

WWS NEWS

WOODROW WILSON SCHOOL
OF PUBLIC AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

VOL 31, ISSUE 2
SPRING 2008



**Understanding Haiti:
WWS Graduate Students Examine
UN Peacekeeping Operations**

**King Abdullah II of Jordan:
"Time is Running Out" for Mideast Peace**

WWS Washington Series: "The Dilemma of Darfur"

2008 Scholars in the Nation's Service Announced

MESSAGE FROM THE DEAN

I write this as the spring semester is winding down, as WWS seniors mark the completion of their theses with a celebratory splash en masse in the Freedom Fountain behind Robertson Hall, and as our School master's candidates prepare, in stomach-churning earnest, for their finals and qualifying exams.

This is my last message for *WWS News* as Acting Dean of the School, and as such I'd like to thank of all of my colleagues on the faculty, our students, and staff members for all of their help and support this academic year. It has truly been an enjoyable and fulfilling time for me.

As you'll see in the following pages, the School continues to be a hive of activity in terms of the teaching and research conducted by our faculty and centers, of high-level visits to campus, and in the graduate and undergraduate curricula. For example, we are in the process of admitting the first cohort of students into our successfully expanded M.P.P. program, and so we will have our first candidates for the M.P.P. for Physicians; M.P.P. for Lawyers; and M.P.P. for Ph.D. Scientists.

Likewise, as you'll read on page 16, we also have launched an undergraduate certificate in Global Health and Health Policy, a program open to all Princeton undergraduates, which will encourage students to explore some of the most serious domestic and international health issues of our time.

Importantly, we've hired eight new faculty members, all at the assistant or associate professor levels, in the fields of politics, history, economics, psychology, and sociology. Not only does this demonstrate the interdisciplinary quality of the School, but also, I believe, our commitment to bringing in the best new scholar-teachers and nurturing them in the rising arc of their careers.

And I wanted to share with you a special weekend we co-hosted in April with the Stennis Center for Public Service. WWS collaborated with the Stennis Congressional Fellows Program, a bipartisan leadership development initiative that each year brings together roughly two dozen chiefs of staff, legislative directors, staff directors, etc. from both sides of the aisle to study key issues facing Congress and the public.

April 4-5 we hosted this year's Stennis Fellows retreat, the theme of which was "Strengthening Public Trust and Confidence in Congress." Over two days, Fellows participated in roundtable discussions, meeting in breakout groups and grappling with issues of partisanship and public perceptions of Capitol Hill (Friday's roundtable included School political scientist Larry Bartels, who offered his analysis).

What was most rewarding for us, however, was that the Stennis program's staff—and the Stennis Fellows themselves—were eager to hear and learn from Woodrow Wilson School students. Sixteen WWS graduate and undergraduate students took part in a special dinner on April 4, where they debated and analyzed the issue of public trust in Congress, and worked

together with senior Congressional staff in breakout groups. And at the end of the evening each student representing their group presented their findings or observations as to how to improve public trust in our government's legislative branch.

The session with the group was not only "an opportunity to meet senior staff, but also to interact with them by sharing ideas about ways to improve public trust in Congress,"

Jillian Curtis M.P.A. '09 told us. And Tom Niblock M.P.A. '09, also in attendance, said "It's not every day that I have senior staff from Capitol Hill ask me how to improve the public's trust in Congress. Our discussion on strategies for improving Congress was a very rewarding experience."

In sum, just another weekend at the Woodrow Wilson School.

With sadness, I must also mention that the University recently mourned the passing of Robert F. Goheen, the University's 16th president, who died of heart failure on March 31. A brief tribute may be found on the back cover of this issue, with a link to more information on the University website. In addition, we were recently informed of the passing of Lacey Gallagher MPA '88 in February, after a three-year battle with ovarian cancer.

Finally, as Anne-Marie Slaughter returns to us on July 1 after a year-long sabbatical in Shanghai, I will be taking a sabbatical beginning on that date, also, to focus on my latest research on the effects of partisan polarization on social policy making in the American states. Professor of Economics and Public Affairs Mark Watson will be Acting Associate Dean in my absence.

Thank you for your support and for your continued interest in the School. We hope to see you on campus soon.



Nolan McCarty
Acting Dean, Woodrow Wilson School
wwsdean@princeton.edu



Jon Boemer

WWSN News

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



IN THIS ISSUE

Dean's Message

2 King Abdullah II of Jordan: "Time is Running Out" for Mideast Peace

5 Undergraduate Honors
Vander Ploeg '08 Recipient of University's Top Undergraduate Honor

6 Faculty Notes

8 Washington Seminar Series
WWS and The Economist Co-host D.C. Panel, "The Dilemma of Darfur"

10 Understanding Haiti: WWS Graduate Students Examine UN Peacekeeping Operations

14 Undergraduate Scholars
Students Chosen for 2008 "Scholars in the Nation's Service" Initiative

16 Center Spotlight
The Center for Health and Wellbeing; New Global Health and Health Policy Certificate Launched; Kristina Graff MPA '05 Returns to WWS as Associate Director of CHW

18 Center Notes

19 Center News
LISD Convenes Conference on the Future of Afghanistan

20 Beyond Financial Sustainability: Measuring the Social Impact of Microfinance Organizations

25 Faculty Research
Weighing in on Computer Privacy and E-voting: A Q-&-A with Edward Felten

28 Public Affairs Programming
The Race Beat: Covering the Civil Rights Struggle at Any Cost; A Real Look at the Diversity of Evangelicals; Democratic and Republican Parties See Great Change in 2008

33 Calendar

34 Robert F. Goheen, 16th President of Princeton, Dies at Age 88



Volume 31, Issue 2
Spring 2008

production manager
Karyn M. Olsen

staff writers
Steven Barnes
Rebecca Anderson
Patricia Yelavich

contributing writers
Tanya (Toni) DeMello MPA '08
Beth English
Kristina Graff MPA '05
Molly Jamieson '08
Nealin Parker MPA '08
Phyllis Spiegel
Ruth Stevens
Carol Wang '07
Taya Weiss MPA '08

photos
Denise Applewhite
Sameer Khan
Larry Levanti
Jon Roemer

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 emailed to:

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

Front cover provided by
Tanya (Toni) DeMello MPA '08

King Abdullah II of Jordan:

“Time is Running Out” For Mideast Peace

by Taya Weiss MPA '08

On February 29, addressing approximately 800 students, faculty, and others in Princeton's Richardson Auditorium, King Abdullah II of Jordan urged the United States to make Middle East peace a priority in 2008. The king's speech and his visit to campus was sponsored by the Woodrow Wilson School as part of his visit to the U.S. to meet with United Nations Secretary General Ban-Ki Moon in New York, and President George W. Bush in Washington D.C.

Abdullah's plea for greater U.S. involvement in the peace process was imbued with the importance of making significant progress this year, before President Bush's term of office expires. He uttered the phrase “time is running out” three times, saying, “2008 is a critical year,” and that “it is difficult to exaggerate how great the stakes are, for Americans, for Arabs, for Israelis, and, indeed, for the whole world.”

The king began his talk by emphasizing the number of states that do not recognize Israel: “Fifty-seven countries are not at peace with Israel today. Fifty-seven countries out of 193 countries in the world. Fifty-seven countries with a total population greater than

Europe and the United States combined. Fifty-seven countries, representing one third of the members of the United Nations. Fifty-seven countries for whose citizens the conflict in Palestine is the issue of their time. We must, therefore, ask the important question. What are the implications for global stability if this continues?”

This opening evoked the potential benefits to Israel of reaching a peace agreement with Palestinian leadership. The king, introduced by Princeton President Shirley Tilghman as “a voice of moderation in a region of the world where extremists often claim the headlines,” said he disagreed with “those [in Israel] who do not want peace with Palestinians and who reject a two-state solution,” emphasizing that “Israel's security cannot depend indefinitely on occupation, walls, and the Israeli military. Real security for Israel will occur when it is a neighbor among neighbors, an economy among economies, a people among people working together towards the achievement of common goals and bright futures.”

Abdullah stressed the importance of this election year, presenting a picture of progress perhaps contrary to what many Americans believe can be accomplished by a president serving his last year in the White House. However, with no re-election worries and a renewed commitment to Middle East peace very late in his presidency, it is possible that President Bush could at least lay a strong foundation for his successor.

continued on page 4



King Abdullah of Jordan

continued from page 2

Asked “why now?” by a student in the audience during a Q&A session after his speech, the king responded that there is hopeful moderation in the region’s leadership now, and that it could take “at least two to three years before another administration can get involved.”

The king referenced other conflicts in the region, as he compared radicalism among Palestinians to “Iraq’s armed sectarian division,” as well as “the attacks on Lebanese sovereignty,” and “power-projection by state and non-state actors.” All three examples demonstrate that until a peace agreement is reached, there will always be those, opposing American interests, who use the Palestinian situation to “operate on their behalf,” Abdullah said.

The king’s remarks extended beyond politics to other factors influencing peace in the region, including unemployment, demographics, and governance. Referring to students in the audience, he said, “You are a prime example of some of the gifted, ambitious youth of America. We are acutely aware of the urgent needs of our own youth who make up 70 percent of my region’s people.” He said that while they “see a lack of opportunities and an uncertain future,” the alternative view is “the prosperity and freedom that countries and regions in peace can offer.” Job creation will be a big part of that alternative view, including a need for 200 million new jobs by 2020 that will require “a strong cooperative Arab-American strategic partnership.”

Abdullah began his closing with a plea to “Princeton scholars” to “join me in thinking about the reality that together our countries



University President Shirley Tilghman presented King Abdullah with a small token of appreciation from Princeton upon his departure.



During the Q&A following his speech, moderated by Acting WWS Dean Nolan McCarty, King Abdullah noted that “Friendship is the only cement that will ever hold the world together. There must be not a balance of power, but a community of power; not organized rivalries, but an organized peace.”

can create.” His to-do list included “an end to 60 years of conflict, violence, and occupation, a homeland for Palestinians...security and new acceptance for Israel...” and “a strategic region that is able to turn to the future as peace takes hold.”

He concluded by quoting Woodrow Wilson, former Princeton president and the 28th U.S. president: “Friendship is the only cement that will ever hold the world together. There must be, not a balance of power, but a community of power; not organized rivalries, but an organized peace.”

Responding to a question from the audience after his address, Abdullah explicitly stated that “what’s on offer” is not only peace, but recognition for Israel from Morocco to Indonesia, a reference to the dozens of Organization of the Islamic Conference member states that would follow the Arab League in recognizing Israel if a two-state solution is reached.

Barbara Bodine, a diplomat-in-residence at the Woodrow Wilson School and former U.S. ambassador to Yemen who attended the speech, found this a compelling argument, noting, “Even those of us who have worked on this for years were struck by the simple fact that 57 members of the UN, about a third, do not recognize Israel... Israel has an enormous amount to gain.”



King Abdullah II spent time answering questions from second-year M.P.A. students George Hodgson (left) and Taya Weiss (center) during a private reception that followed the policy address.

Bodine added that Abdullah's sense of urgency is easily understood. "Compare the Middle East in 2000 to what we have today, and it is not good," she said. "In addition to our change in administration and possible time lost, the government in Israel is very unstable and [Palestinian Authority President] Mahmoud Abbas is in a precarious position as well. The king probably sees how close we all were to a resolution in 2000 and while that did not come through, rather than build on it, the Bush administration simply abandoned the process. The king is concerned, looking at history and patterns, that the same could happen again."

In his introduction of President Tilghman, WWS Acting Dean Nolan McCarty observed that the School "is a fitting host for King Abdullah's remarks on the current challenges facing the Middle East," noting "the School's ongoing teaching and research takes a rigorous and interdisciplinary approach to some of the most serious issues in public and international affairs. Policy issues that challenge all of us—in the academy, in government, at home, and abroad."

After his policy address, the king attended a private reception with WWS and other Princeton students, faculty, and special guests. ■■■

Vander Ploeg '08 Recipient of University's Top Undergraduate Honor

by Ruth Stevens, Princeton University Office of Communications

Woodrow Wilson School senior Sarah Vander Ploeg '08 was a co-recipient of the University's Moses Taylor Pyne Honor Prize, the highest general distinction conferred on an undergraduate, and awarded to the senior who has most clearly manifested excellent scholarship, strength of character, and effective leadership. She shared the award with Princeton senior Landis Stankieveh, a mechanical and aerospace engineering major. He was one of three Princeton students named Rhodes Scholars this year, and plans to earn a second bachelor's degree at Oxford in a joint program in philosophy, politics, and economics. The winners were recognized at Alumni Day ceremonies on Saturday, February 23, 2008.



Sarah Vander Ploeg '08

Larry Levanti

Vander Ploeg is majoring in WWS and pursuing a certificate in musical performance. She was named a winner of a 2008 Marshall Scholarship that finances young Americans of high ability to study for a degree in the United Kingdom. She expects to use that award to obtain a master's degree in vocal studies at the Royal College of Music in London. She also plans to work on outreach programs with an arts policy group while there.

An accomplished lyric soprano, Vander Ploeg has performed many operatic and musical roles, including the title role in Gilbert and Sullivan's "Patience" and a lead role in Mozart's "The Marriage of Figaro." She has been a soloist in the Princeton University Chapel Choir and a member of the Chamber Choir. She also was one of the winners of the Princeton University Orchestra's 2007 Concerto Competition, and performed as a soloist with the orchestra, in which she plays the viola. Last April, she was principal viola in Princeton's world premiere of Prokofiev's uncensored "Boris Godunov," and she also has performed on tours in Portugal and Austria.

Vander Ploeg's senior thesis combines her interests in public policy and the arts by examining the role of music and intellectual property law in post-apartheid South Africa, where she believes music can contribute greatly to national reconciliation. She conducted her research in Cape Town, Pretoria, and Johannesburg last summer, and also spent a semester studying arts policy and music performance at Oxford University.

"Sarah epitomizes the best of Princeton: academic brilliance, artistic creativity, public spiritedness, proven leadership, and unshakeable integrity," said Robert Hutchings, diplomat-in-residence at the Wilson School. "She is a rising leader of exceptional promise."

