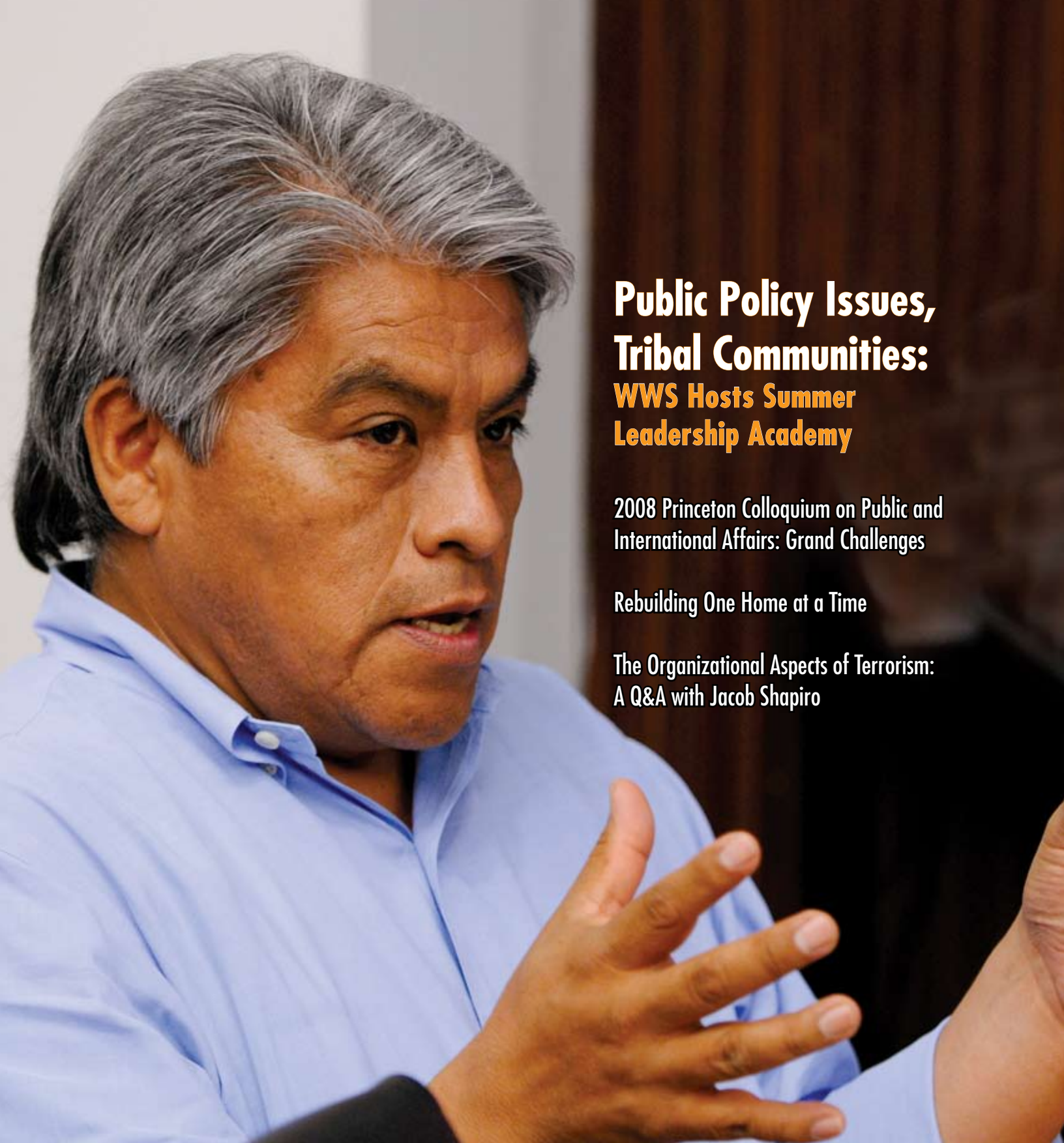


WWS NEWS

WOODROW WILSON SCHOOL
OF PUBLIC AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

VOL. 31, ISSUE 3
SUMMER 2008



Public Policy Issues, Tribal Communities: WWS Hosts Summer Leadership Academy

2008 Princeton Colloquium on Public and
International Affairs: Grand Challenges

Rebuilding One Home at a Time

The Organizational Aspects of Terrorism:
A Q&A with Jacob Shapiro

MESSAGE FROM THE DEAN

I am back from a sabbatical year in Shanghai with my family, thanks to University President Shirley Tilghman, and also Acting Dean Nolan McCarty—and the School’s administrative staff—who ran a tight ship in my absence and steered it skillfully toward a set of common goals.

One of the things I did while in China was read about networks. I wrote a book on global networks of national government officials in 2004; since then, a whole new crop of business books have come out about “managing in a horizontal (e.g. networked) environment.” A number of foreign policy books emphasize the difficulty of countering networks of everything from terrorists to traffickers in women and children; and books on the changing nature of government in the 21st century note the emergence of global policy and service networks of public, private, and non-profit actors. I also learned a lot about the networks that make the Association of Southeast Asian Nations run.

Here are some of the reflections I brought back to Princeton. First, the Princeton alumni network in Asia is very strong. Princeton-in-Asia (PIA), a program that places people in one-year jobs across Asia right after they graduate, takes applications from many different universities other than Princeton, but it is still over half Princeton alums and is a great source of contacts and knowledge about opportunities in different countries. More broadly, the Princeton Clubs in Shanghai, Beijing, Hong Kong, and Singapore are all vibrant and a great first stop for Princetonians in Asia looking for friends, jobs, or both.

Second, the best way to expand opportunities for our students and faculty abroad, in my view, is to support faculty members who want to build research networks of scholars in other countries or across a particular region. I visited universities in Japan, Singapore, Cambodia, Vietnam, Australia and Hong Kong as well as in many parts of China. I emphasized our desire to make contact at the faculty level and support networks that would engage students on an ongoing basis. For example, WWS professor Katherine Newman has built a research network across Europe—and now to Japan—on inequality that allows graduate students to study at multiple foreign universities, and hosts foreign faculty members and students back at Princeton.

Finally, William Fung ’70 is one of the partners in Li and Fung, the largest and most successful sourcing company in the world. In a new book Fung and his co-authors describe the critical skill of

“orchestrating networks,” linking different partners around the world at different times to produce different products to a common standard. Orchestration differs from management in a vertical organization. It purportedly “requires a more fluid approach that empowers partners and employees, yet demands that control be maintained at the same time.”¹

With that model in mind, I see the many problems America’s government faces, from education to healthcare to climate change, from counterterrorism to nonproliferation to poverty reduction, and contemplate the reduced capacity of the public sector to address them. Thus, the School has organized a task force on the Changing Nature of Government Service, headed by Paul Volcker ’49, which will issue a report in December on what the government and schools of public policy need to do to ensure that our government attracts and retains the level of talent necessary to serve both the country and the world effectively.

One of the answers, in my view, is to identify and develop the skills necessary to orchestrate networks of public, private, and non-profit actors working for the public good. One of the things I didn’t manage to get to on my sabbatical was to join the social networking generation; I have a profile on MySpace that I barely know how to use. I did figure out, however, that from a networked perspective, the world is really OurSpace; part of our job, here at the Woodrow Wilson School, is to harness networks of all kinds to make it a better space.



Anne-Marie Slaughter

¹ Victor K. Fung, William K. Fung and Yoram (Jerry) Wind, *Competing in a Flat World: Building Enterprises for a Borderless World* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Wharton Publishing, 2007), 11.

WWSN News

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



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Summer 2008

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Princeton, N.J. 08544-1013
Tel (609) 258-2943
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printing
Prism Color Corp., Inc.
Moorestown, N.J.

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Front cover by Sameer Khan

2008 Princeton Colloquium on Public and International Affairs

The Grand Challenges

by Jeanne Jackson-DeVoe

New infectious diseases such as chikungunya, and existing diseases such as HIV, tuberculosis, and malaria, are a global threat and any attempt to address diseases must deal with their root causes of conflict, change, and poverty, said Dr. Julie L. Gerberding at the 2008 Princeton Colloquium on Public and International Affairs.

Dr. Gerberding, the director of the U.S. Centers for Disease Control, was the keynote speaker at the sixth annual Princeton Colloquium on Public and International Affairs titled “The Grand Challenges: Energy, Development, and Global Health,” hosted by the Woodrow Wilson School on April 11 and 12.

“The scope and the magnitude of infectious disease in which we’re dealing in this flat world is really expanding,” Dr. Gerberding warned.

Dr. Gerberding’s discussion linking these issues reflected the interconnected topics of this year’s colloquium. Unlike previous colloquia that centered on one, in-depth topic, the colloquium this year focused on areas being addressed by the University’s Grand Challenges Initiative, in which the university takes aim at some of the major problems facing the world in the areas of energy, development, and global health in the developing world.

The colloquium was co-sponsored by the three schools that launched the Grand Challenges Initiative—the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, the School of Engineering and Applied Sciences, and the Princeton Environmental Institute.

“Princeton University is up to the task and has launched an ambitious initiative to bring the best minds in social science, policy, science, and

engineering together in an integrated approach to research and teaching designed to ameliorate and eliminate all these pressing problems,” said WWS Acting Dean Nolan McCarty during his introduction to the colloquium.

In keeping with the Grand Challenges theme, organizers made sure that most of the food served was organic and locally grown. Paper products were from recycled paper, salad containers were made from bagasse, a sugar cane substitute for paper, and even the disposable cutlery was made of PLA, a cornstarch bioplastic, according to WWS colloquium organizer Elizabeth Colagiuri MPA ’99.

