

STANFORD INSTITUTE
FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

ANNUAL REPORT 2004



to challenge
and to change

STANFORD INSTITUTE FOR
INTERNATIONAL STUDIES



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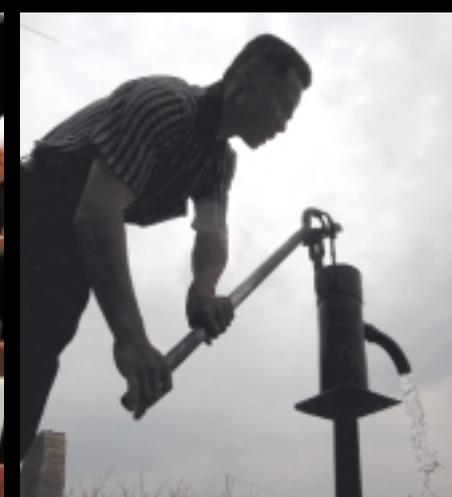
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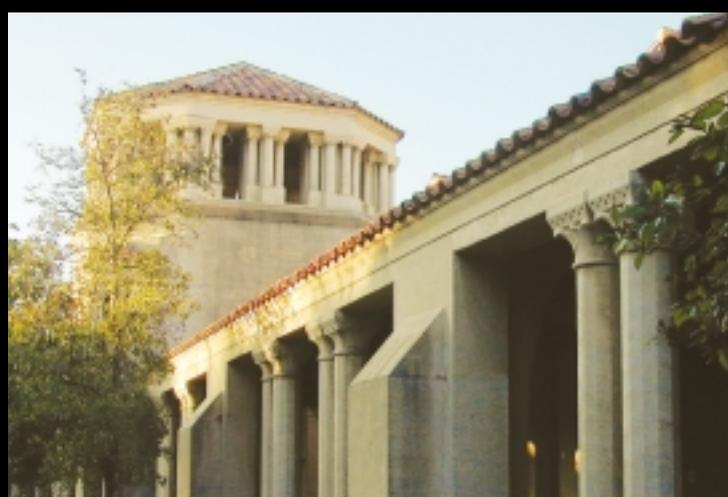
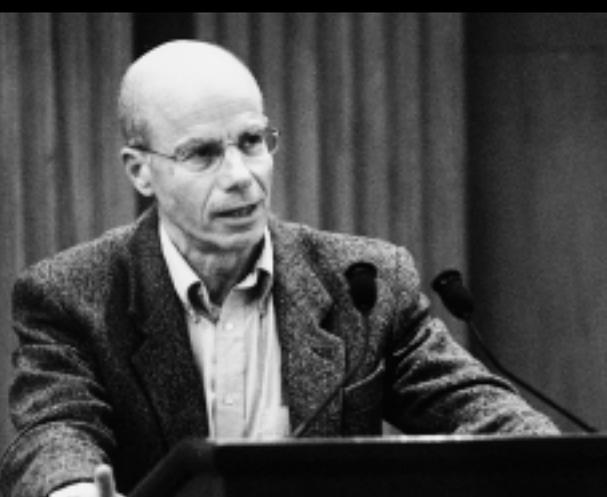
The Stanford Institute for International Studies (SIIS) is Stanford University's primary forum for interdisciplinary research on key international issues and challenges. Its goals are to influence international public policy with its scholarship and analysis; to transcend traditional academic boundaries and create new partnerships; to make its research available to a wide audience; and to enrich the educational experience of all members of the Stanford community.



The persistence of crises across the international new solutions. SIIS exists to challenge conventional old answers with carefully formulated research the variety of disciplines relevant to the questions. scholars formulate new answers that provide a



landscape demands new knowledge, new policies, and wisdom on key international issues. It challenges questions and brings to bear leading scholars from Through this unusual and multidisciplinary approach, basis for effective policy solutions.



SIIS seeks to change the way students are taught scholars and creating better informed students means teachers with new and better tools, setting higher based on current research relevant to the world's



about the world. Preparing the next generation of changing and improving curriculum, providing academic standards, and ensuring that content is critical problems and urgent issues.

MY FIRST YEAR AS DIRECTOR of the Stanford Institute for International Studies was an eventful one, dominated by the war in Iraq and the contentious U.S. presidential election campaign in which foreign policy figured prominently.

SIIS-sponsored events provided much-needed perspectives on many foreign policy issues, including two panels, “What Are We Doing in Iraq?” held in January and a joint SIIS-Newsweek event on “Perspectives on National Security” in March. In May, the Institute continued this work with its outstanding Payne and Wesson lectureships. Mexico’s former foreign minister Jorge Castaneda spoke on U.S. foreign policy and noted Cold War scholar Melvyn Leffler shared compelling thoughts on “9/11 and American Foreign Policy.”

In addition, and in conjunction with the School of Medicine, SIIS was proud to inaugurate the S.T. Lee lectureship with the much-acclaimed physician, Dr. Paul Farmer, who spoke on “Not My Specialty: The Nexus of Health and Human Rights.” The success of these panels and lectures reminds us that the demand for the kind of work that SIIS does has never been greater.

SIIS is recognized as one of the premier research organizations in the country, which is evident in the grants and awards it receives each year. One of the most notable—and a direct effect of the terrorist attack of 9/11—was the \$1.65 million research grant awarded to CISAC by the Department of Homeland Security.

Additionally, several of our scholars received awards this year. CISAC’s associate director for research, Lynn Eden, won the 2004 American Sociological Association award for her book, *Whole World on Fire*. CISAC senior research scholar Elizabeth Sherwood-Randall was selected as a 2004 Carnegie Scholar, and SIIS fellow Karen Seto won a National Science Foundation Faculty Early Career Development Award to support her research on the socio-

economic and political drivers of land use and land cover change.

During the year, SIIS continued to strengthen its faculty and staff. I would like to mention three appointments, and welcome them to SIIS.

Avner Greif, Stanford professor and one of the country’s leading institutional economists, is now a member of the Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law (CDDRL). Greif will be a valuable contributor to the Center’s interdisciplinary research program on development.

Paul Wise, a pediatrician and health policy researcher, joined CHP/PCOR as a new core faculty member. Previously a professor of pediatrics at Boston University and vice chief of Social Medicine and Health Inequalities at Brigham and Women’s Hospital, Wise is involved in child health projects in India, South Africa, and Latin America, targeting diseases such as tuberculosis and AIDS.

Kathryn Stoner-Weiss is the new associate director of research and senior research scholar at CDDRL. She joins us from Princeton University, where she was a member of the political science faculty. She is the author of several books and articles on contemporary Russia, including *Resisting the State: Reform and Retrenchment in Post-Soviet Russia*, to be published by Cambridge University Press in 2005.

SIIS is fortunate to be the recipient of three generous gifts that will further strengthen the Institute’s faculty, and for which we are most grateful.

Jeong H. Kim, member of the SIIS Board of Visitors, made a munificent gift to endow a chair in honor of SIIS senior fellow William J. Perry. The professorship, held jointly with the School of Humanities and Sciences, will focus on the study of contemporary Korea.

A second gift from The Pantech Group of Korea will support the Korean Studies Program at APARC directed by SIIS senior fellow Gi-Wook Shin.

Finally, Thomas Rohlen, Stanford professor emeritus and longtime supporter of the Institute, made a very generous gift to endow a new professorship in contemporary Japanese politics. The position will be joint with the School of Humanities and Sciences.