During the Alumni Day ceremony, Princeton President Shirley M. Tilghman added, "Sarah, thank you for sharing your musical talents with us and for mastering the knowledge that will allow you to champion the arts, both onstage and off, in years to come." ■■■

FACULTY NOTES

All faculty photos by Jon Roemer



Larry Bartels

Larry Bartels, the Donald E. Stokes Professor of Public and International Affairs and director of the Center for the Study of Democratic Politics at the Woodrow Wilson School, has authored the book *Unequal Democracy: The Political Economy of the New Gilded Age* (Princeton University Press, Russell Sage Foundation, 2008). The book debunks many myths about politics in contemporary America, utilizing evidence of the widening gap between the rich and the poor to shed light on the workings of American democracy.

Gordon S. Rentschler Memorial Professor of Economics and Professor of Economics and Public Affairs Alan Blinder testified before the U.S. Senate Budget Committee in January on the economic stimulus plan that was before the Senate.

In early February, Professor of Astrophysical Sciences and International Affairs Christopher Chyba spoke at the University of Texas. His talk was titled, "The Possibility of Life Elsewhere in the Universe." The event was organized by the Space Studies Board of the National Academies and The University of Texas at Austin Astronomy Program.

Wolfgang Danspeckgruber, director of the Liechtenstein Institute on Self Determination (LISD), in November chaired the Liechtenstein Colloquium on State building in Afghanistan at the EU headquarters in Brussels, and convened the third advisory board meeting for the Princeton Encyclopedia of Self-determination in London. Also in November he met with experts in Iranian affairs and terrorism at St. Andrews University, Scotland to present the latest LISD findings on related matters. In January, he spoke at the Gulf Research Center Meeting in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, to discuss confidence and security-building measures in the Gulf region, and in February he presented the concluding paper on "Self Determination Today—Perception, Security, and Great Power Politics" at the Historische Kolleg of the Bavarian Academy of Science in Munich, Germany.

Lecturer of Public and International Affairs Mickey Edwards participated in the panel "What is a Conservative Foreign Policy?" at the American Conservative Union's 35th annual conference. He also held a book signing at the event for his new book, *Reclaiming Conservatism: How a Great American Political Movement Got Lost—And How It Can Find Its Way Back* (Oxford University Press, 2008).

An article by LISD associate research scholar Beth English, "I Have...A Lot of Work to Do': Cotton Mill Work and Women's Culture in Matoaca, Virginia, 1885-95" was published in the Organization of American Historians' *The Best American History Essays of 2008* (Palgrave-MacMillan, 2008). The OAH annually selects and republishes ten exceptional peer-reviewed articles in the anthology.

Professor of Politics and International Affairs Aaron Friedberg attended the Wehrkunde conference on security policy held in Munich, Germany, which convened various defense and foreign ministers, heads of state, and members of Congress. He attended as a member of the U.S. delegation, headed this year by Senators Joe Lieberman (D-CT) and Lindsey Graham (R-SC).

John Ikenberry, Albert G. Milbank Professor of Politics and International Affairs, co-edited the book *The United States and Northeast Asia: Debates, Issues, and New Order* (Rowman and Littlefield, 2008) with Chung-in Moon. The book is a compilation of essays that explore the power transitions in Northeast Asia represented by China's rise, Japan's quest for a normal state, North Korea's nuclear ambitions, South Korea's projection into a middle power, and U.S. strategic realignments.

Richard F. Keevey, director of the Policy Research Institute for the Region and lecturer in public affairs published an article titled, "Maximizing Federal Performance with State and Local Partners," in the book *Performance Management and Budgeting: How Governments Can Learn from Experience* (M.E. Sharpe, Inc., 2007). He also has become an author for NJ Voices, the blog of the Newark *Star-Ledger*. Keevey, who posts regularly on the site, already has included pieces on such topics as eminent domain and school funding. To view his ongoing contributions, visit www.nj.com/njvoices/. Keevey also has been elected by the the National Academy of Public Administration (NAPA) as a Fellow. Established in 1967, NAPA is an independent, non-partisan organization chartered by Congress to assist federal, state, and local governments in improving their effectiveness and accountability. NAPA Fellows consist of current and former public managers and scholars, business executives and labor leaders, cabinet officers, members of Congress, governors, mayors, state legislators, and diplomats, all of whom lend their guidance and expertise to NAPA's ongoing portfolio of research projects. The principal criterion for selection as a Fellow is "a sustained and outstanding contribution to the field of public administration through public service or scholarship."

Professor of International Affairs Robert Keohane gave the Castle Lectures at Yale University from October-November 2007 on the subject of "Institutional Design and Power." In September, he presented the keynote address "Global Governance and Legitimacy," at the Centre for the Study of Globalisation and Regionalisation at the University of Warwick in the U.K., and in December presented a keynote on multilateral institutions and climate change at the Department of Political Science, Oxford University.



Christina Paxson



Julian Zelizer

Daniel Kurtzer, the S. Daniel Abraham Professor in Middle Eastern Policy Studies, co-authored the book *Negotiating Arab-Israeli Peace: American Leadership in the Middle East*, published in February by the U.S. Institute of Peace Press. Co-authored with Scott Lasensky, the book represents the results of a year-long study group chaired by Kurtzer that interviewed more than 100 current and former policymakers to understand what the United States needs to do to help negotiate Middle East peace. He also had an article "Israel—La politique étrangère: entre défis et risques, choix et opportunités" ("Israeli Foreign Policy: Challenges, Risks, Choices and Opportunities") in the November-December #28 issue of the French journal *Questions internationales*. In November, he made a presentation on U.S.-Arab relations at the World Economic Forum's Arab Business Council in Cairo, and in January he presented papers on the U.S. role in Middle East negotiations at a conference in Israel focused on how to reach an agreement within a year; the U.S. and Europe in the Middle East at the Kronberg Conference in Germany; and on Final Status Issues in the Peace Negotiations at the Herzliya Conference in Israel. In March, he delivered the summary and conclusions at a conference in Doha, Qatar on framing the economic future of the Middle East, and in May he will attend a conference, convened by Israeli President Shimon Peres, on the subject of the future of Israel and the Jewish people.

In February **Jason Lyall**, assistant professor of politics and international affairs, presented "Paths of Ruin: How Identity Shapes Military Effectiveness in Modern War" at the University of Chicago's Program on International Security Policy (PISP) Workshop, and presented the lecture "How Ethnicity Shapes Insurgent Violence" at the Davis Center for Eurasian Studies at Harvard, at Cornell's Peace Studies Program, and at the Order, Conflict, and Violence Seminar at Yale University. In mid-March, he spoke at the "Reconsidering Counterinsurgency" Working Group at the Sante Fe Institute, New Mexico.

Hughes-Rogers Professor of Economics and Public Affairs **Christina Paxson**, and Theodore A. Wells '29 Professor of Economics and Public Affairs **Cecilia Rouse**, have been awarded a National Institutes of Health grant to continue their study of the effects of Hurricane Katrina on the educational attainment, labor market

outcomes, and mental and physical health of a group of low-income parents who lived in New Orleans prior to the hurricane.

Markus Prior's book, *Post-Broadcast Democracy: How Media Choice Increases Inequality in Political Involvement and Polarizes Elections* (Cambridge University Press, 2007), was cited in the article, "The Closing of the American Mind" in the December 22, 2007 issue of *Newsweek*. According to author Evan Thomas, *Post-Broadcast Democracy* "offers the clearest and most insightful explanation of why American politics has become more polarized."

In January 2008, the N.J. Governor's Commission on Rationalizing Healthcare Resources, chaired by James Madison Professor of Political Economy and professor of economics and public affairs **Uwe Reinhardt**, released its final report on how to improve New Jersey's healthcare system at a press conference at the School. The report, which was commissioned by the N.J. Department of Health and Senior Services, outlines recommendations to monitor acute-care hospitals and create an "early warning system" to identify in advance those in financial distress to ensure the public's access to quality healthcare.

Laurance S. Rockefeller Professor of Public Affairs and the University Center for Human Values **Kim L. Scheppelle** presented a paper "The Practical Realization of Social Rights by Constitutional Courts" at the Tenth Annual Forum on Constitutional Jurisprudence in October 2007. The event was organized by the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation in Moscow. She also gave the Constitution Day lecture in September 2007 at Swarthmore College, titled "Small Emergencies: Why the American Constitution Has Lasted This Long."

A new study by **Tim Searchinger**, a visiting research scholar with the Program on Science, Technology, and Environmental Policy, published by *Science* magazine, finds that biofuels that use cropland are likely to increase greenhouse gases because previous analyses of biofuels ignored a crucial factor—the use of land.

Burton Singer, Charles and Marie Robertson Professor of Public and International Affairs and professor of demography and public affairs, is among three distinguished scientists that

have been appointed by the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services to the National Advisory Council on Aging.

In the December 2007 issue of the *Journal of Mammalogy*, Professor of Ecology and Evolutionary Biology and Public Affairs **David Wilcove**, and colleagues at the World Wildlife Fund, published a paper entitled "Persistence of Large Mammal Faunas as Indicators of Global Human Impacts." In it, they identify the percentage of the earth's land area that still retains all of the large mammal species that were present in the year 1500. (The presence of large mammals such as bison or wolves is often an indication of a healthy or undisturbed ecosystem.) They estimate that less than 21% of the earth's land area still retains a complete representation of large mammals. In certain parts of the world, most notably southeastern Asia, less than 1% of the land area retains a complete assemblage of large mammals, with one or more species having been extirpated in the other 99%.

Professor of History and Public Affairs **Julian Zelizer** co-edited the book *Rightward Bound: Making America Conservative in the 1970s* (Harvard University Press, 2008), with Bruce Schulman of Boston University. The book is a compilation of essays that examine the 1970s, the time between the liberal 1960s and Reagan's '80s, a significant moral and cultural turning point in which the conservative movement became the motive force driving politics for the ensuing three decades. Zelizer contributed a chapter to the book about President Jimmy Carter and the politics of national security. He also published a special issue of the *Journal of Policy History* that focused on the Constitution and Public Policy History, which he also co-edited with Schulman. With Professor Meg Jacobs (MIT), he presented an essay on the Reagan Revolution at the University of Santa Barbara. The paper is based on a book they are co-writing on the subject.

Want to know more? Subscribe to our News RSS feed at www.princeton.edu/rss/news.xml. Additional faculty citations in national and international media may be found online at www.princeton.edu/pubaff/media.xml. ■■■

WWS and The Economist Co-host D.C. Panel, "The Dilemma of Darfur"

by Phyllis Spiegel

As the ongoing security and humanitarian crisis continues in Darfur, Sudan, a panel of experts convened in early February at the National Press Club in Washington, D.C. as part of a special event titled, "The Dilemma of Darfur." The speakers, who brought varied perspectives to the meeting, were former U.S. Senator Bill Frist '74, a visiting professor at the Woodrow Wilson School; Washington correspondent and former Africa editor for *The Economist* magazine Robert Guest; Lauren Landis, senior representative to Sudan at the U.S. Department of State; and Darfur activist, actress, and UNICEF Goodwill Ambassador Mia Farrow.

The program was one of a Washington-based series of events co-hosted by WWS and *The Economist*, designed to encourage serious debate about and analysis of policy issues that will, or should, impact the 2008 elections.

Moderator Julius Coles MPA '66, president of Africare, introduced the discussion by citing statistics and the history of the mass violence and human displacement in the Darfur region that has cost between 200,000 and 400,000 lives due to violence and disease. Through five years, he noted, many governments and organizations have been involved, but according to a recent International Crisis Group report, "Access for humanitarian agencies is decreasing,

international peacekeeping is not yet effective, and a political solution is still far away." This, despite the fact that, as Mr. Coles pointed out, more than 13,000 people from 75 non-governmental organizations and some 14 UN agencies are working on assistance programs affecting the Darfur region.

"Yet," he said, "there are so many thousands that are not reached."

Senator Frist, who has visited Sudan as a physician providing medical care to the people of the region, said that despite "an unprecedented international diplomatic mobilization, we've seen only very modest returns, and these efforts have generated along the way many hard lessons. Yet," he said, "our efforts, in combination with others, have had an impact, saved lives, and demonstrated a true moral resolve—I think we'll return to this moral resolve to hold the warring parties to account."

Frist spoke of the more than 2.5 million people forced from their homes in 2004 now living in vulnerable camps in Darfur and Chad. "These suffering populations are increasingly angry, radicalized, and armed," he said. "We don't have answers for how we are to demilitarize these camps and see the displaced return. While in the past year violence has dropped significantly, we're seeing sporadic outbreaks of fighting."

He spoke of the efforts of the U.S. government, its allies, the UN and African Union, and NGOs like Save Darfur and others, and concluded, "We need to take the long view of Darfur. There is no magic bullet; we need a three- to five-year approach with a sustained commitment that will work incrementally on multiple fronts."

Robert Guest spoke of how difficult it is to gain world attention for the crisis his magazine first brought to light in 2003. "The degree of calculation that's gone into terrorizing the populations there is astonishing," Mr. Guest said. He defined the problem as political. "You have a government in Khartoum that is despotic and widely loathed. It hangs on to power by dividing and ruling, by stoking the ethnic, tribal, and communal animosities that exist throughout Sudan, and by carrying on a program of appalling scorched earth atrocities... these animosities have deep roots," he said.



Panelists included (from left to right) Julius Coles MPA '66, who moderated the panel; former Senator Bill Frist '74; actress and UNICEF Goodwill Ambassador Mia Farrow; Lauren Landis of the U.S. Department of State; and Robert Guest, Washington correspondent for *The Economist*.



Carried live on C-SPAN television, panelists debated policy options to mitigate the crisis in Darfur, particularly in regard to China's role.

Guest expressed that there needs to be more pressure against the reigning powers and more involvement by the U.S. and the UN Security Council. In addition, he asserted that the Chinese need to be shamed into pulling their weight on the Security Council, and that there be vigorous investigation and prosecution of war crimes and heightened peacekeeping efforts.