In her keynote address, Dr. Gerberding painted a frightening picture of the threat of global diseases that easily can pass through populations worldwide, and offered a framework for understanding disease. She showed slides from her travels around the world, from Iraq to Africa, to illustrate her talk.

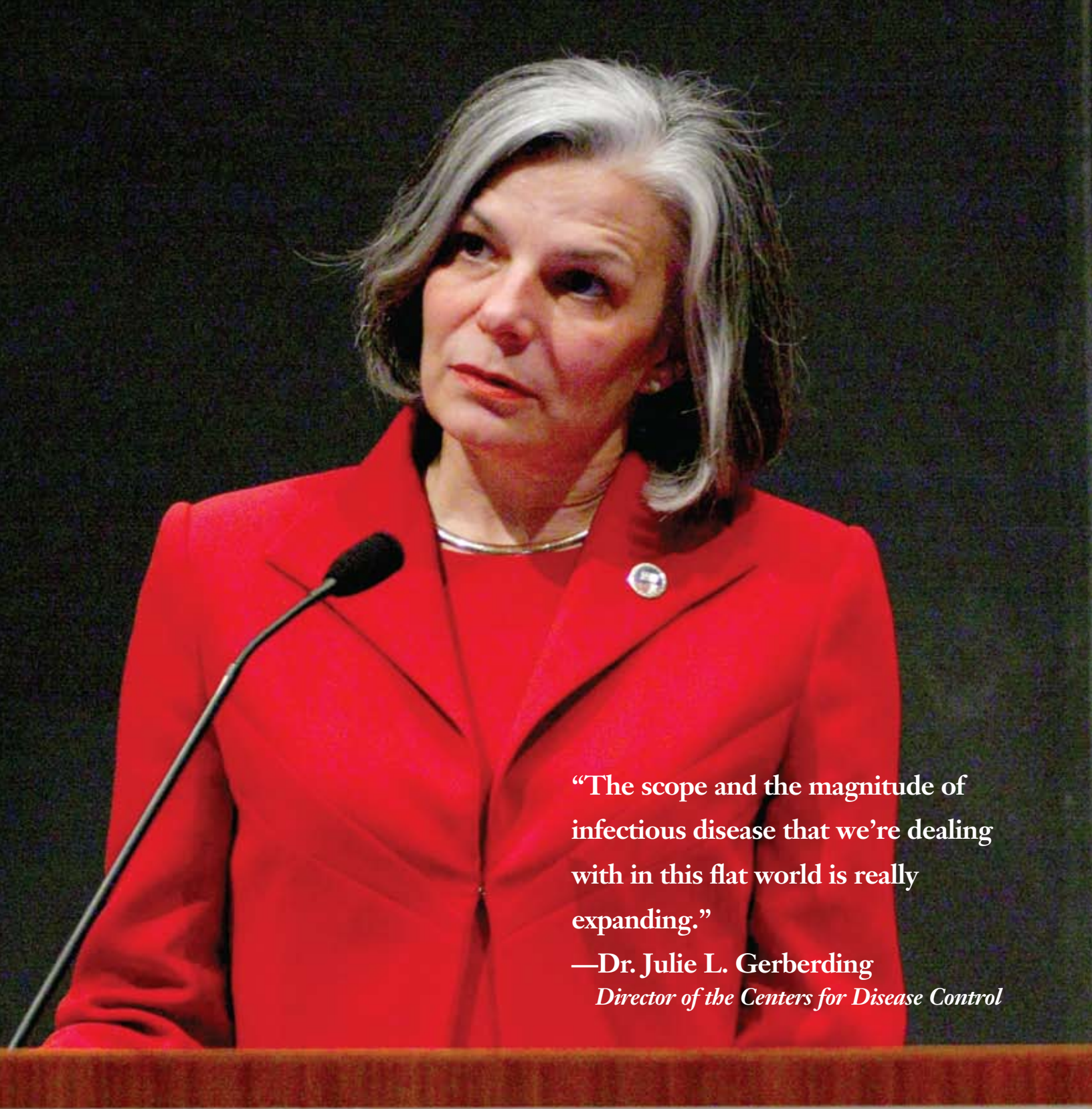
“These threats are without borders; they have no respect for continents, and it doesn’t matter whether they’re old or new—they’re formidable foes,” Dr. Gerberding said.

Chikungunya, which is spread by mosquitoes, has travelled from Asia to the Indian Ocean and to Europe, said Dr. Gerberding. Meanwhile, diseases that once were thought to be disappearing are reemerging, she explained. For example in Europe, so many people are not immunizing their children against measles that the disease is making a comeback.

When it comes to preventing disease, there are limited resources and “time is of the essence,” Dr. Gerberding noted. She pointed out that if we had invested \$15 billion in prevention at the outset of the AIDS pandemic, we might not have 15 million children orphaned by AIDS today.

Both travel and exposure to animals play roles in the spread of disease. But it also is useful to look at disease “in the global context in which these

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“The scope and the magnitude of infectious disease that we’re dealing with in this flat world is really expanding.”

—Dr. Julie L. Gerberding
Director of the Centers for Disease Control

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY
WOODROW WILSON SCHOOL
of Public & International Affairs

2008 Princeton Colloquium

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problems are emerging,” Dr. Gerberding told the audience, “including conflict, poverty, and climate change.”

Conflict plays a role in disease because it causes instability and makes it more difficult to prevent and treat disease, she said. One woman in northern Iraq, for example, told Dr. Gerberding she was worried her children might contract cholera due to the unsafe water because chlorine, which can be used to make bombs, was not available.

With 1.1 billion people worldwide living in poverty in 2001, poverty remains a huge root cause of disease, Dr. Gerberding said. She cited statistics from the World Health Organization showing how malnutrition has led to the deaths of 5.6 million children under the age of five. Another 146 million children are underweight and “at risk for death, illness, disability, and underachievement.”

Disease and health problems also are related to climate change, Dr. Gerberding said. Pollution can cause respiratory problems and higher temperatures can put stress on the heart, while natural disasters can cause injury and death.

But perhaps more importantly, climate change also threatens water security, Gerberding said. In the Mount Kilimanjaro region, for example, the disappearance of glaciers threatens the water supply of people living at the foot of the mountain.

“When you put these things together—conflict and poverty and climate change—you really are not just seeing a set of causes, you’re seeing a set of causes that interact with each other in a synergistic way,” she said.

Big solutions are needed and Gerberding remarked that solving the problem of water and sanitation security would be one way to address the root causes. She noted that at least 1.2 billion people in the world today do not have clean water.

She also noted that women should be enlisted to help solve the problem of water security and disease prevention because they are an untapped resource and are often the most vulnerable to disease. Women make up 58 percent of those infected with HIV in sub-Saharan Africa and about half of all HIV infections worldwide. Some examples of programs enlisting women are a program to train home health aides in Thailand and a program to train women to test and immunize for HIV in Rwanda, Gerberding said.

“The one big hope I have with all these threats and challenges is that the network is developing faster than the pathogens,” Gerberding



Sameer Khan

Dr. Anthony So MPA '86 discussed how the large amount of antibiotics in food and commercial products have made Americans resistant to the drugs that are supposed to protect them.

concluded. “How can we connect people—not just their money, but their hearts—in the humanity we all share that would really move us closer to solutions?”

The fight against diseases in developing countries was also the subject of the panel “Antibiotic Resistance: When Drugs Don’t Kill the Bugs.”

In 1945, penicillin inventor Alexander Fleming noted that “it is not difficult to make microbes resistant to penicillin in the laboratory by exposing them to concentrations not sufficient to kill them.” And those words have proven prophetic, said the panel’s moderator Dr. Anthony D. So MPA '86, director of programming, global health, and technology access at Duke University’s Terry Sanford Institute of Public Policy.

MRSA, a strain of staph that is resistant to broad-spectrum antibiotics, killed more people in the U.S. than HIV in 2005, Dr. So said, and globally more people died from drug-resistant infections in hospitals than from malaria.

One reason is the prevalence of antibiotics in cleaners, soap, and even toothbrushes. But the huge culprits in the U.S. are farms where some 35 million tons of antibiotics are added to the feed of cows, chickens, and pigs. Those antibiotics then are ingested by humans and leech into the ecosystem, noted Dr. Stuart Levy, director of the Center for Adaptation Genetics and Drug Resistance at Tufts University School of Medicine.

The Food and Drug Administration does not regulate antibiotics in animal feed. But a federal bill, S. 549 “Preservation of Antibiotics for Medical Treatment Act of 2007,” would phase out use of several antibiotics in agriculture, said Dr. David Wallinga MPA '94, physician-director of the Food and Health Program at the Institute of Agriculture and Food Policy in Minneapolis.

Maria Freire, former president of the TB Drug Alliance, described the battle to fight drug-resistant diseases as a battle “in which we have no weapons.” But, she said, those weapons are being developed by the non-profit’s efforts to develop and market new antibiotics to combat tuberculosis. Thus far, 13 drugs are in the pipeline.

Another panel on “Energy, Climate and Security” turned its attention to energy security. By the year 2030 the world will consume 40 percent more energy than it did in 2005, and most of that demand will come from the developing world, according to a report by ExxonMobil, said



In the panel on Energy, Climate, and Security, Richard Vierbuchen MPA '94 noted that by the year 2030 the world will consume 40 percent more energy than it did in 2005, and most of the demand will come from the developing world.

Richard C. Vierbuchen MPA '94, vice-president of Caspian/Middle East Region, ExxonMobil Exploration Co. At the same time, global emissions will increase by 35 percent.

But there are few viable alternatives, said David Goldwyn MPA/JD '86 of Goldwyn International Strategies. "Today, the world consumes 86 million barrels of oil. There's no way you can just switch that with windmills or solar panels or anything," he said. What is needed is a "serious cap and trade policy that addresses both stationary sources like power plants and mobile sources like transportation," Goldwyn said.

