

WWS NEWS

WOODROW WILSON SCHOOL
OF PUBLIC AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

VOL. 32, ISSUE 1
AUTUMN/WINTER 2008

WWS's Krugman Awarded Nobel Prize in Economics

Nannerl Keohane on Leadership
and Political Philosophy

WWS New York Series: 21st Century Threats
and the Future of Collective Security

WWS Students, Faculty Celebrate Election Night,
Debate Future of American Politics



MESSAGE FROM THE DEAN

We arrived at work on a recent Monday morning to find the fountain in the pool on Scudder Plaza frozen solid, a sight which sent faculty and staff scrambling for their cameras. I wanted to share it with all of you.

As I write this, November is ending on a chilly note; but it began with the heat and excitement of the election. Scores of WWS students volunteered all over the country and in New Jersey and Pennsylvania on Super Tuesday. On the evening of Election Day, hundreds of students and faculty also gathered in Robertson Hall to hear an expert panel of faculty members analyze election results as they were broadcast (the panel correctly forecast an Obama win); students later repaired to Shultz Dining Room to watch remaining states to be called, and to view President-elect Obama's victory speech. (Please see page 10 for more details.)

This was a historic election for all Americans and for the Woodrow Wilson School. While receiving less media coverage than the presidential candidates, six of our alumni were elected or re-elected to high office. Jeff Merkley MPA '82 won his bid for a U.S. Senate seat; he's our first-ever MPA Senator. Jeff's classmate, Leonard Lance MPA '82 was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives, giving us bipartisan coverage in both houses. Jules Kopel-Bailey MPA-URP '07 won a seat in Oregon's House; Indiana governor Mitch Daniels '71 was re-elected; John Sarbanes '84 was re-elected to the U.S. House; and Tom Nelson MPA '04 was re-elected to Wisconsin's State Assembly. I'm also happy to note Tom was just named majority leader of the Assembly!

This crop of alums in office should be a source of special pride for all of us and an inspiration to many of you. Each year I exhort entering students to think about running for office themselves, not just to *analyze* policy but to *legislate* it. Barack Obama has opened the door to a much wider range of potential candidates, men and women who may never have imagined a school board member, a state legislator, a member of Congress, or even a



photo by Helene Wood

president that looks like them. I hope that many of our current students and alumni will follow in his wake.

I am also thrilled to announce WWS Professor of Economics and International Affairs Paul Krugman was awarded the Nobel Prize in economics in October. The Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences recognized Paul for integrating "the previously disparate research fields of international trade and economic geography," and for proposing "a new trade model that changed the way economists view the international exchange of goods."

Paul is the third WWS faculty member to win the Nobel in economics; the late

Sir W. Arthur Lewis won in 1979, and emeritus faculty member Daniel Kahneman, a psychologist, was a co-recipient of the Prize in 2002. Each provides a superb example of the value of academic research in solving some of the most serious public policy problems of our times. You can read more about the events of the day in our opening story on page 2.

I hope you enjoy reading about the latest research and other activities at the WWS in the following pages, and have a chance to visit our website, www.princeton.edu. And I encourage you to check out the calendar on the inside back cover of this issue for some important upcoming events, including the 2009 Princeton Colloquium on Public and International Affairs on April 17-18. The 2009 Colloquium will focus on the promise—or perils—of the next phase of globalization. It should prove to be a fascinating weekend; I look forward to welcoming many of you back.

Anne-Marie Slaughter '80, Dean
Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs
wwsdean@princeton.edu

WWSN News

The magazine of the
Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs



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production manager
Karyn M. Olsen

staff writers
Steven Barnes
Rebecca Anderson
Patricia Yelavich

contributing writers
Alex Gennis '09
Jeanne Jackson-DeVoe
Tom Niblock MPA '09
Hilary Parker
Eric Quiñones
Leanne Smith MPP '08
Sarah Vitali '11

photos
Sameer Khan
Larry Levanti
Jon Roemer
Brian Wilson

published by
Office of External Affairs
Woodrow Wilson School
of Public and International Affairs
Robertson Hall
Princeton University
Princeton, N.J. 08544-1013
Tel (609) 258-2943
Fax (609) 258-4765

printing
Prism Color Corp., Inc.
Moorestown, N.J.

Questions, comments, contributions,
and suggestions may be e-mailed to:

Steven Barnes
Assistant Dean of Public Affairs
sbarnes@princeton.edu

WWS's Krugman Awarded Nobel

by Eric Quiñones

Paul Krugman, acclaimed in his field for insights into international trade patterns that overturned long held theories about the global economy before he rose to popular distinction as a media columnist and commentator, has been awarded the 2008 Nobel Prize in economics.

Krugman, a professor in the Department of Economics and in the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs since 2000, was greeted with a standing ovation in a packed Dodds Auditorium in Robertson Hall the afternoon of Monday, Oct. 13, where Princeton faculty, students and administrators attended an international press conference in Krugman's honor this afternoon.

"It's an incredible honor," said Krugman, who was visibly moved by the welcome from the Princeton community. "It's stunning. It hasn't quite settled in."

Krugman was the only winner of this year's Nobel Memorial Prize in Economic Sciences. "By having shown the effects of economies of scale on trade patterns and on the location of economic activity, his ideas have given rise to an extensive reorientation of the research on these issues," the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences noted in announcing the award.

In addition to teaching and conducting research at Princeton, Krugman is a well-known columnist for *The New York Times* and one of the country's foremost liberal commentators on economic, political and policy issues, including the current crisis in the world's financial markets.

Krugman was in Washington, D.C. for a meeting of the Group of 30, an international economics organization, when he received the surprise call notifying him of the Nobel award. "My immediate conclusion was that was an obviously fake Swedish accent," he said.

He attended one session of the Group of 30 meeting, then boarded a train to return to Princeton. "One Nobel Prize can discombobulate your whole day," he said.

Krugman thanked his mentors and colleagues who have contributed to his work over the years, saying, "It is a collegial effort. On behalf of international trade people everywhere, I'd like to thank the Nobel committee for recognizing this field. It has been transformed in these past 30 years, and it's good to see that recognized."

Princeton President Shirley M. Tilghman, who introduced the press conference, said, "Professor Krugman, I suspect, is less of a stranger to the world than most Nobel laureates in economics because of his role as an op-ed columnist for *The New York Times*. He has become very much a public intellectual. I believe this prize will be greeted very enthusiastically by many people who have, as I have, learned economics by reading that column religiously twice a week."

WWS Dean Anne-Marie Slaughter lauded Krugman for crossing boundaries within his own field and for raising economic awareness in the public sphere. "I know him as someone who has crossed the boundary between Nobel-quality theoretical economics to being a public intellectual who spends a tremendous amount of time educating as wide an audience as he can, bringing all his knowledge to bear—the knowledge that he helped himself to develop—to put it in the service of a particular point of view [and] more broadly, to put it in the hands of as wide as possible of an audience."

Krugman's work on international trade and economic geography represents a paradigm shift in research on global economics, noted Christina Paxson, chair of the Department of Economics. "The impact of Paul's research cannot be overstated," she said at the press conference.

"He discarded the notion that firms don't decide where to set up shop, and that people don't make decisions about where to live and work. Instead, he created a unified theory of trade and the location of economic activity, in a world in which firms enjoy economies of scale, consumers demand a richly diverse set of consumer goods and international trade may be limited by transport costs," Paxson explained.

Beginning in 1979, Krugman proposed a new model that provided a theory for the effects of globalization and free trade. It offered a better explanation than the well-established theory of foreign

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Nobel Prize in Economics



“I know him as someone who has crossed the boundary between Nobel-quality theoretical economics to being a public intellectual who spends a tremendous amount of time educating as wide an audience as he can, bringing all his knowledge to bear—the knowledge that he helped himself to develop—to put it in the service of a particular point of view [and] more broadly, to put it in the hands of as wide as possible of an audience.”

—Anne-Marie Slaughter
Dean, Woodrow Wilson School

Krugman Awarded Nobel Prize in Economics

continued from page 2

trade that certain countries have a comparative advantage over others in more effectively producing particular goods based on factors such as climate, natural resources or supplies of labor or capital.

Krugman recognized that the traditional theory did not fully explain modern trends that showed international trade becoming increasingly concentrated among smaller numbers of producers and nations. His work shed light on key economic issues such as why countries import and export the same goods, how companies decide where to locate, how people decide where to live and why dense urban areas become centers of economic activity while existing alongside sparsely populated rural areas.

“When I began working on this, world trade was a lot smaller than it is now, so it certainly is relevant to the changed environment,” Krugman said in an earlier interview. “And I guess you could say I was being global before the world was. I was very concerned in the second part of this work with the location of people and industries within countries, and we certainly are seeing all of these issues about urban growth and regional growth in the U.S. These are issues that don’t go away.”

Krugman’s stature as a rising star in the field was recognized in 1991 when he was awarded the John Bates Clark Medal, which is given by the American Economic Association to an economist under 40.

“Paul’s contributions on the trade and monetary sides of international economics have revolutionized the way economists think about the global economy,” said University of California-Berkeley economist Maurice Obstfeld. “He has a unique ability to convey novel and profound concepts in a deceptively simple way. This simplicity gives him an unmatched ability to describe clearly the essence of very complex economic policy problems.

“The beauty and inspiration of Paul’s technical research has always struck me as being quite unique,” Obstfeld said. “If there has been a Mozart in my generation of economists, it is Paul Krugman.”

“Paul Krugman almost single-handedly changed the course of two centuries of thinking about international trade and economic geography,” said Gene Grossman, the Woodrow Wilson School’s Jacob Viner Professor of International Economics. “Whereas generations of economists thought about differences between countries as the basis for their trade, and about the natural advantages of locations as the basis for agglomeration, Krugman taught us that economies of scale motivates trade between similar countries, and that, in the presence of such economies, accidents of history can explain the growth of cities and regions.” For example, Krugman’s work has examined how economies of scale helped Rochester, N.Y., home of Eastman Kodak Co., become a hub for the photographic industry.

Addressing his theories on economic geography at the press conference, Krugman said, “What is it about the East Coast of the United States that makes 60 million people want to live in this dense metropolitan strip? The answer is it’s not something about the coastline—each of those 60 million people wants to be here because the other 60 million people are here.”

Avinash Dixit, Princeton’s John J. F. Sherrerd ’52 University Professor of Economics, said Krugman was honored with the Nobel because he “was the undisputed leader in research that modified and extended the traditional theory of international trade.

“That theory was based on the notion of perfect competition among a large number of small sellers and was increasingly seen to be anachronistic in a world where many industries were oligopolistic, with a small number of large firms. Aircraft and autos were the exemplars of this new reality of trade,” Dixit said. “Large-scale firms exist because of economies of scale in production; Paul developed ideas about the implications of this for the location of such firms and revolutionized the field of economic geography from a largely descriptive endeavor into an



Paul Krugman speaks at a press conference at WWS’s Dodds Auditorium following the Nobel Prize announcement.

analytical one. It is for these contributions that he has long been regarded as a shoo-in for the Nobel.”

Paxson noted that Krugman’s seminal 1991 article on international trade, “Increasing Returns and Economic Geography,” published in the *Journal of Political Economy*, “is a classic on the reading lists of graduate courses in international trade. His research is also of practical significance, in that it helps us better understand the drivers behind globalization, urbanization and capital movements across countries.”

In the 1990s, Krugman began to raise his public profile as a columnist for *Slate* and *Forbes* magazines, as he attempted to help inform the popular debate on international trade and economic policy. In 2000 he became a twice-weekly columnist for *The New York Times*, where he has gained attention for his acerbic criticisms of the Bush administration’s economic and political philosophies. In addition to his prolific scholarly works, his books include the bestsellers “The Great Unravelling” (2003) and “The Conscience of a Liberal” (2007).

After taking the *Times* columnist position, Krugman said in 2001 he was determined to “help people get things right,” adding that “I often feel there are glaringly obvious things that just aren’t being picked up.”

“I started taking on some causes, trying to speak to wider audiences,” he said. “For example, I was upset that confused notions about international trade were driving public debate on economic policy—such as the whole competitiveness issue, the commonly-used metaphor of international trade as a war with winners and losers.”

Asked at the press conference whether he considers himself more of a columnist and commentator or more of an academic, Krugman said, “I still think the university is home—that’s ultimately who I am.”

Yet given his notoriety as a Bush critic, many questions sought Krugman’s views on the current global financial crisis, to which he responded with biting commentary similar to that found in his columns and commentary.

When one reporter asked how Hong Kong should respond to the crisis, Krugman deferred. “My general response to a lot of the emerging market issues I used to write about a lot is ... ‘I’m trying to save my own damn republic,’” he said.

Asked what he would do if he was running the country, Krugman cited the move recently by the British government to acquire controlling stakes in two of the country’s largest banks in exchange for a \$64 billion capital infusion as an example of the bold measures needed to stem the crisis. His priorities would be “capital injection into the financial system, temporary guarantees on interfinancial institution lending to get the crisis under control, a large-scale fiscal stimulus program aiding state and local governments’ infrastructure spending to get us out of this recession,” Krugman said. “And then, after all that, universal health care.”

On whether deregulation is to blame for the crisis and whether individuals would be held legally accountable, he said, “It’s a fact that, as the system outgrew the old regulations, the regulations were not expanded



“He [Krugman] has become very much a public intellectual. I believe this prize will be greeted very enthusiastically by many people who have, as I have, learned economics by reading that column religiously twice a week.”

—Princeton University President Shirley M. Tilghman

to take account of the system. There is a lot of grotesque greed underneath this crisis, but greed isn’t illegal, and since there were, for the most part, no regulations I don’t think there can be very much [done]. ... We might see some of the bums in jail or at least in stocks in the public square, but I don’t think it’s going to happen.”

Looking back on the meltdown in the housing market that led to the current turmoil, Krugman said even he should have identified more of the warning signs. “I had all the stuff in my intellectual toolkit to have seen this coming. I saw parts of it; I saw the housing bubble, but why didn’t I understand that the same kinds of balance sheet constraints, the same kind of vicious circles that took place in Indonesia in 1997 or in Argentina in 2002 could happen here once the housing bubble burst?”