Mia Farrow, who visited the region numerous times, stunned the audience with a presentation featuring photos she has taken since 2004—men, women, and children injured and killed as a result of Janjaweed militia attacks, burned villages, and the brutal and desperate living conditions in which the displaced live. “After the Nazi Holocaust, we all know the world vowed ‘never again,’” she said, “but how obscenely disingenuous those fine words sound today.”

Two of her photos showed a village in Darfur, at first rich in fruit trees, walled gardens, and agricultural sustenance, then two years later turned to ashes like 80 to 90 percent of Darfur's villages. Farrow explained that for cooking firewood the women in the refugee camps must travel 10 miles or more, risking gang rape, mutilation, and murder. “Men on the road would surely be killed by militiamen,” she said. One photo was of a child's drawing of bombs falling on a pregnant woman, showing the fetus inside her. “It is a traumatized population and five years of terror is five years too long.” Another photo showed children fleeing from an attack on their village that was burning behind them. “This is what acute malnutrition looks like,” she said, showing another photo.

“And grief: this woman had lost everything and I found her sitting under a tree, weeping.”

I return from this horror in Africa to a largely indifferent world,” Farrow said. She described what she called “the paralysis of the United Nations” and further noted that the United States has little to no economic or political leverage over Khartoum. “While the UN accepted the responsibility to protect against genocide, ethnic cleansing, or crimes against humanity,” she said, “their words have proved to be as hollow as ‘never again.’”

China is underwriting this genocide, several of the speakers argued. Said Farrow, “China's oil revenues have been used in attacking the non-Arab population of Darfur. The vast majority of weaponry used to attack civilians across Darfur is of Chinese origin. Beijing is committed to preserving its alliance with Sudan in order to meet its massive oil needs. China has the power to influence the regime, to refuse to sell them weapons, and could threaten to suspend oil deals with Sudan. How can China host the Olympic Games and underwrite this genocide?”

Lauren Landis was involved in food distribution for Darfur in 2003. She notes, “We're sending about a billion dollars of assistance into Sudan annually. It's the food, the water, the protection that is never quite enough but keeps a famine from occurring, and we've avoided cholera outbreaks.” She outlined the U.S. government's participation in peacekeeping support, providing

continued on page 13



UNDE HAITI

WWS Students Exam

by Tanya (Toni) DeMello MPA '08 and Nealin Parker MPA '08

UN peace operations have made a marked difference in stabilizing countries and providing security when called to help. However, much debate surrounds the achievements of UN peacekeeping, its challenges and, at times, the very notion of an outside force intervening in a domestic conflict. Salman Ahmed, visiting lecturer at the Woodrow Wilson School's Liechtenstein Institute of Self Determination, tasked his class of 10 graduate students to answer these questions by observing first-hand the activities of the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH). On leave from his position as chief of office and special assistant in the Office of the UN Undersecretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations, Ahmed challenged the class to examine, the current difficulties peacekeeping faces in the twenty-first century from an academic and practitioner's perspective.

A Class with a Mission

Many countries that find themselves in crisis, incapable of maintaining security for their citizens, turn to the international community for support and assistance. The UN peacekeepers—in their distinctive blue helmets—are the front-line representatives of the international community's commitment to help nations in conflict and to protect their citizens during the transition from crisis to the establishment of legitimate governance. Today, UN peace operations activity is at an all-time high, with over 100,000 troops, police, and civilians deployed in 20 operations from Afghanistan to the Sudan. UN peacekeeping has grown in number and in scope of missions, and concurrently the UN has become an increasingly prominent actor in post-conflict environments around the world.

UNDERSTANDING

Inside UN Peacekeeping Operations

Our class included students from four different continents, from both donor and recipient countries of UN peacekeeping. Some members of our class were from conflict regions, while many of the rest had lived in conflicted countries prior to working with NGOs or governments. For both the students and Professor Ahmed, the issues facing UN peacekeeping were of both professional and personal relevance.

To expose students to the complexity of peacekeeping operations and give us insight on the myriad of constraints faced by the UN, Professor Ahmed led his class in a weeklong trip to Haiti. Haiti had previously been host to six UN peacekeeping missions, but none resulted in a lasting peace. Professor Ahmed wanted his students to gain firsthand familiarity with a peacekeeping operation and, accordingly, generate an assessment of the main challenges facing the current MINUSTAH peacekeeping operation.

While riding around in a large white UN vehicle, our class was keenly aware of the potentially intrusive presence we represented as outsiders—coming to Haiti to witness, but not stay. As one local official stated best, “We meet so many kind and caring people that come to Haiti and see the tragedy and the promise of this country. And the first thing we ask is: ‘What will you do now that you have seen it? You have come to Haiti—but how will you take Haiti back with you?’”

Our class met with senior UN peacekeeping staff, Haitian government officials, and representatives from civil society, spending the majority of our time in the capital, but also travelling to two towns: Gonaïves in the east and Cap-Haïtien in the north. The focus of our trip was on three fundamental elements of the stabilization response: stabilization and increased security, the rule of law, and development. Each of these elements is important on its own, but the effects of each are compounded by the interactions it has with the others.

As this mission was not the first time the UN had been in Haiti with the goal of ‘stabilizing the country’ and ‘strengthening its institutions,’ Professor Ahmed asked the class to center its analysis around a single, critical, and previously unanswered question: “What is different about the current UN mission such that it will be the last time the UN peacekeepers will be in Haiti?”

Arriving in Haiti

Just an hour flight from Miami, the landscape is very different. Haiti is a country that has struggled economically, politically, and socially for several hundred years. Its history is soaked in the blood of a noble and fierce people that have survived the most gruesome of civil conflicts, but continue to fight for a prosperous and thriving Haiti. It is the poorest country in the Western Hemisphere; yet so many in the

continued on next page



From the cover: Professor Salman Ahmed's (first on left) graduate course on UN Peacekeeping included students Jon Gandomi, Ashley McCants, Britt Lake, Taya Weiss, George Hodgson, Marianne El-Khoury, Jona Repishiti, Marine A. Buissonniere, Tanya (Toni) DeMello, and Nealin Parker.

Understanding Haiti

continued from page 11



Members of the UN peacekeeping forces are a familiar sight in the day-to-day lives of the children of Haiti.

Americans know so very little about it. Many are surprised to learn, for example, that Haiti was the second independent state in the Western Hemisphere and the first free Black republic in the world.

Haiti was formerly a Spanish, and then a French, holding that was one of the most productive colonies. Former slave-turned-guerrilla leader Toussaint Louverture conquered the country in 1801, emancipating the slaves. Three years later, Haiti declared independence, making it the first and only country in which a slave rebellion successfully overthrew its oppressor to establish a nation. Following this auspicious beginning, however, it was subjected to brutal leaders who significantly weakened its institutions. The UN's six distinct, failed peacekeeping missions occurred in the last two decades. Despite international support—or perhaps because of its inefficacy—Haiti remains a country in crisis.

Today, Haiti faces dramatic unemployment upwards of 70 percent in some areas, stark health concerns including the highest child mortality and AIDS rates in the Western hemisphere, and a fractured government that lacks the capacity to provide for these basic human rights. Most of the population struggles to eat on a daily basis, and the country has been held hostage by gang violence manifesting in dozens of kidnappings every day.

Class Assessment: Successes and Continued Challenges

One of the positives to note is that both Haitians and internationals from across the political spectrum have lauded President René Prével's ability to work with political rivals to build lasting government institutions that combat crime and corruption and maintain security. Though progress is slow, there have been clear advances in security, with massive training and build-up of the national police, and a focus on improving all areas of the justice sector.

UN peacekeeping efforts also have been successful in restoring security in the nation. Blue helmets have cleaned up Cité Soleil, known as one of the most dangerous gang areas in the country; as a result, the kidnapping pandemic appears to have been curbed, at least for the time being.

However, while these successes and much needed changes have been undertaken in the security and rule of law sectors, Haitians with whom we spoke lamented not seeing a change in their daily lives. Many Haitians still hunger for jobs, access to quality healthcare, education and, most importantly, food. One MINUSTAH official shared the concern for economic progress to come more quickly and be more visible, “Try telling the mother struggling to feed her six children in a filthy slum that she should be grateful for our security gains. She just wants rice and a chicken in her pot, and she doesn't care if it comes from us or from the gangs.” This statement reflects the fragility many feel about the current situation in Haiti. There can be no gains in Haiti until security and rule of law are properly restored, but unless these gains are accompanied by visible gains in the daily lives of Haitian people—unless they can go to sleep on full stomachs or find gainful employment—the current stability of Haiti will face future threats.

The MINUSTAH operation must continue to work with government actors and civil society to maintain security and rule of law, but

also must provide this “peace dividend” to the people in dire need. The UN must struggle to keep Haiti on the international community’s agenda so that we do not walk away and lose the gains that have already been made. Economic conditions must improve in order to bolster and maintain security improvements. If this truly is to be the last UN peacekeeping mission in Haiti, the foundation of stable and lasting institutions must be laid and economic and social growth must be a key focus of the international community and the Haitian government. Only then will Haiti be able to grow and strengthen and govern in peace.

Epilogue

Our class left Haiti overwhelmed by all that we had seen and heard in such a short time. In the silence on the bus ride to Toussaint Louverture Airport in Port-au-Prince, we drove through a market bustling with women buying fruit and children playing on the sidewalks. While we knew that our time in Haiti would remain indelibly remain engraved in our minds, we wondered about the Haitian official’s earlier question. Now that we had come to witness Haiti’s struggle, what would we do now that we had seen it? As a beginning to what we hope will be a much larger effort “to take Haiti back with us,” we share this story with you, and with all those who will hear it. ■■■

Training session of the UN peacekeeping forces, also known as the “blue helmets,” in Haiti.



“The Dilemma of Darfur”

continued from page 9

“After the Nazi Holocaust, we all know the world vowed ‘never again,’ but how obscenely disingenuous those fine words sound today.”

—*Mia Farrow*



funds to the 9,000 AU and UN peacekeepers there. “We’re training and equipping African forces to do the job, and supporting countries like Ethiopia and Egypt in their efforts to have peacekeepers on the ground,” she said.

“We need to make sanctions work effectively,” Landis told the audience, “and we hear from Sudanese government officials that they are feeling the pressure. The peace process is not moving anywhere quickly,” she said, “despite Secretary Rice’s December meeting in Addis Ababa with all the neighboring countries, and the president calling for the full implementation of the peace agreement. I think one of the challenges is to get our European partners and China to work as hard as we are, not to mention the government of Sudan and its neighbors.”

All speakers agreed that the solution must be long term. That China has the power to influence change was another area of agreement. “They are the largest investor there; they depend on Sudan and Sudan depends on them,” Frist said. “The U.S. is morally outraged, but we need to capture this feeling in the rest of the world,” he added.

Farrow echoed Frist’s comments about China and added that the European Union should impose a moratorium on trade and investments that benefit the regime in Khartoum. “We need a more effective UN that can respond quickly instead of wringing its hands for five years. We’re sustaining the people, yes,” she said “but we’re sustaining them in what seems to be a hopeless situation.”

To view the the video of the complete conference, please visit the UChannel website at uc.princeton.edu. ■■■

Students Chosen for 2008 "Scholars in the Nation's Service" Initiative

The Woodrow Wilson School has selected six students, chosen from a pool of Princeton juniors interested in pursuing careers in the U.S. federal government, to be the 2008 cohort of "Scholars in the Nation's Service." All Princeton juniors who are U.S. citizens were eligible to apply for this year's cohort. Recipients are selected based on outstanding academic performance, a proven track record of accomplishment, and a demonstrated commitment to public service.

The 2008 cohort of Scholars are:

Cynthia Barmore, a Woodrow Wilson School major from Arlington Heights, Ill., hopes to enter the Foreign Service or perhaps the Peace Corps. She speaks Serbo-Croatian and Turkish, and has spent time working in Bosnia. Barmore founded a service organization doing volunteer work in Trenton, N.J., and is president of Princeton Against Protectionism. She will spend the spring semester in WWS' policy task force in Cape Town, South Africa.

Shannon Brink, a Woodrow Wilson School major from Denver, Colo., has ambitions to work for the U.S. Agency for International Development or the Foreign Service in Latin America. She has excellent Spanish language skills. Although not an engineer, Brink is active in Engineers without Borders. She will be traveling to Santiago, Chile for WWS' spring policy task force

Michael Konialian, a Mechanical and Aerospace Engineering major earning a WWS certificate, is from Studio City, Calif. He hopes to work as policy staff at NASA or the White House. Konialian has been a researcher at the Jet Propulsion Laboratory. He also hopes to run for elected office.

Emily Yasmin Norris, a Woodrow Wilson School major from Brookline, Mass., studies Middle East issues, specifically those of Iran. She speaks native Farsi, and has excellent French and good Arabic language skills. Norris

spent the summer of 2006 at The American University of Beirut and was airlifted out during the summer war. She has studied overseas in Oxford and Hamburg, spent a summer doing journalism in Thailand, and will be spending the spring at WWS' new policy task force in Cairo, Egypt.

Brendan Reilly is a Politics major from McLean, Va. He is in the process of joining the U.S. Marine Corps, and already has done officer training at Quantico. Reilly also is interested in working at the U.S. departments of Defense or State, or the Defense Intelligence Agency.

Michael Shapiro, a Woodrow Wilson School major from Avon, Conn., is interested in health policy and economic policy. He would like to work in the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston, at the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, or on Capitol Hill. He is executive editor for the Web at *The Daily Princetonian*, Princeton's student newspaper.

The recipients were notified in December 2007 of their successful candidacies and were honored at a private dinner hosted by the Woodrow Wilson School in March.

The six newly named Scholars will spend their final three semesters in college completing their majors, taking selected courses in public policy, learning about career opportunities in the federal government, and spending the summer after their junior year in a federal government internship.