With 1.6 billion people worldwide lacking electricity, energy is an integral component of development, said Ann Florini, director of the Centre on Asian and Globalization at the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy in Singapore. Energy security must be addressed in tandem with climate change and human rights in order for any progress to be made, in order to "have trade-offs across the issue areas," she said.

A panel on "Eco-Friendly Development" grappled with the issue of how to promote development in Africa while at the same time working in an environment that is coping with droughts, deforestation, and ecological problems caused by the mining and oil industries.

The droughts and dwindling water supply in many areas make development and intensive agriculture problematic, explained Professor of Civil and Environmental Engineering Kelly K. Caylor.

Julius E. Coles MPA '66, the president of Africare, said Africa faces difficulties in establishing sustainable development because of its extreme poverty. With some 600 million people living on less than \$2 a day, many people continue practices to eke out a living that hurt the environment.


"Trees are cut for fuel wood, land-degrading farming styles have been adopted, wildlife are being hunted to extinction, natural resources have been exploited—all to satisfy today's pressing livelihood needs," Coles said.

Africa also cannot achieve sustainable development without decreasing its reliance on its natural resources, Coles warned. Extraction industries that mine oil and diamonds have exploited Africa's natural resources, and Cole called China "a giant looming on the horizon" in this regard.

Africa's burgeoning population, which will double in 30 years if it continues growing at its current rate, also impacts the ecosystem and has led to huge growth in Africa's urban areas. A quarter of city dwellers do not have electricity and 43 percent lack pipeline water, he said.

Joshua R. Ginsberg, *88, vice-president for conservation operations at the Wildlife Conservation Society, agreed that the extreme poverty in Africa makes linking conservation and development essential.

Ginsberg cited several examples of projects in which conservation became an integral part of development plans. One company, the Elephant Pepper Co., grows chili peppers (that elephants dislike intensely) as barriers that keep elephants from destroying other crops. This protects the elephants from being shot by farmers and the peppers can be marketed as wildlife friendly.

Complete webcasts of the keynote and all panels from the 2008 Princeton Colloquium on Public and International Affairs may be accessed online by visiting www.princeton.edu/~pcpia. 



In keeping with the Grand Challenges theme, organizers made sure that most of the food served was organic and locally grown. Paper products were from recycled paper, salad containers were made from bagasse, a sugar cane substitute for paper, and even the disposable cutlery was made of PLA, a cornstarch bioplastic. Colloquium participants received the above cards detailing the efforts that had been made (printed on 100% recycled paper).

FACULTY NOTES

Jon Roemer



Barbara Bodine

Donald E. Stokes Professor of Public and International Affairs **Larry M. Bartels'** new book, *Unequal Democracy: The Political Economy of the New Gilded Age* (Princeton University Press, June 2008) has been excerpted in the *New York Times Magazine* and prominently reviewed in the *Washington Post Book World*. It was the focus of panel discussions in Princeton, Washington, and New York featuring Jonathan Alter of *Newsweek*, Professor of Economics and International Affairs **Paul Krugman**, and prominent political scientists William Galston, Thomas Mann, and James Stimson, among others. In August it will be featured on "The Open Mind," which airs on WNET in New York and other U.S. public television stations.

Jon Roemer



Tom Christensen

On June 16, Theodore A. Wells '29 Professor of Economics and Public Affairs **Roland Benabou** presented one of six of the Deutsche Bank Lectures at Goethe University in Frankfurt, Germany. The lectures were on the theme of economic inequality and justice, and the title of Benabou's talk was "Inequality and the Social Contract: from Fundamentals to Ideology."

In February, Diplomat-in-Residence **Barbara Bodine** spoke at The City College of New York (CCNY). Her lecture, "The United States and Iraq: Cassandra's Curse and Pandora's Box," was sponsored by the Master's Program in International Relations (MPIR) in CCNY's Division of Social Sciences. In May she spoke at the University of California, Santa Barbara. Her talk, "Repairing the Damage: Foreign Policy Prescriptions for the Next Administration," was sponsored by the School's Institute of International Studies.

Sameer Khan



Robert Finn

George Bustin, a visiting lecturer of public and international affairs this past spring and a faculty associate of the Program in Law and Public Affairs in the upcoming year, on March 31 gave a talk in Cincinnati, "Encounters with the New Russia," at a joint meeting of the Foreign Policy Leadership Council and the Ohio Valley Princeton Association. On April 16 he delivered the C.V. Starr Lecture at New York Law School entitled "The European Union and Russia: From the Normative to the Geopolitical." At the end of July, he participated in a panel on developments in the international law of cultural property with Evan Davis, former president of the bar association of the City of New York, at the offices of Cleary Gottlieb Steen & Hamilton LLP in New York, and on August 7, he was a panelist at an all-day conference concerning the Administrative Law of the European Union at Cardozo Law School of the Administrative Law and Regulatory Practice Section of the American Bar Association. In addition, on September 5 he will address a task force of the European Institute for Strategic Studies in

Paris on the relations between the European Union and the Russian Federation, a topic that was the subject of his recent WWS seminar. The task force is preparing a report for the European Council on pending negotiations with Russia on a new partnership agreement

Anne Case, the Alexander Stewart 1886 Professor of Economics and Public Affairs, and **Christina Paxson**, the Hughes-Rogers Professor of Economics and Public Affairs, had their paper "Stature and Status: Height, Ability, and Labor Market Outcomes" published in the June 2008 issue of *The Journal of Political Economy*. Their working paper previously was covered by major news outlets internationally.

Professor of Politics and International Affairs **Tom Christensen** testified before the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission in March. In his testimony, "Shaping China's Global Choices Through Diplomacy," he discussed how U.S. policy has responded to China's growing influence in the East Asia region and around the world.

John Darley, the Dorman T. Warren Professor of Psychology and Public Affairs, discussed the concept of "moral luck" at a workshop at Brooklyn Law School's Center for the Study of Law, Language, and Cognition last fall. Darley and the other panelists presented their findings from recent studies focusing on why, when two people perform similarly bad acts and only one causes injury, the lucky perpetrator is often treated better than the one whose conduct caused harm.

Director of the Liechtenstein Institute on Self-Determination and Lecturer of Public and International Affairs **Wolfgang Danspeckgruber** recently completed a trip to Afghanistan, where he was conducting field research and making an assessment of the capital's security and economy. While there he reported on his observations of the status of Kabul and outlying regions.

Dwight D. Eisenhower Professor of International Affairs **Angus Deaton** was awarded a Doctor of Letters, *Honoris Causa*, from the University of St. Andrews, Scotland, on June 25. In mid-March, he spoke at the Department of Economics at MIT. His talk, titled "Nutrition in India: Facts and Interpretations," was part of the MIT Labor/Development Workshop.

In March, Lecturer of Public and International Affairs **Robert Finn** delivered a talk to the Council on Foreign Affairs in Denver on "Afghanistan's Clouded Future." He also presented "Afghanistan's Past and Future" at the American Academy in Berlin.

Professor of Politics and International Affairs **Aaron Friedberg** participated in the panel discussion “How to Rethink Policy Planning” at the Fletcher School at Tufts University in April. The event was part of the School’s conference “The Past, Present, and Future of Policy Planning.”

Hughes-Rogers Professor of Demography and Public Affairs **Noreen Goldman** recently completed a year as acting director of the Office of Population Research while director James Trussell was on sabbatical. She recently completed the second round of fieldwork of a national survey in Taiwan (the Social Environment and Biomarkers of Aging Study) and has been working to make the data publicly available. Goldman also embarked on a project to examine SES differentials in health among Latinos in the U.S. and in Mexico, and is collaborating with the Panel Study of Income Dynamics to examine the potential for future collection of biomarkers. She is a member of the National Academy of Sciences panel on Understanding Divergent Trends in Longevity in High-Income Countries, which will explore the decline in the relative position of the U.S. with regard to older age mortality and the implications for the future trajectory of U.S. mortality.

Assistant Professor of Politics and International Affairs **Emilie Hafner-Burton** participated in the panel discussion “Can the Human Rights Movement Achieve its Goals? Contrasting Visions” at the Kennedy School’s conference on “Human Rights and the New Global Order” in May.

Professor of Politics and International Affairs **John Ikenberry** co-chaired a recently released study on the future of the U.S.–Korea alliance titled “The Search for a Common Strategic Vision: Charting the Future of the U.S.–ROK Security Partnership.” The report, an initiative of the East Asia Foundation, the Institute for Korean Unification Studies at Yonsei University, and the College of William and Mary, concludes a three-year dialogue between American and South Korean foreign policy experts, and outlines the strengths and

weaknesses of the U.S.–Korea alliance while addressing future security challenges facing the partnership.

Harold James, a professor of history and international affairs, was elected as a member of the Berlin Brandenburg Academy of Sciences on July 4 and installed in a ceremony in the presence of the president of the Federal Republic of Germany, Horst Köhler, the following day. In March, James participated alongside Jean-Claude Trichet, the President of the European Central Bank, and Otmar Issing, former economics director of the ECB, in a conference organized by the Bundesbank and the European Association of Banking History marking the 10th anniversary of the creation of the European single currency, the Euro. On May 23, he gave the dinner speech at the annual research conference of the German Bundesbank on the theme of “Financial Globalization,” and on May 29 presented the Italian translation of his book on family business at the Bocconi University in Milan. He also presented a paper on the context of the Bretton Woods Agreement to a conference in Birkbeck College London on June 6, the theme of the conference being the remaking of the European political and social order after 1945; and on June 12, he gave the keynote address at a conference on family business in Germany, organized by the Heinrich Heine Universität Düsseldorf. He also participated in a conference organized by the Austrian National Bank on institutional developments in the international financial system.