The message to Americans, then, is that “I think everybody needs to understand that the world has dangers in it, that there are monsters that you may have thought were invisible and they turn out to be entirely real,” he said.

Krugman’s Nobel award came five days after former Princeton researcher Osamu Shimomura was named a winner of the 2008 Nobel Prize in chemistry for a discovery he made while working at the University. It also is the second year in a row that the Nobel economics prize has a Princeton connection. One of the 2007 winners, Eric Maskin, has been a visiting lecturer with the rank of professor in economics at Princeton since 2002 and is a professor at the neighboring Institute for Advanced Study.

This is the second Nobel Prize in economics in the past six years for a Princeton scholar affiliated with the Woodrow Wilson School. Daniel Kahneman, a professor of psychology and public affairs, received the award in 2002. ■■■

LESSONS OF WAR:

Undergraduate seminar explores dynamics of conflict

by Hilary Parker

Armed with academic theories and writings on guerrilla warfare by Mao Tse-Tung and Lawrence of Arabia, 15 Princeton undergraduates enrolled in a course on violence and civil war spent an afternoon in late September battling difficult questions.

“How did Mao and Lawrence manage to build their insurgencies and become successful?” asked Jason Lyall, an Assistant Professor of Politics and International Affairs at the Woodrow Wilson School, as he kicked off the session. “Would they even recognize themselves in our theoretical frameworks? It’s an open question whether our current theories of warfare are anywhere near what they thought was important. There’s an argument to be made that they aren’t.”

The conversation flourished, more and more students chiming in as the discussion turned toward questions of why people join violent uprisings and which conditions prompt guerrilla fighters, particularly those who use mobile tactics like ambushes and raids, to form conventional armies.

Sameer Khan



“... You need to gain the full popular support of the people,” said Elizabeth Denniston, a senior majoring in politics. “You may lose it if you stay within the guerrilla phase. You can maintain that support when you become organized and visible, meeting the enemy on the ground.”

Jacob Bornstein, a senior in the Woodrow Wilson School, offered another viewpoint.

“Guerrilla operations are definitionally dependent on the existence of an opposition,” he said. “If there’s no opposition, you’re just guys in the woods. But once that opposition is gone, your reason to exist ceases to be. You either disperse or assume power yourself, and the way to do that is with a conventional force.”

The disconnect between theories of war and its actual practice motivated Lyall to design and teach the first-time seminar, WWS 477: *The Dynamics of Violence in Civil War*. Rather than studying the causes of conflict, the seminar focuses on the violence that takes place during war, analyzing historical cases and modern-day conflicts in Afghanistan, Chechnya, and Iraq.

“Historically, 90 percent of what we taught students was on the origin of conflict, and then we stopped,” Lyall said. “There was no blood in our theories. We still don’t understand why insurgents are indiscriminate in some areas and civil in others. Right now, there’s a major move afoot to look at the dynamics of conflict.”

Lyall, who joined WWS’s faculty in 2005, focuses on a number of related topics in his own research, including patterns of insurgency in Chechnya and rebel recruitment in Chechnya, Afghanistan, and Iraq.

He doesn’t shy away from difficult subjects in the seminar. Future sessions will explore satellite images from Darfur and Kenya and discuss child soldiers and rape as tools of war. Lyall also will bring in representatives of non-governmental organizations and army officers to offer first-hand accounts of war.

Lyall is seemingly effortless as he relates theories and historic texts, including Mao Tse-Tung’s “On Guerrilla Warfare” and Lawrence of Arabia’s “Seven Pillars of Wisdom” to current conflict situations. As a result, he broadens students’ understanding of violence and civil war.

At one point, a question arose as to whether fighters in Iraq are familiar with the warfare manuals written by Mao and Lawrence. Immediately, Lyall launched into a story about an army unit’s discovery of Arabic translation of the two books in the underground hideout where Saddam Hussein was found.

Later, the students analyzed theorist Mark Lichbach’s theory about the incentives that inspire peasants to become revolutionary.

“It’s a club model of insurgency,” Lyall said. “The clubs generate selective benefits that only accrue to members of the club. That’s the crux.” He tied this model to current events in Africa, where members



“Many don’t have job prospects outside of warfare. Insurgents give them a gun and food and an opportunity to make money. And they can offer people protection. In a war zone, that’s a private good.”

—Professor of Politics and International Affairs Jason Lyall

of competing insurgencies often go village-to-village in recruitment drives.

As to the selective incentives in these situations?

“Many people don’t have job prospects outside of warfare,” Lyall told the students. “The insurgents give them a gun and food and an opportunity to make money. And they can offer people protection. In a war zone, that’s a private good.”

Lyall’s ability to weave together past and present, theory and reality, is lauded by the students in the course. They include juniors and seniors with a variety of experiences and aspirations, who are majoring in the Woodrow Wilson School, politics, Near Eastern studies, and history.

“Professor Lyall does a great job carefully considering all of our comments, summarizing them by connecting them to broader issues, and trying to push us to think beyond the initial scope of our comment or question,” said Danielle Devlin, a senior majoring in the Woodrow Wilson School who is interested in authoritarian regimes. The course supplements the six months she has spent in China, including time as an intern for the State Department at the U.S. Embassy in Beijing.

For the two future military officers in the course, insights gained in Lyall’s seminar may even be carried with them to battlefields in the not-too-distant future.

“There is a strong possibility I will participate in a counterinsurgency operation,” said Brendan Reilly, a senior majoring in politics and a Marine Corps officer candidate. “Professor Lyall’s expertise enables him to teach things I need to know about possible situations I might find myself in, where I will be making decisions with serious ramifications.” ■■■

FACULTY NOTES

Larry Levanti



Michelle DeKlyen

Gordon S. Rentschler Memorial Professor of Economics and Professor of Economics and Public Affairs **Alan Blinder** has been quoted in numerous media outlets regarding the current U.S. financial crisis. Recent articles have included "Humiliation for high priest of U.S. capitalism," *Sydney Morning Herald*, Australia, October 24, 2008; "What should be done next?," *The Washington Post*, October 19, 2008; "Blanket Deposit Insurance Is a Bad Idea," *The Wall Street Journal*, October 15, 2008 (with R. Glenn Hubbard); "Got \$700 Billion? Sweat the Details," *The New York Times*, October 12, 2008; and "FDIC Caps Should Be Retained," *Bloomberg.com*, October 3, 2008 (with R. Glenn Hubbard).

Ambassador **Barbara Bodine**, a Diplomat In Residence and Lecturer of Public Affairs spoke on a panel on U.S.-Gulf Defense Cooperation at the National Council on U.S.-Arab Relations' 17th Annual Conference for Arab-U.S. policymakers in Washington D.C. in early November. She also recently participated on a panel at the Department of State's Foreign Service Institute on interagency cooperation in post-conflict and crises situations, and was involved in a Rand Exercise on policy options in the Middle East for the next president. During the summer, she traveled to Amman, Jordan with Acting Dean Nolan McCarty to discuss a cooperative venture between the Woodrow Wilson School and the Jordanian Institute of Diplomacy. Bodine was also part of a series of lectures and seminars on civil-military relations, democratization in the Middle East post-Iraq, and U.S. policy challenges in the Persian Gulf region held at the Naval Post-Graduate School in Monterey, Calif.

Professor of Astrophysical Sciences and International Affairs **Christopher Chyba** spoke on "The Nuclear, Biological, and Space Arms Control Challenges Facing the Next Administration" as part of the Meridian Lecture Series at Johns Hopkins University on October 30. His talk surveyed nuclear, biological, and space weapons proliferation and arms control challenges. He provided an account of the current landscape, identified where the challenges or opportunities are the greatest, and proposed possible ways forward over the coming years.

Michelle DeKlyen, a research scholar at the Center for Research on Child Wellbeing, has been named to the Board of Directors of Children's Futures, Trenton. An expert in the fields of child development, early childhood behavior disorders, and parent-child attachment, she serves on the editorial board of the *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology* and has been a consulting editor for numerous publications including *Child Development*, the *Journal of Marriage and Family*, and the *Infant Mental Health Journal*. She has also served for the past two years on Newark's Council on Family Success. Established in 2001 with support from the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation (RWJF), Children's Futures works to

improve child health and development outcomes, so that every child in Trenton has the opportunity to enter pre-school healthy and ready to learn.

Professor of Politics and Public Affairs, Emeritus **Jim Doig's MPA '58, PhD '61** essay on the strategies used by Canada's chief justice, Brian Dickson, was recently published in a UBC Press book, and his paper "Judicial Independence in the United States" will be included in a volume on judicial behavior to be published by the University of Toronto Press in 2009. He was recently appointed to a subcommittee of the Connecticut River Joint Commission, which monitors water pollution on the River. In addition, Doig will be teaching a course on federalism in the winter term at Dartmouth College.

Jacob Viner Professor of International Economics and Professor of Economics and International Affairs **Gene Grossman** was elected a life member of the Council on Foreign Relations. He also was invited to join the Global Agenda Council on the Global Trade Regime, organized by the World Economic Forum, and will participate in the first Summit on the Global Agenda, which will take place in Dubai in November.

On October 21, Lecturer and Diplomat in Residence **Robert Hutchings** delivered the keynote address on "A National Security Strategy for the Next President" to the U.S. Army War College's National Security Seminar, consisting of more than 300 senior officers from the U.S. Army and several foreign military services. He was a principal speaker at the annual conference of the European Union's Institute for Security Studies in Paris, October 30-31, where his address on "The Global Grand Bargain" was the focus of the opening panel.

Professor of History and International Affairs **Harold James** gave the keynote address at the Arab-German Family Business Congress in Cairo in October 2008, and also gave a keynote lecture on the history of globalization at a conference organized by the Banque de France and the European Banking History Association in Paris.

On September 24, *The Times of Trenton* published an op-ed by Lecturer of Public and International Affairs and Director of the Policy Research Institute for the Region **Richard Keevey**. The op-ed discussed the looming fiscal problems facing the state of New Jersey in the current year and projecting ahead for FY 2010. Keevey pointed out that the problems will probably intensify as revenue projections falter because of the growing national financial crisis. Another op-ed appeared in *The Star Ledger* on October 20 that focused on the national mortgage and financial crisis, and emphasized the importance of ethical conduct and transparency in whatever solutions are proposed and implemented. Keevey suggested that we will not effectively address this historic challenge without absolute integrity, transparency, accountability and exceptional management skills from the key players.

Jon Rosemer



Gene Grossman

Jon Rosemer



Eldar Shafir

Visiting Lecturer of Public and International Affairs **David Kinsey MPAUP '71, PhD '75** presented the topic "Affordable Housing American Style, Innovations from Key States: Massachusetts, California, and New Jersey" at the University of Aberdeen's (Scotland) School of Geosciences, on June 30.

The book "State Directed Development: Political Power and Industrialization in the Global Periphery" (Cambridge, 2004) by David K. E. Bruce Professor of International Affairs and Professor of Politics **Atul Kohli** was translated into Chinese and published in Beijing in July, 2008. Earlier this year, he presented a paper on "Nationalist vs. Dependent Capitalist Development" at a Brown University conference held to honor Fernando Henrique Cardoso, the noted scholar and the former President of Brazil. He also gave lectures on "Imperialism and the Developing World" at the London School of Economics and on "State and Redistributive Development in India" at Oxford University in June 2008.

Alan Krueger, the Bendheim Professor of Economics and Public Policy, was invited by the Society of Government Economists and the American Economic Association to give the Distinguished Lecture on Economics at the annual Allied Social Science Association meeting in San Francisco in January, 2009. He has also contributed to the weekly Economist feature on *The New York Times* website.

Associate Professor of Public and International Affairs **Denise Mauzerall** chaired a session on recent research, "Interconnections between Air Pollution and Climate Change: Opportunities for Co-Benefits" at the International Geosphere Biosphere Program (IGBP) Congress in Cape Town, South Africa in May. In June she presented "Health and Agricultural Impacts of Hemispheric Transport of Air Pollution" at an international workshop on Regional and Intercontinental Transport of Air Pollution in Washington D.C. The meeting was organized by the United Nations Task Force on Hemispheric Transport of Air Pollution (TF HTAP) under the Long Range Transboundary Air Pollution Convention and the Acid Deposition Monitoring Network in East Asia (EANET). Mauzerall also spoke on the "Present and potential future contributions of sulfate, black

and organic carbon aerosols from China to global air quality, premature mortality, and radiative forcing" at a meeting on Chinese challenge in addressing and mitigating climate change at Tsinghua University in Beijing, China and gave a presentation entitled "Estimating the Health Impacts of Intercontinental Transport of Aerosols" to the National Academy of Science panel on The Significance of International Transport of Air Pollutants at Harvard University in October.

Professor of Psychology and Public Affairs **Eldar Shafir**, along with co-authors Michael Barr of the University of Michigan Law School and Sendhil Mullainathan of Harvard University, presented a paper "Behaviorally Informed Financial Services Regulation" on October 17 at the Asset Building Program of the New America Foundation. The paper looks at new approaches to the way rules for buying homes, getting credit cards, and managing finances are written, based on real-world human behavior and not just economic theory. The authors posit that regulations governing these transactions can play an extremely constructive role if they are better attuned to both consumers' and producers' behavior, incentives and self-interest. A copy of the paper may be found at www.newamerica.net/events/2008/regulating_real_world. In September Shafir participated in a policy discussion with The Brookings Institution's Hamilton Project, The Future of Housing and Credit Markets. Shafir and co-author Barr presented their paper, "An Opt-Out Home Mortgage System," which develops a new framework for understanding the mortgage markets as the interaction between individuals with specific psychological biases and firms that respond to those psychologies within specific markets. In the paper the authors argue that regulation needs to take account of that interaction. The presentation and paper may be found at www.brookings.edu/events/2008/0923_housing.aspx.