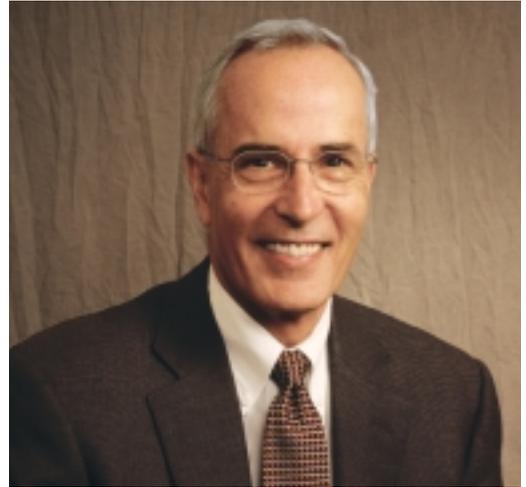
Looking ahead, Stanford University is about to unveil the third of its university-wide interdisciplinary initiatives, which is focused on issues of international importance. In preparation for its launch, Stanford President John Hennessy appointed a faculty steering committee, led by Engineering Professor Elisabeth Paté-Cornell and myself and consisting of members representing all Stanford's seven schools.

The International Initiative's goal is to broaden and deepen the University's capacity to address problems impacting peoples, states, and societies around the globe. In the view of the faculty steering committee, the coming decades will be dominated by three overarching sets of problems:

- Pursuing security in an insecure world
- Reforming and improving governance at all levels of society
- Advancing human well-being

These issues are further complicated by factors that are the consequence of a modernizing and increasingly interconnected world: globalization, technological change, and cultural diversity. The influence these factors have on security, governance and human well-being requires an unconventional, multidisciplinary examination of how they affect one another. The challenge to Stanford is to position itself to acquire and produce knowledge about these problems, with an eye, ultimately, to impacting policy that will provide workable solutions.

The formal launch of the International Initiative is scheduled for the first quarter of 2005. The implications of this initiative for SIIS—and for the whole University more broadly—are truly far-reaching. We welcome



the challenges associated with working with others on campus to lead Stanford in new and exciting directions.

To all our supporters both on and off campus, I give my heartfelt thanks for the remarkable accomplishments of the past year. We look forward to your continued involvement and support in the years to come.

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Coit D. Blacker". The signature is fluid and cursive, written in a professional style.

Coit D. Blacker

The research profiles on the following pages represent the wide range of issues explored at SIIS and they illustrate how scholars at its research centers seek practical solutions and policy answers to questions that shape today's world.

Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law (CDDRL)

seeks to promote innovative and practical research to assist developing and transitioning countries design and implement policies that will foster democracy, promote balanced and sustainable growth and advance the rule of law. The Center harbors four research programs on democracy, economic performance, rule of law, and sovereignty. It supports specialized teaching, training, and outreach to assist countries struggling with political, economic, and judicial reform, constitutional design, economic performance, and corruption.

FAILED AND FAILING STATES

In the 1990s, many analysts of international politics thought that they were witnessing the ultimate triumph of democracy. From the former Soviet Union to South Africa, parts of the world that had never experienced democracy and market reform were suddenly seemingly embracing them. At the end of the decade, however, some of these fledgling democracies and new states proved themselves to be even less able to provide for their populations than the regimes that preceded them.

The research project on failed and failing states is a response to this general phenomenon. The project is a main aspect of the CDDRL Program on Sovereignty, led by CDDRL director Stephen Krasner. Research on failed and failing states at CDDRL was formally launched in April 2004 through a conference titled Governance and Democracy in Failed and Failing States. Topics ranged from mapping the problem of why states fail (drawing in particular on African examples) to United Nations responses to state failure and how state failure impacts the international system and global security. Had Afghanistan under the Taliban been acknowl-



edged as a failed or failing state and the danger to the international community fully recognized prior to September 11, 2001, it may not have become a terrorist training ground.

The conference was another good example of CDDRL fulfilling its mandate to mold a community of academics and policy practitioners engaged in resolving problems of governance in failed states and emerging democracies. Participants included Robert Keohane of Duke University, Peter Gourevitch of the University of California, San Diego and James Fearon of Stanford, as well as Patrick Cronin of the Center of Strategic and International Studies, Chester Crocker of Georgetown University, and Marina Ottaway of the Carnegie Endowment. Stephen Stedman, a senior fellow at the Stanford Institute of International Studies who is now on leave serving as the staff director for the U.N. Secretary General's High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change also participated in the conference.

Encouraged by the success of this first gathering, Krasner teamed up with Paul Collier of Oxford University and former chief economist at the World Bank to host a follow-up meeting at Oxford in June 2004. This second meeting

turned from questions of why states fail and international responses to the concrete effect weak states have on their populations. The conference, titled *The Bottom Billion*, focused on states with conditions of extreme poverty and possible paths out of impoverishment. As with the first phase of the failed and failing states project, this meeting was attended by high-level policy actors, including former Mexican president Ernesto Zedillo and Luis Moreno Ocampo, chief prosecutor of the International Criminal Court, as well as representatives from the World Bank working on poverty alleviation programs, and Anne Krueger, first deputy managing director of the International Monetary Fund.

Among the interesting findings at this conference was the relationship between democracy and poverty and democratic transitions and conflict. Michael Ross of the University of California, Los Angeles argued in his paper that impoverished peoples will actually have lower infant mortality rates under democracies than under authoritarian government.

Another paper, by Jack Snyder of Columbia University, however, found that democracy's effects on the lives of the world's poorest are not always so positive. Countries in the midst of transition appear to be more likely to go to war with one another than countries with stable, but non-democratic systems. The democratizing state tends to be the attacker. This raises the interesting policy question of how democratic transitions can be managed so that they do not produce conflict.

Zedillo summed up the project well in asking "What causes failed states and what can be done about it?" He also questioned whether the international community has instruments to do anything substantive to prevent state failure and the crushing poverty and conflict that so often follow state collapse: "On the one side we have failed states, but on the other we have a failed international system, failed policies and failed instruments."

“MONTESINOS VIRUS”

State-level corruption is endemic in transitional states. As an example of the extent of the problem, a Russian think tank, INDEM, recently estimated that corruption within the state civil service costs Russian business \$33 billion in bribes annually. Corruption, then, is a huge drain on the economies of countries struggling to establish democracy and markets. Since it concerns legal, economic and political issues, corruption is an ideal topic to which to turn for CDDRL researchers.

The CDDRL Research Project on Corruption in developing countries is part of the CDDRL Program on Development and is headed by CDDRL faculty associate and Graduate School of Business professor, John McMillan. The project uses both economic theory and concrete empirical examples to explore how corrupt governance develops and how it can be stopped. The corruption project at CDDRL comes in response to the real world pandemic of state corruption as well as an emerging body of research within academia and the policy world that looks in great detail at the structure of corrupt transactions and how they are supported or maintained within networks of state and private actors.

An important part of this project included a workshop run by McMillan in cooperation with GSB doctoral student Pablo Zoido. Zoido has previously worked at the World Bank and also on corruption reports produced by Transparency International, a nonprofit organization that works to expose corrupt business and government practices around the world.

The ultimate purpose of the workshop was to address the policy question of how corruption can be cured in countries lacking strong legal systems and/or administrative capabilities. As with CDDRL's other research projects, the corruption workshop brought together noted academics such as Andrei Shleifer of Harvard

University, CDDRL faculty fellows (former Stanford President) Gerhard Casper and Thomas Heller of Stanford Law School, as well as front-line policy practitioners Luis Moreno Ocampo, now the chief prosecutor of the International Criminal Court, and Daniel Kaufman of the World Bank.

The case of Peruvian state corruption under Alberto Fujimori and his secret police chief Vladimiro Montesinos Torres is one of the lead cases of interest in the CDDRL corruption project. In the 1990's, McMillan and Zoido write, “Peru was run in the name of Fujimori by Montesinos, who methodically bribed judges, politicians and the news media. Montesinos and Fujimori maintained the façade of democracy—the citizens voted, judges decided, the media reported—but they drained its substance.” McMillan and Zoido explore how the checks and balances of democracy were systematically undermined by Montesinos. They find that he was particularly partial to television channels. Says McMillan, “One single television channel's bribe was five times larger than the total of the opposition politicians' bribes. The strongest of the checks and balances, therefore, by Montesinos' revealed preferences, was television.” In this way, Fujimori's regime accumulated legislative, executive and judicial power as well as power over the news media.