Upon graduation, the students will be known as Charles and Marie Robertson Government Service Scholars and will serve for two years in the federal government. They then will return to the Woodrow Wilson School to enroll in the two-year Master in Public Affairs (M.P.A.) program.

"Two years ago, the Woodrow Wilson School launched the Scholars in the Nation's Service Initiative, and today I'm proud to say the program is a success," said Nolan



Cynthia Barmore



Shannon Brink



Michael Konialian

Photos by Sameer Khan



Emily Yasmin Norris

McCarty, acting dean of the Woodrow Wilson School. “We have a new group of outstanding students interested in serving their country in government, and our current Scholars are anxious to begin their two-year assignments in government departments and agencies.”

The Woodrow Wilson School and the Partnership for Public Service, a Washington, D.C.-based, nonpartisan, nonprofit organization dedicated to revitalizing public service, will work with the selected scholars to match their skills with substantive work in the federal government. In particular, in keeping with the mission of the Robertson Foundation, scholars will be encouraged to pursue careers in those areas of the federal government that are concerned with international relations and affairs.

“The Scholars in the Nation’s Service Initiative at Princeton will add to the ranks of highly skilled and talented federal government servants,” said Max Stier, president and CEO of the Partnership for Public Service. “The government, however, needs a critical mass of new talent to succeed retiring federal employees over the next five years. We hope the Initiative can be a best-practice model for other institutions of higher learning.”

Princeton formally launched the Scholars in the Nation’s Service Initiative in February 2006. In February 2007, the Woodrow Wilson School expanded the existing program by an additional five four-year scholarships for any U.S. citizen applying for enrollment in the school’s M.P.A. program.

The purposes of the scholarship program, modeled after the Rhodes and Marshall scholars, are twofold. The first is to raise the prestige of government service among an entire generation of college students, and to encourage these students to enter government service. The second is to provide exceptional students with opportunities to experience government service first hand, and to gain the skills and contacts they will need to succeed in government service. The Scholars in the Nation’s Service Initiative will

help draw the very best students into the school and into government service.

Special activities for students during the remainder of their undergraduate studies are made possible through generous support by individual donors, the newest of which is The James D. Zirin Class of 1961 and Marlene Hess Scholars in the Nation’s Service Fund. Jeffrey and Elizabeth Peek also recently provided funding to support the expansion of the Initiative.

James Zirin, a trial lawyer for over 30 years, is partner in Sidley Austin, LLP. He has served as an assistant United States Attorney for the Southern District of New York. Mr. Zirin serves on New York Mayor Michael Bloomberg’s Commission to Combat Police Corruption, as well as on the Dean’s Advisory Board of the Woodrow Wilson School. Marlene Hess is vice president of the Hess Foundation, Inc., and formerly served as managing director of Global Philanthropic Services at JP Morgan Private Bank and director of Not-for-Profit Relations for Chase. Ms. Hess is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and the Women’s Forum, Inc.

A 1969 graduate of the Woodrow Wilson School, Jeffrey Peek is CEO of the CIT Group, Inc. Prior to that, Mr. Peek served as vice chairman of Credit Suisse First Boston LLC, and as executive vice president of Merrill Lynch & Co. Mr. Peek is also chairman of the Advisory Council for the Bendheim Center for Finance at Princeton University. Elizabeth Peek is an investment analyst and financial columnist. She is an alumna of Wellesley College.

Detailed information about the Scholars in the Nation’s Service Initiative from School alumni and former government officials are available online at www.princeton.edu/scholars. ■■■



Brendan Reilly



Michael Shapiro

The Center for Health and Wellbeing New Global Health and Health Policy Certificate Launched

Over the past year, the Center for Health and Wellbeing (CHW) has launched several new research and teaching programs in global health. These programs offer new opportunities for students and faculty to engage in the multidisciplinary study of various aspects of global health, and they mark a growing institutional recognition of the need for crosscutting research and teaching to address complex global health problems.

As part of a University-wide Grand Challenges Initiative, in 2007 CHW assumed leadership of a multidisciplinary research and teaching cooperative. Grand Challenges is an integrated research and teaching program designed to promote student involvement and faculty research on three important issues related to the environment, technology, and public policy: global health and infectious disease; rural poverty, land use, biodiversity, and water in Africa; and energy, environment, and security.

The initiative's health research projects aim to identify methods to prevent, detect, treat, and ultimately eradicate infectious diseases; to provide tools to understand the spread of disease; and to develop strategies for reducing their social and economic costs. This work supports and expands research on infectious disease currently conducted across the University in the natural and social sciences, while simultaneously providing new educational and research opportunities for undergraduate and graduate students.

CHW has pledged seed funding for eight research projects exploring multidisciplinary aspects of infectious disease. An anthropology cooperative will examine the future of HIV/AIDS treatment worldwide through a health policy lens. A molecular biology cooperative will use bacterial cell biology to identify new antibiotic drugs and drug targets. An engineering and policy cooperative will develop a community-based enterprise in sub-Saharan Africa to manufacture ceramic water filters designed to reduce health risks due to water-borne disease, and will evaluate the filters' impact on the community's health and wealth.

CHW sponsored a panel on the scientific, social, and policy dimensions of antibiotic resistance and their impact on global health at the 2008 Princeton Colloquium on Public and International Affairs "Grand Challenges," moderated by Anthony So MPA '86 of Duke University's Program on Global Health and Technology Access. Panelists included Maria Freire of the Albert and Mary Lasker Foundation, Stuart Levy of Tufts University's Center for Adaptation Genetics and Drug Resistance, and David Wallinga '94 of the Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy. CDC Director Julie Gerberding presented a keynote speech on infectious disease.

In addition to the Colloquium, in April CHW partnered with the Department of Molecular Biology to host a symposium "No Country Left Behind: Transforming Global Health." This a multidisciplinary look at global health featured scientific talks on relevant research in the field, as well as a variety of talks focusing on the politics and implementation of effective strategies to

bring public and private research institutions together. Intended to stimulate dialogue among students and faculty from a range of academic departments, the event focused on creating dynamic new strategies to eliminate global health disparities. It also doubled as the launch of the inaugural lecture in the Adel Mahmoud series, with a keynote address by Anthony Fauci, director of the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Disease. A panel discussion also featured former U.S. Senator Bill Frist '74, currently a visiting lecturer at the Woodrow Wilson School; Claire Fraser-Liggett, director of the Institute for Genome Sciences and a professor of medicine at the University of Medicine; and Dr. Andrew Maguire, executive director of the Immunize Every Child Program at the GAVI Alliance.

On the teaching front, WWS's Master in Public Policy program for doctors begins this fall. This one-year program was created to train students who aspire to careers that blend medicine and public policy in both developed and developing countries. It will provide medical professionals with the tools required to be effective in public sector positions.

New Global Health and Health Policy Certificate Program

Beginning in the fall of 2008, CHW will sponsor a new interdisciplinary certificate program in Global Health and Health Policy open to all Princeton undergraduates. Students in the program will examine key issues in health and related policy in both the domestic and international arenas, such as: the determinants, consequences, and patterns of disease across societies; the role of medical technologies and interventions in health improvements; and the economic, political, and social factors that shape domestic and global public health.

The certificate program will be defined by three key elements: global and local coverage, interdisciplinary education, and experiential learning and field research.

"This new certificate program will enable Princeton undergraduates to explore issues related to public health more comprehensively, while investigating some of the most serious problems of our time," said Christina Paxson, director of CHW. "The program's multidisciplinary approach and focus on experiential learning will help students prepare for careers or graduate work in domestic or international health, wellbeing, and health policy."

The program was created to help Princeton undergraduates investigate some of the critical health issues facing policymakers and the public. For example, in the United States, healthcare spending currently comprises 14 percent of the country's gross domestic product, and one out of every 10 Americans works in the healthcare sector. While developing countries remain engaged in a long-standing battle against infectious disease and malnutrition, they are simultaneously faced with a growing toll of chronic diseases associated with economic development.



Limited healthcare resources afflict all countries. In the face of scientific advances making it possible to change the face of global health, each nation's health system will be forced to decide how to allocate its resources equitably and ethically, and how to balance the benefits of technology-enhanced care with its associated costs.

Certificate program students will analyze questions pertinent to these issues, including: What are the politics that underpin the production and dissemination of scientific and biomedical knowledge, as well as the development of new medical technologies? How do patterns of social and economic inclusion and exclusion govern access to such resources and technologies? How do international health issues intersect with issues of national security?

The certificate program will address health and health policy issues in both developing and industrialized countries. Students from all departments are encouraged to apply, to enhance the interdisciplinary nature of the program.

The program will include an experiential learning component to introduce students to real-world health issues and provide opportunities to begin research on relevant topics. All students in the program will complete a summer research project (usually in the form of a research-focused internship or independent research) on a health-related topic in the summer after junior year. The senior thesis—completed in the student's home department—must address or relate to global health.

The program will prepare students to pursue a wide range of health-related careers after graduation, whether in medicine, scientific research, public health, public policy, law, business, philanthropy, or other fields.

The certificate in Global Health and Health Policy will be overseen by a pair of faculty co-directors representing different disciplines: Thomas Shenk, professor of molecular biology and former chair of that department, and Burton Singer, professor of demography and public affairs. Shenk's areas of expertise include virology and gene therapy. Singer's research interests include the demography and biology of aging; mind and body health and its underlying mechanisms; and tropical diseases. Both Shenk and Singer are members of the Institute of Medicine and of the National Academy of Sciences. ■

Kristina Graff MPA '05 Returns to WWS as Associate Director of CHW

In November 2007, Kristina Graff MPA '05 returned to WWS to join the staff as associate director of the Center for Health and Wellbeing. Graff, who earned a Certificate in Health and Health Policy with her MPA in 2005, will administer the new undergraduate certificate program in global health and health policy, oversee projects on infectious disease as part of the University's Grand Challenges initiative, and manage various other aspects of the Center's ongoing work.



Larry Levanti

Graff's past work has focused on health inequities in global and domestic settings, with a heavy emphasis on women's health. She began her career at EngenderHealth, working on new programs to improve women's health services in developing countries. In this capacity, she spent time in sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America, and south and southeast Asia. Her early exposure to the complex interrelationships between health, gender, development, and politics led her to WWS, where she focused her studies around these topical areas.

While at WWS, she took a middle year out to intern at a nascent NGO addressing maternal health inequities in Tanzania. Upon completion of the M.P.A. program, she shifted her focus to domestic health issues and spent two years at the New York City Department of Health's Bureau of Maternal, Infant, and Reproductive Health. Her efforts there were concentrated on school-based programs to prevent teen pregnancy, breastfeeding promotion in public hospitals, and large-scale expansion of a program providing intensive support to high-risk mothers and their infants.

Thrilled to be back at WWS in a capacity that enables her to bridge the local and global dimensions of health, healthcare, and health policy, Graff noted, "At WWS I experienced tremendous academic and personal growth, and the education I received had a profound impact on my understanding of health and wellbeing. I am excited to foster similar growth opportunities for current and future students, and to support ongoing research in these critical areas." ■

CENTER NOTES

The [Center for Arts and Cultural Policy Studies \(CACPS\)](#) received a three-year, \$250,000 grant in July 2007 from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation. The Mellon Foundation has, since its inception in 1994, provided generous support to CACPS, which has enabled the Center to continue to train graduate students by encouraging and supporting policy-relevant research on culture and the arts. The Center launched its monthly Affiliates Luncheon series in 2008 with Emily Mann, playwright and director of McCarter Theater, as both subject and guest of honor at the January 17 luncheon. CACPS Visiting Fellow and Fulbright Scholar Tsu Chung Su, professor of English at National Taiwan Normal University, presented his research talk titled “*Mise-en-scène and Mise-en-scène: Emily Mann’s Theater of Testimony and Its Doubles.*” Professor Su called Mann an “auteur,” a playwright, and a theatre director with a distinctively recognizable vision and a personal imprint that can be identified in the artful arrangement of documentary information.

The National Institute for Early Education Research, with support from the Pew Charitable Trusts, the Packard Foundation, and the [Education Research Section \(ERS\)](#), sponsored a symposium for selected state and federal policymakers entitled “*Enhancing the Knowledge Base for Serving Young English Language Learners*” on March 14, 2008. Co-chaired by Dr. Eugene Garcia and Dr. Ellen Frede, it brought together experts in the field of English language learners to present the latest research findings in topics such as demographic trends, second language acquisition, effective classroom practice, the teaching workforce, assessment, and policy trends.

The [Program in Law and Public Affairs \(LAPA\)](#) has announced the selection of its 2008 Arthur Liman Fellows in Public Interest Law. The Liman Program enables University students to spend 10 weeks during the upcoming summer in an internship serving the needs of people and causes that might otherwise go unrepresented. The four undergraduate and two graduate students, selected through a competitive application process, began their program by participating in the Eleventh Annual Liman Public Interest Program Colloquium at Yale Law School on March 6-7. They joined advocates, scholars, government officials, and fellows from the five other participating schools to explore “*Liman at the Local Level: Public Interest Advocacy and American Federalism.*” The 2008 Arthur Liman fellows are Felipe Cala, a first-year Ph.D. student in Spanish and Portuguese Language and Cultures; Michelle Phelps, a first-year Ph.D. student in Sociology; Ryan Ebanks ’09, a political psychology major; Mark Zaichen Jia ’10; Lawrence Kornreich ’09, a religion major; and Emily Kathryn Stehr ’08, majoring in history. For more information on the Liman Fellowship and previous recipients, visit lapa.princeton.edu.

The [Liechtenstein Institute on Self-Determination \(LISD\)](#) has published a new book, *Building State and Security in Afghanistan*, the second in a series of edited volumes. The volume features a collection of essays by leading scholars of the country and region, and contributions by experts in security, state-building, and development.