Dean **Anne-Marie Slaughter** is the lead author of the report "Strategic Leadership: Framework for a 21st Century National Security Strategy" published in July by the Center for a New American Security. In the report Slaughter and co-authors Bruce W. Jentleson, Ivo Daalder, Antony Blinken, Lael Brainard, Kurt Campbell, Michael A. McFaul, James O'Brien, Gayle

Smith, and James Steinberg argue that the next president of United States must develop a new national security strategy at a time when America's international standing and strategic position are at a historic nadir. Now more than at any time since the late 1940s, Slaughter and her colleagues assert, it is vital to chart a new direction for America's global role. The report is the product of three years of discussions and debate on U.S. foreign policy that address a range of issues spanning fundamental assumptions about the nature of the international order in the 21st century to U.S. policy toward the Middle East. The authors are part of CNAS's Phoenix Initiative, a project designed to provide an intellectual and policy framework for the next presidential administration.

Stuart Professor of Communications and Public Affairs **Paul Starr** offered a response to critics, "Paul Starr and the Transformation of American Medicine," on May 31 at the Policy History Conference in St. Louis, Mo. The session was in recognition of the 25th anniversary of his book, "The Social Transformation of American Medicine," and the 15th anniversary of the Clinton plan. He delivered a talk "The Chosen Public," at the Conference of Anglo-American Historians on July 3 in London; spoke on "Professionalism and Public Health: Historical Legacies, Continuing Dilemmas" at a conference at the Centers for Disease Control in Atlanta in August and in late November, discussed "The Future of News and Political Corruption" at the New Jersey Judicial College's annual meeting of the state's judges.

Professor of History and Public Affairs **Julian Zelizer** co-authored with MIT professor Meg Jacobs to publish "Swinging Too Far to the Left," in the October 2008 issue of the *Journal of Contemporary History*. Zelizer also published a number of articles in the media, including "Here We Go Again—Maybe," in *Newsweek* and "Will 'Intellectual' Label Hurt Obama?" on *CNN.com*. In May, *The Huffington Post* launched a new feature entitled "Zelizer Book Corner." He also presented a paper about the politics of national security since WWII at the Social Science History Association. The topic was based on his book, "Rightward Bound: Making America Conservative in the 1970s." ■■■

ELECTI

WWS students, faculty celebrate debate future of American politics

by Tom Niblock MPA '09

On the evening of November 4, 200 Woodrow Wilson School students and faculty packed Robertson Hall's Dodds Auditorium and Shultz Dining Room to listen to an expert panel comment on the incoming results, watch election returns as they were broadcast, eat pizza, and celebrate election night. The special event was hosted by WWS, the School's Center for the Study of Democratic Politics (CSDP) and the Woodrow Wilson Political Network.

The evening began with a panel discussion of the election and its implications for America's future. Panelists included Nolan McCarty, Associate Dean of WWS and a Professor of Politics and Public Affairs; Larry Bartels, CSDP Director and a Professor of Politics and Public Affairs; Professor of Politics Christopher Achen; and former Congressman James Leach '64, the WWS's John L. Weinberg/ Goldman Sachs Visiting Professor.

The panelists discussed a wide variety of issues relating to the election, including the effects of increased voter turnout, the limits of forecasting models, and the inner workings of election news coverage in the media, particularly television. Looking forward, they also examined the possibility of a fundamental realignment in U.S. politics and changes that a new president could make in domestic and foreign policy.

The panelists, talking as returns only started to trickle in from around the country, were confident that Sen. Barack Obama would win the presidency, but some students were still unsure. "I'm not as confident as the panelists," said Benny Padilla, a second-year M.P.A. student. "But [Obama] has a good chance."

Despite early indications of Sen. Obama's success, expectations remained tempered throughout the evening. "[Obama winning Pennsylvania] did not seal the election," said Ph.D. candidate Richard Chiburis, an Obama supporter, moments after CNN projected his victory there. "We still need other states." Still, Chiburis remained optimistic. "It's a good sign that it was called early."

Nearly all the students present appeared to support Obama, sporting t-shirts, hats, and buttons with the candidate's name and the campaign's slogans and logo. In fact, several had woken up early on Tuesday morning to drive to Pennsylvania and volunteer for the campaign before their morning classes. They said they walked through quiet neighborhoods identified by the campaign, hanging cards on door handles to remind residents to vote.

First-year M.P.A. student Morgan Courtney had a different take on the election. "I like [Sen. John] McCain, he represents change within the party." As the night wore on she remained hopeful, even as the television screens continued to show gains by Obama. "Whether he wins or loses, the party wins. I just hope Virginia stays red."

Every seat was taken in Dodds Auditorium; attendees to the Election Day panel listened to experts discuss the results as they came in live.



Sameer Khan

ON 2008

election night,

She was not the only student to take a special interest in her home state. Second-year M.P.A. student Jonathan Kent predicted, “So goes Iowa, so goes the presidency,” over an hour



Students kept close watch on the election results during the post-panel reception held in Shultz dining room.

before the results were announced in Kent’s home state.

The presidential race was not the only election on the students’ minds. Congressional races were closely tracked, as well. For example, during the panel one participant brought up the possibility that the Democrats could win a filibuster-proof majority in the Senate. When combined with a Democratic president, it would greatly enhance the party’s ability to forward its policy agenda.

Some students were unsettled by these prospects. “Divided government is better, especially when there is ideological homogeneity in the dominant party,” said first-year M.P.A. student Matt Jacobs. “In the period of the New Deal and Great Society, certain powerful Democrats were willing to buck the party line. The few conservative Democrats in office today are solidly under [Speaker of the House Nancy] Pelosi’s control. There are no intra-party checks and balances.”

While the students spent the evening learning about elections, Woodrow Wilson School alumni across the country were having great success with their own campaigns. Please see sidebar for more information. ■■■

WWS Alumni win campaigns for election, re-election

Jeff Merkley MPA ‘82, a Democrat, was officially declared the winner on November 6 in his bid to unseat incumbent U.S. Senator Gordon Smith (R-OR). In addition, current New Jersey State Senate minority leader Leonard Lance MPA ‘82, a Republican, defeated Linda Stender in New Jersey’s 7th District Congressional race.

Merkley, Oregon’s House speaker, concentrated in international relations at WWS and did his summer internship at the U.S. Embassy in New Delhi, India. He also completed a work-study at the Council on Foreign Relations working on *Foreign Affairs* magazine.

Upon graduation, Merkley was selected as a Presidential Management Intern at the U.S. Department of Defense. He moved to the Congressional Budget Office in 1985, serving as an analyst in the National Security and International Affairs Division. In 1991, he moved to Oregon to become Director of Portland Habitat for Humanity. He then became the Director of Housing Development of Human Solutions, Inc. in Portland in 1995, and in 1997, he became Executive Director of the World Affairs Council of Oregon.

The following year, Merkley was elected to the Oregon House of Representatives. Following the 2003 session, he was elected Democratic leader and, after the Democrats gained a majority in the Oregon House in 2006, he was chosen to serve as Speaker of the House.

Leonard Lance concentrated in domestic policy at WWS and did his summer internship working on the gubernatorial campaign of Thomas Kean ‘57.

From 1983 until 1990, he was assistant counsel for county and municipal matters to New Jersey Governor Kean.

He was elected to the New Jersey General Assembly in 1991 and to the New Jersey State Senate in 2001. He was the senate’s budget officer as well as minority leader until earlier this year. In 1998 he made a bid for Congress, but lost in the Republican primary.

A life-long Republican, Leonard is the third generation of his family to serve in the New Jersey State Legislature, following his great-uncle, H. Kiefer Lance, and his father, Wesley L. Lance.

Other WWS alumni were also re-elected on Nov. 4. Indiana Governor Mitch Daniels ‘71 won re-election over his opponent Jill Long Thompson; John Sarbanes ‘84 was re-elected to the U.S. House of Representatives; and Thomas Nelson MPA ‘04 was re-elected to Wisconsin’s State Assembly.

In addition, Jules Kopel-Bailey MPA-URP ‘07 won his bid for a seat in Oregon’s House of Representatives. ■■■

The Role of Religion in Diplomacy and International Relations

by Tanya De Mello '08, Zvi Smith '09 and Miriam Schive '06

What role does religion play in international relations? What role *should* religion play, if any? How can we better understand religious motivations and their intersection with politics? And why, suddenly, has the intersection of religion and politics become such a widely discussed issue? These are the questions that students in the Program on Religion, Diplomacy, and International Relations (PORDIR) at the Wilson School's Liechtenstein Institute on Self-Determination (LISD) spent the past academic year attempting to answer. In July, PORDIR concluded its inaugural year with an international three-day conference in Vienna, Austria.

PORDIR was created and is led by Professor Wolfgang Danspeckgruber, Director of LISD, and Reverend Paul Raushenbush, Associate Dean of Religious Life at Princeton. The program is meant to provide a forum where students can engage in discussions about the role of religion in international relations. Twelve undergraduate and graduate students were selected as program fellows. Fellows participated in a seminar where one fellow per week presented research on a specific area in which religion and politics intersect, then led the group and invited guests in a roundtable discussion. During these weekly meetings, the fellows discussed topics as diverse as the role of religious non-governmental organizations, the universality of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the power of religion in shaping identity politics in India, the inherent pragmatism of traditional Jewish law, and the role of religion in counterinsurgency operations. PORDIR also hosted several guest speakers throughout the year, among them Katherine Marshall from the Berkley Center for Religion, Peace and World Affairs; David Smock from the Center for Mediation and Conflict Resolution; Princeton Professor K. Anthony Appiah; and Alison Boden, Princeton's Dean of Religious Life

and the University Chapel.

PORDIR fellows concluded their year with the program by participating in a three-day conference on religion and international affairs co-hosted by LISD and the Liechtenstein Institute in Vienna (LIVA). The conference convened in Vienna, Austria on July 11-13, 2008. It was organized by Miriam Schive '06, the resident director of LIVA.

The conference brought together more than 70 scholars, diplomats, religious leaders, politicians, and students from around the world to discuss the relationship between religion, world politics, and diplomacy in an open, off-the-record forum. Attendees included Prince Turki al-Faisal of Saudi Arabia; Lodi Gyari, Special Envoy of the Dalai Lama; Hans-Adam II, the Reigning Prince of Liechtenstein; and WWS professors Daniel Kurtzer and Richard Falk (emeritus).

Particular emphasis throughout the conference was placed on including the students in the discussions, many of whom will make up the next generation of diplomats, academic experts and religious leaders. In addition to the PORDIR fellows, 15 other American and European students were selected through a nomination process to participate. The students were given an unparalleled opportunity to learn from the knowledge and experience of participants and to discuss theories of international relations and religion with widely respected experts.

Instead of focusing on questions of religious extremism and terrorism and their consequences on security and defense, the conference emphasized the positive role that religion can play on a global scale. Ideas were raised about the power of religion to unite and motivate masses towards a common goal in a way that no political factor could achieve. Rather than a clash of civilizations, it was argued that religious groups are united across the world in order to work together to combat international

Participants at the three-day Diplomatische Akademie Wien conference in Vienna, Austria.





Rev. Paul Raushenbush, Associate Dean of Religious Life at Princeton University and co-director of PORDIR; Prince Turki al Faisal of Saudi Arabia; and Prince Hans-Adam II of Liechtenstein.

issues, such as global warming and poverty. It was also pointed out that many religious groups are often motivated by a sense of duty and obligation that requires them to see their fellow global citizens as brothers and sisters.

In the end, after several days of intense discussion and debate, the students departed Vienna with more new questions than answers, but with a renewed sense of the importance of continued examination of these crucial topics. Above all, the conference highlighted the importance of including religion as part of a framework that they could use in their future work as policy creators and international leaders. As PORDIR fellow Christopher MacPherson MPA '08 noted, "Not enough has been done to understand the positive force religion can play in world affairs, especially in conflict areas that demand the international community's attention. The success of last year's PORDIR program highlights the importance foreign policy experts place in religion and diplomacy," adding, "I hope the program . . . becomes a cornerstone of study at Princeton." ■

LISD conference delivers recommendations for a new Afghanistan strategy

by Leanne Smith MPP '08

Seven years after the Bonn Agreement—which laid out the course for a new and democratic beginning for Afghanistan—the Liechtenstein Institute on Self-Determination (LISD) brought together more than 90 experts from around the world to participate in a colloquium in Bonn/Petersberg, Germany from September 4–7. The colloquium, funded in part by a grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York, focused on a critical, open, and constructive analysis of the current situation in Afghanistan and searched for new ideas and recommendations for ways in which the Afghan government and the international community might improve their current strategies in the interest of all Afghans. The colloquium followed the release of LISD's *State, Security, and Economy in Afghanistan* report.

The group of experts at the colloquium, several of whom were present at the original Bonn Conference in 2001, included policymakers, academics, parliamentarians, military officers, NGO representatives, U.N. officials, think tanks, foundations, diplomats, journalists, and students. The conference included a crucial cross section of prominent representatives including Afghanistan's Foreign Minister, Dr. Rangin Spanta, who opened the meeting; Afghan ambassadors to the U.N., Germany, and Austria; parliamentarians; ministers; representatives of the Afghan Independent Human Rights Commission and the Independent Electoral Commission; NGOs; and academics.

Seven themes critical for Afghanistan's future were discussed: security; the rule of law and governance; elections; economics, agriculture, infrastructure and energy; human development and culture; and relationships in the region between Afghanistan, Central Asia, Iran and Pakistan. Over three days the group debated these themes and developed a range of recommendations for the international community, the Afghan Government, and the countries of the region.

One of the key recommendations on which participants agreed was that any solution to the security situation in Afghanistan must be a regional one. Multi-party talks under the auspices of the U.N. are needed, including the U.S., E.U., Russia, China, Iran, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and the northern Afghan border states. A second recommendation asserted that there cannot be a purely military victory in Afghanistan today, given Taliban strength and inadequate international troop numbers. This option, therefore, needs more discussion by, and with, Afghans. Regarding the upcoming Presidential and Parliamentary elections in Afghanistan, the conference recommended that the international community begin preparations now for a second-round of voting—which is likely to be considerably more tense—due to the likelihood that no candidate would clear the 50% hurdle.