Numerous countries suffer from what McMillan and others have called “the Montesinos virus.” In countries like Zimbabwe, Malaysia, Haiti, and Russia, elections are held but a ruling party or group continues to hold onto power. McMillan and Zoido's findings, therefore, appear to have applications far beyond Peru to other nascent democracies.

Asia-Pacific Research Center (APARC)

strives to build on its reputation as a leading research center focused on the study of contemporary Asia. Its mission is to produce and publish Asia-Pacific-focused interdisciplinary research; to educate students, scholars, and corporate and government affiliates; to promote constructive interaction to influence U.S. policy toward the Asia-Pacific; and to guide Asian nations on key foreign relations, government, political economy, technology, and social issues.

OLD ELITES IN CHINA STILL IN POWER

APARC director Andrew Walder continues to analyze data from a large, nationally representative survey of 6,400 Chinese households, conducted jointly in 1997 with sociologists at the University of California, Los Angeles, and Chinese People's University. The first of its kind in China, the survey collected detailed information on occupations, income, and housing conditions for families, as well as complete career and educational histories for respondents and less detailed histories for spouses, parents, and grandparents.

Thus far, the project has yielded two papers. The first looked at the impact of kinship ties on local party leaders in generating household income in rural China over the past two decades. These ties had a significant net impact on income only in the poorest rural regions that offered limited opportunities outside of agriculture. In rural regions, where wage labor and private household enterprise were widespread, the close relatives of local cadres had no income advantages at all.

The net income advantages of village cadres, however, were large in all regions except for the

poorest, and they grew as the local economy developed. One unexpected finding was that cadre advantages are largest in the most privatized and commercialized rural regions. This is because cadre households participate in private business at the highest rates in these regions. The link between increased cadre incomes and the privatization process leads to a situation the reverse of what many have expected—cadres' newfound prosperity in the market economy has not led to defection from the party or from rural office-holding.

A second paper directly addressed the idea—widespread in scholarly work and in recent transition reports published by the World Bank—that the economic advantages of elite insiders in transitional economies decline as market reform and privatization increase. In fact, the fate of former communist elites depends on two separate processes: the speed with which communist political hierarchies are dismantled and the constraints on asset appropriation in the course of reform.

China has maintained its political hierarchies even as it has erected strong barriers to asset appropriation. Accordingly, China's elites have fared differently from those in other regions. In



central Europe and the Baltics, rapid democratization and the collapse of communist parties, combined with legal restrictions on asset appropriation, have created considerable turnover of political elites and prevented the emergence of a new business class with roots in the old system.

In Russia, by contrast, rapid political change and unregulated privatization generated a new business oligarchy with roots in the former system. In regimes created when regional communist parties withdrew from multinational federations and rapidly privatized their economies (Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan), old regime elites extract large incomes from their offices or appropriate state assets for private business.

In China and Vietnam, where communist parties remain in power while sharply restricting the pace of privatization, the old elites remain in power and can draw larger incomes from office, but their ability to appropriate assets for private business undertakings is curtailed. So far, China and Vietnam have not generated a new private business oligarchy out of the old political elite. But this also means that these market-oriented Asian regimes have yet to undergo the

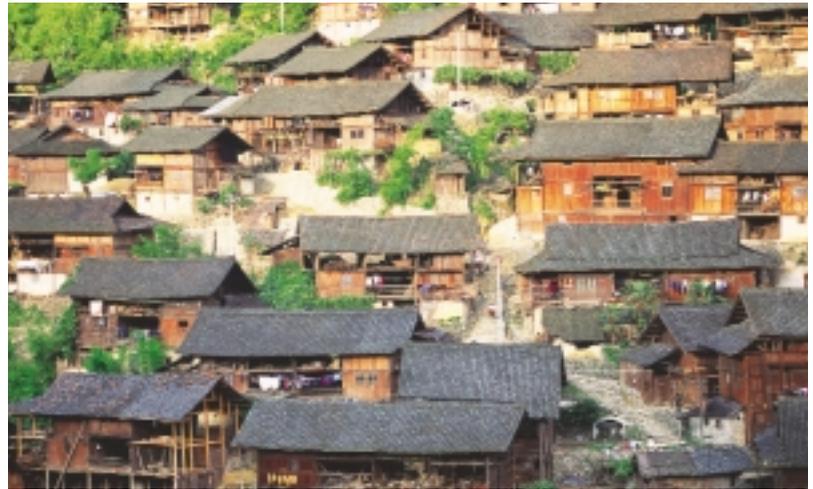
political and economic transformations already completed in many post-communist states.

How these future transitions are handled will affect the fate of China's elites and likely influence the country's future economic growth.

BREAKING THE "IRON RICE BOWL"

Jean Oi, China scholar and SIIS senior fellow, by courtesy, leads an ongoing project that examines restructuring and governance reform in China's state-owned enterprises (SOEs).

In collaboration with Thomas Heller of SIIS and Stanford Law School and scholars from China, Oi has collected survey and qualitative data on corporate restructuring and governance reform over the last decade. The project assesses the economic and political consequences of that reform, identifies the stakeholders, delineates the new corporate forms that have emerged, analyzes how they function, and observes the problems that they encounter and create. Implicit in the research design is the desire to capture the regional and sectoral variation inherent in the reform process. The project also attempts to identify the different phases and strategies of reform over time.



Preliminary findings point in two directions. First, it appears that China is making headway in reforming the state socialist system. More and more state-owned factories have been privatized, some being sold to domestic investors, others to foreigners. Following the Western model—sometimes with the help of foreign brokerage houses—increasing numbers of companies are being listed on domestic or foreign stock exchanges. Formerly state-run firms have established boards of directors and supervisors as part of their corporate governance. Increasingly focused on the bottom line, firms are streamlining and cutting costs. SOEs are handing off nonproductive social-service sectors to local governmental authorities. Most telling, the “iron rice bowl” is being broken. More workers are being laid off, bankruptcy law has finally been allowed to take effect, and factories are closing. However, while change is taking place, the state remains the controlling shareholder in the majority of firms.

Second, market-conforming institutions have been tempered by concerns about rising unemployment, decreasing government revenues, and mounting enterprise and bank debt. China’s post-state-socialist leadership is instituting an

ambitious program of corporate restructuring, but politics has skewed the privatization process. Most intriguing is the state’s concern about state workers displaced in the course of privatization. These issues affect not only the speed and the nature of reform but also decisions about which enterprises may be declared bankrupt or privatized.

Follow-up research suggests that while concerns about workers and political stability remain important, new methods and institutions are cutting the cord between the state and its workers and reducing or eliminating the state’s share in many state-owned enterprises. Some localities have already completed this second phase of corporate restructuring.

Center for International Security and Cooperation (CISAC)

brings together scholars, policymakers, area specialists, business people, and other experts to focus on a wide range of security questions of current importance. It is committed to scholarly research addressing key international questions in the “post-post-Cold War” with new security challenges, and to working with U.S. and foreign governments to implement appropriate policies. CISAC is also committed to training the next generation of security specialists through its inter-school honors program in International Security Studies and its pre/postdoctoral fellowships.

HOMELAND-SECURITY LEARNING TECHNIQUES

Evolving security threats, including terrorism, demand new responses. So policy experts worldwide are rethinking the roles of existing security arrangements—the United Nations, NATO, the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, the U.S. intelligence community—and fashioning new ones, like the U.S. Department of Homeland Security (DHS). These revisions effectively give us new dogs to learn the new tricks required for a changed—and changing—security environment.