In February, the [Policy Research Institute for the Region \(PRIOR\)](#) marked the 25th anniversary of the Supreme Court’s landmark housing decision with “*Mount Laurel II at 25: The Unfinished Agenda of Fair Share Housing.*” Scholars from Princeton University, Rutgers University, the MacArthur Foundation, and the National Housing Institute examined the origins of the decision, commented on the current state of the doctrine and its influence in the region and nation, and highlighted its unfinished agenda, touching on issues of race, class, redevelopment, and smart growth. Three panels addressed key implications for the future of the doctrine, as New Jersey, the region, and the nation grapple with persistent housing and related land-use challenges. Also in late February, PRIOR and the Regional Plan Association (RPA) hosted “*Regional Models for Economic Development: Planning, Implementation, and Financing.*” The forum brought together the region’s foremost leaders from the field of economic development to exchange ideas and shed light on the policies and processes that guide projects from inception to completion in New York, New Jersey, and Philadelphia. In December 2007 PRIOR hosted “*A View from the Top: A Conversation with Former Governors about Abbott v. Burke.*” Over 100 students, scholars, and practitioners gathered at the Woodrow Wilson School to listen to former New Jersey Governors Brendan Byrne, Jim Florio, and Donald DiFrancesco share their historical, analytical, and executive perspectives on the ongoing challenges of school funding—an issue with far-reaching implications throughout the state. The event, which received coverage from NJN, *The Star-Ledger*, *The Record*, and other media outlets, proved timely, as it provided the opportunity for the three to comment on Governor Jon Corzine’s formula for school financing since approved by the New Jersey Legislature. “*I think it’s fabulous if it can be implemented in the proper way,*” commented Governor DiFrancesco of the plan. Governor Florio applauded Governor Corzine’s intention to leave behind the outmoded and ineffective categorization of districts to “*go to individual pupils*” and “*treat children as children.*” In November, PRIOR joined with the Penn Institute for Urban Research to host “*Land and Power: The Impact of Eminent Domain in Urban Communities,*” at which experts offered incisive and evenhanded analyses of multiple issues surrounding eminent domain in the wake of the 2005 *Kelo v. City of New London* decision. ■

LISD Convenes Conference on the Future of Afghanistan

by Carol Wang '07

The Woodrow Wilson School is well known for blending the worlds of academia and policymaking, and for providing students opportunities to learn from policymakers themselves. The Liechtenstein Institute on Self-Determination (LISD) did this when it convened the colloquium, “State, Security, and Economy in Afghanistan: Current Challenges, Possible Solutions,” in Brussels, Belgium, on November 16-18, 2007. LISD Director Wolfgang Danspeckgruber chaired the conference, and H.S.H. Prince Hans-Adam II of Liechtenstein delivered the opening address. The objective of the conference was to have in-depth discussion on critical issues facing Afghanistan, by bringing in Afghan perspectives to emphasize that any successful state-building effort would put Afghans themselves in the stewardship positions. In addition, the conference launched the second volume in the LISD-WWS Study Series on *Building State and Security in Afghanistan*. The Brussels conference was part of a broader LISD research project on Afghanistan and the region, funded in part by the Carnegie Corporation of New York.

Over 70 senior policymakers, academics, representatives of NGOs, and representatives from NATO, the EU, and the UN participated. Afghan participants included Mohammad Karim Khalili, Vice President of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan;



Fawzia Koofi, Deputy Speaker of the Lower House of Afghanistan's Parliament, and Professor Rani Mullen '07 listen to panelists during the open plenary.



Mohammad Karim Khalili, Vice President of Afghanistan, addresses the conference at the opening luncheon as LISD director Wolfgang Danspeckgruber looks on.

Fawzia Koofi, Deputy Speaker of the Lower House of the Afghan National Assembly; M. Masoom Stanekzai, advisor to the President of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan; Daoud Sultanzoy, member of the Afghan National Assembly from Ghazni Province; Homayoun Tandar, Ambassador of Afghanistan to Belgium; Ambassador Zahir Tanin, permanent representative of Afghanistan to the UN; and Faizullah Zaki, member of the Afghan National Assembly from Jowzjan Province. Other high-level officials included General Karl Eikenberry, Deputy Chair of the NATO Military Political Committee; Peter Feith, Deputy Director General of the EU Council Secretariat; James Moran, Asia Director of the European Commission; Francesc Vendrell, EU Special Representative for Afghanistan; Ambassador Christopher Alexander, Deputy Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General for Afghanistan; and Antonio Maria Costa, Executive Director of the UN Office on Drugs and Crime.

During the three days of intensive discussions, conference participants analyzed Afghanistan's internal and external security; Afghanistan's relations with Pakistan, Iran, and the states of Central Asia;

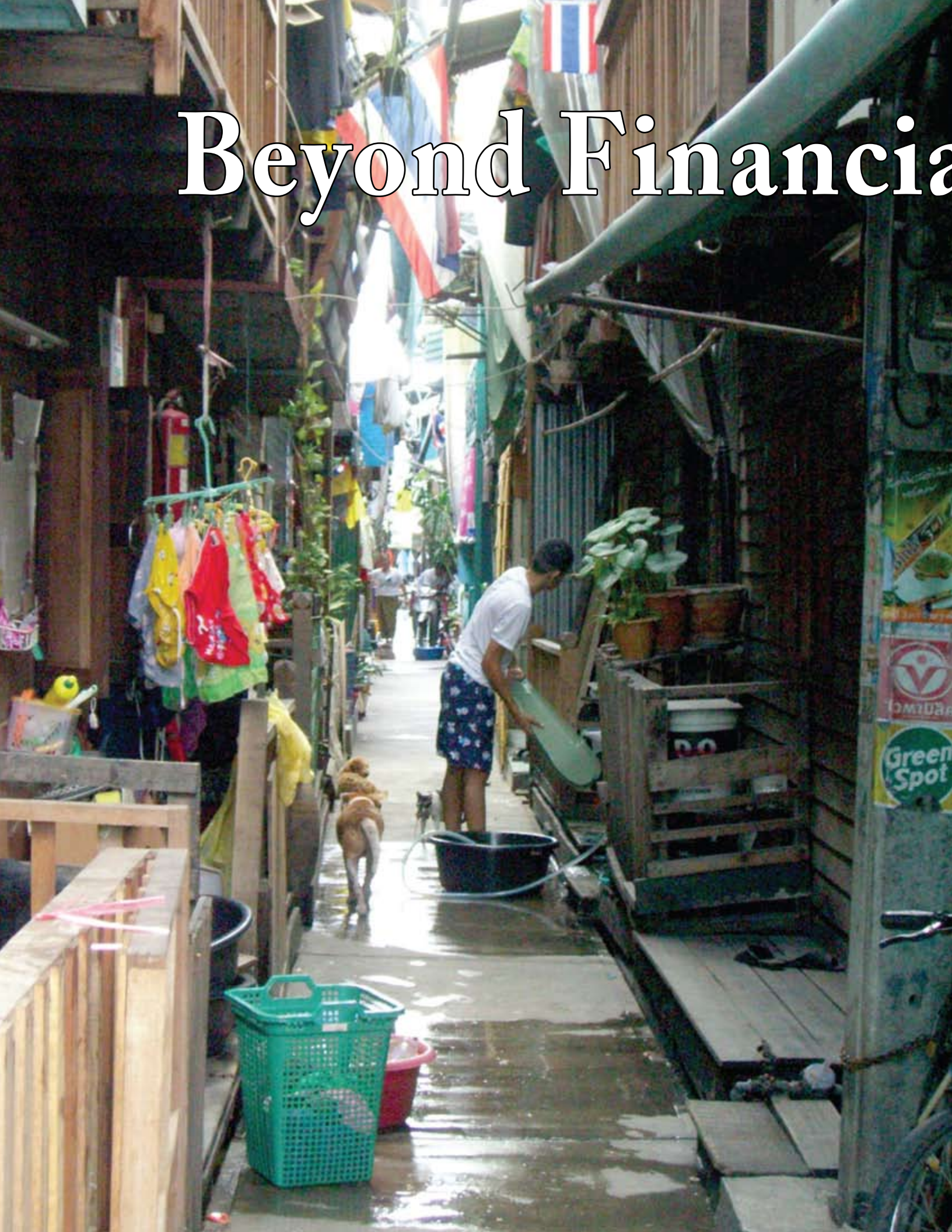
counter-narcotics strategies; and the role of the international community in stabilizing and developing the country. In addition, given the reality of flagging support within the EU and the wider international community for a continued active presence in Afghanistan, the conference held special relevance by convening in Brussels, the capital of Europe. In doing so, observed Kayvon Tehranian '08, the LISD-sponsored event put WWS “at the center of one of the most important policy debates in Europe.”

Tehranian was one of the 20-student team that assisted with the organization and administration of the conference. Other members of the student team included undergraduates Cole Bunzel '08, Elizabeth Horner '08, and Daniel Nikbakht '10; second-year M.P.A. students Nima Abbaszadeh, Jon Gandomi, George Hodgson, Jonathan Kaufman, and Taya Weiss; and M.P.P. candidates Richard Atwood and Leanne Smith, both of whom came to WWS with extensive work experience in Afghanistan. On the second day of the conference, Atwood participated in the discussion on electoral reform with a key presentation based on his recent Afghanistan visits, and membership in the management team that organized the Afghan parliamentary elections in 2005. Leanne Smith presented her interpretation of human rights and rights for women stemming from her work as a lawyer and diplomat in Afghanistan.

Despite the large participation and the diversity of opinions presented at the conference, several points of agreement still managed to emerge. Most participants concurred that Afghanistan is now at the crucial point in its state-building development, and felt that the process could “go either way.” Participants likewise agreed that the next steps forward must focus on “Afghan ownership of projects” and on building Afghan capabilities and capacity. Discussants stressed the need for more coherence within and between existing programs

continued on page 31

Beyond Financial



al Sustainability:

Measuring the Social Impact of Microfinance Organizations

In 2007, the Woodrow Wilson School's Molly Jamieson was awarded an \$8,500 grant by the Circumnavigators Club Foundation (CCF) to travel to South America, Africa, and Asia to conduct research on micro-lending programs and the people served by these programs. Her research also was supported by the Princeton University Community Based Learning Initiative.

Established in 1964 as a philanthropic and educational organization, the CCF enables its members to provide financial support to programs that further the Club's mission of improving international relations through friendship and understanding. Since 1971, the Foundation has provided grants to outstanding college students to undertake around-the-world travel-study projects in the summer between their junior and senior years.

To be considered, students must submit a project outline covering their proposed study topic and its relevance to furthering global scholarship or understanding, a general itinerary (which must include at least five countries on a round-the-world trip) and the rationale for the selection of proposed countries to be visited; their plan of study, including research and planning activities to be undertaken in advance of the trip; study and research methods proposed to be used in the field during the trip itself; and the relevance of the study project to the student's field of academic endeavor or interests. Finalists among the pool of applicants must then prepare a detailed study proposal expanding upon the project outline and defend the proposal in an oral interview at the Foundation.

Molly returned from her three-month trip at the end of August. On April 9, 2008, Molly turned in her senior thesis with her fellow Princetonians. Her thesis, "Taking Credit: Using Poverty Scorecards to Secure the Future of Microfinance," is based on the research that she conducted last summer. Molly's thesis addresses the importance of looking beyond financial sustainability to assess the performance of a microfinance organization, focusing on ways to measure the social impacts an organization creates for its borrowers.

Beyond Financial Stability

continued from page 21

by Molly Jamieson WWS '08

In December 2006, Muhammad Yunus and the Grameen Bank he created won the Nobel Peace Prize. At that time, I didn't know anything about microfinance.

Over a year later, I spend hours every day thinking and writing about it.

I applied for the CCF fellowship right around the time that Yunus won the Nobel Prize. I had read a few articles about his work with the Grameen Bank—the leading micro-lending program in the world, with over seven million borrowers in Bangladesh alone—and wanted to know more about how it worked. I wrote a proposal to travel to South America, Africa, and Asia to interview the staff of micro-lending programs and the people they served.

Six months later, I had won the fellowship! I made it through a feverish semester of planning a solo trip around the world to the poorest countries and communities, and in June 2007, I was on the first leg of my journey, headed to South America. I spent the following 10 weeks in Peru, Ecuador, Ghana, Egypt, Bangladesh, Thailand, and China meeting with over 180 borrowers, all of whom were receiving loans ranging in size from \$8 to \$2,000. These loans were to be invested in their small businesses, such as food carts, fisheries, handicrafts, and milk production. I worked with dozens of staff members from local micro-lending programs and interviewed about 30 staff and borrowers extensively; they consistently welcomed me into their neighborhoods, offices, and homes.

My senior thesis, “Taking Credit: Using Poverty Scorecards to Secure the Future of Microfinance,” developed out of the research I conducted last summer. Interviews with staff and borrowers showed the incredible challenges facing the microfinance industry (MFI), even as it has grown tremendously over the past three decades.

One of my most memorable experiences was meeting a woman named Jai in the Khlong Toei sub-district of Bangkok. Khlong Toei was by far the most devastatingly poor, unsanitary, and uncomfortable place I visited on my trip. It is home to over 120,000 people—a claustrophobic maze of one-room dwellings



Molly Jamieson '08 (third from left) with members of the staff of the Step Ahead Microenterprise Development office at the edge of the Khlong Toei neighborhood.

stacked on top of each other and crammed side by side, insulated only by shifting layers of tin sheeting and particle board. Refuse of every sort is disposed of in uncovered trenches that line the alleys between homes; the trenches are less than one foot deep, so trash and other waste tends to seep beneath the floor boards and onto the front steps of residents' homes. Lethargic dogs with disfiguring skin and eye diseases drink and eat from the trenches, and then, in search of food, linger in doorways and sidle up to passersby.

Although most houses in Khlong Toei have electricity and water, many homes do not have sanitary latrines. Children are not always in school. Families do not have enough food for three meals a day, and have very little protein in their diets. Many adults are unemployed or sporadically employed. Drug use, gambling, and prostitution are rampant. When I entered Khlong-Toei, I felt as though I had finally found the elusive definition of poverty.