In cooperation with the Johns Hopkins School for Advanced International Studies, LISD delivered the recommendations in a panel discussion in Washington, D.C. on October 21, which was attended by a diverse group of academics, U.S. Administration officials and foreign diplomats.

A final conference document, *The LISD Petersberg Paper on Afghanistan*, will be available on the LISD website at www.princeton.edu/lisd. The document will be produced in four languages: English, German, Dari, and Pashtu. ■

John Templeton: An Unparalleled Commitment to Student Diversity

by Tanya DeMello MPA '08

When John Templeton was honored with Princeton

University's Martin Luther King Journey Award in January 2008, none of the students at the Woodrow Wilson School were surprised. John is a beloved staff member, a playful and open friend to all and a mentor to so many students. John received the "Journey Award for Lifetime Service," which recognizes his dedicated efforts to attain

Martin Luther King Jr.'s vision for the United States of America. John has never wavered in his commitment to encourage and create diversity in all areas of study, work, and community, and to actively work against barriers that prevent people from accessing opportunity.

In fact, the staff and the students at the Woodrow Wilson School were unanimous in putting his name forward for this award because John directly changed the lives of so many. This article is one of thanks from us, the students, because we are forever grateful for what he has done, not only in changing policies and programs at all levels, but for all the little things that cannot be included in a nomination. In truth, it is all of his work behind the scenes, after hours and one-on-one, that is indelibly engraved in our memories of our time at the Woodrow Wilson School.

John Templeton is the Assistant Dean of Graduate Admissions at the Woodrow Wilson School. He has been working in admissions for over 20 years at Princeton and has always made it his top priority to increase access to higher education for groups that have been historically underrepresented. He directed Princeton's minority recruitment program from 1990 to 1994 and then he expanded that program by involving the student body itself—he recruited Princeton students to go out and talk to students at diverse high schools and encourage them



Jon Roemer

to consider Princeton as an option.

He has always sought to diversify the student body as much as possible in terms of race, religion, gender, background, region and sexual orientation so that the students represent the wider American community. John believes that all students benefit from a learning environment that is filled with contrasting paradigms and experiences, and his commitment does not end once students are admitted. He is an integral part of the school and most students will tell you that John is one of the last people they hug before they pass through the gates at graduation.

John is a mentor to fellow colleagues and to countless students, whom he always welcomes into his office, and often invites to his home. John has

opened a forum for students of color to have a voice at Princeton, not only in their classes but also in the administration. What has always amazed me most about John is that he goes out of his way to not only make sure students are thriving academically, but that they also feel welcome at the Woodrow Wilson School, that they belong here, and that they are essential members of the community. Thanks to John, the percentage of Woodrow Wilson alumni of color has risen by 81 percent over the previous decade.

And John has used this wealth of alumni to further increase mentorship opportunities for students. He has been an avid supporter and participant of the school's annual Students and Alumni of Color Symposium, which connects current students to a vast alumni network. The Symposium is an intense weekend of discussion where participants examine issues of race and class and share professional and personal experiences while proposing solutions to advance the debate. John wants us out there, talking to each other, working together and he challenges us to use our leadership abilities to strengthen government and non-profit organizations in the U.S. and throughout the world.

John gives students access to Princeton, and opens career doors that were once unimaginable; accompanying them on their academic journeys and later, in their professional careers. When collecting student testimonies about John, I was touched by how many students insisted on giving their time and sharing their stories with the awards committee. And then something happened that shocked me.

Templeton Co-recipient of University's MLK Day Journey Award

Excerpted from the Princeton University Office of Communications press release

A few close friends who had recently graduated were sitting together with just a few words about John scribbled on a page, and nothing more. They were sitting in silence, motionless, deep in thought—but unable to write. I knew how much these students cared about John, so I could not understand their hesitation. When I asked them why they weren't writing away furiously, they looked at me for a moment.

Then one of them said softly, with tears in his eyes, "I don't know how to write what John Templeton means to me... it's so deep and well, it's everything. The thing is, if it were not for John Templeton, I would not be here today. So how do I write that? How do you encapsulate thanking someone for changing your life to an admissions committee that could not possibly ever realize just how much he meant to you?..."

"Write that," I told him. "Write exactly what you just said to me."

And one by one, they all began sharing similar emotions—how John Templeton was the reason that they were at Princeton. That he opened a door for them and he had no idea of just how much he had done. One wrote, "I will spend my life trying to honor the privilege I have been given at the Woodrow Wilson School by increasing access to opportunity for others and striving to decrease barriers. In doing this, I will honor John Templeton's work."

It was a powerful moment for me to watch this group of students and alumni, sharing tears and sharing stories as they wrote about John. I wish he could have been there to witness that moment—the testament to his commitment to us. Now, our work and contributions to society will represent John Templeton's faith in our potential and gifts. ■■■

WWS's Director of Graduate Admissions, John Templeton was one of two members of the Princeton University community honored Jan. 21 with MLK Day Journey Awards, which recognize efforts to continue the journey to achieve Martin Luther King Jr.'s vision for America.

Members of the University community nominated candidates based on their support for King's philosophy and teachings and their contributions to the improvement of civil rights and/or human rights. Preference was given to candidates who have positively affected the University campus and/or community. Members of the MLK Day Committee judged the nominations, and Princeton President Shirley M. Tilghman selected the finalists. The awards, instituted in 2005, include a commemorative plaque; the lifetime award also includes an engraved wristwatch.

Templeton has served in admission roles at Princeton for more than 20 years, with a commitment to increasing access to education for historically underrepresented groups. He has served as director of graduate admissions at the WWS since 1994, leading the admissions process for master's and doctoral degree programs and playing a prominent role in the school's Junior Summer Institute—a program for students pursuing careers in public and international affairs—from 1994 to 2003. Over the years, Templeton has been lauded by students for his mentorship.

"At Princeton, John has made it his mission to open the doors of our University community to students of color and ensure that they have the support they need to flourish on our campus and, indeed, beyond," Tilghman said in presenting Templeton with the award. "Through the policies he has developed and espoused and the exceptional mentoring he has provided, John has given students who have traditionally been underrepresented on our campus a stronger voice and a greater sense of belonging than ever before."

Under Templeton's purview, during the past decade the percentage of alumni of color of the Woodrow Wilson School increased by 81 percent over the previous decade. Also for the past 10-plus years, Templeton has supported the school's annual Students and Alumni of Color Symposium, which enables current students and graduates to develop a professional support network.

"John's philosophy is that education means opportunity," Anne-Marie Slaughter, Dean of the Woodrow Wilson School, wrote in nominating Templeton for the award. "He is passionate about giving that avenue to opportunity to as many underprivileged applicants as possible and to have the graduate student body of the Woodrow Wilson School reflect the face of America. He believes that by encouraging a diverse cadre of leaders who are culturally aware and socially sensitive to go on to careers in public service, that the Woodrow Wilson School will strengthen the leadership capacity of government and nonprofit organizations throughout the world. Indeed, he has made that his life's mission."

Templeton came to Princeton in 1987 in the undergraduate admission office, where he directed its minority recruitment program from 1990 to 1994. He expanded that program in particular by increasing visits made by Princeton students to diverse high schools.

Born in Wisconsin and raised in California, Templeton majored in history at Whitman College in Walla Walla, WA, and earned a master's degree in education at Stanford University. He worked in secondary schools for 12 years before coming to Princeton.

Anna Almore, a member of the class of 2008, received the Journey Award for Special Achievement. ■■■

21st Century Threats the Future of Collect

by Jeanne Jackson DeVoe

Collective security is evolving in the 21st century as the international community and the United Nations grapple with a definition of security that goes beyond the security of nations to include the security of individuals. But there is widespread disagreement about whether the United Nations is equipped to meet those challenges, or whether it needs to be profoundly reformed.

Experts and high-level diplomats gave a variety of perspectives on those crucial questions during a conference titled “Facing 21st Century Global Threats: Collective Security at a Crossroads,” convened by the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs on Oct. 13, held at the Princeton Club of New York.

The day-long conference was comprised of three panel sessions, consisting of senior diplomats, scholars, journalists, and other analysts. Audience members included press, U.N. staff, academics, and representatives from think-tanks and non-profits, as well as Princeton alumni.

The Permanent Five members of the Security Council won't veto some security and human rights resolutions “if the way the issue is framed makes them look bad,” noted Anne-Marie Slaughter, WWS Dean.

“21st Century Threats: The End of Collective Security, or New Opportunities?”

The opening panel, titled “21st Century Threats: The End of Collective Security, or New Opportunities?” was moderated by Raghida Dergham, senior diplomatic correspondent for the Arab daily Al-Hayat. Panelists included Anne-Marie Slaughter, Dean of the Woodrow Wilson School; Ambassador Thomas Matussek, the permanent representative of Germany to the U.N.; Robert Orr MPA '92, PhD '96, U.N. Assistant Secretary-General for Policy and Planning; and Ambassador Francesc Vendrell, the former European Union Special Representative for Afghanistan and a visiting professor at the Woodrow Wilson School.

“We'll try to see on one level whether the United Nations and other international institutions are capable of dealing with 21st century threats to global peace and security or whether those institutions, particularly the U.N., are broken and need significant reform in order to function properly as originally envisioned,” said Dergham.

Ambassador Thomas Matussek said that unlike the European Union, or NATO or the so-called “Coalition of the Willing” in Iraq, the U.N. confers legitimacy on global actions. But like many speakers he noted that the world has changed a great deal since the United Nations was founded in 1945. “It's quite obvious that the U.N. has to change and be reformed,” he said.

For 24 years, an open-ended working group at the U.N. has been undertaking efforts to reform the Security Council. But a major step has taken place that has moved those proposals, which rely on consensus, into intergovernmental negotiations scheduled to take place in November, Matussek said.

and ive Security

The 21st century global threats to collective security are dramatically different than those of the 20th century, said the U.N.'s Robert Orr. "It's almost a mutually exclusive list," he noted.

Orr detailed the threats to collective security in this century that the U.N. is working to address. He began with the financial crisis that he pointed out has cut across borders to affect everyone globally.

The world also faces threats from climate change that affects global economies, as well as society and security, Orr observed. "We are in the middle of the world's most complex negotiations ever," to try to address the climate change problem, he said.

Global public health is another major challenge to global security as globalization makes it easier for diseases to spread throughout the world.

A huge worldwide threat is terrorism and the response to global terrorism must be multilateral, Orr explained. But the fact that 192 countries at the U.N. agreed to a global terrorism strategy means there is already a framework to begin that process, he said. He noted that many of these global threats, including global terrorism, come from non-state actors.

Another major threat is in the area of nuclear disarmament, Orr said, and this is an area in which the international community has made "very little progress," he noted. "This is serious. This is grave, even," Orr told the audience. "It always gets put on the back burner, but these are the ultimate threats."

There have been collective global responses to many of those crises but they have not always involved collective institutions, said Anne-Marie Slaughter. For example, the International Monetary Fund was not a central player in trying to solve the current global financial crisis but there was an international network of central

bankers working on the problem.

Slaughter agreed with Orr regarding the U.N.'s response to terrorism, in that "we've seen a real sea-change" not only in "the scope of the U.N. response but also the nature of the U.N. response." According to Slaughter, the U.N. did not merely pass a resolution, but "developed a framework with very specific measures that have to be taken by all the member states," regarding combating terrorism.

Not all the panelists believe the U.N. needs major reform. Ambassador Francesc Vendrell said the U.N. is undergoing a difficult period in part because the U.S. invasion of Iraq "really

The Permanent Five members of the Security Council won't veto some security and human rights resolutions "if the way the issue is framed makes them look bad," noted Anne-Marie Slaughter, WWS Dean.



discarded the U.N., but also because many third-world countries see the U.N., oddly enough, as too pro-U.S. and too influenced by the U.S.”

But Vendrell said that doesn't mean the U.N. needs a new mechanism to deal with collective security threats. The U.N. already has those powers through Chapter Seven of the Charter, giving the Security Council the authority and power to maintain peace and security. While that power has rarely been invoked in the first 40 years of the U.N.'s existence, it has since been invoked in more than 25 resolutions of the Security Council against member states such as Iran, East Timor, Afghanistan, Haiti and Bosnia, and against non-member states such as Afghanistan under the Taliban, he noted.

“What we need, however, is to use it better and also to try to keep, if not encourage, as much of a consensus as possible in the Security Council among the members,” Vendrell said. That consensus was endangered by the international support of Georgian President Mikheil Saakashvili, whom Vendrell described “as much of an authoritarian in Georgia as Putin is in Russia.”

Moderator Dergham asked panelists at the start of the Q&A session if the Security Council creates “a danger of falling into the trap of requiring consensus at the expense of regional issues.” Dean Slaughter, Dergham observed, “pointed out [during the panel] that the greatest threat is not necessarily the veto power of the Security Council members, but, as Slaughter said, ‘the very threat of a veto is enough [for some member states to] not to bring the vote to the floor.’”

But on some major security issues, especially those involving massive human rights abuses such as the situation in Darfur, Slaughter asserted, “I don't think Russia or the United States wants to be vetoing resolutions if the way the issue is framed makes them look bad.”

One problem in tackling global collective security threats is that different regions of the world perceive those threats differently, commented Stewart Patrick, a Senior Fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations, in the audience during the opening panel's Q&A session. “It would seem to me that when it comes to terrorism or WMDs [weapons of mass destruction], there are quite divergent perceptions between the U.S. and other western nations and non-western nations,” he said.

Photos by Sameer Khan



U.N. Assistant Secretary-General for Policy and Planning Robert Orr MPA '92, PhD '96 noted 21st century threats requiring collective action include global health issues and climate change.