New, improved organizations are not enough in themselves, though. Security organizations must develop the ability to learn from and adapt to ever-changing contingencies.

CISAC is figuring out how they can do so, in a new 15-month research program of seminars and fellowships in homeland security. Run jointly with the Naval Postgraduate School (NPS) in Monterey, California, and funded by DHS, the program tackles issues of “organizational learning and change” to discover how security organizations can learn from the past and adapt effectively for terrorism prevention and response.

Lynn Eden, CISAC associate director for research, manages CISAC’s participation and mentors the program’s eight fellows at Stanford for 2004–2005, as they conduct in-depth research into pressing, unanswered questions facing DHS and other security agencies. How can these organizations learn to function efficiently, especially when—as in DHS’s case—they must coordinate actions with many distinct agencies dispersed across the nation? Why do organizations often fail to learn from past failures? How can they learn to change quickly after something goes terribly wrong?

“Areas of organizational theory and theories of bureaucratic systems of security have to be completely renewed” in the face of terrorist threats, said Michael M. May, a senior fellow and emeritus professor in the School of Engineering, who, with CISAC co-director Scott D. Sagan, serves as co-principal investigator of CISAC’s portion of the program. “DHS is a very good laboratory for this kind of research,” May added.

CISAC’s blend of science and social science expertise is well suited to the task.

Dean Wilkening, director of CISAC’s science program, is modeling uncertainties in biological



weapons use, such as effects caused by different exposure rates and different doses of contaminants like anthrax. Sagan and Eden have produced award-winning social science research pertinent to the issues being examined—Sagan’s 2004 *Risk Analysis* article, “The Problem of Redundancy Problem: Why More Nuclear Security Forces May Produce Less Nuclear Security” and Eden’s *Whole World on Fire: Organizations, Knowledge and Nuclear Weapons Devastation*.

Fellows offer further expertise from a range of disciplines, including law, math, political science, public policy, and sociology.

The program grew out of CISAC’s previous work with DHS. In 2003, with May as principal investigator, CISAC led 11 Stanford scholars to observe and analyze a full-scale State Department-DHS exercise to prepare national, state, and local officials to respond to potential terrorist attacks within the United States. The researchers’ final report, delivered to DHS Secretary Tom Ridge, “was very well received,” May said.

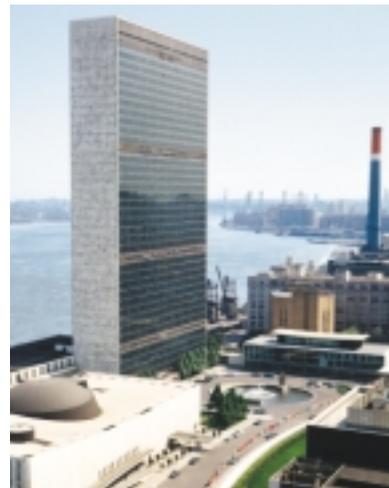
The new research potentially will have far-reaching policy implications at all levels of government. “This program allows us to think

about some very hard issues in homeland security,” Eden said. “It’s a way of increasing the pool of knowledge related to a problem that’s going to be around for a long time.”

ASSISTING U.N. PANEL ON GLOBAL SECURITY

When U.N. Secretary-General Kofi Annan needed a policy expert to direct research for his new High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change, he chose SIIS senior fellow Stephen J. Stedman. Annan established the 16-member panel Nov. 4, 2003 to rethink the U.N.’s leadership in promoting global security. Appointing former Prime Minister Anand Panyarachun of Thailand as chair, Annan asked the panel to assess a broad range of international security threats and recommend improved means of collective response.

As Annan told the General Assembly in September 2003, events of the previous year—including the invasion of Iraq without Security Council agreement and attacks on the United Nations in Baghdad—presented clear challenges to the U.N.’s historic role. “It is not enough to denounce unilateralism, unless we also face up



squarely to the concerns that make some states feel uniquely vulnerable,” Annan said.

Charged with identifying new threats and considering “far-reaching institutional reform” to the United Nations, the High-Level Panel took a three-step approach. First, through extensive international consultations, the panel developed a broad approach to existing and emerging security threats. In addition to exploring traditional security issues like inter-state war, internal conflict, and nuclear proliferation, it considered less traditional threats to human and state security, such as extreme poverty and the rampant spread of AIDS—lasting crises that consume vast resources, claim many lives, and erode states’ governing ability. Second, the panel evaluated the effectiveness, efficiency, and equity of collective security institutions. To address gaps in performance, or to deal with new threats, the panel will recommend changes to U.N. institutions.

“I don’t have what you’d call a traditional security background,” Stedman says—all the more reason for him to direct the panel’s research. For many security specialists, the panel’s approach significantly redefines a field long shaped by Cold War concerns. Annan has

asked Stedman to stay another year as a special adviser to help with high-level negotiations on the panel’s recommendations.

CISAC’s assistance to the U.N. panel extends beyond Stedman’s work. Co-director Christopher F. Chyba served as one of 30 formal members of the panel’s resource group. CISAC’s Nuclear Nonproliferation Workshop, March 1, 2004, provided the panel with current thinking on weapons of mass destruction. A July 2004 meeting of CISAC’s Five-Nation Project in Bangkok presented another occasion to help, as chair Panyarachun and staff member Tarun Chhabra discussed the panel’s work with experts from India, Pakistan, the United States, Russia, and China.

Among Stedman’s eight-member staff are two former CISAC scholars. His deputy, Bruce D. Jones, is deputy director of New York University’s Center on International Cooperation and a former CISAC Hamburg Fellow (1997–98). Chhabra, a Ph.D. student in political science and the Security Studies Program at MIT, is a Phi Beta Kappa graduate of Stanford and CISAC’s honors program.

Center for Environmental Science and Policy (CESP)

seeks to mobilize a network of scholars, students, policymakers, and leaders to understand and help solve international environmental problems through science and policy research. It directs the Goldman Honors Program, an interschool honors program in environmental science, technology and policy. CESP houses the Program on Energy and Sustainable Development (PESD), a global research program on the economic and environmental consequences of global energy consumption.

ENERGY SECURITY AND THE GLOBAL SHIFT TO NATURAL GAS

Although the energy headlines have focused on the stratospheric price of oil, a more fundamental story is unfolding. In almost every corner of the world economy, energy systems are shifting to gas. Prized for its relative cleanliness and efficiency, gas has become the fuel of choice for diverse industrial applications—notably the generation of electric power. Consumption of natural gas is expected to double over the next three decades, soon surpassing coal as the world's no. 2 energy source. While oil remains no. 1, its pole position may be threatened in the next decades and in some markets, gas already dominates.

The rub for gas, though, is that the areas where demand is expected to be strongest—such as North America, Western Europe, China and India—are distant from the richest gas deposits in the Former Soviet Union, the Middle East and North Africa. Large pipelines and tankers laden with liquefied natural gas (LNG) are connecting these sources and users, and the cost of building and operating these infrastructures is falling sharply. A global market for gas is emerging.

Since its inception in 2001, the Program on Energy and Sustainable Development (PESD) has been working with the James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy of Rice University to explore the geopolitical consequences of this rising dependence on imported gas. Their study looks to history for lessons and to the future with new economic models that simulate nascent global gas markets.

Through seven detailed studies—on projects ranging from Russia's pipelines for Europe and Japan's LNG imports from Indonesia to the pipeline networks that connect South America's key gas markets—PESD's work has identified a few key factors that have driven decisions to build and operate gas infrastructures. The study has explained why holders of massive and cheap gas resources such as Iran and Venezuela remain largely shut from the emerging world market while their respective neighbors—Qatar and Trinidad—are rising hegemony.