In 2002, in an attempt to serve the residents of Khlong Toei, the Step Ahead Microenterprise Development organization began disseminating loans to local women to start or improve small businesses. Step Ahead has nearly 600 borrowers in four areas of Bangkok; small businesses include food stands that prepare and sell foods like papaya salad, fried bananas, coconuts, and barbecue chicken, or service-oriented businesses such as sewing and

“Although most houses in Khlong Toei have electricity and water, many homes do not have sanitary latrines. Children are not always in school. Families do not have enough food for three meals a day, and have very little protein in their diets. . . . When I entered Khlong-Toei, I felt as though I had finally found the elusive definition of poverty.”



A “struggling member” of Grameen Bank in Vowal, Begum (right) with her husband and young son. Also known as a “beggar member,” Begum’s first loan was for 500 taka (\$7.25), and she planned to pay it back over the course of about a year in weekly installments of about ten taka (\$0.14). The walls of her house, shown in the picture, are made of straw, but it has a tin roof. Begum sells dried fish at the market, but she and her family of five still depend on the charity of their neighbors to try to put two meals on the table each day.

mending clothing. Step Ahead’s loans range from \$90 to \$330 U.S. dollars, with interest rates ranging from 6 to 15 percent annually, depending upon the loan period. For the first few years that Step Ahead was in operation, it was funded primarily by donors; today it is almost entirely funded by interest payments and borrowers’ savings deposits. Between July 2007 and January 2008, over 100 new borrowers joined Step Ahead’s micro-lending program. Ninety-eight percent of its borrowers make payments every week.

During my interview with Jai and her husband, they told me that their business of selling prepared meals to their neighbors was growing, and that they had taken out more and bigger loans. Nevertheless, when I asked Jai if she planned to move her family out of the slums, she said that they did not plan on leaving. This may have been for several reasons: perhaps Jai did not anticipate accumulating enough money to move out, or perhaps there were other plans for the money. Maybe she did not want to move away from friends and family or, possibly, she was afraid to leave without any knowledge or experience of the outside world.

Jai’s story is typical of Step Ahead’s borrowers.

Since the inception of the microfinance industry, the performance of a micro-lending program has been measured by evaluating its financial performance, or—more specifically—its financial sustainability. That is, if clients continue to take out loans and deposit savings, then the MFI *must* be providing a socially valuable service. This perspective relies on the market to determine whether or not micro-lending programs are sufficiently beneficial to justify the costs they incur. In other words, continued demand is synonymous with a successful program.

According to this method of evaluation, Step Ahead is a successful micro-lending program—the majority of Step Ahead’s borrowers have taken out numerous loans of increasing amounts, and several local women that I interviewed are anxious to join the program, indicating a steady and rising demand for the microfinance services offered. Traditional financially based evaluation interprets these factors as meaningful indicators that Step Ahead is providing a valuable and investment-worthy service to the Khlong Toei community.

Yet, while Step Ahead is considered an effective MFI worthy of investment by both local and international donors, it has a client base that most likely will not escape from the conditions that define poverty, which is the undisputed and fundamental goal of microfinance.

continued on next page

Beyond Financial Stability

continued from page 22

From the start, this struck me as a major problem. I am not alone. For the past five years, a growing movement has emerged with the goal of measuring not only the financial status, but the *social* impacts of micro-lending programs. Drawing on the research I did this summer, my thesis looks at the various tools that have been developed to measure these impacts. Although many tools mainly focus on the internal processes of microfinance organizations, the most effective of them evaluate poverty status directly. After all, if the goal of microfinance is to help the poor (and it is), then the most direct way to test a micro-lending program's effectiveness is to see if its borrowers are moving out of poverty.

Poverty assessment tools do just that. But just as there are many different opinions on how to define poverty, there are many different opinions about how to measure poverty status (and changing poverty status). This ongoing debate has led to the development of a wide variety of poverty assessment tools. A truly effective poverty assessment tool must meet high standards. It must be simple, low cost, and replicable for all types of micro-lending programs—big and small, old and new, high-tech and low-tech, international and local.

My thesis evaluates the effectiveness of several of these tools, and suggests that their successful implementation has the potential to refute two of the major criticisms of microfinance: (1) that microfinance does not serve the poorest of the poor and (2) that microfinance is a coping strategy by which poor people persist in a life of poverty without ever escaping it. Fieldwork from Bangladesh and Thailand are used to illustrate these claims.

This summer I saw the most heartbreaking scenes that I have ever seen. However, I also saw scenes of extraordinary hope, persistence, and courage. I saw firsthand how a small loan could lift a family out of poverty. In a small rural village in the Gazipur district of Bangladesh, I met a woman named Anwara who had been receiving loans from the Grameen Bank during the 19 years that she and her son had been deserted by her husband. I sat on her bed while she sat on the floor telling me her story. She had been left with no money and no food, could not provide for her son, and had to rely on the charity of her neighbors. She applied for and began receiving small loans from Grameen. Nearly two decades later, she owns a cluster of three buildings—two small rooms and a kitchen. A day later, I met her son. He was dressed



Jai (left) and her husband sell prepared meals to their neighbors in Khlong Toei. Their business is considered a "success" according to established microfinance standards—they are earning money, paying off their loans, and taking out new loans to grow the business further. Yet despite their business success, the couple have no plans to leave the poverty-ridden area in which they currently reside and run their business.

in dress slacks and a button-down dress shirt, and had come to visit his mother from the capital city of Dhaka where he was in graduate school earning his M.B.A. It is difficult to express the effect that this interaction had on me; to me, it was proof that microfinance can work.

But I also witnessed cases in which microfinance was not living up to its potential, as in the case of Jai in Bangkok. Before investing billions of dollars in micro-lending programs, international donors and investors such as USAID, the World Bank, and the Gates Foundation, need to make sure that it is actually changing the lives of the people it serves.

Writing my thesis has been incredibly rewarding. I've watched my own experiences in the field blend with the best scholarly research to create a piece of work that is critical of the microfinance industry and some of its practices, but at the same time acknowledges its extraordinary achievements and even greater potential. My thesis will certainly not be the last work I do in microfinance, as I am anxious to see how the industry will grow and change, and how it will "put poverty in the museums" as Yunus imagined in his 2006 Nobel Peace Prize acceptance speech. ■■■

Weighing in on Computer Privacy and E-Voting

A Q & A with Edward Felten

Edward Felten, a professor of computer science and public affairs, conducts research in computer security, privacy, and technology policy. His research focuses on technical issues related to anti-copying technology, intellectual property policy, and the impacts of technology regulation in general.

In the midst of the longest presidential campaign in American history—and amidst ongoing concerns about the efficacy and security of electronic voting at polls around the country—Felten spoke with the School's Office of External Affairs about his latest research.

Woodrow Wilson School (WWS): You and your colleagues recently released a paper in which you reveal that you've developed a method to steal encrypted information stored on computer hard disks. What does this mean for computer users?

Edward Felten (EF): Encryption is a way of scrambling information so that it can't be understood by someone who comes across it. Imagine a laptop computer and the person has sensitive files on the laptop. Maybe it's sensitive government or corporate information. Maybe it's private information about customers or citizens and you want to make sure that if the laptop falls into the wrong hands, if you lose it, then a bad guy who gets the computer cannot access the files. So you'll encrypt—the theory is that you would need to have a secret key or password to have access to the files.

WWS: Could you explain the technique you used to access the encrypted information?

EF: What we discovered was in cases like this where there is a laptop computer that has these encrypted files on it, the secret decryption key was usually sitting in the RAM memory, which is the main memory that the computer uses while it's turned on.

And the conventional wisdom was that when you turn the computer off, the information that's in the RAM memory would go away, and therefore the encryption keys would be gone. But what we found is that if you cut the power

to the computer, the information that is in the RAM memory actually is available for awhile, for seconds or minutes. And that allows someone who has the computer in their hands to actually get these encryption keys. They can cut the power to the computer and then restore the power and then just read the secret key out of the memory.

So we found, first of all, that the information sticks around in this RAM memory much longer than people thought. I would have said before we did this study that information might last for a tiny fraction of a second. But in fact it lasts, as I said, for seconds or minutes.

The other thing that we found is that if you chill the memory—literally make it cold—that the information stays available for much longer. The first level of cooling that we tried was spraying cooling spray on the chips. There are products, cans of compressed air you can use to clean the dust out of your computer keyboard. If you turn the can upside down and spray it, what comes out is super-cold refrigerant. It's about minus 50 degrees. If you spray that stuff on memory chips, the chips remember their contents for 10 minutes or more, even without power.

So, whereas you might have had ten seconds at room temperature before the data was gone, you might have ten minutes or longer when it's chilled. You can actually pull the chips out of the computer and set them on the table for ten minutes and they get all frosty, but the information is still accessible. If you then take those chips and dump them in liquid nitrogen—which is much colder, something like minus 350 degrees—



Edward W. Felten, Professor of Computer Science and Public Affairs

Jon Roemer

continued on next page

continued from page 26

then the information lasts for hours. We don't know how long, actually, because we ran out of liquid nitrogen!

And so we looked at all the [software] products we could find that do this kind of encryption—that protect this kind of information on laptops—and all of them were defeated by this method we discovered.

WWS: Some of the more popular encryption software packages are BitLocker, FileVault, dm-crypt, and TrueCrypt. Did your research find that any of these were more or less vulnerable?

EF: Not really. They are all about equally vulnerable. Most of the products work in a single way. They all use very strong, military grade encryption. It's not a question of how good the encryption is from a mathematical sense; how well it resists descrambling. If you think of it like a lock on a door, you could have the best kind of lock, but if someone could get the key they could just open it. And what our method does is get the key.

All these systems use, as far as we could tell, really strong encryption, but the problem is they have no place safe to put the key.

WWS: Do governmental agencies, such as the CIA, the FBI, or Homeland Security (which helped fund your research) to your knowledge use any of these?

EF: We don't know. We know that this sort of encryption package is used widely within government in cases where they want to protect information. What we don't know is what the classified, super-secure systems use. That information is not easily available to us, and to the extent that we could get it we can't tell you.

WWS: Have you received any feedback from encryption software manufacturers, computer manufacturers, or government agencies?

EF: Yes. We talked to encryption software vendors before we released the paper about what we had found, and told them that we would give them access to the technical information. And we told them as far as we could figure out, there wasn't

an easy fix for this problem. At least one of the vendors' representatives seemed really surprised. Most of them, however, kept their institutional poker faces. The one vendor representative that we did have a chance to notify in person, just because we ran across him at a conference, seemed pretty surprised.

Our study went beyond showing that this kind of attack was possible in principle to look concretely at what methods a forensic analyst might use to get the information in practice. Beyond even knowing that this attack was possible, we were surprised at how effective it was in practice. We had figured out a whole set of increasingly sophisticated tricks that someone could use along with these attacks to make them more effective, and we found in practice that we didn't need any of those tricks. So there are several unused tricks yet that could make the attacks stronger.

We also got quite a bit of interest from people in law enforcement, mostly in the U.S., but also in some other countries, about the methods and whether they might be useful in investigations. For example, police departments sometimes have search warrants to search a home or an office and they'll find computers. And they have well-established groups that do forensic analysis on computers to figure out what evidence they can get out of the computer. It looks like our methods would let them gather more information in some cases. Some of the more sophisticated criminals use the kind of encryption tools that we studied to try and protect their information—and so we think this will allow law enforcement to get more information in those cases.

WWS: Could the average person or anyone use this technology?

EF: It's possible to package the technology into an easy-to-use form, and in our video we show a program called Bit Unlocker we made, which really anyone can use. The software is packaged on a USB hard drive, so you could just plug it into a port on a laptop computer, unplug the laptop and remove the battery, put the battery back, just push the power button to boot the laptop and our Bit Unlocker software will do the rest. Basically it

does a bunch of mathematical analysis of what is on the computer, and then it gives you a way to browse the encrypted files on the system. We're not releasing the Bit Unlocker software for obvious reasons.

WWS: Should the general public be concerned about sensitive information, such as financial or medical data being accessed?

EF: It is a concern. There have been many press stories about leaks of private information via misplaced or stolen laptops—for instance, if you're a federal employee with private data about U.S. citizens on your laptop you're required to use a disk encryption tool. And what our study shows is that disk encryption does not provide nearly the level of protection that people thought. We're back to the state where we were before disk encryption came along, which is that any laptop that has private information on it is potentially dangerous if it gets lost or stolen—which happens all the time.

WWS: Are their certain policies the U.S. government put in place?

EF: There are things the government can do. They went down the road of requiring some agencies to use disk encryption tools, but there are some things they can do further, procedurally. This also connects to privacy legislation. Some states, such as California, require companies to notify their customers if there is a leak of private data. There have been many notifications under the California law. A similar law is being considered at the federal level. But usually the proposals have an exception, as California does, for cases where the data is encrypted.

So, in the case where a laptop is lost or stolen and the data was encrypted, it's exempt from this notification requirement because it is believed not to carry a risk. Our work suggests that those encryption exceptions are problematic. And so I believe this will affect the debate. There's been some debate about whether to have an encryption exception, or what its breadth should be at the federal level. But at the moment we're not really close to passing a federal security breach notification law.

There is not an easy way to fix the vulnerability we found. In our paper there's a section where we talk about potential fixes and strategies for addressing the problem in practice, but none of the fixes work effectively. The easiest and fastest fix in the short run is to shut your laptop down completely, not into a sleep or hibernation mode, but all the way off.

But the problem is that it will take a long time to re-boot the system and people don't want to have to go through a five-minute reboot time. It's a huge pain in the neck; you walk into your next meeting and you're ready to bring up your documents to show your boss and now you have to wait five minutes.

WWS: On another subject, you and your colleagues created a demo of vote-stealing software and revealed that Diebold voting machines—among the most widely used in America—were vulnerable to attack. Could you explain this?

EF: We studied a Diebold touch-screen voting machine. It's all computerized—the voter just touches buttons on the screen to cast their vote, and at the end of the election there is a little removable memory card, the same kind of memory card that is used in a lot of digital cameras, which gets taken out by an election worker, which has the votes on it.