Bendheim Professor of Economics and Public Policy **Alan Krueger**, and Arthur Stone, distinguished professor and vice chair in the department of psychiatry and behavioral science at Stony Brook University, published an article on the occurrence of pain in *The Lancet* entitled “More Than 25 Percent of Americans Experience Pain.” Among other things, they found a large income gap—people who make less than \$30,000 a year spend nearly 20 percent of their time in moderate to severe pain, compared with just 7 percent for those who make over \$100,000 a year. Krueger also testified in March before the Senate

HELP committee on his latest research on unemployment and job search.

S. Daniel Abraham Professor in Middle Eastern Policy Studies **Daniel Kurtzer** recently was appointed by Governor Jon Corzine to serve as the chair of the New Jersey-Israel Commission, whose purpose is to stimulate bilateral business, education, and cultural cooperation. This past spring he delivered two papers at a conference in Israel, convened by Tel Aviv University, on the role of external powers in resolving regional disputes, and also spoke at a conference in Greece, convened by the Greek government and UCLA, on regional security in the Middle East. Kurtzer also published a review essay in the July/August 2008 issue of *Foreign Affairs* entitled “Shortsighted Statecraft: America’s Muddled Middle East Policy.” On May 27 he testified before the House of Representatives’ Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on the Middle East and South Asia on the subject of U.S. relations with Israel and Egypt. In his testimony, he highlighted the importance of the United States’ relationship with Israel and Egypt, but stated that with U.S. relations with both countries there is “unfinished business.” Dan stated, “The most pressing unfinished business of the U.S.–Israeli relationship relates to the search for a comprehensive peace settlement between Israel and the Arabs. Egypt, on the other hand,” he said, “has been slow in transitioning to a pluristic democracy. In addition, the U.S. and Egypt have differed on the tactics and strategy to be used in conducting Middle East peace negotiations.

Professor and Senior Policy Analyst **Adel Mahmoud** in August was among the keynote speakers at the World Vaccine Asia 2008 Congress in Singapore. His presentation will address the unmet vaccine needs of the developing world.

Douglas Massey, the Henry G. Bryant Professor of Sociology and Public Affairs, was the keynote speaker in July at “Scholars Week,” an annual celebration of undergraduate research and creative activities at Western Washington University.

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FACULTY NOTES

Jon Roemer



John Ikenberry

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William S. Tod Professor of Sociology and Public Affairs **Sara McLanahan** was a guest speaker in April at the Center for Child and Family Policy at Duke University as part of the Center's Sulzberger Colloquium.

Deborah Pearlstein, an associate research scholar in the Program in Law and Public Affairs, in April participated in the panel discussion "Using Private Military Contractors: Issues of Accountability" at Duke University's School of Law. The event was part of the University's "Combating Terrorism: Charting the Course for a New Administration" conference.

Lee Silver, professor of molecular biology and public affairs, was a planner and the moderator of a 2008 Princeton University Reunions faculty panel discussion on science and religion, "Building a Framework of Factual Human Knowledge in a Faith-based Society" held on May 30. The panel examined some of the issues that encompass science and religion, including each claiming dominion over much of society and human knowledge, and discussed how attempts to resolve differences may at times seem to exacerbate the problem. He also presented the keynote address, "Reproductive Genetics and Future Evolution of the Human Species" at the 8th International Symposium on Preimplantation Genetic Diagnosis held in Barcelona, Spain on April 25. Silver was also a panelist in a debate held by the Donald and Paula Smith Family Foundation, "Do We Have the Right to Improve Upon Human Nature?" Panelists on either side of the debate discussed whether the new technologies that promise to extend and improve human life that have resulted from a better understanding of genetics and medicine are right, or whether these interventions are "playing God."

Diane Snyder, lecturer of politics and international affairs, was a guest professor in March at Charles University, Prague, Czech Republic, where she delivered a Master's Seminar on "U.S. National Security and Intelligence Policy: 1945–Present." The intensive course was part of Charles University's new Master's in International Relations degree program, and was co-sponsored by the Czech Security Studies Institute in Prague. Her course focused on the evolution of the U.S. intelligence community since its formation, during the Cold War, to recent developments for the intelligence community in the post-9/11 environment. The course emphasized the challenges for intelligence, highlighting successes and failures within the U.S. constitutional democracy and U.S. government responses to major domestic or geopolitical events. She later hosted a

roundtable discussion at the Prague Security Studies Institute attended by former military, intelligence, diplomatic, and other government officials for a discussion on "Evolution of U.S. Intelligence Policy since 9/11 and Forecast for the Future."

Maurice P. During '22 Professor in Demographic Studies **Marta Tienda** will be featured in the September, 2008 issue of *Biography Today*, a magazine profiling people the editorial board believes "will interest and inspire students in late elementary through middle school." The magazine appears in school media centers and public libraries.

Professor of Ecology and Evolutionary Biology and Public Affairs **David Wilcove**, and ecology and evolutionary biology graduate student Lian Pin Koh together published an article in *Conservation Letters* entitled "Is Oil Palm Agriculture Really Destroying Tropical Biodiversity?" in which they show that, contrary to claims by the Malaysian and Indonesian governments, tropical forests are being cleared to grow oil palm. Using data on the distribution of birds and butterflies in old-growth forests, logged forests, rubber plantations, and oil palm plantations, the authors show that the conversion of old-growth or logged forests to oil palm results in substantial reductions of biodiversity, while conversion of rubber plantations to oil palm does not. In a new paper in the Public Library of Science–Biology (PLoS Biology), Martin Wikelski of the Max Planck Institute of Ornithology and Wilcove discuss the ecological and social implications of ongoing declines of migratory animals around the world. Declines affect a wide range of species, including birds, mammals, reptiles, amphibians, fish, insects, and other invertebrates. The authors argue that the continued decline of migratory species could be harmful to agriculture, forestry, and other important human activities. Moreover, protecting migratory species, which typically cross all sorts of human-created borders and boundaries, poses unique social and political challenges.

Professor of History and Public Affairs **Julian Zelizer** published an article in the June 2008 issue of the *Boston University Law Review*, "The Conservative Embrace of Presidential Power," and has had articles published recently in *The Washington Post*, *Politico*, and *The Huffington Post*. In May, he convened a conference at the Woodrow Wilson School on the history of the presidency of George W. Bush, with several of the nation's leading historians participating. The purpose of the conference was to present early versions of chapters he is editing that will be part of a book on this topic. He also presented papers at the Miller Center for Public Affairs, the Policy History Conference, and the Texas Lone Star Forum, where his new manuscript was the focus of a session. ■

Jon Roemer



Daniel Kurtzer

Jon Roemer



Marta Tienda

WWS Appoints New Faculty for 2008-09

The Woodrow Wilson School has hired several new faculty members, including four practitioners and five junior professors. In addition, two Princeton faculty have been jointly appointed to the School.

Jim Gadsden MCF '85, U.S. ambassador to Iceland from 2002 to 2005, will join the School as diplomat-in-residence. Gadsden is a career foreign service officer with three decades of experience with the State Department, in Washington D.C. and abroad. He earned a Bachelor of Arts degree in economics from Harvard University in 1970 and a Master's degree in East Asian studies from Stanford University. He continued graduate studies in economics at Princeton in 1984.

Hugh Price joins the School as the John L. Weinberg/Goldman Sachs and Company Visiting Professor of Public and International Affairs. A senior fellow at the Brookings Institution, Price served as the president and chief executive officer of the National Urban League from 1994 to 2003. He writes on issues related to education, civil rights, equal opportunity and criminal justice.

Steven Simon MPA '83, most recently the Hasib J. Sabbagh Senior Fellow for Middle Eastern Studies at the Council on Foreign Relations, has also received an appointment as the John L. Weinberg/Goldman Sachs and Company Visiting Professor of Public and International Affairs. His expertise is in the areas of U.S. security policy in the Middle East and south Asia, Middle East politics, Palestinian–Israeli relations, transatlantic approaches to Islamic activism, terrorism and counterterrorism, and intelligence reform.

Ambassador **Francesc Vendrell**, recently the European Union's special representative for Afghanistan, will join the School as the Frederick H. Schultz '51 Professor of International Policy. Vendrell started his career at the United Nations in 1968 and held a number of positions until 2000, including director of Asia and the Pacific Division at the UN Department of Political Affairs, personal representative of the Secretary General for Afghanistan, and head of the United Nations Special Mission to Afghanistan.

Jan de Loecker will join the faculty as an assistant professor of economics and international affairs. Most recently at New York University, his research focuses on industry dynamics using firm- and product-level data, with a particular focus on productivity and the role of international trade.

Taryn Dinkelman, from the University of Michigan, will join the School as an assistant professor of economics and public affairs. Dinkelman's areas of interest are in development economics and labor economics. Her secondary fields of research include economic demography, health economics, and applied econometrics.

Amy Lerman will join the faculty from the University of California as an assistant professor of politics and public affairs. Her research is focused in the areas of bureaucracy, political behavior, public policy, and civil society. She is particularly interested in issues related to social identity, political participation, and compliance.

Georges Reniers, recently a research associate at the Institute for Behavioral Science at the University of Colorado, Boulder, has been appointed



Paul DiMaggio



Stephen Kotkin



James I. Gadsden



Hugh Price



Steve Simon



Francesc Vendrell



Jan de Loecker



Taryn Dinkelman



Amy Lerman



Georges Reniers



Bradley Simpson

as an assistant professor of sociology and public affairs. His research interests include social demography, demographic methods, population health and mortality, and HIV/AIDS. He received his Ph.D. from the University of Pennsylvania.