In the past, governments assured security through expensive long-term contracts for gas supply. Governments themselves supplied the capital and orchestrated gas infrastructures. In the emerging globally interconnected gas world, private firms will be expected to risk their own



capital. The market will define outcomes. In this new world, security will arise from fungible supplies—shortage and interruption in one region can be offset by redirected resources from another. Such a vision is far from certain, not least because the areas richest in gas are also those where it is often toughest to do business. Russia is a likely linchpin in the vision for global gasification. Already it is the world’s largest gas producer and exporter (mainly to Western Europe), and it sits on 27 percent of the world’s proved gas reserves.

Major importers can find comfort, however, in that the study authors do not believe that a cartel will develop to control gas supply as OPEC has achieved in oil. PESD director David Victor argued in a recent article in *The Economist* magazine, “the capital expenditure needed to build spare LNG capacity is so much larger than that for oil that nobody with any sense will do this.”

PESD’s next phase of research will focus on the two largest future markets for gas in the developing world—India and China. Both presently depend mainly on coal for energy, but each country has active policies to lift demand for gas. PESD’s work will focus on

how these gas futures may unfold, as coal is still less costly and governments must struggle to balance the needs for a clean environment, secure energy supplies and the relative cost of coal and gas. Interestingly, not only will these two countries help to define the future for gas but they could also affect other matters of global concern. Compared with generating electricity from coal, gas emits less than half the carbon dioxide, the leading cause of global warming. Even as industrialized nations fret about the challenges in getting such developing nations to take the risks of climate change seriously, the construction of large gas infrastructures in the developing world may prove to be a crucial shift for the climate as well as for world energy markets.

“EL NIÑO” AND INDONESIAN FOOD SECURITY

“El Niño,” a meteorological phenomenon that typically appears every five to seven years in the Pacific Ocean, alters weather patterns all over the world. For human populations on the West Coast of the United States, El Niño means rain, skiing, and, often, flooded basements.

But elsewhere the effects of El Niño events (more formally called El Niño/Southern Oscillation events, or ENSO) are less benign. Poor people everywhere are disproportionately affected by extreme weather events. In the agriculture-dependent societies in Southeast Asia, El Niño events are associated with severe drought, which can have devastating impacts on the income and food security of rural populations.

Since 1996, senior fellow Rosamond Naylor and co-director Walter Falcon from the Center for Environmental Science and Policy (CESP) have been studying the effects of ENSO on Indonesian agriculture. Indonesia is both a significant producer and importer of rice, and most of the sizable rural population in Indonesia is in one way or another fundamentally connected to rice agriculture. Naylor, Falcon, and their CESP colleagues have found that the statistical relationship between ENSO and Indonesian rice production is remarkably clear and robust and that this relationship has important implications for agricultural policy-making in Indonesia.

In a typical year, the primary rice harvest in Indonesia begins in January, on the heels of the monsoon rains. Research by Naylor and Falcon has shown that El Niño events delay the onset of the monsoon and, in turn, disrupt rice production and drive up world rice prices.

More importantly from a policy-making perspective, their work shows that an El Niño event can be anticipated much in advance of the disruption of the monsoon. They demonstrate

that simple statistical models that connect summertime sea-surface temperatures in the Central Pacific Ocean to rice production in Indonesia can provide excellent forecasts of rice production eight months before the harvest actually takes place.

Such models prove to be invaluable tools for agricultural policy-makers in the country. With such forecasts in hand, the relevant government agencies are much better equipped to mitigate the negative consequences of El Niño events on incomes and food security in the Indonesian countryside. According to Falcon, the new models “have added precision to an Indonesian forecasting system that was once the province of shamans.”

Many of these findings can be found in Falcon and Naylor’s recent publication in the December 2004 *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies*. Perhaps more importantly, and as a consequence of Falcon and Naylor’s long-standing roles as policy advisers in Indonesia, the models described above have already been embedded into analytical units within Indonesia’s Ministry of Agriculture, the Planning Ministry, and the Ministry of Finance.

With funding from the National Science Foundation, further research is under way to model the longer-run effects of global warming on the magnitude of ENSO impacts on rice production. This research will likely yield a set of climate scenarios for the region, which Naylor and Falcon will analyze within a risk-assessment framework. In the end, Indonesian officials will have in hand much better tools for making both short- and long-run agricultural forecasts, and these tools will help the country better care for its poor and the agricultural systems on which they depend.

Center for Health Policy (CHP)

conducts innovative, multidisciplinary research on critical issues of health policy and healthcare delivery, producing timely information to guide policy decisions in the United States and abroad. The Center and its faculty—representing diverse fields including medicine, economics, statistics, sociology, business and law—have access to large bodies of data on healthcare expenditures, utilization rates, mortality and outcomes. These resources enable the Center to produce new insights into healthcare delivery and outcomes in the United States and other countries.

BENEFITS OF HIV VACCINE

Research led by CHP/PCOR acting director Douglas K. Owens has found that even if an HIV vaccine were only modestly effective—even if it protected against HIV/AIDS just 50 or 60 percent of the time—the vaccine would yield substantial health benefits and would save millions of dollars by preventing new HIV and AIDS cases.

The findings could help developers of HIV vaccines determine whether it makes sense to proceed with further clinical trials. Once an HIV vaccine becomes available, the findings could help policymakers determine how the vaccine should be administered—who should receive it, when and where it should be given, how much it should cost, and who should pay for it.

“We asked the question: ‘How good would an HIV vaccine need to be to be cost-effective?’” said Owens, an investigator at the VA Palo Alto Health Care System and an associate professor of medicine (general internal medicine) at the Stanford School of Medicine. “The answer, which was somewhat surprising, is it doesn’t need to be all that effective.”

Owens presented the research at the 12th International Conference on AIDS, Cancer, and Related Problems, held May 24–31, 2004, in St. Petersburg, Russia. The study is part of a larger multicenter research project he is leading, called Making Better Decisions: Policy Modeling for AIDS and Drug Abuse.

Although no proven HIV vaccine currently exists, more than 20 vaccines are in clinical trials around the world, and many HIV/AIDS researchers—Owens among them—are hopeful that an effective vaccine will someday emerge. Two types of vaccines are possible: a preventive vaccine, which would protect recipients from being infected with the HIV virus if they were exposed to it, and a therapeutic vaccine, which would prevent HIV-positive individuals from developing AIDS or would halt or slow the disease’s progression.

Absent an existing vaccine, Owens and colleagues used modeling to calculate the benefits that would come from using different types of vaccines under different conditions. The factors considered include the cost and effectiveness of the vaccine, who would receive it, and when. The researchers found, for example, that a preventive vaccine that is 75 percent effective



would prevent 5,000 to 10,000 HIV infections over 20 years in a population of about 47,000 sexually active homosexual men and would thereby save almost \$150 million in future AIDS treatment costs.

The savings are significant despite the high cost assumed for the vaccine—about \$1,000 per dose. Owens’s study is one of the first to comprehensively examine the costs and benefits of potential HIV vaccines.

Owens and his colleagues were initially surprised at how cost-effective the vaccine appeared to be, but upon further reflection he said, “It made a lot of sense when you consider the high mortality of HIV infection and how expensive it is to treat.”

Owens noted that the findings apply only to the population examined in his study—sexually active homosexual men in San Francisco—and that the impact of a vaccine could be quite different in other populations. Owens is also studying the impact of an HIV vaccine on injection drug users in Thailand and among heterosexual men and women in South Africa.

One critical factor determining the population benefit of a therapeutic vaccine, Owens found, is its effect on infectivity—the extent to which the

vaccine can prevent an HIV-positive individual from transmitting the virus to others.