Because the voting machine is all electronic and is basically just a computer, it is subject to all the problems a computer has. Computer scientists have been pretty alarmed over the last decade or so, as there has been a trend towards completely paperless voting machines. It was obvious as a matter of computer science that if someone could change the software in the voting machine, they could program it to miscount the votes. But nobody had ever demonstrated that in practice, because no independent computer scientist had ever gotten their hands on a real voting machine.

We managed to get our hands on this Diebold machine and we made a demonstration that was completely boring to computer scientists because they all knew vote stealing was possible, but we were able to show non-experts that it was relatively

easy to make a voting machine miscount votes. We also did a pretty detailed technical study of how the machine worked.

WWS: Did you receive any responses from Diebold?

EF: Oh, yes. They published a very short and somewhat hostile response, basically saying that we didn't know what we were talking about, and that there were safeguards in practice that would prevent vote stealing—although in our study we had carefully considered all those safeguards and explained why they didn't actually provide protection in practice.

So, there wasn't so much of a response. They didn't try to engage in a debate, they just tried to brush it off. But being able to do a demo had a pretty powerful impact.

WWS: As a result of your work you were asked to testify before Congress. Did you actually demonstrate this there?

EF: I testified before Congress and did a live demo of election stealing. Our standard demo was a fake election for president between George Washington and Benedict Arnold, in which I opened the polls, cast votes for George Washington and then counted the votes. The machine said that Benedict Arnold was the winner. This was part of an effort by computer scientists to move the debate on this issue, which I think has had a lot of success.

We've seen changes in a lot of states. Some states have passed laws that banned paperless voting machines. New Jersey has such a law, although it hasn't yet taken effect. Computer scientists' research also may have caused states, notably California, to commission serious technical studies of voting machines. California commissioned a top-to-bottom review of all the electronic voting machines used there, and several people from my group participated in that review. California got academic researchers from around the country to participate, and they assigned teams to study several e-voting systems used in California.

Because the states often have the power to certify or decertify e-voting machines in their states, they were able to get the vendors to agree to provide more technical information, and to provide access to the machines. The California study lasted about three months. There was a very tight deadline because California's secretary of state needed to decide whether to decertify the machines, and needed some time before the election for California officials to cope with any decertification.

The California study was really very comprehensive, so other states have been able to use the findings of the California study. Ohio, for example, did a study as well. They used some slightly different equipment than California, but the study had similar results. In most places, the choice of which voting technology to use is made on a county-by-county basis, so in a big state like California, almost every popular technology is used somewhere, in some county.

The latest development is that in the recent presidential primary in New Jersey there were some discrepancies reported by one brand of voting machine, the Sequoia AVC Advantage, in several counties. My group has been asked by some New Jersey county clerks to do a study to diagnose the cause of those discrepancies. And we plan eventually to produce a report about the causes of those problems.

WWS: We have a presidential election coming up in November. Are you at all concerned about voting machine tampering?

EF: Yes. But there's been progress. Over the last few years more states have moved to safer voting technologies. Right now, depending on where you draw the line, there are about 38 states that will either have a statute or policy requiring the use of voting technologies that have the basic safeguards I think are necessary. But there will be 10 to 12 states using riskier voting technologies, including some of the swing states. There is reason for concern.

The worst case scenario is a very close election—like the 2000 election—where it is particularly

The School's public affairs programming has continued to bring a diverse group of domestic and internationally focused speakers to campus. Following is a small selection of some of the topics covered this spring. All of the School's public affairs events are taped and archived on the School's website and may be viewed as streaming video by visiting www.princeton.edu/events/webmedia.html. Contributions by Tanya (Toni) DeMello MPA '08.

The Race Beat: Covering the Civil Rights Struggle at Any Cost

Hank Klibanoff, the managing editor of news at *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, and Gene Roberts, a professor at the Philip Merrill College of Journalism at the University of Maryland following 18 years as the executive editor of *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, provided a first-hand account of the civil rights movement that many have read only in books. In February, both came to the Woodrow Wilson School to share their personal involvement and work in reporting on the civil rights struggle in the United States. On the front lines of the media side of the civil rights movement in the southern U.S.—a region where both grew up—they, and others, had the determination to report on a struggle that changed the face of this nation.

Co-authors of the book *The Race Beat: The Press, the Civil Rights Struggle, and the Awakening of a Nation* (Random House, 2006), they tell the story of the nation's press, who—after decades of ignoring the problems of racial segregation, indignities, and injustice—slowly came to recognize the importance of the civil rights struggle and turn it into the most significant domestic news event of the twentieth century.

Klibanoff opened the discussion by sharing how the “media” story began in New York City in the mid-1930s, when the Carnegie Corporation decided that the one big issue with which America was not dealing was race. Carnegie commissioned a study on race relations in the U.S., with the hope of having a comprehensive, thorough examination of the issue. Carried out on a large scale, chaired by an independent, well-known Swedish Social Democrat, Gunnar Myrdal, and co-directed by prominent African-American intellectual Ralph Bunch, work began in a post-World War I America still mired in the Great Depression. Klibanoff noted that Myrdal was shocked by the revelations of deep racism by those he interviewed, as evidenced by his admission: “This is more than I ever could have imagined, I’m horrified by what we are finding.”

One defining event for Myrdal, said Klibanoff, was his mid-study return to Sweden with his family, precipitated by the events occurring in Europe just prior to World War II. While there, he sees something that puts into perspective what he had been seeing in the American South. In Europe, under the mere threat of Hitler's advance, governments collapsed; and one of the first institutions silenced upon their collapse was the press. In 1996, with the publication of his book (co-authored with his daughter, Sissela Bok), *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy* (Transaction Publishers), Myrdal crystallized this in what he called an “American creed”—that Americans have a strong belief in the core values of justice and fair play, but they easily can be led astray.

Essentially, said Klibanoff, Myrdal concluded that no one understood the depth of racism's grip in the South because no one was writing about it other than a vigorous and assertive—but largely non-influential—black press. Since the southern press was predominantly segregationist, it would be up to the members of the northern press to come to the South to discover the shocking conditions. Only then would people be shocked and shaken enough to begin to demand change. Quoted Klibanoff from the book, “to get publicity is of the highest strategic importance to the Negro people.”

Klibanoff also outlined how the *New York Times* was the first national paper to set up a bureau in the South and begin reporting on the story. He noted that “*The Times*’ leadership... was southern leadership. The South was a relevant story to them.” Little by little, the nation began to see—first through the genteel, hopeful reporting of stories of the desire for change, to the 1954 *Brown vs. Board of Education* decision striking down racial segregation, to the shocking story of the killing of three civil rights workers—how Black Americans consistently had their basic human rights violated with no recourse to redress these violations.

But, it was during the trial for the murder of Emmett Till, a 14-year-old Negro boy from Chicago, that the world finally saw a shocking example of the danger, prejudice, and inequality that was predominant in the South. Gene Roberts emphasized how this trial was the turning point in bringing the civil rights struggle to the forefront of American consciousness.

Sameer Khan



*“In *The Race Beat*, we certainly do not stop at Little Rock. We march through history with these great cataclysms—at Ole Miss, at Birmingham, at Selma, and the failure to have a cataclysm in Albany, Georgia.”*

—Hank Klibanoff (right), with co-author Gene Roberts (background).

Both reporters gave powerful and moving accounts of their personal stories and their witness to the progress of the civil rights movement, and left a powerful impression on those in attendance. Klibanoff, in particular, was sincere and reflective when discussing particular instances of violence. “1957 is Little Rock. Little Rock is enormously important. Arkansas, by southern standards, was relatively progressive. Little Rock looked as if it were on a course toward becoming integrated. Everyone was on board. When he had run, Governor Orville Faubus was on board. At the last minute, the segregationists got to Faubus, changed his mind, and everything changed...and it turned into a street brawl, a mess, it was violence...the Black press, which had the front row seat of the story...they were on their way to Central High on the day the nine black students are getting in, they just got the living hell beat out of them.”

“In *The Race Beat*,” said Klibanoff, “we certainly do not stop at Little Rock. We march through history with these great cataclysms—at Ole Miss, at Birmingham, at Selma, and the failure to have a cataclysm in Albany, Georgia.”

When Roberts began, he stated softly but clearly the reason he had come to speak. “I have vivid memories of the civil rights era,” he said. “My first real brush with it, as a reporter, was in northern Virginia in 1958. As part of the massive resistance to the school desegregation efforts, the state of Virginia seized control of six high schools and junior high schools in Norfolk rather than admit 14 black children to the schools. More than 6,000 white students were put out of school by the closing; parents in Norfolk rushed around starting ‘speakeasy’ schools in church basements. Schools were closed for four months.

When they finally reopened under heavy court pressure, I was assigned to one school that had over 2,000 white students and one lone black 15-year-old girl. And we forget, all these years later, what incredible courage it took to be the first black children to go to all white schools... I remember how after all of the white students were brought into the school...they would bring the black student up in a car, and she would go on her own to the school. There was about a one-block walkway from the car to school. She got about halfway, then just suddenly froze. Trembling all over. It seemed to me the trembling went on forever; it was probably a minute or two. And then she stuck out her chin, pulled her arms against her side, and propelled herself the last half block... I will never forget her courage.”

Roberts recalled that when he graduated from college, it was the same month as the 1954 *Brown vs. Board of Education* decision by the Supreme Court. “Knowing I was going into journalism, I fully expected desegregation to be the story of my career. But for the first few years, it didn’t seem

this way.” By 1960, he noted, even a state such as North Carolina, which considered itself “desegregated,” actually had managed to desegregate only three schools with a handful of Black students.

Perhaps one of the most memorable moments of the evening was when Roberts was asked by a member of the audience to share his impression of Dr. Martin Luther King. He paused for a few moments and responded, “He truly was all of the things that you have heard—he was so wise, so eloquent, he was a visionary. But, to me, my best memory of him was that when he’d talk to you so eloquently—he’d be eating popsicles. You know, those double stick popsicles? He was trying to lose weight and he loved those popsicles. He just loved them. And you had this incredible visionary talking to you, and I remember him talking and happily eating those popsicles.”

The stories of these personal moments, as well as their interviews with other participants and correspondents from this period of time, are the basis of *The Race Beat*. On that evening in February at WWS, both Roberts and Klibanoff expressed how they, and others, were moved, inspired, horrified, awakened, and enabled to use the news media to build up a sense of moral outrage that would eventually move the nation.

They spoke with both awe and humility about how it felt to watch Dr. King speak in churches and then see the people mobilize to fight together for the protection of their rights. They watched people with very little in their pockets give all that they had to the civil rights struggle, and they watched them unite for a cause that was about the protection of their very lives.

Those of us who were in attendance on that evening in February, listening to Roberts and Klibanoff speak so intimately, were witness not only to the struggle and victory of the civil rights movement, but also to the deep respect these reporters had for the men and women that gave their lives for it.

Public Affairs stories continue on next page

continued from previous page

A Real Look at the Diversity of Evangelicals

On March 4, Dr. D. Michael Lindsay '06 returned to his alma mater to share findings that he first discovered during his research at Princeton for his doctoral degree. Lindsay spoke openly and candidly about the role that evangelicals play in influencing the government in the U.S. However, it became clear that at the very heart of his talk was an earnest desire to deconstruct the “evangelical” monolith and demonstrate that there is great diversity among evangelical leaders and citizens in the U.S., and that while many things unite this group, they are becoming increasingly diverse on a number of issues.

Lindsay is the author of several books, and recently completed the nation's largest and most comprehensive study of public leaders who are people of faith. In his most recent book *Faith in the Halls of Power: How Evangelicals Joined the American Elite* (Oxford University Press, 2007), he discussed how evangelicals, “...once at the periphery of American life, now wield power in the White House and on Wall Street, at Harvard, and in Hollywood.” He shared countless stories about the hundreds of personal interviews he had with an array of prominent Americans—including two former presidents, dozens of political and government leaders, more than 100 top business executives, plus Hollywood moguls, intellectuals, athletes, and other powerful figures who have found a strong and influential voice in the American government.

His research centered on answering the following question: “Why have evangelicals had so much success in politics?” Estimates of evangelicals in the U.S. range between one-tenth to as much as one-third of the population—but regardless of their size, no one doubts the power of this voice as a lobby in government. But as they gain prominence and power in American society, evangelists are voicing views as individuals that most people would not assign to the group under which they fall. There are real differences in the political, social, and economic views and values of evangelists that are only increasing as the younger generation finds its voice, sometimes separating them from the group.

This may be worrying for the evangelical lobby because, as Lindsay stated, evangelists can credit their success in politics to the ability to unite as a group and choose a few key issues to mobilize them. These



Dr. Michael D. Lindsay '06, assistant professor of sociology, Rice University

issues have centered on clear religious values and attitudes about gay rights, abortion, and “family values.” And perhaps the greatest key to uniting evangelicals is the view that they are not lobbying for something necessarily, but rather against something—the destruction of family values at the base of their faith by government policies. Lindsay illustrated this aptly saying, “A movement doesn't have to have a God, but it has to have a devil. And, he added, “Evangelicals are united not so much in specific views, but in a belief that they can help to solve critical problems in both the U.S. and the world.”

Lindsay contended that evangelicals have built momentum in the political arena because of the momentum that they are building in all arenas. More evangelicals are going to Ivy Leagues and to college in general. Enrollment in Christian colleges is exploding, and the diversity of the students enrolling in Christian groups on campus is widely increasing. Lindsay highlighted this by noting that, “The Campus Crusade at Yale 20 years ago was 100 percent white and now it's 90 percent Asian American.”

But it's more than just a rise in education and accompanying rise in wealth. Evangelicals now are entering the realm of arts, entertainment,

and culture. Take films, for example. When the film “The Last Temptation of Christ” came out a decade ago, it was the most protested film by Christians in the U.S. However, just a few years ago, the release of “The Passion,” a clearly Catholic film, saw evangelicals buying out entire theatres. And most recently, evangelical patronage of movies such as “Chronicles of Narnia,” which is based on Christian theology, has alerted media moguls to the profits of capturing this audience. Lindsay shared, “It was like ‘the Passion meets Harry Potter’ and they came out in droves. Now, every studio has launched an initiative called ‘Faith-Friendly Entertainment.’ In business in general, we see this effect in everything from banks that are praying with customers upon granting them loans, to decisions by companies to include their values in advertising their product. The CEO of Jockey underwear made a decision that if ever there were a man and a woman in their ad, they wear wedding bands. She resisted the industry backlash to this decision and said simply, ‘It’s my way of putting my values out there.’”