Bradley Simpson, currently at the University of Maryland, will join the School as an assistant professor of history and international affairs. His research focuses on twentieth century U.S. foreign relations and international history. His first book, *Economists with Guns: Authoritarian Development and U.S.–Indonesian Relations, 1960–1968* (Stanford University Press, 2008) explores the intersection of anti-communism and modernization ideology in shaping U.S.–Indonesian relations during the 1960s. He received his Ph.D. from Northwestern University.

New joint appointments include **Stephen Kotkin**, the Rosengarten Professor of Modern and Contemporary History and director of the Program in Russian and Eurasian Studies at the University. Kotkin teaches world history, Soviet history, global cities, and a course on dictators and dictatorships.

Paul DiMaggio, a professor of sociology at Princeton, will have a joint appointment at WWS as well. He currently is studying the impact of social class on the use of new digital technologies and the connection between Internet use and income. ■■■

PUBLIC POLICY TRIBAL COMMUNITY

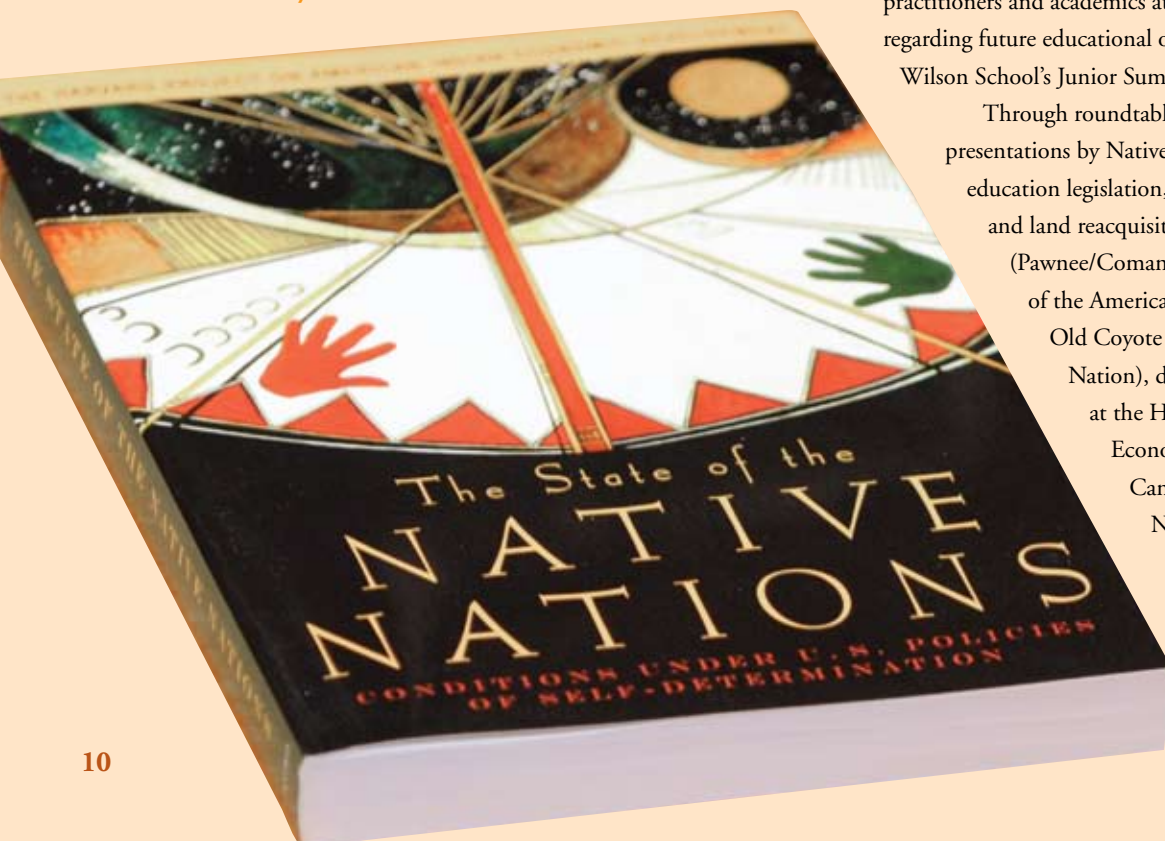
Visiting Native American students exploring public policy issues facing indigenous populations

In June, the Woodrow Wilson School hosted 18 Native American high school students from the Santa Fe Indian School Leadership Program's 2008 Summer Policy Academy. The program offered high school students the opportunity to examine public policy and tribal community issues during their week-long stay at the University.

Students from the 19 New Mexico tribes and pueblos are nominated to participate in the program by teachers, community leaders, professionals, and tribal leaders.

"The Woodrow Wilson School hosted the Summer Policy Academy to promote participants' higher education aspirations, particularly in public policy and international affairs," said Jose Ochoa, associate director of graduate admissions at WWS. "There is an opportunity gap in the number of Native American students pursuing graduate degrees and careers in public policy and international affairs. We believe that their exposure to public policy practitioners and academics at Princeton expanded their horizons regarding future educational opportunities through the Woodrow Wilson School's Junior Summer Institute and graduate programs."

Through roundtable discussions, case studies and presentations by Native American leaders, students examined education legislation, water rights settlement, healthcare and land reacquisition. Speakers included Kevin Gover (Pawnee/Comanche), director of the National Museum of the American Indian in Washington, D.C.; Jackie Old Coyote (Ho-Chunk descent, Apsaalooke/Crow Nation), director of education and outreach at the Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development; and Melissa Candelaria (San Felipe Pueblo) of the New Mexico Department of Indian Affairs. The week culminated at the National Press Club in Washington, D.C. where students presented their findings and policy



CY ISSUES, MUNITIES

e challenges and issues



All photos by Sameer Khan

Regis Pecos '77 is the chief of staff for New Mexico's House Speaker Ben Lujan, sponsor of the Santa Fe Indian School Leadership Program.

recommendations to the National Congress of American Indians.

“The Summer Policy Academy was conceived for the purpose of exposing young people to all the challenges and issues in tribal communities,” said Regis Pecos '77, director of the Leadership Program and chief of staff for New Mexico's House Speaker Ben Lujan, the sponsor of the academy. “It focuses on federal policies and the way in which federal policies impact Indian people and tribal communities.”

On the day before and in preparation for their Washington presentations, students broke up into groups and held “mock” policy briefings at the Woodrow Wilson School. Each panel addressed a particular issue central to the Native American community—namely, the preservation of the Native American language, water rights, and healthcare.

In calling for funding for maintaining their native language, students emphasized the importance of maintaining Native American dialects for current and future generations. The

panel underscored the need for the U.S. government to make a commitment to educational programs that retain the Native American oral tradition, noting that indigenous people are currently struggling to preserve their native language.

The panel presenting their case for enhanced water rights highlighted the economic, cultural, and environmental significance of water to native people and the need to empower their communities with water sovereignty and sustainable water resources. Students placed significant emphasis on the critical role water plays in the sacred traditions of Native American people.

The final group addressed healthcare issues. Students underscored what they believe to be “a lack of political will” on the part of the U.S. government regarding Native Americans, pointing out that while the state of New Mexico has a number of state-of-the-art medical facilities that treat both mental health and physical ailments, no such facility exists for the state's indigenous

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WWS Awards Degrees, Academic Prizes as Part of Princeton's 261st Commencement

As part of the 261st Princeton University Commencement on June 3, the Woodrow Wilson School awarded degrees and academic prizes to undergraduate and graduate candidates.

Eighty-three Woodrow Wilson graduate students—55 M.P.A., 8 M.P.A.-U.R.P., 16 M.P.P., and 4 Ph.D. candidates—received their degrees and joined the ranks of Woodrow Wilson School graduate alumni. The undergraduate class of 2008 totaled 85 students, with 9 certificate students.

At the School's Hooding Reception on the evening of June 2, the School's Acting Dean Nolan McCarty presented a number of academic



Hooding photos by Jn Roemer

Marine Buissonniere MPP '08 is congratulated by Acting Dean Nolan McCarty as the recipient of the M.P.P. Award.

awards to WWS graduate students. The M.P.P. Award, presented to the M.P.P. student who achieved the most distinguished academic record among his or her colleagues, was presented to Marine Buissonniere. A 1994 graduate of the MBA Institute in Paris, France, Buissonniere spent the last 13 years working with Médecins Sans Frontières in the role of interpreter, administrator, head of mission, and

operations director in China, the Palestinian territories, Japan, and North and South Korea. Upon graduation, she began serving a short-term assignment with the United Nations Division of Peacekeeping Operations.

The Somers Prize, established to honor the memory of former WWS faculty member and prominent authority on healthcare Herman M. "Red" Somers, is given to a student concentrating in domestic policy who has distinguished himself or herself in the School's



Jessica Hembree MPA '08, recipient of the Somers Prize.

coursework and mission. This year's prize went to M.P.A. student Jessica Hembree. While attending Kansas State University, Hembree worked in the non-profit realm, including Kansas legal aid, grassroots health coalitions, and youth development organizations. After graduating in 2003, she interned at the Children's Defense Fund in Washington, D.C. as part of the Harry S. Truman Fellowship. She also worked as the Thomas M. Menino Fellow at the National League of Cities' Institute for Youth, Education, and Families. She spent her WWS summer internship working at the Kansas

Health Institute, and accepted a job as a program officer at the Health Care Foundation of Greater Kansas City in Kansas City, Mo.



Stokes Prize winners Jonathan Kaufman MPA '08 and Tanya DeMello MPA '08.

The Stokes Prize is awarded for academic achievement and public service leadership to the graduating M.P.A. student whose achievements best exemplify the life and work of the late Donald E. Stokes, dean of the Woodrow Wilson School from 1974–1992. This year two individuals received the award: M.P.A.-U.R.P. student Tanya DeMello and M.P.A. student Jonathan Kaufman.