“A lot of studies examine preventive interventions, like condom distribution programs, but they only tell you how their program affects specific behaviors, such as rates of condom use,” Owens said. “Our goal is to use the results of these studies to assess the health outcomes that matter most: How does the intervention affect HIV transmission rates and the number of new AIDS cases?”

Making Better Decisions: Policy Modeling for AIDS and Drug Abuse is funded by a grant from the National Institute on Drug Abuse, part of the National Institutes of Health.

Stanford Program on International and Cross-cultural Education (SPICE)

serves as a bridge between Stanford University and K-14 schools across the nation and independent schools abroad by developing multidisciplinary curriculum materials on international themes that reflect SIIS scholarship.

SIIS IN THE MEDIA: SPICE HELPING HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS UNDERSTAND INTERNATIONAL ISSUES

As news reporters are limited in terms of time and space in covering a story, teachers are limited in terms of how much time and space they can devote to a topic during a course of study. Reporters usually don't have the space to provide sufficient background information on an international issue for younger students to critically understand and analyze it. SPICE's recent curriculum publications help provide this necessary background.

In an August 29, 2004, *San Jose Mercury News* article, "How Many Wars Is Bush Ready to Fight," SIIS director Coit Blacker shared his comments on the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. In an effort to provide high school students with an understanding of war and international security, SPICE's Pey-Yi Chu completed a curriculum unit aimed at making lectures from the Initiative on Distance Learning course, "Major Issues in International Conflict Management," accessible to high school students. Developed in consultation with IDL's managing director Kate Kuhns and CISAC senior fellow Stephen

Stedman, An Introduction to Humanitarian Intervention helps teachers set the context for lectures by Stedman and provides them with lessons on topics such as ethnic conflict.

In a September 12, 2004, *Washington Post* article, "State of Siege: Putin's Strong Hand Is Failing Russia," CDDRL and CISAC research associate Michael McFaul wrote about the recent seizing of a school in Beslan, Russia. Putin's leadership along with five other leaders in Soviet and Russian history are the focus of SPICE's unit, *Inside the Kremlin: Russian Leaders from Lenin to Putin*. Developed by SPICE's Selena Lai and Gregory Francis, Pey-Yi Chu, and IDL's Ganka Hadjipetrova, the unit showcases six lectures by Stanford faculty: Coit Blacker (Gorbachev), David Holloway (Stalin), Gail Lapidus (Yeltsin), Michael McFaul (Putin), Norman Naimark (Lenin), and Amir Weiner (Khrushchev).

In the October 2003 edition of *Environment*, CESP senior fellow Rosamond Naylor published the article "Salmon Aquaculture in the Pacific Northwest: A Global Industry." The study describes the tension between global markets and local ecosystems, salmon farming and salmon fishing, and the agencies assigned to



promote aquaculture and to protect ocean resources. SPICE's Jenny McCulloch completed a unit called Aquaculture: The Pros and Cons of Fish Farming, in consultation with Naylor.

SPICE's Waka Brown completed the inaugural year of the Reischauer Scholars Program, a distance learning course on Japan for high school students. APARC senior fellows Michael Armacost and Daniel Okimoto gave lectures for the course. In the second year of the program, SPICE hopes to focus a portion of the course on Japan's relations with other countries. In the February 22, 2004, edition of the *San Jose Mercury News*, Armacost, a former U.S. ambassador to Japan, contributed an article, "Sino-Japanese Tensions Obscure Growing Cooperation"; Sino-Japanese and Korean-Japanese relations will be discussed in the second year of the course. In another collaborative with APARC and CDDRL, SPICE's Shari Epstein and Karen Tiegel developed a unit called An Introduction to Sovereignty: A Case Study of Taiwan that introduces CDDRL director and SIIS deputy director Stephen Krasner's scholarship on sovereignty. In an interview at the University of California, Berkeley (available online at <[http://globetrotter.](http://globetrotter.berkeley.edu/conversations)

[berkeley.edu/conversations](http://globetrotter.berkeley.edu/conversations)>), Krasner discusses four definitions of sovereignty, which are the central focus of the unit.

It is critically important to help young students understand the news because it is they who will be interpreting and making the news in the future.



CONFERENCES

What Are We Doing in Iraq?

That was the topic of a panel discussion in front of a standing-room-only audience in Encina Hall's Bechtel Conference Center in January 2004. The event, organized by SIIS and moderated by its director Coit D. Blacker, included the following Stanford faculty panelists: Stephen Krasner, Michael McFaul, John McMillan, and Donald Emmerson.

Perspectives on National Security

SIIS and *Newsweek* magazine co-hosted a special forum in March 2004 in Encina Hall that discussed issues pertaining to Iraq, North Korea, and nuclear proliferation. *Newsweek's* Michael Isikoff moderated the panel discussion. Panelists were U.S. Representative Jane Harman, California (D), SIIS senior fellow and former Secretary of Defense William J. Perry, Stanford professor Stephen D. Krasner, and *Newsweek's* Michael Hirsch.

Redefining Japan and the U.S.-Japan Alliance

The current state of the U.S.-Japan alliance was discussed in March 2004 by a panel moderated by Henry Rowen of APARC, which also hosted the event. The panelists included Michael Armacost of APARC, William J. Perry of CISAC, and Yoichi Funabashi of Japan's *Asahi Shimbun* newspaper.

Perspectives on the Recent Korean Elections

APARC hosted an April 2004 discussion on the Korean elections with participation from the director

of the Korean Studies Program, professor Gi-Wook Shin, APARC's Michael Armacost, Daniel Sneider, foreign affairs columnist of the *San Jose Mercury News*, and visiting scholar Seokki Hong.

Geopolitics of Natural Gas

On May 26 and 27, 2004, the Program on Energy and Sustainable Development, led by its director David G. Victor, co-hosted a large conference in Houston, Texas, with the James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy on the future of natural gas, which is projected to surpass coal as the world's second largest energy source in the coming decade.

The Remaking of Austria after World War II

That was the theme of a joint SIIS and University of Vienna workshop, sponsored by SIIS's European Forum. Central to the discussion was the creation of the new post-war Austrian democracy under the conditions of four-power occupation.

U.S. Foreign Policy and the Presidential Elections

That was the title of the Alumni Weekend showplace event during the reunion of October 22–24, 2004. The discussion was moderated by SIIS director Coit D. Blacker with participation from former Secretary of State and Hoover distinguished fellow, George Shultz, former Secretary of Defense and SIIS senior fellow, William Perry, political science professor Judith Goldstein, and Hoover senior fellow Larry Diamond. Approximately 1,700 alumni filled Memorial Auditorium for the discussion.

Finding Solutions: International Security Challenges Past, Present, Future

In connection with the SIIS Open House in Encina Hall on October 22, 2004, a panel with former and present CISAC directors, John Lewis, David Holloway, Christopher Chyba, and Scott Sagan, discussed global security challenges during the past two decades. A reception in celebration of CISAC's 20th anniversary followed the panel discussion, which drew a full house in Encina Hall's Bechtel Conference Center.

LECTURES

Payne Lecturers

There were two Visiting Payne Distinguished Lectures during 2004.

In February, former Mexican foreign minister Jorge Castaneda spoke on how he views U.S. foreign policy in a lecture titled "American and the World: Non-U.S. Perspectives."

Castaneda served as Mexico's foreign minister between 2000 and 2002. He is currently a professor of international affairs at National Autonomous University of Mexico.

In October, Peter Eigen, founder and chairman of Transparency International, spoke on "Chasing Corruption Around the World: How Civil Society Strengthens Global Governance." Transparency International is a Berlin-based non-governmental organization dedicated to issues of international governance and fighting corruption worldwide.

The lectureship is named for Frank E. Payne and Arthur W. Payne, two brothers who gained an appreciation for global problems through their international business operations.

