Publications



Arsenals of Folly: The Making of the Nuclear Arms Race
Alfred A. Knopf, October 2007
By Richard Rhodes

From the Pulitzer Prize-winning author of *The Making of the Atomic Bomb*, here is the story of the entire postwar superpower arms race, climaxing during the Reagan-Gorbachev decade when

the United States and the Soviet Union came within scant hours of nuclear war—and then nearly agreed to abolish nuclear weapons. Drawing on personal interviews

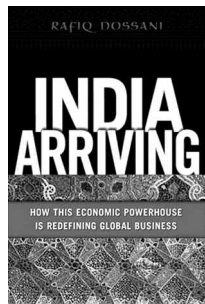
with both Soviet and U.S. participants, and on a wealth of new documentation, memoir literature, and oral history that has become available only in the past 10 years, CISAC affiliate Richard Rhodes recounts what actually happened in the final years of the Cold War that led to its dramatic end.

SHORENSTEIN APARC

Shorenstein Distinguished Fellow Michael Armacost has been awarded Japan’s highest honor given to non-Japanese citizens. Japanese Emperor Akihito presented the Grand Cordon of the Order of the Rising Sun to Armacost and six other non-Japanese awardees from around the world on November 6, in a ceremony at the Imperial Palace in Tokyo. It recognizes his “contribution to the friendship and mutual understanding between Japan and the United States,” according to the Japanese Consulate in San Francisco.

Local non-profit Bring Me A Book hosted 20 visiting fellows from Shorenstein APARC’s Corporate Affiliates program in early November. The fellows, who are spending the year conducting research at Stanford and are from countries including China, India, Japan, and the Philippines, learned about how the foundation provides brand-new books to children who do not have the means to obtain them otherwise. Denise Masumoto, Shorenstein APARC’s manager of corporate relations, said Shorenstein APARC became affiliated with the Bring Me A Book Program because “[volunteering] is something that is an integral part of the American experience.”

Publications



India Arriving: How This Economic Powerhouse is Redefining Global Business
November 2007
By Rafiq Dossani

Once the jewel in the crown of the formidable British Empire, India has been surrounded by myth for years. After gaining independence in 1947, this often

misunderstood country found itself faced with a new sense of freedom—and, along with it, enormous burdens and challenges. Author Rafiq Dossani, a Shorenstein APARC senior research scholar and executive director of the South Asia Initiative, goes beneath the veil surrounding India and considers the many ways it has begun to emerge onto the world stage. Honest and revelatory, *India Arriving* provides a deeper understanding of a country that promises to be the next major player in the world economy.

FSI

The Nobel Peace Prize has been jointly awarded to former Vice President Albert Arnold Gore Jr. and the United Nations’ Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), a network of 2,000 scientists that includes Thomas Heller, the Lewis Talbot and Nadine Hearn Shelton Professor of International Legal Studies and FSI senior fellow; Stephen Schneider, the Melvin and Joan Lane Professor for Interdisciplinary Environmental Studies and former CESP co-director and senior fellow; and Terry Root, professor of biological sciences, by courtesy, and former CESP senior fellow.

Gary Mukai, director of the Stanford Program on International and Cross-Cultural Education (SPICE), was awarded the Foreign Minister’s Commendation at the official residence of the Consul General of Japan in San Francisco on October 5. The commendation recognizes Mukai for “greatly contribut[ing] to the promotion of mutual understanding between Japan and the United States, especially in the field of education ... [and] lend[ing] his energy and expertise to actively supporting and implementing the goals and objectives of the Japan Exchange and Teaching Program (JET Program) and the activities of the JET Alumni Association of Northern California.” Mukai has been developing curricula on Japan and U.S.-Japan relations for secondary school students since he joined SPICE in 1988.

In September Google.org launched the first of three courses on its main areas of philanthropic activity—Global Development, Global Health, and Climate Change. Joshua Cohen, director of the Program on Global Justice (PGJ) at FSI Stanford and professor of political science, philosophy, and law, moderated the 10-week course, which focuses on understanding

poverty and development at the global, national, local, and personal levels. On October 3, Rosamond Naylor, director of the Program on Food Security and the Environment (FSE) at FSI Stanford, co-taught a session on productive agriculture for the 21st century with Frank Rijsberman, Google.org director of water and climate adaptation issues.

Two PGJ postdoctoral fellows, Helena de Bres and Avia Pasternak, recently presented and successfully defended their PhD theses. In her dissertation De Bres, who received her PhD in philosophy from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, develops a utilitarian framework for addressing issues of global distributive justice and draws out its implications for some central aspects of global politics and international law, including international trade, economic development, and immigration policy. Pasternak, who received her D.Phil. in politics from Oxford University, explores the ways in which citizens of democratic states are responsible for the unjust policies of their governments and uses this analysis in order to assess the legitimacy and necessity of international intervention in the internal affairs of “unjust liberal democracies.”