DeMello graduated from the University of Waterloo in 2002. While at Princeton she was co-chair of the 2005

Students and Alumni of Color Symposium and served as one of the community service representatives on the WWS graduate student government. She spent six months in Senegal, working in emergency relief through the UN World Food Programme. DeMello then spent six months in Colombia working in a field office in Villavicencio for the UN High Commissioner of Refugees. She has accepted admission into McGill Law School so that she may enhance her skills to become an international human rights advocate.

Kaufman is a 2002 graduate of Yale University. During a year spent on a Fulbright Scholarship in Taiwan, he developed an interest in indigenous peoples' rights and decided to go to law school, graduating from Harvard Law School in 2006. In 2007, Kaufman served as one of the curriculum representatives on the WWS graduate student government and was one of several students instrumental in organizing a service auction to benefit the Trenton Soup Kitchen. In his second year at WWS, he served as one of three student members of the M.P.A. admissions committee and as one of the leaders of his Policy Workshop on Urban Development in China's Cities.

The David Bradford Award, given to the Science, Technology and Environmental Program (STEP) student who has achieved both a distinguished academic record and service within that program, went to M.P.A. student Dennis Markatos. A domestic policy concentrator at WWS, Markatos consulted with the University's Office of Sustainability for his summer internship. He also co-founded

and co-chaired a chapter of SURGE (Students United for a Responsible Global Environment) at Princeton, and focused on transforming the University into a national leader on climate change mitigation policy.

In addition to the School's special awards, four M.P.A. students earned the STEP certificate, six M.P.A. and three M.P.P. students received the Health and Health Policy (HHP) certificate, and one M.P.A. student received the Demography Certificate. Three students also completed the requirements to earn the School's



Faculty Chair of the Undergraduate Program Stanley N. Katz (center) with Donald E. Stokes Dean's Prize winners Elizabeth Horner '08 and Owen Fletcher '08.

first Urban Policy Certificate (UP), and three students earned the first WWS certificates in Urban Policy and Planning (UPP).

Stan Katz, faculty chair of the School's undergraduate program, presented academic awards to School undergraduates at a ceremony earlier that day.

The Woodrow Wilson Senior Thesis Prize, awarded to the writer of a thesis of unusual merit, was earned by students Julia Brower, Cathy Yan, and Michael Honigberg. Stephen Hsai was awarded the Class of 1924 Award, given annually to the senior whose contribution to a policy task force has been judged most outstanding. The Donald E. Stokes Dean's Prize, awarded annually to seniors who have made the most significant contribution to the Undergraduate Program and to the Woodrow Wilson School, went to Elizabeth Horner and Owen Fletcher. The Myron T. Herrick Prize, awarded to the writer of the best thesis in the Woodrow Wilson School, went to Philip Levitz.

The Lieutenant John A. Larkin Memorial Prize is awarded to a senior who writes the best thesis in the field of political economy or on a broadly interdisciplinary subject in which economics plays the most important part. This year's prize went to Kayvon Tehranian. Jared Nicholson was awarded the Gale F. Johnston Prize in Public Affairs. This award is presented to the senior who has shown both great improvement and achieved excellence in work in the Woodrow Wilson School. This year's Richard H. Ullman Prize, awarded to the senior who writes the best senior thesis on U.S. foreign policy, went to Ross Liemer. ■■■

Public Policy Issues, Tribal Communities

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Jackie Old Coyote, director of education and outreach at the Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development, was among the speakers at the week-long program.

population—especially for the treatment of alcoholism and diabetes, illnesses they argued, of which the U.S. government has been aware for several generations.

Participants actively were engaged in their discussions and exhibited a sense of urgency with each of the policy issues. "It really gives us a chance to learn more about the Native American policy structures and to be able to speak and share with our own tribes," said student Corey Douma from the Laguna Pueblo.

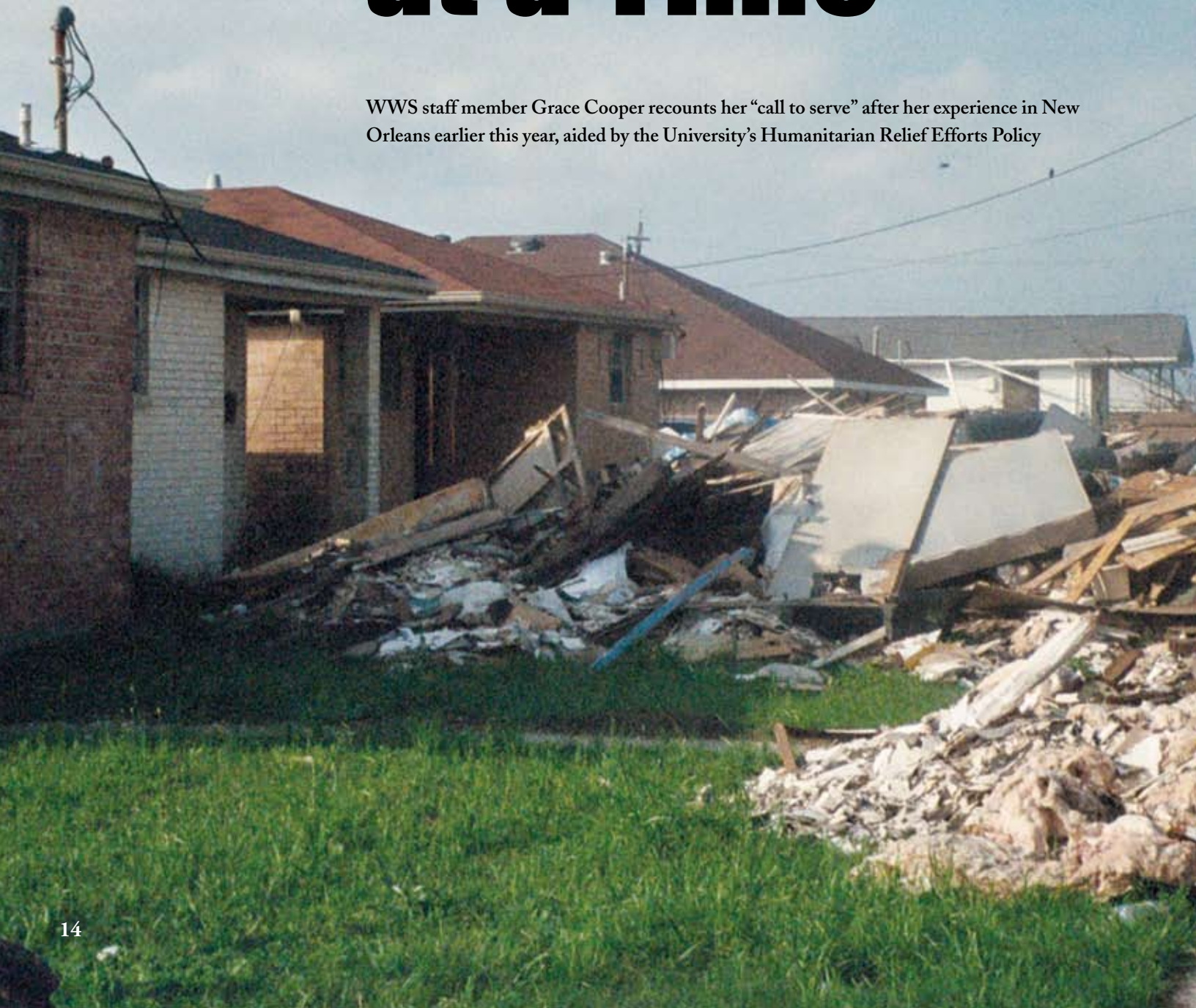
Santa Ana/Navajo native Janice Garcia said the leadership program was an "awesome" experience that only a handful of Native Americans are afforded. "I enjoyed this program because it opened my mind to new things and I met terrific people. It benefits our future and the future of our native people." ■■■




Participating students represented all 19 New Mexico tribes and pueblos, and explored issues such as education legislation, water rights, settlement, healthcare, and land reacquisition.

Rebuilding One Home at a Time

WWS staff member Grace Cooper recounts her “call to serve” after her experience in New Orleans earlier this year, aided by the University’s Humanitarian Relief Efforts Policy





In August 2005 Americans watched, awestruck, at the power and destruction unleashed upon the Gulf Coast when Hurricane Katrina crashed into Mississippi and southeastern Louisiana. Recorded as the costliest (almost \$90 billion) and one of the five deadliest hurricanes on record in the United States, the storm has, even three years later, left much of the area still devastated.

Grace Cooper is the Office Manager at the Survey Research Center, one of several centers at the Woodrow Wilson School. This April, Grace volunteered with members of her local church for a week of physical labor, helping with the ongoing rebuilding of homes in hurricane-devastated New Orleans. Grace's trip was made possible through her association with the Calvary Chapel Mercer County as well as Princeton University's Humanitarian Relief Efforts Policy, which was instituted in September 2005 following Hurricane Katrina. The University recognized that many of its staff have unique skills and training that would be useful in the relief efforts, and made the decision that it would support the humanitarian efforts of its staff by instituting a temporary policy that may grant employees a period of paid leave to participate in relief efforts. Since the University instituted the policy in 2006, 35 University employees have been able to take advantage of the leave.

All photos provided by Grace Cooper

by Grace Cooper

This past April, I was privileged to travel with a group of 17 others to New Orleans, spending a week helping to rebuild homes destroyed by the disaster of Hurricane Katrina. The team that I travelled with was put together by my local church, Calvary Chapel Mercer County, which has been sending groups to help rebuild in New Orleans every year since the hurricane hit in 2005. My church partnered with the Calvary Chapel Metairie, who found us homes on which to work.