Responsibility to Protect: Theory Versus Reality in Responding to Genocide and Crimes against Humanity

During the second panel, titled “Responsibility to Protect: Theory Versus Reality in Responding To Genocide and Crimes Against Humanity,” panelists discussed how the U.N. could implement the so-called “Responsibility to Protect” (R2P) doctrine, which states that while nations are sovereign entities they still have a responsibility to protect their citizens. When states fail to protect their citizens from genocide, war crimes or crimes against humanity, R2P proponents argue, then becomes the responsibility of the international community.

Moderator Colum Lynch, U.N. correspondent for *The Washington Post*, questioned the relevance of the doctrine after it was initially invoked by Russia in its recent military action in Georgia; invoked as a reason to invade Burma after the government's inadequate response to Cyclone Nargis; as well as invoked by those seeking to address ongoing human rights abuses in Darfur.

Panelist Stewart Patrick noted that the doctrine was in part a response to the genocide in Rwanda and in Srebrenica and Kosovo in the 1990s. “In my view, R2P represents a profound normative evolution within the context of the U.N.,” Patrick said.

R2P makes individual states responsible to protect their citizens, but it also makes the international community

responsible “to take collective action in a timely manner: to protect civilians if governments fail to do that,” he asserted.

While many in the international community have called for expanding those responsibilities to extend to protecting citizens from hunger, climate change, disease, natural disasters or human rights abuses, that could undermine the “fragile” consensus behind R2P, Patrick told the audience.

The challenge in implementing R2P is to keep the consensus particularly among “southern states” that might see it as a challenge to their own sovereignty. But “the thorniest issue” is what action the U.N. can take if there is genocide and the Security Council cannot agree on what action to take, Patrick said.

Ilya Rogachev, Deputy Permanent Representative of Russia to the U.N., said of R2P that from a legal perspective, “perhaps it can be viewed as a regional norm of international law,” and while some member states will accept it, others will not. For example, he pointed out, it could be applied in Africa, Western Europe, or North America as a “regional norm.” But more specifically, Rogachev asserted, R2P “can only be applied in relationship among states which do recognize it as such.”

Before R2P can be fully implemented, he said, “It has to go through a process of intergovernmental negotiations. It has to be discussed by the general U.N. membership—it has not been discussed so far. This is a major stage in its development that cannot be skipped.”

Russia’s Deputy Permanent Representative to the U.N. Ilya Rogachev comments during the R2P panel as Lee Feinstein of the Brookings Institution looks on.



Rogachev said he interprets the doctrine to mean that the U.N. can use “diplomatic, humanitarian and other peaceful means” to protect civilians, but he added that force should be used “on a case-by-case basis,” authorized by the Security Council.

Lee Feinstein, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution, disagreed. He argued that the international community through the U.N. must have the capacity to take military action in order to carry out R2P. That would mean having a peacekeeping force “at the ready,” and having nations commit to contributing to that force.

“Countries aren’t dumb, they know what it’s about when you talk about capacity-building,” Feinstein said.

During the panel’s Q&A session, audience member James Traub, a contributing writer for *The New York Times Magazine* and Director of Policy for the Global Center for the Responsibility to Protect, questioned Rogachev about his remarks regarding the need to bring R2P before the General Assembly and his description of R2P as a regional norm. “Does that mean it only has standing among countries that somehow agreed that they have a shared understanding of it?” Traub asked.

Rogachev replied that he believes R2P should be implemented “through a regular process of negotiations.” He said that there is a responsibility to protect citizens from genocide or war crimes but that there should be limits on what response the U.N. can take, and negotiations should focus on that question.

Stewart said he was also “struck by Ilya Rogachev’s invocation of a regional norm. At first glance it strikes one as deeply problematic because it raises the specter of a challenge to universalism, and the specter of spheres of influence and the specter of ‘bloc-ism,’ if you will,” he said.

Slaughter asked Rogachev whether Russia would support an international fact-finding commission regarding the Georgia-Russia conflict, in light of initial assertions that Russia was invoking R2P as a reason for military intervention. “That would at least let everyone know that whatever happens, it’s going to be subject to international scrutiny,” she said.

Rogachev replied that the invasion of Georgia was prompted by attacks on Russian peacekeepers and “the media kept silent about a Georgian attack.” Given that “bias,” he said, “we don’t oppose” a fact-finding mission. “But we have to make up our minds. It’s a difficult choice.”



Audience member James Traub, a contributing writer for The New York Times Magazine, presses Ilya Rogachev on Russia's interpretation of R2P.

Audience member Salman Ahmed, on leave this year from the U.N.'s Department of Peacekeeping Operations as a visiting professor and research scholar at the Woodrow Wilson School, during the Q&A session said he spent a year researching the massacre at Srebrenica. "I care deeply about this issue," he said.

Ahmed noted that several panelists had described a "fragile consensus" around R2P. "I don't think that's stating it starkly enough," he said. In the General Assembly, he explained, many member states appear to resent being presented with "a choice between states' rights and individual rights," and that needs to change—it cannot be a zero-sum equation.

In addition, the failure of the international community to yet find an effective solution to the crisis in Darfur has deeply tarnished the perception of R2P, Ahmed said. And while member states might agree that there is a responsibility to protect citizens, they are "deeply divided" over the strengths and limits of military means, and confused about the difference between war-fighting and peacekeeping.

"If you put the emphasis back on the suffering of the individuals concerned, rather than on the context in which international intervention takes place," there will be a greater likelihood to "gain agreement" about the responsibility of states to protect their own citizens, he asserted.

U.N. Security Council Reform: A Solution to the World's Security Problems, Or Just More of a Problem?

In the final panel, titled "U.N. Security Council Reform: A Solution to the World's Security Problems, Or Just More of a Problem?" panelists took on the issue of whether the Security Council should be reformed and how that reform could be implemented.

Panel moderator Anne-Marie Slaughter noted that the issue of Security Council reform has been discussed for decades, but is becoming increasingly important to nations from Asia and Latin America who feel the Security Council does not represent them. Without reform "they will say it is the United Nations of 1945, it is not the United Nations of the 21st century," she warned.

Jonas von Freiesleben, a senior research analyst at the Center for U.N. Reform Education, said his organization has been researching and disseminating reform proposals since 1978. But reforming the Security Council is complicated by the fact that it must be approved by two-thirds of the General Assembly, he said.

Today, there are several interest groups of nations calling for reform, he said. There is the G4 group made up of Germany, India, Brazil, and Japan, who want permanent membership for themselves and would agree not to have veto power for 10 to 15 years.

There is also a group made up of Italy, Pakistan, Argentina, South Korea, Spain and Mexico opposed to having permanent states on the Security Council and favors a rotating regional model. A group of African states, meanwhile, wants two permanent seats with the right to veto on so-called "sovereign" issues, von Freiesleben explained.

Some have also put forth an interim proposal aimed at breaking the deadlock over Security Council reform that would alter the system now and then review the reforms in 10 to 15 years. However, that has the danger of "spilling into a permanent solution" and creates a dangerous precedent, he said.

Jeffrey Laurenti MPA '74, Director of Foreign Policy Programs at the Century Foundation, said the size of the Security Council is not the problem. The heart of the problem is that the power of the permanent five members is "frozen in amber" regardless of whether or not they contribute soldiers to peacekeeping operations, he said.



India's U.N. ambassador Nirupam Sen said the Security Council must proactively reform or risk becoming "irrelevant."

The Princeton Project on National Security, of which Slaughter was a co-director, recommended that the veto power be replaced with a "more flexible system of power-weighted voting," Laurenti pointed out. (Slaughter noted later that the recommendation applied only to resolutions concerning direct action).

The size of the Security Council does matter, he said, because the Security Council is "often called upon to act quickly in a crisis," and a larger Council would make quick action more difficult.

Some reforms have been aimed at linking membership status on the Security Council to "measurable contributions to peace and security," Laurenti explained. That, he argued, could address the problem of having permanent members who are unwilling to contribute to peacekeeping operations.

Ambassador Nirupam Sen, the Permanent Representative of India to the U.N., gave a passionate plea for a "proactive" effort to reform the Security Council or risk making the U.N. "irrelevant."

Reforming the Security Council, Sen said, is particularly urgent in light of R2P, because the current Charter does not allow the Security Council to take actions to protect human rights or enforce R2P. Under the Charter, the Security Council "is not a judge, it is a policeman," he asserted.

Adding more members to the Security Council would add to the international peacekeeping force and make that force more

legitimate in the eyes of the world, Sen argued. If other nations perceive that "the deployment comes from the agents of World War II, then the basic objective which is to have maximum enforcement strength with the minimal of force cannot be achieved."

Sen disagreed with Laurenti on the question of whether adding to the size of the Security Council would potentially make it less efficient. "Size is only the mechanism, the machinery of a decision; the substance is what's really important," he said.

The General Assembly was meeting for the first time to negotiate over reform proposals on Nov. 15, Sen said. "This will be the first time the negotiations are actually held," he said.

However, reform is difficult because there is little motivation for the five permanent members to agree on reform measures, von Freiesleben said, in answer to an audience member's question. "Unfortunately, I think the permanent members of today don't really see any new permanent members able to offer anything new. There's only so much of the power 'cake' and by adding new permanent members there will just be less to eat," he said.

Sen said that adding members would just be "reform for reform's sake." The only path to true reform, he noted, would be to expand permanent members and have those permanent members be elected from the General Assembly, and be held accountable through a review conference. That would make both new and old members of the Security Council more accountable for their actions.

Dean Slaughter summed up by stating that revising the U.N. Charter is difficult but necessary to "herald the ability of the U.N. to adapt to many different circumstances." The future of the U.N. gives the world "two divergent paths for the collective security of the 21st century," she told the audience.

Given current threats—from the global economy to terrorism, global epidemics, climate change and other issues—the U.N. has an obligation to respond with some type of reform even if it is an imperfect solution, she said. If it does not, the nations of the world in the remainder of the 21st century will become much more fragmented and the potential for collective security will diminish, she warned.

"Speaking personally," she concluded. "I very much hope that we can find a way to improve the collective security ideals that were embodied first in the League of Nations and then in the United Nations, and take them forward into the 21st century." ■■■

CENTER NOTES

Brian Wilson



On October 23, Associate Supreme Court Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg (right) and University Provost Christopher Eisgruber (left) discussed issues related to constitutional law following her public address "On the Lighter Side of the U.S. Supreme Court: Customs and Habits That Promote Collegiality Among the Justices." The event was LAPA's John Marshal Harlan '20 Lecturer in Constitutional Adjudication and was co-sponsored with the Walter Edge Lecture of the University Public Lecture Series.

The Center for Arts and Cultural Policy Studies (CACPS) has recently posted on its website "Notes Toward an Agenda for Research on Orchestras," which encapsulates the findings from a day-long workshop held last April in Princeton. The Center convened more than 25 scholars, orchestra managers, grant makers, policy makers, musicians, and music critics to design an agenda for social-science research on orchestras. Also available on the website is the blog discussion that followed the workshop and resulted in the final agenda. To view the discussion and the Agenda, please visit the Center's website at www.princeton.edu/~artspol.

The Center for Health and Wellbeing (CHW) is supporting five research awards for undergraduates through the Grand Challenges Health Initiative. Each of the students is investigating aspects of infectious disease for their senior theses. CHW has also received a generous gift to support its expansion efforts. David Tanner '80 has established a fund to support innovative research projects that engage faculty and students, and address critical health and health policy issues in the United States. He has also established a fund to support domestic research-focused internships or independent research projects conducted by students in the summer between their junior and senior years.

The Center for the Study of Democratic Politics (CSDP) co-sponsored, with the Department of Politics and the Department of Psychology, the Princeton Graduate Student Conference on Psychology and Policymaking on October 24-25. This interdisciplinary conference featured eight workshop-style panels of innovative graduate

research examining the connections between psychological theory, political behavior, and elite decision making, with a keynote address by Richard Herrmann on "The Role Nationalism and Ideology Play in Shaping Images and Choices in Foreign Policy." It was organized by Nick Carnes, a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Politics and a member of Princeton's Joint Degree Program in Politics and Social Policy; Dan Myers, Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Politics; and Ann Marie Russell, a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Psychology and a member of the Joint Degree Program in Politics and Social Policy. Graduate students who attended expressed appreciation for the "coming together of these disciplines," and highlighted the "bright people," "diversity of the panels," and "the collegial environment" that this innovative conference offered. The detailed program and links to the papers are found at www.princeton.edu/~psychpol/program.html. CSDP also created the Election 2008 Blog blogs.princeton.edu/election2008/ which catalyzed faculty and students to offer their insights and analysis on the 2008 presidential race. The blog was created because CSDP faculty and fellows thought it would be "helpful and fun to collect the election-related research, analyses, and offbeat insights of our extended scholarly community, both for our own edification and as a resource for others interested in how political scientists are thinking about the election," noted Larry Bartels, Director of CSDP and a Professor of Politics and Public Affairs at the Woodrow Wilson School. A post-election debriefing, as well as all blog archives, remain available online.

The *Future of Children* policy journal has been awarded a grant of nearly \$900,000 by the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, which will support the production, dissemination and outreach activities of four journal issues dealing with disadvantaged youth. The *Future of Children* volumes will contribute to the knowledge base of the Post Secondary Education Plus Initiative recently launched by the Gates Foundation. Each volume will examine an issue that affects youth ages 16-26 as they try to improve their life circumstances, as well as those of their children. The topics proposed are Children in Fragile Families; Children and Youth in Immigrant Families; Work and Family Balance; and Post Secondary Education. The governing principle of all the volumes will be to identify research and policies that show promise in helping disadvantaged youth break the cycle of poverty and climb the income, employment and education ladders.