The Doha Round of trade talks limps on, unable to find the right combination of tariff and subsidy reductions to satisfy all the participants. At the center of the controversies are the farm policies in the EU (Common Agricultural Policy) and the United States (Farm Bill). Tim Josling, FSI senior fellow and FCE associate, was guest editor for an issue of *EuroChoices* this summer that took an in-depth look at the nexus of farm policy and trade policy on both sides of the Atlantic. *EuroChoices*, the leading professional journal in Europe on agricultural policy issues, is widely read in policy circles.

CESP 1998–2007: A VALEDICTION



The Center for Environmental Science and Policy (CESP), one of FSI’s longstanding research centers dedicated to interdisciplinary research on the

environment, transitioned to its new home in the Woods Institute for the Environment on September 1, 2007. An outgrowth of the university’s Environmental Forum, CESP was formally established in 1998 under the leadership of Walter Falcon, the Farnsworth Professor of International Agricultural Policy, Emeritus, and Donald Kennedy, Bing Professor of Environmental Science, Emeritus, and former president of Stanford, followed by co-directors Pamela Matson, now the dean of the School of Earth Sciences, and Stephen Schneider, Melvin and Joan Lane Professor for Interdisciplinary Studies.

The center’s principal mission was to provide a venue at Stanford for interdisciplinary research on the environment. Groundbreaking programs launched over the past decade by CESP include the Program on Energy and Sustainable Development (PESD), an interdisciplinary program that draws on the fields of political science, law, and economics to investigate how the production and consumption of energy affect human welfare and environmental quality, and the Program on Food Security and the Environment (FSE), which examines potential solutions to the persistent problems of global hunger and environmental damage from agricultural practices worldwide. PESD was spun off as a freestanding program under the direction of David Victor, while FSE continues as a joint program of Woods and FSI under the direction of Rosamond Naylor. FSI would like to recognize CESP for the extraordinary contributions over the past decade to environmental research and policy and to wish its faculty, researchers, and staff success in their new interdisciplinary home within Woods.

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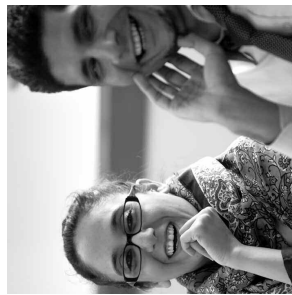
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WELCOME TO *Encina* COLUMNS

scholar-journalist of U.S.-European relations; Phillip Lipsky, an expert on Japanese politics; and William Howard Taft IV, attorney and statesman, as the Warren Christopher Visiting Professor at FSI and Stanford Law School.

Alejandro Toledo, the first indigenous Peruvian to be democratically elected president (2001–2006), joined FSI as a Payne lecturer and CDDR visiting scholar. He will address democracy, education, health, and development in the 2008 Payne Lecture Series, “Can the Poor Afford Democracy? A Presidential Perspective.”

FSI scholars testified before Congress, advised presidential candidates, monitored democratic elections in strategic countries, and worked to reduce dangers from nuclear weapons. Tom Heller, Terry Root, and Steve Schneider shared in the 2007 Nobel Peace Prize, awarded to former Vice President Al Gore and the U.N. Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change. Shorenstein Distinguished Fellow and former ambassador to Japan Michael Armacost received Japan’s highest honor, The Grand Cordon of the Order of the Rising Sun, for exemplary contributions to Japan-U.S. relations. SPICE Director Gary Mukai was awarded the Foreign Minister’s Commendation for greatly contributing to mutual understanding between Japan and the United States, especially in education.

Leading scholars and policymakers addressed cross-cutting issues of cultural identity, governance, development, health, security, and tensions in Asia including 2006 Nobel Laureate Orhan Pamuk; development theorist Francis Fukuyama; Harvard public health expert Norman Davies; General John Abizaid; and China scholars Melanie Manion and Leonard Ortolano, who joined FSI’s Scott Rozelle and Andy Walder for the inaugural lecture of the Stanford China Program at Shorenstein APARC on China’s growing pains.

FSI’s third international conference, *Power and Prosperity: New Dynamics, New Dilemmas*, examined tectonic shifts in global power, wealth, security, and risk with Stanford faculty, outside experts, and business and civic leaders.

We’re grateful for the generous support of our friends and donors, which sustains and succors our work. As Stanford launches the 2008 Leading Matters campaign, join with FSI to experience firsthand the superb scholarship, policy advocacy, and educational outreach that distinguish Stanford as one of the world’s great research and teaching universities. Stay tuned!

Sincerely,

COIT D. BLACKER, DIRECTOR

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