Perhaps the rise in socioeconomic status will result in an even greater rise of evangelicals’ voices in politics. Does this mean that evangelicals will increasingly play a role in shaping and, as accused by many, ‘manipulating U.S. politics with their personal agendas’? Lindsay contested this view, saying, “Many evangelicals believe that politics is the ratification of culture, it doesn’t change culture, it validates it.”

But what does this mean when the culture of evangelicals itself is changing? There is a growing divide among evangelicals, many of whom do not see the political leaders of their faiths as representing them. These leaders have big personalities and there is a great divide between the leaders themselves. Lindsay outlined two categories of evangelist leaders: Populist evangelicals that use tradition and rhetoric to mobilize the community, and “Cosmopolitan evangelicals” that are more worldly and diverse as a group and in their thinking. The latter speak of coalitions with other religious groups and a widening of the debates on many religious issues. And as young evangelicals grow into positions of leadership, there is a real sense that the agenda is broadening. Lindsay affirmed this, saying, “There is a greater openness about the environment and a greater focus on care for the poor, and there is a softening on protesting gay rights.” This shift can be seen in one strong example of the push by evangelicals that effectively pressured the Bush administration to intervene in the crisis in Darfur. Evangelicals, and the youth in particular, have a wider number of concerns and are no longer single-issue voters that unite them politically.

It remains to be seen how this will play out in politics. As the federal election quickly approaches this fall, Lindsay himself cannot predict whether any of the remaining candidates will be able to rally “the evangelical vote.” With so many issues on the table, their vote, like the rest of Americans’, will be decided based on personal views that no longer necessarily fall into one neat category. And while their faith remains central to these views, their interpretation of that faith into values and politics is deeply personal and diverse.

Public Affairs stories continue on next page

Conference on the Future of Afghanistan

continued from page 19

in Afghanistan but warned also of possible internal political rivalries. They agreed that a sustained international engagement is especially urgent now as perceptions within Afghanistan are that the international community is losing interest and that aid will be increasingly unreliable.

Danspeckgruber was positive about the outcomes of the conference. “The success of the conference was largely due to the caliber and experience of the participants and their readiness to engage in candid and honest exchange, both from the perspective of our Afghan friends and from the ‘expats’ who live in Afghanistan, but also from the EU and NATO experts. I believe we were able to generate sensible and practical solutions for concrete and feasible next steps in Afghanistan, particularly in micro-economics, training and education, and inner-Afghan consensus building.”



WWWS M.P.P. candidate Richard Atwood spoke about Afghanistan’s upcoming parliamentary and presidential elections during a panel session on electoral reform.

A report of policy recommendations that emerged from the conference is available online at www.princeton.edu/lisd/publications/AfghBrief_2007.pdf. ■

Felten: Computer Privacy and E-Voting

continued from page 27

close in some swing states, and there are discrepancies or issues with the voting machines in those states. At least in Florida in 2000, the recount had punchcard ballots that people could hold up and look at with magnifying glasses, and you could argue about the dimpled chads. With the electronic voting machines you have one record, it’s electronic, and you either believe it or you don’t. There can be no real recount.

In some cases we have had reports of electronic voting technologies reporting results that are obviously wrong. So, that is the worst case, where something is obviously wrong and the election is close in some swing state, and what do you do?

Right now we have a project where we are trying to look at a combination of party affiliations and polling results, and determine which states are likely to be swing states, then put that together with what we know about the voting technology and our estimate of the risk attached to each technology. The aim is to make a map of the hot states or the hot counties where the risk is highest. We’ll be updating that map as we get closer to the November elections. ■

continued from previous page

Democratic and Republican Parties See Great Change in 2008

When Mara Liasson, national political correspondent for National Public Radio (NPR) agreed to speak at Princeton many months ago, she had no idea that she would arrive right before the Texas and Ohio primaries of 2008. The campus was buzzing with excitement and anticipation, and the auditorium was packed with people ready and waiting to hang on her every word. Everyone wanted to hear her prediction for the outcome, but most people, Republicans and Democrats alike, wanted to know the answer to one question: Would Hillary Clinton have a 'comeback' or would Barack Obama be the clear Democratic nominee?

Liasson provides extensive coverage of politics and policy from Washington D.C. for NPR, focusing on the White House and Congress. Each election year, she provides key coverage of the candidates and issues in both presidential and congressional races. She seemed to be one person that could provide the answer to that question. However, Liasson surprised the audience with her opening statement.

She stated: "You can make the argument that it's McCain, not Clinton or Obama, that represents the change for a party." She asserted that the real shock this year was in the rise and victory of a Republican whose views on everything from campaign finance reform to global warming to immigration are at complete odds with his party. "McCain," she said, "has wrapped it up, and his victory is the most improbable comeback of the race."

She praised McCain for the gritty determination that drove him to pack his own bags, fly coach across the country to New Hampshire, and give the state everything he had. He attended over 100 town meetings and claimed a victory that would domino across the nation. Republicans, unable to coalesce around one candidate, contributed to McCain winning with a coalition for moderates. Moreover, while she admits that "we do not yet know what 'McCainism' is going to look like," she posits that he could be a true reform Republican that would change the face of the Party—and that is the change about which no one has been talking.

On the Democratic side, Liasson stated without hesitation that Obama knows that Hillary Clinton is not giving up. He said himself: "Certain fighters cannot be defeated on points; they have to be knocked out." But while Obama was far ahead in both points and momentum, she warned the audience not to underestimate Clinton's ability to stay the course and surprise everyone. After all, this election, if nothing else, has been unpredictable.

She also warned the audience of the 'phenomenon' of Obama. She marveled,

"His rallies are like revival meetings, and there is a lot of love for him. But what I wonder is: When will that die? Will it die?" The nation seems to have fallen head over heels for Obama, who has raised record amounts from individual donations, shocked the world by winning the Iowa caucus and, yet, is seen as an ordinary man with the extraordinary gift of connecting with and inspiring people. However, though he has risen to celebrity status, she asks again, "When will he fall?"

Liasson predicts an Obama win of the Democratic primary nomination, but she, like everyone else, would not guarantee anything. Instead, she left the audience with many more questions to ponder that will play roles in securing the remaining votes. For example, Democrats are wondering whether Obama or Clinton is more likely to win in a general election against McCain. In addition, everyone is questioning who is most likely to receive the vote of Independents; what role the Superdelegates will play; if Michigan and Florida will come back into play; the role new voters will have in the general election; and if race, gender and age will play increasingly important roles.

She has no definitive answers for the audience, but like her, many undecided voters are grappling with these questions. However, she is sure of one thing: "This is the most exciting election of my career." And no matter which way you look at it, no matter who wins, change is coming to the White House. ■■■



Mara Liasson, national political correspondent for National Public Radio

Sameer Khan

CALENDAR

Thursday, May 1–Saturday, May 3, 2008

The Center for the Study of Democratic Politics

Bowl 001, Robertson Hall

“The American Electoral Process”

Panels will address a full range of issues related to elections in America, beginning with an overview of the complex 2008 election, and including: Data 2008: Survey Analyses in Real Time; When Campaigns Work; Turnout; Partisanship; Securing the Vote; Election Administration; and Campaign Dynamics. This conference will bring together top scholars from across the country to examine questions about how our electoral system works—and sometimes fails to work—in the context of this election year. Of special note, the conference will include presentations of early data and analysis from the two most ambitious scholarly studies of the 2008 campaign, the Cooperative Campaign Analysis Project conducted by YouGov/Polimetrix, and the Annenberg National Election Study conducted by the University of Pennsylvania. For more information visit www.princeton.edu/~csdp/.

Thursday, May 1, 2008

The Education Research Section, the *Future of Children* Journal, the Princeton Program in Teacher Preparation, and the Woodrow Wilson School

Dodds Auditorium, Robertson Hall; 7:00 p.m.–9:00 p.m.

“Children and Electronic Media: Parenting in the Technological Age”

A free evening seminar to provide parents with practical information on how they can help their children become cyber-savvy. Electronic media has become an integral part of children’s lives and a major point of interest for parents. Questions about the impact of electronic media on children’s wellbeing have led many parents to ask how and why they should be allowing their children to use technology. An overview of the research regarding electronic media and its links to achievement and social development will be provided. Free and open to the public. For more information visit www.futureofchildren.princeton.edu/media/.

Friday, May 2, 2008

The Education Research Section, the *Future of Children* Journal, the Princeton Program in Teacher Preparation, and the Woodrow Wilson School

Dodds Auditorium, Robertson Hall; 8:30 a.m.

“Students and Electronic Media: Teaching in the Technological Age”

The purpose of this conference is to showcase innovative uses of technology in the classroom and provide school districts with ways that they can enhance their classroom curriculums and professional development programs. Electronic media has become an integral part of students’ lives and a major point of interest for educators. Questions about the impact of electronic media on student learning and wellbeing have led many school districts to questions how and why they should be using technology. An overview of the research regarding electronic media and its links to achievement and social development will be provided as well. Registration required. For additional information about this conference, which is for school administrators and educators, may be found at www.futureofchildren.princeton.edu/media/.

Thursday, May 8, 2008

The Policy Research Institute for the Region, Princeton University Department of Molecular Biology

Dodds Auditorium, Robertson Hall

“The Health Enterprise in New Jersey: Education, Access, Quality & Research”

The first of a three-part series on the health enterprise in New Jersey. Each segment will address various aspects of the health enterprise in New Jersey, with a particular emphasis on education, access, quality, and research. Scholars, leaders, experts, and practitioners will gather to lend their insights and expertise to help advance the consideration of one of the most critical issues facing the state. At this first session, Dr. William F. Owen, Jr., president of the University of Medicine and Dentistry of New Jersey, will articulate his vision of the public medical university’s role in the provision of care, research, and education. Subsequent sessions are planned for September and October. For more information or to register, visit www.princeton.edu/prior/events/conferences/may-8-2008/index.xml.

Thursday, May 29, 2008

The Program in Law and Public Affairs

Frist Campus Center, Multipurpose Room; 8:30 a.m.

“Law and Religion—The Sixth Annual Continuing Legal Education Conference”

The United States is a deeply religious country—and a deeply constitutional country. But can it be religious and constitutional at the same time? The 2008 Continuing Legal Education conference will explore the law of religion and religious sources of law. Topics will include an opening lecture by Christopher Eisgruber ‘83 of Princeton University, *Separation of Church & State: Is it a Myth, a Mandate, or a Mistake?; Recent Constitutional Controversies over Religious Liberty; Funding Faith: Social Services and Religious Schools under the Constitution; A Comparative Perspective on the Legal Rights of Religious Minorities; and Matters of Faith: What Does Religion Require of Public Officials, Judges and Lawyers?* Pre-registration is required. Fee is \$125 for University alumni and \$300 for all others. *The conference is free for those with a Princeton University ID not seeking CLE credit. For more information or to register, visit lapa.princeton.edu/lawandreligion.php.

Robert F. Goheen, 16th President of Princeton, Dies at Age 88

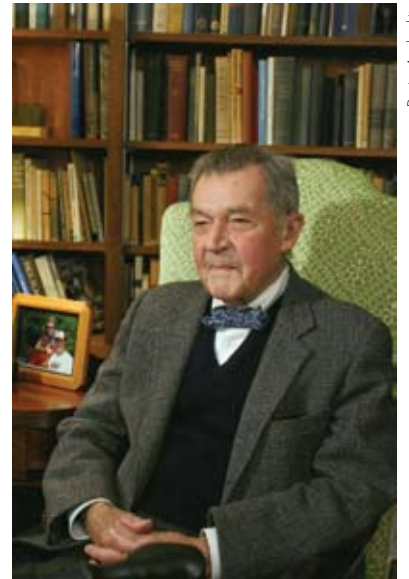
Robert F. Goheen, president of Princeton University from 1957 to 1972 during a period of transformative growth and change, died of heart failure Monday, March 31, at the University Medical Center at Princeton. He was 88.

Goheen was an assistant professor of classics when, at age 37, he was selected to become Princeton's 16th president. During his tenure, Princeton became coeducational, increased its ethnic and racial diversity, and coped with protests against the war in Vietnam. The University expanded its commitment to research, its annual budget quadrupled, alumni contributions more than doubled, and 25 new buildings were constructed on the main campus.

"With the passage of time, it becomes more and more clear that Bob Goheen was one of the great presidents of Princeton history," said University President Shirley M. Tilghman. "He demonstrated remarkable courage in all he did, from introducing coeducation and increasing the diversity of the student body, to strengthening the faculty and leading the University successfully through a time of societal upheaval in the late 1960s and early 1970s. He was greatly admired and respected for his leadership and vision and attentiveness to the views of others, and widely beloved among Princetonians for the values and personal qualities that were evident from the day he arrived on campus as a freshman and throughout his life."

Survivors include Goheen's wife of 66 years, Margaret; six children, Anne Goheen Crane of Ridgewood, N.J., Trudi Goheen Swain of Amherst, Mass., Stephen S. Goheen of Corvallis, Mont., Megan Goheen Lower of Baltimore, Md., Elizabeth Goheen of Princeton, N.J., and Charley R. Goheen of Wellesley, Mass.; 18 grandchildren; and six great-grandchildren.

A service of remembrance and celebration was held in the University chapel on Sunday, April 27. Memorial contributions be made to Princeton University's Annual Giving program, giving.princeton.edu/ag/. The University has created a memorial blog, intended to honor his life and legacy and is open to all of those who wish to share comments and stories that capture the spirit of one of Princeton's most beloved members. It is online at blogs.princeton.edu/goheen/. 📖



Denise Applewhite

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

Robertson Hall
Princeton, New Jersey 08544-1013