The Program in Law and Public Affairs (LAPA) welcomed its eighth class of Fellows this fall. The distinguished group was the most geographically diverse since LAPA's inception. The 2008-2009 Fellows include Christopher Beauchamp, named the Microsoft/LAPA Fellow, a historian of law, business and technology. He is working on a book about patent law and litigation during the "second industrial revolution" of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; Mark Brandon, a Professor of Law and Political Science at Vanderbilt University, where he is also Director of the Law School's Program in Constitutional Law

and Theory. He is presently studying the ways in which family might participate in creating, maintaining and changing a constitutional order; Malcolm M. Feeley, named the Martin and Kathleen Crane Fellow in recognition of his distinguished teaching career and contribution to the Princeton undergraduate curriculum, holds the Clare Sanders Clements Dean's Chair in Jurisprudence and Social Policy at UC Berkeley School of Law. He is currently exploring the importance of privatization in the development of prisons and the origins and antecedents of plea bargaining; Christina Murray is Professor of Human Rights and Constitutional Law at the University of Cape Town, where she is currently Head of the Department of Public Law and Deputy Dean of the Law Faculty. At Princeton she will be writing a book on the constitution-making processes from a comparative constitutional law perspective; Ingolf Pernice is a Professor and holds the Chair for Public Law, International and European Law at the Humboldt-Universität of Berlin. He is examining multilevel constitutionalism as a theoretical pattern for a global law system; Noah Zatz, a law professor at UCLA Law School, joined LAPA after a year as a visitor at University of Chicago Law School. He will be investigating how contemporary anti-poverty policy has rendered child-care invisible as a component of household need and as a form of valuable work and seeking to develop new approaches to means-testing and work requirements of welfare policy.

LAPA's year began with the fourth annual LAPA Faculty Retreat, where faculty and graduate students joined with the new fellows for a full day's discussion of new work by LAPA-associated faculty. LAPA also sponsored a full slate of activities in the initial months of the fall semester for fellows, faculty, students, and the larger Princeton community. The line-up included two events featuring authors of new books relating to law and national security, a multi-discipline array of scholarly LAPA Seminars, dinners for this year's LAPA Undergraduate Associates and the Law-Engaged Graduate Students, known as the LEGS Group, to meet the LAPA fellows, and culminated at mid-semester with a visit by Associate Supreme Court Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg. The Justice first discussed "The Lighter Side of the Supreme Court" and then engaged in a conversation with Provost Christopher Eisgruber as LAPA's John Marshal Harlan '20 Lecturer in Constitutional Adjudication, an event co-sponsored with the Walter Edge Lecture of the University Public Lecture Series. She also had tea with the LAPA undergraduates and brunch the next day with LAPA Fellows and members of the LAPA Executive Committee. LAPA also held its inaugural dinner for M.P.A./M.P.P. candidates in the second year of the series "Law in the Public Service: Not Just for Lawyers." Professor Richard Briffault of Columbia Law School and a former LAPA Fellow engaged students in an examination of the challenges of achieving effective campaign finance reform in a session entitled "Dollars and Democracy."

The [Policy Research Institute for the Region \(PRIOR\)](#) and the Department of Molecular Biology presented the second and third forums in a three-part series that focused on the health enterprise in New Jersey. On

September 12, Princeton University's Uwe Reinhardt, New Jersey State Senator Joe Vitale, Commissioner of the New Jersey Department of Health and Senior Services Heather Howard, and seven other policy experts participated in the forum titled "Access to Universal Health Care: New Jersey, The Nation, and The Globe." The forum explored universal health care, weighed proposals for New Jersey, and examined models from within the region and throughout the globe. The final forum in the series, "Summit For Children's Health Care in New Jersey," was held on October 17, and brought together scholars, practitioners and leaders in the medical and public policy field to examine the topics of prenatal care and infant mortality; the pediatric workforce; infrastructure; the medical home; and the S-CHIP program.

PRIOR released the publication "A View from the Top: A Conversation with Former Governors about *Abbott v. Burke*", an edited volume from the conference of the same name, at which Brendon Byrne, Jim Florio, and Donald DiFrancesco offered their unique perspectives on the landmark education decision and the challenges its implementation presents for New Jersey. The governors concurred that New Jersey has reached a juncture at which the terms established in *Abbott v. Burke* require renegotiation, and discussed Governor Corzine's recently introduced School Funding Reform Act, which was signed into law in January, 2008. PRIOR also published "Land and Power: The Impact of Eminent Domain in Urban Communities," the outcome of a conference co-sponsored by PRIOR and the Penn Institute for Urban Research, in which scholars, students, advocates, and experts in land use law, planning and development convened to analyze a broad span of issues surrounding eminent domain in the wake of the 2005 *Kelo v. City of New London* U.S. Supreme Court ruling. Copies of the publications may be obtained by contacting Georgette Harrison at gharriso@princeton.edu.

On November 7, PRIOR hosted a forum titled "Regional & National Financial Crises: Roots, Results & Responses." The first morning session focused on the anatomy of the mortgage crisis and the macro and micro level motivations and decisions that triggered the present phenomena. The afternoon session discussed the threats in the public finance arena as a result of sophisticated agreements, such as auctions, derivatives, and interest rate swaps entered into by state and local governments. Susan M. Wachter, Ph.D., Professor of Real Estate and Finance at the Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania, and former Assistant Secretary for Policy Development and Research at the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), delivered the morning keynote address; Alan Blinder, Ph.D., Professor of Economics and Public Affairs, Princeton University and former Vice-Chairman, Federal Reserve Board, delivered the luncheon address; and former Congressman and Chairman of the House Banking and Financial Services Committee, James Leach, concluded the forum with a discussion of financial regulations and the responsibility of the U.S. Congress. ■

IPFM Presents *Global Fissile Material Report 2008* in Vienna, New York

On October 1 the International Panel on Fissile Materials (IPFM) previewed its *2008 Global Fissile Material Report* and a companion volume entitled *Banning the Production of Fissile Materials for Nuclear Weapons: Country Perspectives on the Challenges to a Fissile Material (Cutoff) Treaty* at the 52nd General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna, Austria.

The speakers were Frank von Hippel, WWS Professor of Public and International Affairs and Co-chair of the IPFM; Professor R. Rajaraman, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi (Co-chair, IPFM); Arend Meerburg, former Ambassador of the Netherlands; Shirley Johnson, a former senior IAEA official; and Alexander Glaser of the Program on Science and Global Security, Princeton University. The presentation was hosted by Ambassador R. Lüdeking, the Permanent Representative of Germany to the International Organizations in Vienna and sponsored by the Permanent Mission of Germany.

On October 10 IPFM formally released the report and the companion volume at the United Nations. The report was presented to the U.N. General Assembly's First Committee, which is responsible for international peace and security. It was presented by IPFM members Professor von Hippel, Glaser, and Zia Mian from Princeton's Program on Science and Global Security, and Jean duPreez, Director of the International Organizations and Nonproliferation Program at the James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies, Monterey Institute of International Studies.

The report provides an annual review of worldwide stocks, production, and disposition of highly enriched uranium (HEU) and plutonium, the key ingredients in nuclear weapons, and assesses global efforts to secure and eliminate these materials. The control of these materials is crucial to nuclear disarmament, to halting the proliferation of nuclear weapons, and to ensuring that terrorists do not acquire nuclear weapons.

The special focus of the report is the challenge of achieving a verifiable Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty, a long sought after global ban on the production of fissile materials for nuclear weapons. A treaty banning the production of fissile materials for nuclear weapons is an



essential requirement for constraining nuclear arms races and, in the longer term, achieving nuclear disarmament. The production of these materials is the most difficult step in making nuclear weapons.

In 1993, the U.N. General Assembly called for the negotiation of a Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty. These negotiations have not yet begun. There have been major disputes among states over the scope of a possible treaty and whether it can be verified. In 2006, the Bush Administration proposed a draft treaty that marked a break with previous U.S. policy, by omitting any provisions for international verification.

In the report, the IPFM has proposed key elements for a verifiable treaty. In addition to a ban on all future production of fissile material for weapons, the report makes a case that the treaty should also address pre-existing stocks of fissile material held by nuclear weapons states. In particular, the proposed treaty would ban the use for weapons of fissile material that was once in weapons and has been declared as excess because of reductions in nuclear arsenals, materials that have been declared for use in

naval-propulsion or other military reactors, and all fissile materials that are in the civilian sector at the time a state joins the treaty.

The report also provides technical arguments for how a Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty could be verified by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). The report has chapters discussing verification at production facilities, namely uranium enrichment and plutonium separation (reprocessing) facilities; accounting of weapons materials declared excess for military use but still in classified form, and highly enriched uranium reserved for naval reactor fuel; inspections at military nuclear sites to ensure they are not concealing covert production facilities; and, the monitoring of shutdown facilities that formerly produced fissile materials for nuclear weapons. The panel concludes, contrary to current U.S. policy, that the treaty could be effectively verified at reasonable cost.

The report's companion volume, *Banning the Production of Fissile Materials for Nuclear Weapons: Country Perspectives on the Challenges to a Fissile Material (Cutoff) Treaty*, provides a country-by-country analysis of the concerns of key states to different aspects of a prospective Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty. The report covers 11

Institutions for Fragile States receives \$500K grant

countries: China, France, Germany, India, Israel, Japan, Pakistan, Russia, South Africa, United Kingdom and the United States, i.e., all the weapon states other than North Korea and three key non-weapon states. It proposes specific policy initiatives and compromises that states could make to break the logjam preventing negotiation on a treaty. It is available at www.ipfmlibrary.org/gfmr08cv.pdf.

Founded in January 2006, the IPFM is an independent group of arms-control and nonproliferation experts from both nuclear weapon and non-nuclear weapon states. Its mission is to analyze the technical basis for practical and achievable policy initiatives to secure, consolidate, and reduce stockpiles of highly enriched uranium and plutonium. It is based at the Woodrow Wilson School's Program on Science and Global Security (PS&GS), which provides administrative and research support for the IPFM. IPFM's initial support is provided by a 5-year grant to Princeton University from the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation of Chicago. ■

The Smith Richardson Foundation has granted \$500,000 over 18 months to Institutions for Fragile States, a research program supported by the Woodrow Wilson School of and the Bobst Center for Peace and Justice. The award facilitates conversations among senior reform leaders in low income countries about ways to elude the “governance traps” that often sabotage economic and political turnarounds. It also



Jennifer Widner, Director of Institutions for Fragile States

expands the program's efforts to develop operationally detailed information and analysis about organizational innovations, management practices, and strategies that can boost reformer success in fragile state settings.

Institutions for Fragile States (IFS) builds practical and scholarly knowledge about institution-building in post-conflict settings and fragile states. The program addresses some of the issues World Bank president Robert Zoellick has called “the toughest development challenge of our era.” In a September speech on the subject, Zoellick said, “This is not security as usual, or development as usual.” The agenda-setting statement highlighted the subject matter at the core of this Princeton project; as Zoellick noted, “Legitimacy in fragile situations is not just achieved through elections or agreements that share power among factions... legitimacy must be achieved through performance. It needs to be earned by delivering basic services, especially visible ones. Clean up the garbage.”

“This grant is a very welcome contribution to a lively program of research and policy analysis that focuses on the views of public servants in partner countries,” said Jennifer Widner, IFS director and a Professor of Politics and International Affairs at the Woodrow Wilson School. “In the past year, the program has carried out over 450 extended oral histories with reform leaders active in civil service reform, rebuilding police services, elections administration, and waste management in emergencies.” The oral histories fuel case studies and a series of short innovation profiles, strategy notes, issue

overviews, and “context-friendly ideas.”

The greatest opportunity to generate a turnaround in a fragile state is when a reformer comes to power or when an incumbent taps a small group of men and women to promote recovery. How these leaders use these “openings” or “reform moments” can alter the political landscape. Not all succeed, however. In some cases there is no improvement in governance and economic conditions,

even though a leader has tried to launch changes. In others, temporary improvement gives way to reversal. In a few instances, recovery is sustained. The variation suggests that there is room for learning. The question is whether it is possible to crystallize the lessons to help a new generation of reform leaders devise strategies for successful turnarounds.

IFS has involved over 175 experts, faculty members, Woodrow Wilson School students, and Princeton Ph.D. candidates since its inception.

The program will expand its case study series/oral history series to focus on several “governance traps” that often subvert political and economic improvements in fragile states. These attracted note in economist Paul Collier's best-seller, “The Bottom Billion,” which talks about the special kinds of challenges reform leaders face in many low income countries under stress. IFS will also launch a series of extended conversations with senior leaders about “the high politics of reform,” including constituency building, management of competitive processes in divided societies, ways to cabin or harness demands for patronage, and a variety of related issues. Under the terms of the Smith Richardson award, the program will also produce a short book that draws attention to the kinds of issues and solutions that are especially important.

IFS seeks to partner with others to deepen and accelerate the program's work. ■

John Bolton at WWS: U.N. Flawed, Needs Reform

By Alex Gennis '09

The United Nations is flawed and is in need of serious reform, said John Bolton in a public talk on a Monday afternoon in October. The former U.S. ambassador to the U.N. and a Senior Fellow at the American Enterprise Institute spoke before a capacity crowd in Dodds Auditorium, Robertson Hall at the Woodrow Wilson School.

Issues such as the death penalty, abortion and gun control should be debated within the domestic political system and the U.N. should not be used as an instrument to impose values on member states, Bolton said. He noted that some dissatisfied domestic interest groups have used the U.N. to circumvent the domestic political process in the U.S. and use the organization to advance their own agendas on these issues.

“What you discuss in international bodies seems to me to be something that you should not be able to use as an end run around domestic political processes, especially in democratic countries,” he said. Bolton warned that such “norming” is illegitimate and is likely to continue in the near future.

“As we face the prospect of an Obama presidency, we will see an increase in efforts to use the U.N. system for ‘norming,’ as we did in the Clinton administration,” he explained.

The inability of the U.N. to fix its structural problems, exemplified by the U.N. Oil-for-Food scandal and the lack of progress with reforming the Human Rights Council, is the second problem with the U.N. Bolton identified.

Despite the findings of “enormous fraud and mismanagement” in the Oil-for-Food program, the vast majority of U.N. member states voted against the introduction of independent auditors, he explained. Attempts to meaningfully reform the U.N. Human Rights Council were also unsuccessful due to opposition by Russia and China, and the lack of determination on the part of European states.