It's hard to believe that three years have passed since the storm, and that so many still have not been able to rebuild. While there are many reasons for this, those reasons are not for me to delve into. My aim here is to tell *how much still needs to be done*.

During my week where we were assigned in St. Bernard Parish, we saw numerous groups from other organizations, all with the same mission as ours—rebuilding. Our team was assigned to work on two homes there. St. Bernard Parish is a middle-income parish that had been under 20 feet of water in 2005, and while the rebuilding process has been slow, there are signs of hope. The larger shopping centers are still boarded up, but many small businesses have reopened. These businesses are the key to life returning to normal in the area.

The area in which we worked was in a small neighborhood of about 40 or 50 brick homes, and it appeared that about only about a quarter of the homes in the neighborhood had either been rebuilt or were in the process of rebuilding. It was strange seeing homes that appeared fine from the outside but were totally empty on the inside—many marked with a big red “X.” (FEMA hangs a bright yellow poster with a red “X” on the house if it is to be demolished.) While many homes were being demolished because they were

continued on next page



WWS staff member Grace Cooper said that the work was difficult and exhausting, but rewarding. “Most of the people just want their lives to go back to normal. One homeowner thanked us profusely, with tears in his eyes, when he saw how much we had been able to accomplish in just a week. All he wants is for his family to return to New Orleans.”

Rebuilding One Home at a Time

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Reality in a New Orleans parish (from left to right)—A home marked for demolition with the unmistakable FEMA “X”; empty foundations where homes once stood, with some scattered signs of rebuilding; “temporary” FEMA trailers that have become homes for residents trying to rebuild.

uninhabitable, such as the foundation no longer being structurally sound, many were being demolished simply because the owners could not be located, had moved away and had no plans to return, or simply could not afford to rebuild. It was staggering to see how many homes in St. Bernard Parish were still standing but had that big “X” on them.

The first home on which our team worked was 900 square feet and belonged to a family with three boys. The mother and sons are living almost two hours away in a town to where they evacuated in 2005. The father has returned to New Orleans—a lucky one whose job was still there for him after the storm—where he is living in a FEMA trailer in the backyard of the property. His work schedule during the week, and traveling to see his family on the weekends, does not leave him much time to rebuild the family’s home. When we arrived, the house was a complete shell, just wood studs. In one week, we were able to insulate and sheetrock the whole house; we also were able to install new windows and a front door for the homeowner with support money raised by our church. By the time our week had ended, it was starting to look like a home again. The owner had tears in his eyes as he thanked us for the work we’d done. Although much work remains, he is very anxious to bring his family back home.

The second house on which we worked belonged to a pastor and his wife. Originally from Detroit, they were relocating to New Orleans after they themselves had previously visited as part of a rebuilding team. During their visit, they fell in love with the area and the people and saw the need for ministry. This house, approximately 1,200 square feet, was a little further along in the rebuilding process. Our group was able to finish the sheetrocking that had already begun, and help install flooring and kitchen cabinets. With these tasks completed, they were able to finalize

the details of moving into the home so they could focus on their growing church and continue to help others.

We also were able to assist others that we happened upon—mostly neighbors’ homes where we helped clean out their yards and remove some of their trash piles. One woman was living on the second floor of her home because the first floor still had not been cleared out—the space was rat-infested, and there was mold growing everywhere. During the storm, she had been trapped on her second floor for 10 days with 10 others from her neighborhood. (They all did make it to safety.) This woman was now solely responsible for the cleanup and rebuilding, and like most Katrina victims, simply lacked the ability and resources to do much of it on her own. Although FEMA has provided some assistance, resources are thinly spread. She was very lonely and enjoyed the visit from us, and appreciated the limited assistance we *could* provide. I am hopeful that with other teams from other organizations still arriving in the parish, she soon will have assistance in rebuilding her home.

All of the people we encountered that have returned and are living in New Orleans were so appreciative of the groups coming to help. Life changed drastically for them. Many lost family and friends, and many lost everything they owned—their possessions and their homes. Their old neighbors and neighborhoods are gone. They want their lives to return to some semblance of normal, and rebuilding their homes in their old neighborhoods is the first step. It is a sad reality of how horrible a disaster this was and how it continues to affect people on a daily basis.

Our team worked physically hard for a week, but it was probably one of the most rewarding workouts we ever had in our lives. With so much still to do, Calvary Chapel Mercer County has plans to send another team this November.

UChannel Now Available on iTunesU

There are numerous other organizations that are continually sending teams to New Orleans to help with the rebuilding. A simple Google search of “rebuild New Orleans” will bring up links to many of these organizations. As a staff member of the Woodrow Wilson School, I was fortunate to have my trip sponsored by Princeton University. Immediately following Hurricane Katrina, the University instituted a Humanitarian Relief Efforts Policy that would cover many travel-related expenses and up to two weeks of paid leave for employees that wanted to assist in the relief efforts. This policy will remain in effect through June 30, 2009, and I am hopeful that other employees will read this and be reminded how much still needs to be done in New Orleans.

For additional images or for more information about Grace Cooper's experience, visit her Website at www.princeton.edu/~psrc/NOLA.html. University employees interested in the Princeton University Humanitarian Relief Efforts Policy may visit www.princeton.edu/hr/policies/leaves/323.htm, call Human Resources at (609) 258-3300, or e-mail hr@princeton.edu. ■■■



Cooper (center, in white and pink) with members of the group she traveled with, in front of one of the homes on which they worked.

UChannel, an online multimedia collection of public affairs and policy events from universities and research institutions around the world, is now available through iTunesU, the academic section of the iTunes music store.

The new UChannel site on iTunesU features approximately 1,500 audio and video recordings of public lectures and panels, on topics ranging from economics to environment and foreign policy via a consortium of universities led by the Woodrow Wilson School. Participating UChannel schools—which include Columbia's School of International and Public Affairs, Middlebury's Rohatyn Center for International Affairs, and the LBJ School at the University of Texas, Austin—present these lectures as a public service, so all downloads from the site are free.

UChannel features diverse speakers addressing a range of policy topics; examples of talks in 2008 include an address at Princeton by King Abdullah II of Jordan on the Mideast peace process, George Soros' analysis of the credit crisis; and Nobel laureates sharing their research on climate change.

Through the iTunesU site, the UChannel lectures are organized by school, by topic, and by geographical

region. Special series and conferences are also highlighted in a “featured content” area. Visitors to iTunesU can subscribe to any of these subcategories with a single click, allowing the option of keeping up with specialized collections in their area of interest.

“UChannel's inclusion in the iTunesU section should help us reach people who appreciate and seek the kind of thoughtful, unedited, full-length lectures we offer,” said UChannel founder and director, Donna Liu. “The iTunes interface offers a quick and easy way to browse, download, and store these files for a rich and educational on-demand listening experience. It is a tremendous opportunity for UChannel to extend its public service mission to a broader audience.”

The UChannel project has been collecting public affairs recordings since 2005, and updates its website daily with audio and video recordings from participating universities. UChannel's mission is to enrich the public discussion of global affairs by contributing current academic research and analysis to the public domain. ■■■



CENTER NOTES

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

The **Center for Arts and Cultural Policy Studies (CACPS)** sponsored a day-long workshop on “Research on Orchestras” on April 11, at the Mountain Lakes House in Princeton. With support from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, CACPS convened over 25 scholars, orchestra managers, grant makers, policymakers, musicians, and critics to design an agenda for social-science research on orchestras. The symposium was followed by a two-week online discussion where participants commented on a draft of findings from the meeting. CACPS will publicize the results of the meeting and the discussion in a report posted on the Center’s website, and also will share it with other organizations that promote research in the orchestra field.

The **Center for the Study of Democratic Politics (CSDP)** announced five visiting scholars will be in residence for 2008–2009. While pursuing their own research projects, they will participate in courses and colloquia, and contribute to the intellectual life of the Center, the Woodrow Wilson School, and the Department of Politics. *Jeffrey E. Cohen* is a professor of political science at Fordham University. His major teaching and research interests focus on American political institutions and public policy, especially the presidency, mass media, and economic policy. *Carrie Konold* is a Ph.D. candidate in political science at the University of Michigan, and expects to complete her degree this fall. Her dissertation research examines the character, extent, and theoretical implications of challenges to secularism in democratizing Muslim countries. *Beth L. Leech* is an associate professor of political science at Rutgers University. Her primary research interests involve the roles of interest groups, social movements, and the mass media in the making of public policy. *Leslie J. McCall* is an associate professor of sociology at Northwestern University. Her interests include social inequality, economic and political sociology, and social theory. *Milan Svobik* is an assistant professor of political science at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. His research interests are in comparative and international politics, particularly the political economy of institutions, and formal political theory and statistical methodology. Additional

biographical information may be found online at www.princeton.edu/~csdp/people/08-09/scholar.htm.

This fall, CSDP and the Brookings Institution will be co-sponsoring a series of five panel discussions on the 2008 election. These biweekly events, to be held in Washington, will feature the School’s Larry Bartels, Thomas Mann of Brookings, and a rotating cast of leading academic analysts and political reporters. The panels are intended to promote public understanding of the American electoral process by exposing journalists and other members of the Washington community to scholarly perspectives and evidence on key aspects of campaigns and elections, including: political parties and partisanship (September 12); the president, the economy, and war (September 26); candidates, issues, and ideology (October 17); advertising, mobilization, and persuasion (October 31); and elections, mandates, and governance (November 14).

Through the Grand Challenges Initiative on global health and infectious disease, the **Center for Health and Wellbeing (CHW)** is supporting 17 undergraduates and 2 graduate students participating in faculty-led and/or independent summer projects pertaining to infectious disease. These students are collecting and analyzing data in South Africa, Germany, Mexico, Nigeria, Brazil, Ghana, New York City, Washington, D.C., and Princeton. Under the guidance of Princeton faculty and post-doctoral research associates, the students are learning new strategies to improve malaria and tuberculosis treatment and detection methodologies; broadening their understanding of the interplay between policy and politics on infectious disease in various countries; investigating the roots of drug resistance; and reducing the risk of water-borne infectious disease through new technological introductions.