S.T. Lee Lecturer

In April, Dr. Paul Farmer gave a talk as the inaugural S.T. Lee Lecturer titled, "Not My Specialty: The Nexus of Health and Human Rights." Farmer, a medical anthropologist and expert on infectious diseases, who has dedicated his life to treating some of the poorest people in the world, spoke about his clinic in Haiti, where he has established a thriving community-based medical care system.

The lectureship is named after Seng Tee Lee, a business executive and philanthropist, who endowed the lectureship to raise public understanding of complex policy issues facing the global community.

Robert G. Wesson Lecturer

In May, University of Virginia historian, professor Melvyn Leffler spoke on "9/11 and U.S. Foreign Policy." Leffler, a leading authority on modern American foreign relations, argued that the balance in favor of ideals over interests has led to an ominous overassertion of American power and that there is a need to rethink this balance.

The Wesson Lectureship was established in 1988 to provide support for public lectures by prominent scholars in international relations.

Drell Lecturers

There were two Drell Lecturers, sponsored by CISAC, in 2004.

In March, Dr. Richard L. Garwin, Philip D. Reed Senior Fellow for Science and Technology at the Council on Foreign Relations, New York, spoke on "The U.S. Nuclear Weapons and Nuclear Explosion Testing."

In November, Dr. Mohamed ElBaradei, Director-General of the International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna, spoke about "Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Arms Control: The Road Ahead." ElBaradei, appointed to his present position in 1997, was born in Egypt and is an international lawyer by training.

Other Guest Lecturers

Bernard-Henri Levy, French writer and philosopher, spoke about his book, *Who Killed Daniel Pearl?*

Jean-Luc Dehaene, former prime minister of Belgium, spoke on "Is There a Constitution in Europe's Future?"

Don Oberdorfer, former *Washington Post* reporter and the 2004 recipient of the Shorenstein Journalism Award, spoke on "The U.S. and North Korea: Danger Ahead."

Jan Petersen, Norway's foreign minister, spoke on "Fighting Terror and Promoting Peace: The Norwegian Perspective."

Francis Fukuyama, professor at Johns Hopkins University, gave a lecture titled "State-building: A Framework for Thinking about the Transfer of Institutions to Developing Countries."

Philip Zelikow, University of Virginia history professor and executive director of the 9/11 Commission, spoke on "9/11: Looking Backward and Looking Forward."

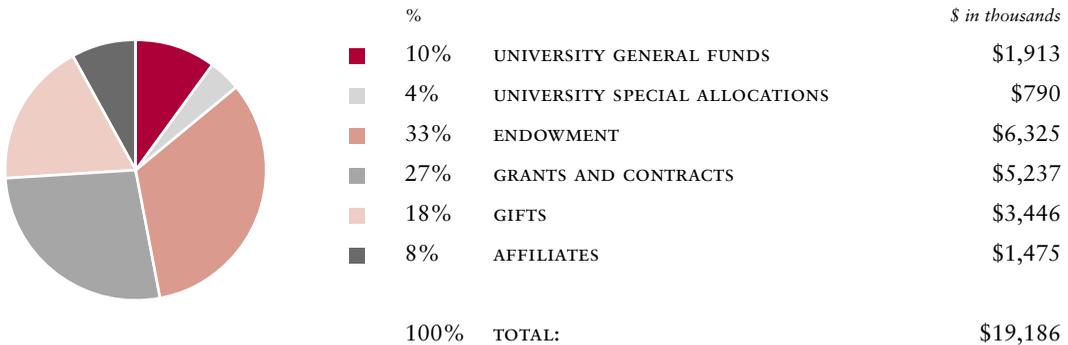
Timothy Garton Ash, an Oxford University historian, lectured on "A New Beginning? What the U.S. Can Do with Europe Now."



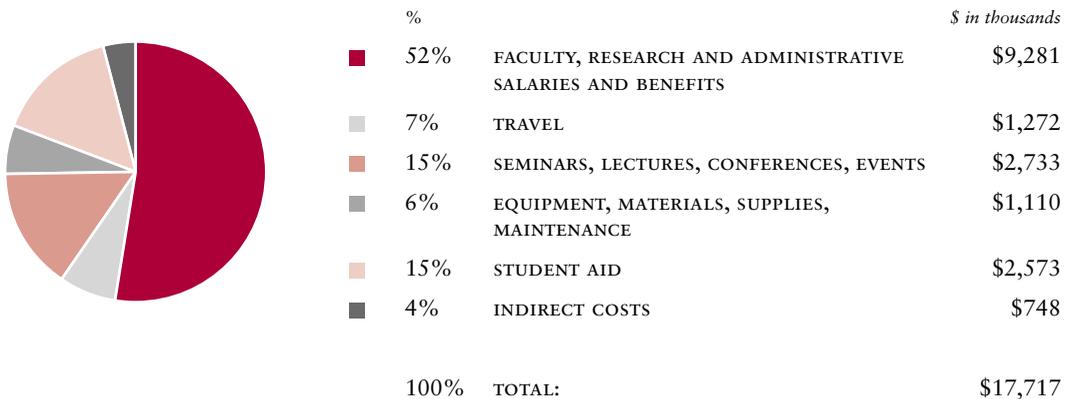
Revenues of the Stanford Institute for International Studies (SIIS) in the fiscal year 2003–2004 amounted to \$19.2 million, of which 78 percent originated from its endowment, grants, contracts, and gifts. Expenses during the fiscal year amounted to \$17.7 million. The University’s support from its general funds remained at 10 percent of total revenues. The Center for International Security and Cooperation (CISAC) remained SIIS’s largest research center with revenues amounting to \$3.5 million and expenses to \$3.4 million.

FY 2003–2004

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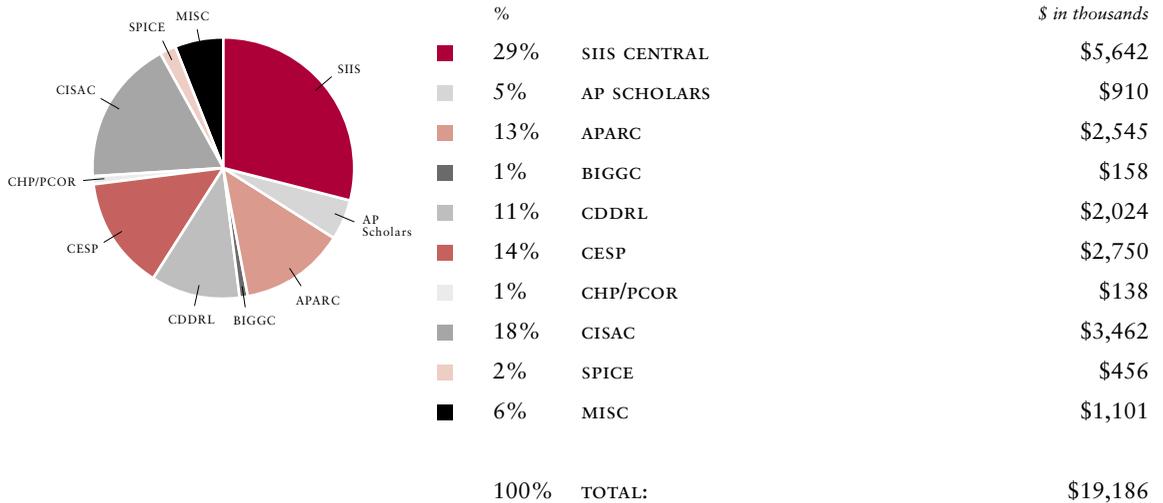