The U.N.’s failure to reform flawed institutions and programs will impede its ability to effectively solve global problems, he asserted.

A switch from a system of mandatory financial contributions to a system of voluntary contributions, where each member state only pays for the programs it wants to support, is necessary to make significant progress in reforming the U.N., Bolton said. He cited UNICEF and the World Food Programme as two examples of voluntarily funded programs that have been highly successful.

“My ‘radical’ reform for the U.N. is that we should pay for what we want and insist that we get what we pay for,” he said. “There is sound empirical evidence that voluntary

contributions lead to more efficient U.N. programs.”

Bolton criticized the failure of the U.N. Security Council to act in Darfur, where large-scale human rights violations and atrocities have taken place, and said that clashes between the national interests of member states have impeded U.N. peacekeeping efforts.

“If the U.N. can’t address something like Darfur, you have to ask yourself, what exactly do you expect out of [the U.N.]?” he asked.

Bolton cited the lack of U.N. progress on North Korea and Iran as examples of the organization’s ineffectiveness in combating the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.

“The whole Security Council effort on non-proliferation can be summed up as, ‘something that did not happen,’” he noted at the conclusion of his formal remarks. “That, ladies and gentleman, is your U.N. at work.”

During the question-and-answer period, Bolton expressed skepticism about the possibility of reforming the Security Council. Any expansion of the Security Council is a “prescription for gridlock,” he said.

“Having watched for twenty years the inability of Japan to get on the Security Council, my guess is that there will not be reform in the Security Council,” he added.

Bolton defended the foreign policy of the Bush administration and the decision of the U.S. to overthrow Saddam Hussein in Iraq on the basis of international law.

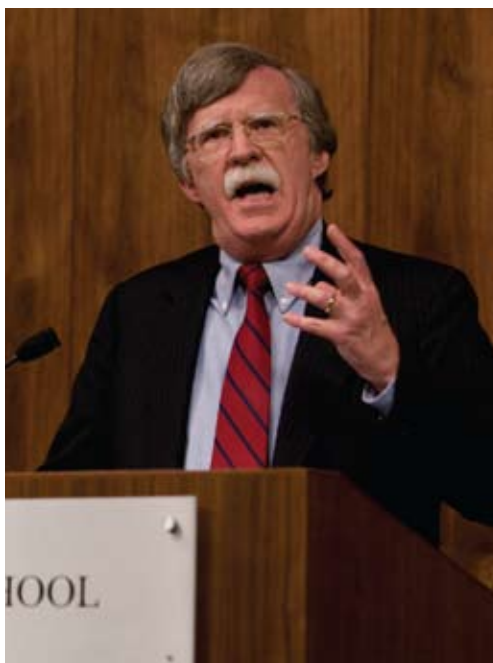
“The U.S. had more U.N. legitimacy for the overthrow of Saddam Hussein than for the bombing of Serbia,” he asserted, referring to Security Council resolutions demanding Iraq comply with its disarmament obligations.

In response to a question about the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Bolton said that the document is another example of “norming” and that it “has become an instrument in the hands of those trying to constrain the United States.”

Bolton concluded that the U.N. is severely troubled and that much of its problems stem from the inability of member states to reconcile their individual national interests. He also said that much of the criticism directed at the U.S. is misguided.

“When people go to the Security Council, they don’t suddenly become platonic guardians; all 192 countries that are members of the U.N. advance their own national interests. And when there is gridlock [in the U.N.], it is in part because that’s what those countries are doing—advancing their own interests,” he said. “Actually, there is only one country that ever gets criticized for advancing its national interests at the U.N., and that’s the United States.”

The talk was co-sponsored by WWS and the James Madison Program in American Ideals and Institutions.



Sameer Khan



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World Bank's Buvinic Addresses Gender, Economic Equity

by Sarah Vitali '11

Mayra Buvinic, the World Bank's senior spokesperson on gender and development issues, discussed the often-overlooked connection between the empowerment of women and the growth of the economic sector in a public lecture given on October 15 at the Woodrow Wilson School.

The dramatic shift in the former characterization of gender equity as a justice issue to its current portrayal as an economic one has made it a much more pragmatic cause to champion, according to Buvinic.

"Since [the 1995 World Bank Beijing Conference], the gender inequality issue has been very much framed in terms of human rights," Buvinic said. "The issue of rights is, of course, very important, but this is also an economic issue."

By framing the issue of gender equality in terms of the creation of a more effective business structure, Buvinic noted that people in the private sector are more likely to respond with the donations that are crucial to implement programs to promote equity.

"It's sort of so basic and so common sense that this would sell better," she said. "Gender equality is not only the right thing to do, but the smart thing to do economically."

According to Buvinic, there are three major changes which must occur in order for gender equality advancements to positively benefit the economy: women must have better access to markets; better education and health; and more control over decision-making in households.

"There is repeated and very solid evidence that women prefer to invest even meager earnings in child well-being," Buvinic said. "This leads not only to current poverty reduction and economic growth, but to future poverty reduction and

economic growth."

In order to create a better educational environment, Buvinic points to cash-transfer programs such as those in Mexico, in which families are offered money in return for sending their children to school and health centers.

"One of the biggest tools in the field of gender and one that has not been used is the tool of incentives," Buvinic said, adding that, "One of the things that we're finding out about these programs is that girls benefit more than boys, and that the program is more effective when it is the mother who is the recipient of the money."

Buvinic asserted that there are, however, distinct benefits for both boys and girls that emerge from the desire to improve conditions for women in the world. She outlined three different types of World Bank initiatives for women: interventions that target women; interventions that "mainstream" women; and interventions that are gender-neutral "but ultimately benefit women." Improvements in the accessibility of clean water, healthcare, and education are examples of gender-neutral intervention.

"There may have not been earmarks just for girls, but the education sector in general has attracted donors," Buvinic said. "Parity matters, but the levels also matter a lot. You can have parity with very low levels of schooling, and that's not really an improvement."

Buvinic cautioned, however, that although the woman's role in the family often results in positive developments for the group as a whole, it just as frequently proves to be a repressive force in the lives of mothers and wives.

"Institutions perpetuate inequalities," Buvinic said, "and perhaps one of the most important institutions that perpetuate inequality is the family."

The key to success in achieving gender parity, Buvinic contended, is making sure that the support that girls receive during their school years is appropriately transitioned to the working world, as an alternative or an addition to a traditional family life. This transition period, she claimed, is sorely lacking.

"What you have is rapid progress in terms of women's capabilities and schoolings, but really very slow advancement in opportunities," she said. "You're getting girls that are getting higher and higher levels of schooling, but then they are disappearing and they are not succeeding in the workforce."

By attempting to achieve gender equality in the workplace with one sweeping, abstract set of policies, Buvinic argues, businesses miss the point and often prove ineffectual.

"[These businesses] decided that they had to do this throughout the organization unilaterally, but this is an impossible task," Buvinic said. "They forgot about starting to do things on the ground that would cause results."

This is why, according to Buvinic, changes must begin with tangible differences made in women's lives.

"I am a firm believer that what you first have to do is change the behavior of people, and if the behavior changes, the culture can change. Women's economic equality is going to be the trigger for changes in culture afterwards," she said. ■

Nannerl Keohane on Leadership and Political Philosophy

Photos by Jon Roemer



With the view from her fourth-floor office in Robertson

Hall overlooking Washington Road serving as a picturesque backdrop, an afternoon conversation with Nannerl Keohane made evident that she has taken an active role in the intellectual life of the Woodrow Wilson School since her move to Princeton from Duke in 2004.

Keohane is the School's Laurance S. Rockefeller Distinguished Visiting Professor of Public Affairs and the University Center for Human Values, and in her decades-long academic career she has written and taught widely in political philosophy, leadership and feminist theory. She has served in top positions in higher education; as president of Wellesley College from 1981–1993 and Duke University from 1993–2004. Keohane is the author of "Philosophy and the State in France," and co-edited "Feminist Theory: a Critique of Ideology." Most recently, she published "Higher Ground: Ethics and Leadership in the Modern University."

Keohane was also vice president of the American Political Science Association, and served on the editorial boards of *The American Political Science Review*, *Ethics*, *Political Theory*, and *Signs*. Keohane recently discussed with the School's Office of External Affairs a new book she is currently writing, fittingly, on leadership.

Tentatively titled "Leading Questions," Keohane pointed out that the book was originally intended for current and prospective leaders. As her research progressed, however, the focus expanded to include political philosophers. "I'm trained as a political

Philosophy

philosopher and I'm finding that particularly rewarding," she said. "I'm trying to balance two goals in writing a book that will be helpful for leaders and would-be leaders, but also go deeply enough into political philosophy to intrigue my colleagues who may not think this topic has anything to do with what they're writing about.

"Political philosophers are trained to think about topics such as rights and liberty and justice," Keohane noted. "But most of them don't know first-hand what it's like to have power because very few political philosophers—as is true of most academics—have ever held office or had significant authority. My purpose is to reflect on leadership as a political philosopher, the way Machiavelli did, but very few other people have done."

While some have held the dual roles of political philosopher and leader, such as Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, none have written about what leadership looks like from within. "The few of us who are political theorists who have experienced power," Keohane said, "should write about it, so that people can see what it is like on the inside. Most of the examples [in the book] are people from the world of politics, particularly American presidents, and some from corporate life. Only a few of them are from academia." Abraham Lincoln, Lyndon Johnson, Mahatma Gandhi, Ronald Reagan, Nelson Mandela, and Franklin Delano Roosevelt are among those Keohane has researched, though, she explained, there will undoubtedly be more examples to explore.

Bringing some of her research into the classroom during the spring 2008 semester, Keohane taught WWS 528e: *Leadership*, a graduate seminar that drew from classical political theory (including Plato,

Machiavelli, and Max Weber), current leadership literature, and case studies of decision-making.

"Professor Keohane facilitated a learning environment in which students were given the opportunity to talk through their ideas and learn along with her—as she put it—instead of sitting through lectures in which they were exposed to only the professor's arguments," said Meghan Nutting MPA '08. "Her personal experiences with leadership also contributed greatly to the class, as she provided a superb example of what exactly it was that we were studying."

"I was drawn to Dr. Keohane's leadership course because of her credentials as both a leader and as a scholar," added Thomas Minton MPP '08, who has worked for 18 years in the federal government. "Her enthusiasm for the subject is contagious, and I am the better for having been a part of this seminar. She has instilled in me a real desire to continue my study of leadership theory and to put what I have learned into practice, as I strive to become an ever more effective leader."

One of the chapters in Keohane's forthcoming book deals with how and why followers matter in leadership, including delving into the role followers play; what the nature of their expectations may be, as well as the opportunities and limitations this group presents to leaders. "You can't, according to many theories of leadership, lead people in a direction that they really don't want to go, unless you are a coercive, authoritarian tyrant," she said. "Therefore you have to be responsive to what people want. You can try to shape it, but you can't ignore it."

Keohane further explained: "Others would go so far as to say that leaders are purely epiphenomenal; they're just bobbing along on the tide

of what other people want, and we project these attributes on to them because we think of them as 'big folks.' In fact, they are really just acting in response to what their followers are trying to make happen." But her own experience running major organizations leads her to be quite



Professor Nan Keohane's graduate seminar, WWS 528e: *Leadership*, drew from classical political theory (including Plato, Machiavelli, and Max Weber), current leadership literature, and case studies of decision-making.

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Policy Workshop: Achieving the Goals of Newark's Children's Bill of Rights

The findings and recommendations of the Woodrow Wilson School's graduate policy workshop *Disadvantaged Young Children in Newark*, are available in the workshop final report "Achieving the Goals of the Newark Children's Bill of Rights." The report, co-authored by MPA '08 students Ronald Chatters III, Vincent Chin, Brett Hembree, Jessica Hembree, Maia Jachimowicz, Eric Mikanda, Jacob S. Rugh, and Sarah Sable, was prepared for Newark, N.J. Mayor Cory Booker and Director of the Department of Child and Family Wellbeing Maria Vizcarrondo.

Achieving the Goals of the Newark Children's Bill of Rights provides recommendations on how the City of Newark can best fulfill its Children's Bill of Rights (CBR), which calls for good homes, education, nutrition, healthcare, neighborhoods, and recreation for the city's youngest and most disadvantaged children.

The workshop was offered in conjunction with the Woodrow Wilson School's Center for Research on Child Wellbeing (CRCW) and its two main projects: the Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing Study and *The Future of Children* journal. The Fragile Families study aims to address questions of interest to researchers and policymakers on the welfare of children born into unmarried families by following a cohort of nearly 5,000 children since birth. *The Future of Children* is a joint project between WWS and the Brookings Institution that seeks to promote effective policies and programs for children by providing policymakers, service providers, and the media with timely, objective information

based on the best available research.

Under the guidance of Sara S. McLanahan, the William S. Tod Professor of Sociology and Public Affairs and Director of the Bendheim-Thoman Center for Research on Child Wellbeing at the School; Elisabeth Donahue, Lecturer of Public and International Affairs; and Associate Research Scholar Michelle O. DeKlyen, participants aimed to



Members of the policy workshop "Disadvantaged Young Children in Newark" presented their findings to Newark Mayor Cory Booker. From left to right: Brett Hembree, Mayor Booker, Maia Jachimowicz, Sarah Sable, Jacob Rugh, Jessica Hembree, and Vincent Chin.

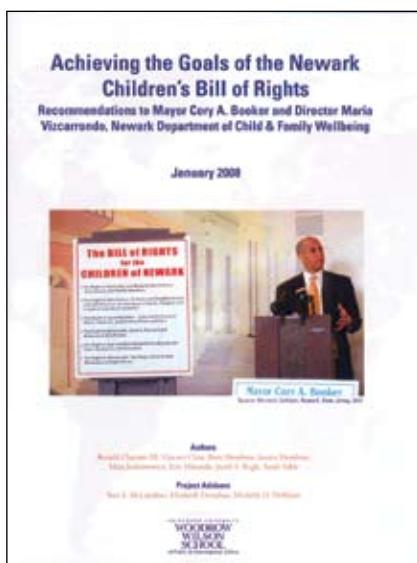
assess the needs of Newark's children between 0 to 5 years of age, and offer useful recommendations to the city of Newark "as it confronts the growing challenges of improving social outcomes for disadvantaged children in the community," the authors write.