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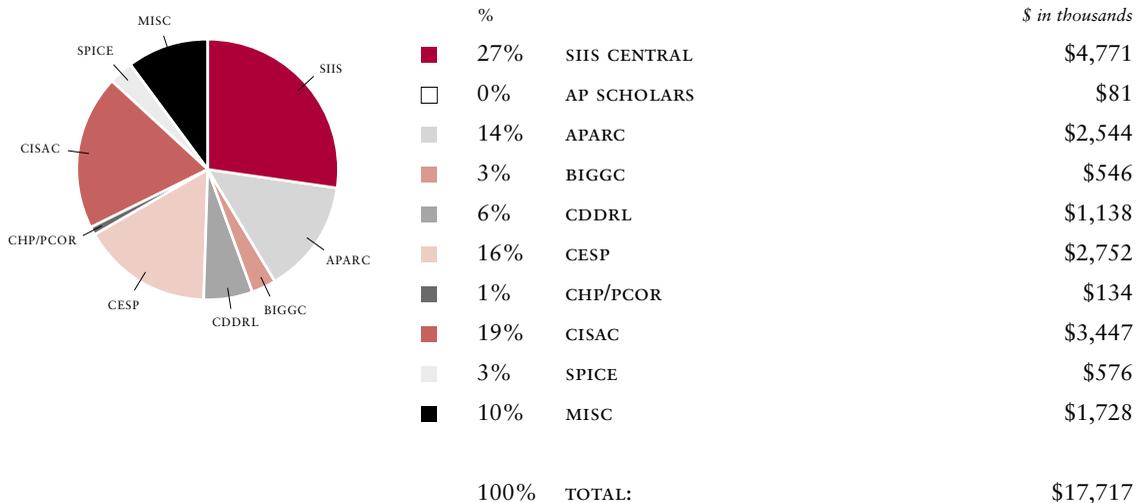


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SIIS and the International Initiative

The Stanford Institute for International Studies (SIIS) will feature prominently in the University's upcoming development campaign, which will be characterized by three multidisciplinary initiatives:

- *Biosciences/Bio-X*
- *Environment*
- *International*

SIIS, with its 15-year history of addressing international issues and problems in a truly multidisciplinary fashion, will be the centerpiece of the International Initiative. The SIIS director and faculty are expected to play a leadership role in articulating a vision for framing key international issues—problems that the world presents and that Stanford addresses—and in offering solutions.

The three themes that will characterize the International Initiative—pursuing security in an insecure world, reforming and improving governance, and advancing human well-being—are hallmarks of the work of faculty and scholars at its five research centers.

Confronting the problem of the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction is central to the Center for International Security and Cooperation (CISAC). The Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law (CDDRL) takes on compelling questions of democratic reform and governance in “failing” or transitional states, and the Asia-Pacific Research Center (APARC) looks closely at democracy movements in the dynamic Indonesian archipelago. The Center for Health Policy (CHP) and the Center for Environmental Science and Policy (CESP) treat a range of challenges to human well-being, from the compar-

ative health of aging populations and the effect of AIDS and tuberculosis on future generations to the impact of climate change on human welfare and the promise of power sector reform.

In conferences, public lectures, classes and papers, SIIS raises central questions about the viability of conventional approaches to U.S. foreign policy, about future U.S./E.U. relations, the role of corruption in transitional governments, intelligence reforms needed to protect the country, and the reconstruction of Iraq. It has become the key University forum for presenting the international dialogue to Stanford scholars, students, alumni, friends, and the public.

These and other lines of international inquiry require support—for recruiting young faculty, for graduate students, for undergraduate field work, visiting scholars and international exchanges, innovative program development, and for interdisciplinary faculty appointments such as the two new professorships given by SIIS donors described on the facing page.

As the International Initiative takes shape in the coming year, SIIS will pursue its goal of becoming the country's premier policy-oriented international research institute by inviting Stanford alumni and friends to participate in shaping and nurturing that growth.

THIS YEAR HERALDED THE CREATION OF TWO ENDOWED PROFESSORSHIPS that will be jointly held by the Stanford Institute for International Studies and the School of Humanities and Sciences. A gift honoring professor William J. Perry from telecommunications entrepreneur and SIIS board member Dr. Jeong H. Kim and his wife, Cynthia, will create a new professorship on contemporary Korea. A gift from professor emeritus and SIIS senior fellow emeritus Thomas P. Rohlen will establish a new chair in contemporary Japanese politics.

The William J. Perry Professorship



Kim

With this gift, Dr. Jeong Kim honors his mentor and friend, Bill Perry, who served as 19th Secretary of Defense of the United States, and with whom he shares a deep interest in the future of Korea and U.S.-Korea relations. Perry holds the Michael and Barbara Berberian Professorship and is a senior fellow at SIIS. Upon his retirement from Stanford the new Korea chair will be named the William J. Perry Professorship.

Learning of Kim's gift, Perry said, "I am pleased that so many students will benefit from this generous gift. I am quite humbled that Jeong and Cindy Kim have chosen to honor me in this way, as Jeong's own accomplishments deserve to be acknowledged and, indeed, emulated."

Kim emigrated from Seoul, South Korea, when he was 14. He received his bachelors and masters degrees from Johns Hopkins. While an officer in the Navy, he earned his doctorate from the University of Maryland. He founded Yurie Systems Inc. in 1992, which soon became a world leader in the highly competitive telecom business. Within five years he sold Yurie Systems to Lucent Technologies for \$1 billion. He went on to manage a major division for Lucent, until offered a professorship at the University of Maryland.

Kim's interest in the political and cultural life of his native Korea has been sustained over the years in part by following the work of Perry, who has played a significant role in encouraging Kim's entrepreneurship.

"Bill Perry's dedicated work on Korean issues over the last decade and the significant contributions he has made to this very crucial dialogue are unparalleled," said Kim. "I can think of no one more appropriate than Bill for this chair to be named after."

The Thomas P. Rohlen Professorship



Rohlen

Following his long interest in contemporary Japan, Thomas Rohlen has made a gift to endow a new professorship, the Thomas Rohlen Professorship in Contemporary East Asia. His gift will support a faculty member in the social sciences whose teaching and research are expected to be in the field of contemporary Japanese politics.

Tom Rohlen is a professor emeritus in the School of Education and senior fellow emeritus at the Stanford Institute for International Studies. Within SIIS he has long been affiliated with the Asia Pacific Research Center (APARC). Himself a scholar of contemporary Japan, Rohlen played an instrumental role in the development of APARC and the Stanford Japan Center in Kyoto. His research interests in Japan have ranged widely, covering subjects from education and socialization to corporate organization and political culture.

"After a long association with Stanford IIS and with APARC, I am very pleased to be able to continue my participation and support. International studies at Stanford, especially research on East Asia, has a distinguished history and my hope is that this new chair will help sustain and further enhance that tradition," said Rohlen.

Rohlen was awarded the Ohira Memorial Prize, the Berkeley Prize in East Asian Studies, and the American Education Research Association Critic's Choice Award for his book, *Japan's High Schools*.

He and his family have also supported SIIS through their endowment of the Arthur and Frank Payne Endowed Visiting Professorship, which enables distinguished visitors to come to SIIS and give public lectures and academic seminars.

**HONOR ROLL: LIFETIME GIFTS TO THE STANFORD INSTITUTE
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The generosity of past supporters, as well as those new to its donor rolls, enables the Stanford Institute for International Studies to continue to seek solutions to global challenges through scholarly excellence, expanded research and public policy efforts, and to inform an expanding audience about its work.

The Stanford Institute for International Studies gratefully acknowledges those listed below for their support with gifts totaling \$100,000 or more since the Institute's inception.

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ON THE COVER:

A young Afghan woman shows her face in public for the first time after five years of Taliban Sharia law as she waits at a food distribution center in central Kabul

PHOTOS:

Page 2, UN Headquarters, Baghdad photo; page 3, Pakistani girl photo; and page 16, photos courtesy of U.N./DPI. Page 18, oil tanker photo courtesy of BP.

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