Students met with practitioners in the field to assess Newark's greatest needs and research key areas of concern, namely, maternal mental health; fatherhood and parenting; child exposure to violence; family income security; lead poisoning in children; early childhood care and education and Newark's recently-initiated Family Success Center (FSC) initiatives. FSCs are designed to provide Newark residents with core services to strengthen families and communities.

Discussions were held with a number of experts and stakeholders, including representatives from government agencies, non-profit organizations, academics and advocacy groups across New Jersey, and in several benchmark states, including California, Maryland, and Pennsylvania.

Among the recommendations, students highlighted the need to reduce depression among mothers with young children through education, treatment or referral; to improve the impact of residential and non-residential fathers on child well-being through fatherhood programs; reduce the impact of violence on children by launching a child development community policing program; and identified the need to establish a lead poisoning program and empower homeowners to abate lead hazards in a cost-effective manner.

The report also reveals findings and outlines recommendations for FSCs. The authors note, "The intentions of New Jersey's Family



Leadership and Political Philosophy

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Success Initiative are well meaning, but the long-term sustainability of Newark's FSCs remains threatened at this early stage. The state's comprehensive set of goals establishes an unrealistic expectation about what a center could accomplish with limited staff, resources, and community capacity. The requirement that all centers must provide 10 core services could make it difficult for the FSC's to succeed."

Graduate policy workshops are a part of the core curriculum of the WWS graduate program. Each fall, six to eight graduate policy workshops are designed to investigate a policy issue for a real-world client, or to provide information and analysis to organizations or individuals with expertise in the topic. Each workshop consists of approximately eight to 10 second-year M.P.A., M.P.P., and Ph.D. students who evaluate the given policy problem and develop a final report for and presentation to the client or issue experts. ■

skeptical about the view that leaders are primarily shaped by their followers. "It certainly didn't feel that way to me," Keohane said. "I really felt as the president of a university that I had a good deal of scope in what I was doing. Still, there is no doubt that the contributions of followers are important to the success of any project."

She asserted that leaders must be careful to watch out for flatterers and make sure that some people will tell them the truth. "It's very tempting for leaders to surround themselves with people who tell them what they want to hear," Keohane observed. "That is a kind of corruption that makes you less admirable as an individual, and also makes you a less effective leader. You get used to being around people who are full of praise for you—you have to be very wary of that. On the other hand, you have to have a lot of self-confidence or you can't function well as a leader. Thus, the balance lies between self-confidence and your awareness of the way in which power can affect you."

Keohane noted that leaders are also exposed to significant temptations. "For some people the temptation may be greed, or it may be dishonesty, or it may be manipulation. And I think the way in which power affects you will, to a large degree, depend on your character." But, she contended, "The kinds of temptations to which powerful people are subject haven't changed that much since the time of the ancient Greeks and Egyptians."

Keohane is also examining leadership in the context of small groups, and in democracy generally. "Some people hold that leadership is somehow alien to, or at odds with, a pure democracy," she said. "In a very small democracy—not a huge one like our country, but something like a New England town or commune—some people would say that if it's working properly, there is nothing we would recognize as leadership there. According to this view, leadership is something that happens only in large groups or in flawed situations, and I just don't think that is true. I think that in any group of human individuals larger than a family or a couple of intimate friends, there will

have to be leadership if any common goals are to be pursued."

Without leadership, Keohane argued, even the smallest collective project can't happen. "Even if, for example, everybody wants to build a bridge over a creek in a little town in New England, you're not going to be able to do it unless someone steps forward and says, 'OK, let's think about where to put the bridge, let's ask somebody to design it, let's figure out where to get the materials and decide who will work on the project on which days.' That person might be a member of the town council, or could be a volunteer. Either way, that's leadership, yet we generally think of the word as denoting a much huger thing."

Stanley Katz, professor of public and international affairs and director of the School's Center for Arts and Cultural Policy Studies, who has read chapter drafts of Keohane's new book, commented, "Nan has written an unusually compelling book that uses political philosophy to understand the concept and function of leadership. Too often we are told either that leaders are born, or that they must model themselves on others. She teases apart the idea of leadership in a way that should actually help us understand what leaders should do, and why. This is a wonderful example of how humanistic scholarship can make a difference in the 'real' world."

One of the major points Keohane wants to emphasize in the book is that "in any human community some individuals set goals and mobilize people to follow, and that's how things get done," she asserts. "Otherwise human societies wouldn't get anything accomplished together. The issue is to figure out how you can have leadership in a democracy without having some people become permanently more respected because of having been leaders, gain lasting perks and higher status. This perpetuation of inequality is what we should be trying to avoid, rather than thinking we can do without leaders. There are a number of clues about how to tackle that problem in political philosophy, and pulling those together is one of the major purposes of the book." ■

New PRIOR study: “Brain Gain” to New Jersey of highly educated workers

A new study on migration patterns released in November by the Woodrow Wilson School’s Policy Research Institute for the Region (PRIOR) reveals that New Jersey’s net loss of residents to other states is not a symptom of weak economic conditions, and also that the state is experiencing a “brain gain” of highly educated residents to New Jersey.

The study, “Trends in New Jersey Migration: Housing, Employment and Taxation,” by Cristobal Young and Charles Varner, graduate students in the University’s Department of Sociology, and WWS Professor of Sociology and Public Affairs Douglas Massey, provides a detailed analysis of recent migration into and out of New Jersey. The study is based on three main data sets: the U.S. Census Bureau’s population program; the Census Bureau’s American Community Survey; and New Jersey Division of Taxation individual income tax data that provide a comprehensive view of migration patterns.

The report indicates that New Jersey has experienced net domestic “out-migration” since at least 1991 and the trends in New Jersey closely parallel trends in the northeastern United States. New Jersey’s out-migration is currently happening in the high-density areas of the northern part of the state and is partially offset by net “in-migration” in the less expensive and less populated parts of the state.

Highlights of the study include:

- Among working people, net out-migration is essentially zero (1.8 per 100 out-migrants). Net outflows consist of people who are either unemployed or out of the labor force. These net outflows help to raise the employment-to-population ratio in New Jersey, and suggest that residents are staying in New Jersey in their “high earning” years.
- New Jersey is showing a “brain gain” effect rather than a “brain drain” effect. Among residents with at least a college degree, there is a modest net migration gain, especially among those with Ph.D. degrees.
- Net domestic out-migration is primarily occurring at the bottom end of the income distribution (particularly in the bottom 20%) by persons with less than a college degree. The cost of living and housing is the main factor leading to new out-migration. However, with persons above New Jersey’s median income, there is a net gain.



- Overall it appears that New Jersey’s state income tax policy does not contribute to out-migration. Most residents who leave New Jersey move to states that impose higher state income taxes because, 1) New Jersey’s income tax rates for lower-income individuals (1.4% to 1.75%) are below that of most other states and 2) most out-migrants have lower incomes.
- In spite of net out-migration, the number of half-millionaires in New Jersey has increased sharply in recent years, from 26,000 in 2002 to 44,000 in 2006 (a 70% increase).
- There was a net out-migration of half-millionaire households after the new tax rate went into effect,

but the effect is small. At most, New Jersey loses 67 half-millionaire households per year to other states; and up to 287 half-millionaires may choose not to move to New Jersey—or a total of 350 per year, which translates into approximately \$38 million per year in state income tax revenues.

- Out-migration is largely a consequence of regional inflation in the cost of living and housing—a by-product of prosperity that is reflected in New Jersey’s strong economy and high per capita income.
- The modest net outflow of labor supply has been beneficial for workers and job-seekers in New Jersey, as it either creates new job vacancies or reduces the number of unemployed. In fact, the data shows that unemployment is, in part, being exported to other states.
- Understanding the fiscal impact of net out-migration requires a full cost-benefit study. For example, adding one million people would greatly strain government services and amenities, while also presumably bringing in additional tax revenues. In a very densely populated state like New Jersey, population growth may be more costly and difficult to manage than out-migration.

“The findings of the study suggest that New Jersey’s net domestic out-migration is not a symptom of economic decline,” said Richard Keevey, director of PRIOR. “Rather, it is largely a consequence of regional inflation that makes New Jersey difficult to afford for lower-income residents. Out-migration is a by-product of prosperity and not decline. Further, migration out of the state is almost entirely due to low-income individuals moving to areas with lower living costs. The most important step to reducing out-migration would be to improve the affordability of housing in the state, particularly for low-income residents.” ■■■

CALENDAR

Monday, December 15, 2008–Friday, February 13, 2009

Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs

Bernstein Gallery, Lower Level Robertson Hall

Imagined Landscapes

"Imagined Landscapes" are images that were inspired by several trips to China by photographer Ernestine Ruben over the past two years. Invited to lecture, attend workshops, and exhibit her work, the artist took time during her visits to travel the countryside with a young university student who acted as her assistant and translator. The outcome of these travels was a focus on the environmental degradation of China's landscape. The impact of pollution became a rich source for visual inquiry and art making for the artist. Ruben writes, "I decided I would intervene as an artist. Where there was pollution, I would inject clean air. Where there was decomposition, I would repair and further deconstruct." By combining photography with painting, drawing and digital imaging, Ruben has composed mysterious, brooding landscapes of China's countryside and rural villages. The show opens December 15, 2008 and runs through February 13, 2009. A reception with the photographer will be held at the Bernstein Gallery on Friday, December 19, from 6:00–8:00 p.m. For more information, visit www.princeton.edu/bernstein/.

Wednesday, February 4, 2009

Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, Program on Science and Global Security

Bowl 016, Robertson Hall, 4:30 p.m.

Arms Control Challenges for the Incoming Administration

Christopher Chyba, Professor of Astrophysical Sciences and International Affairs at the Woodrow Wilson School and Director of the Program on Science & Global Security, will present a talk titled "Arms Control Challenges for the Incoming Administration." For more information visit www.princeton.edu.

Monday, February 16–Friday, March 27, 2009

Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs

Bernstein Gallery, Lower Level Robertson Hall

Bought and Sold: Faces of Modern Day Slavery

Human trafficking is a global criminal enterprise affecting hundreds of thousands of men, women and children. It exists in every country and in many guises, fueled by extreme poverty, cultural norms that devalue and commodify women and children in particular, and also by a seemingly insatiable demand for exploitative sex and cheap labor. Photographer Kay Chernush attempts to put a human face on the statistics and headlines, to tell the stories of modern-day enslavement and the journey towards freedom. The show opens February 16 and runs through March 27. A related panel discussion will be held on February 24, 2009. For more information, visit www.princeton.edu/bernstein/.

Thursday, February 19, 2009

Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs

Bowl 016, Robertson Hall, 4:30 p.m.

Dangerous and Getting More Dangerous: The Delicate Situation Between the U.S. and Iran

Retired Air Force Colonel Sam Gardiner will present a talk about his report "Dangerous and Getting More Dangerous: The Delicate Situation Between the U.S. and Iran." Gardiner is an expert in military strategy and an expert on strategic games. He taught strategy and military operations at the National War College, Air War College, and Naval War College. For more information visit www.princeton.edu.

Monday, March 9–Wednesday, March 11, 2009

Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University Press

March 9-10, Dodds Auditorium, Robertson Hall, 4:30 p.m.

March 11, Bowl 016, Robertson Hall, 4:30 p.m.

The Richard Ullman Lecture Series

David Mayhew, the Sterling Professor of Political Science at Yale University, will present a set of three talks as part of the School's Richard Ullman series. The Ullman lecture series is named in honor of the Woodrow Wilson School's Professor of Politics and International Affairs Emeritus, Richard Ullman. The series is designed to feature outstanding scholars of international affairs addressing topics of pressing concerns to the world community. Speakers will share their insights from the literature on international relations to problems faced by policymakers in dealing with a range of issues; including problems of national security, globalization, the international economy, human rights and the challenges posed by changes to our natural environment.

Friday–Saturday, April 17–18

Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs

Dodds Auditorium, Robertson Hall

The Princeton Colloquium on Public and International Affairs—Globalization 3.0: Promise or Peril

This two-day conference will include panels on how the next phase of globalization can affect health, international finance and trade, climate change, and immigration. More information will be available at www.princeton.edu/~pcpia/.

More events may be found by visiting the Woodrow Wilson School website at www.princeton.edu.

Kahn and colleagues launch new website, “One Health Initiative”

Laura Kahn MD, MPP '02, a research scholar at the School's Program on Science and Global Security, has helped launched the new website, “One Health Initiative.” Initiated with colleagues Bruce Kaplan, and Tom Monath, a physician and director of the Biodefense Fund at Kleiner, Perkins, Caufield & Byers, the website serves as a repository for information relating to the One Health Initiative, a global effort to increase communication and collaboration between physicians, veterinarians, public health experts, and research scientists, to combat major health threats.

“Multi-disciplinary efforts will be critical in improving our ability to understand and address the global health threats of the 21st century,” said Kahn. “Once implemented, One Health can significantly help protect and/or save untold millions of lives.”

The website, www.onehealthinitiative.com, offers researchers and analysts access to information about the latest news, information, and events surrounding the One Health Initiative. It encourages joint educational efforts between human medical, veterinary medical schools, and schools of public health; joint communication efforts in journals, at conferences, and via allied health networks; increased efforts in the development and evaluation of new diagnostic methods, medicines and vaccines for the prevention and control of diseases across species and; joint efforts to inform and educate political leaders and the public sector through accurate media publications.

Kahn's research interests include public health policy, emerging infectious diseases and emergency preparedness. She has written on such topics as how to estimate casualties, integrating human and animal public health, linking human and veterinarian medicine, and strategies to enhance research. ■



PRINCETON UNIVERSITY
**WOODROW
WILSON
SCHOOL**
of Public & International Affairs

Robertson Hall
Princeton, New Jersey 08544-1013