The **Program in Law and Public Affairs (LAPA)** organized a busy spring semester that included hosting both of its named lectures and its annual Continuing Legal Education Program for alumni attending reunions. In March, Judge Leonie M. Brinkema, U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia, delivered LAPA’s John Marshall Harlan ’20 Lecture in Constitutional Adjudication. As the only federal court judge to preside over a trial of a 9/11 conspirator, Judge Brinkema’s address demonstrated the wisdom, insight, and respect for the rule of law that won her universal praise for her handling of the case of *U.S. v. Moussaoui*. Legal Scholar Cass R. Sunstein, the Karl N. Llewellyn Distinguished Service Professor of Jurisprudence at the University of Chicago Law School, drew a packed auditorium for the fourth annual Donald S. Bernstein ’75 Lecture in April. Based upon his examination of more than 30,000 judicial votes, Sunstein’s talk on “Political Judging” asked whether judges vote based on political party affiliation and showed how political views affect outcomes of cases. In late May, LAPA’s eighth annual Continuing Legal Education Program on Law and Religion drew a record attendance. Provost and former LAPA director Christopher Eisgruber ’83 delivered the opening lecture and chaired an expert panel examining recent Supreme Court



Cass R. Sunstein, the Karl N. Llewellyn Distinguished Service Professor of Jurisprudence at the University of Chicago Law School, and Donald S. Bernstein '75.

jurisprudence in the field. The day-long event culminated with a high-profile debate between Princeton's McCormick Professor of Jurisprudence Robert George and LAPA Fellow and Queen's Counsel, London and Scotland, Aidan O'Neill. They addressed the question of what religion requires of public officials, with particular reference to the current Catholic majority on the United States Supreme Court.

LAPA's increasing visibility among legal scholars worldwide was validated by its receipt of over 100 fellowship applications from nearly a dozen different countries on five continents. Of LAPA's six 2008–2009 fellows, three will come from abroad including Christopher Beauchamp (U.K.); Christina Murray (University of Cape Town, South Africa), and Ingolf Pernice (Humboldt-Universität of Berlin). Completing the fellows cohort are law professors Mark Brandon (Vanderbilt); Malcolm Feeley (U.C. Berkeley); and Noah Zatz (UCLA). On the student front, LAPA hosted several speakers in its new program for M.P.P./M.P.A. candidates entitled "Law in the Public Interest: Not Just for Lawyers," including an end-of-the-year lunch with Nick Grono MPP '03, now deputy president of the International Crisis Group. After a year revitalizing the LAPA Undergraduate Associates Program into an active group of nearly 50 students, student leaders Philip Levitz WWS '08 and Pauline Yeung WWS '08 passed the mantle to new leaders, with plans for a variety of programs and a law-related blog.

In April, the [Policy Research Institute for the Region \(PRIOR\)](#) hosted "Reflecting on Improved Literacy: An Invitational Exchange," a roundtable session aimed at assessing Intensive Early Literacy (IEL) in New Jersey. Spearheaded by Woodrow Wilson School Lecturer Gordon MacInnes, the gathering opened with an overview of the state's progress with respect to IEL and continued with presentations by leaders from the City of Orange, Union City, and the Passaic School District on their respective strategies and achievements in the area of literacy. Representatives from select school districts, staff

from the New Jersey Department of Education, Princeton University faculty, and various practitioners and consultants exchanged ideas and considered potential next steps, such as the formation of a permanent working group. On April 18, PRIOR also joined with the University's Department of Public Safety and the International Association of Campus Law Enforcement Administrators (IACLEA) to host "Campus Safety in Focus: Advances and Ongoing Challenges One Year Later," as a follow-up to the increased awareness of violence on college campuses one year after the incident at Virginia Tech. The day-long program saw the release of IACLEA's *Blueprint for Safer Campuses*, a talk by Princeton University's Katherine S. Newman, and presentations by nationally recognized experts on model policies in threat assessment, the growing complexities in liability analysis, and the broader sociological phenomena behind incidents. In addition, public safety professionals from Rutgers University, St. John's University, and the University of Pennsylvania contributed their perspectives on the state of campus safety in the region.

PRIOR and Princeton University's molecular biology department have launched a three-part series on the health enterprise in New Jersey. The inaugural session occurred May 8, when Dr. William F. Owen, Jr., president of the University of Medicine and Dentistry (UMDNJ), offered an overview of healthcare in the state and his vision of the public medical university.

The [Research Program in Political Economy \(RPPE\)](#) was the sponsor of the Princeton Conference on Dynamic Political Economy held on April 11 and 12. The conference was attended by participants from 16 universities and focused on current research on topics in the political economy of growth, redistribution, public expenditure and debt, and the dynamics of political power.

RPPE, the [Niehaus Center for Globalization and Governance \(NCGG\)](#), and the Princeton Institute for International and Regional Studies co-sponsored the spring meeting of the working group on Political Institutions and Economic Policy on May 10 at Princeton University. Conference sessions dealt with the political economy of development, the origins of voting laws, and redistributive taxation.

The Council for Advancement and Support of Education (CASE) has awarded a "Circle of Excellence" Silver Medal to the School's [UChannel](#) project, for "creative use of technology and new media." CASE judges commended UChannel for demonstrating "a really good understanding of how to apply the 'new' technologies to make content more valuable." UChannel is a constantly updated archive of audio and video recordings of academic public affairs lectures from a consortium of universities led by the Wilson School. In May 2008—less than three years after its inception—UChannel registered two million hits from all over the world, and more than 150,000 downloads of full-length audio and video recordings. "It's encouraging to know that there is a loyal and growing audience of people looking for thoughtful, uninterrupted presentations on the major issues of the day," said UChannel Executive Director Donna Liu. ■■■

Where it begins



All photos by Jon Reemer

WWS course offerings at both the graduate and undergraduate levels offer a diverse look at today's world of public policy. Topics include the standards such as international diplomacy, labor economics, democracy, land use policy, and election issues, but also have broadened to include health economics in developing countries, development challenges of infectious diseases, universal healthcare, Internet privacy, energy economics, terrorism, and weapons of mass destruction.

This past spring, two writers sat in on WWS courses to report on what is going on in the classroom. Taught by full-time faculty, visiting lecturers, and public policy practitioners, these classroom experiences are where many WWS and Princeton students get their first taste of how public policy affects our daily lives.



Edward Felten, professor of computer science and public affairs.

WWS 586f: Topics in Science, Technology, and Environmental Policy—Information Technology and Public Policy

Instructor: Edward Felten, Professor of Computer Science and Public Affairs

by Hilary Parker

Since marketplace economics have led to dangerous gaps in Internet security and left everyone vulnerable to cyberattacks, what should the U.S. government do? This is the question Ed Felten put to the 10 students gathered around him in Bendheim Hall on an unseasonably warm April afternoon. The conversation was likewise heated.

Impose rules on Internet service providers, suggested Princeton senior Sam Grossberg. Penalize people who spread computer viruses, offered another student. Set standards for software security, posited yet another.

“But who’s going to decide what is good security software?” asked Hart Montgomery ’08, a computer science major. “Do we let government bureaucrats decide?”

Felten kept up with the flow of student responses, jotting a rapidly growing list down on the board, every so often entering into the conversation.

“As for standards, the argument is often made that so many people use the same software that it gives attackers a big target,” said Felten, director of the Center for Information Technology Policy and professor of computer science and public affairs at WWS. “But there’s a counterargument that says if you assume everyone uses Windows and you make a deal with Microsoft about security features, it will protect more people.”

There was a brief pause in the conversation as students pondered what Felten just said, and then they were off and running again. The suggestions continued—offer bounties for hackers to report other hackers, give vouchers for purchases of security software.

Felten again interjected. “Let me throw one more monkey wrench into this discussion. We’ve been focusing on software, but another thing that controls the security of a system is user behavior. Most people just click ‘yes’ and ‘ok’ when those security download boxes pop up.”

There was a shift in focus.

Suddenly, they were talking about educating consumers and funneling more money into research.

The discussion was not likely to end even with the conclusion of class. Each student in Felten’s class was required to submit 11 pieces to a course blog throughout the semester. They often chimed in about class discussions on subjects ranging from privacy and intellectual property to the regulation of broadcasting and telecommunications.

“The topic of information technology and public policy is very big and broad—you can’t cover it fully in a semester,” said Felten, a renowned security expert who has testified before Congress on related issues on multiple occasions. “I try to give students a flavor of interesting topics and an opportunity for them to learn about other disciplines. I want them to get a sense of the scope of these problems and especially to see more clearly that the connection between information technology and policy is something that affects people’s lives.”

In the twice-weekly course, students hailed from a variety of disciplinary backgrounds, with roughly half on the technology side and the other half from the humanities and social sciences. This is the perfect composition to serve one of Felten’s goals—having students from different disciplines teach their classmates to consider problems from unfamiliar viewpoints.

“I learned quite a bit about government and the legal system in this course, especially as it pertains to technology,” Montgomery said. “The course’s greatest strength was that it pulled people who were proficient in computer science together with people who were very knowledgeable about public policy and law. This led to some very interesting discussions and certainly helped me to gain a different perspective on how laws regarding technology are made.”

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Where it Begins

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WWS 572a: Topics in Development— Africa in the World: Democracy, Development, and Security

***Instructor: Princeton Lyman, Visiting Lecturer in
Public and International Affairs***

by Hilary Parker

Instructor Princeton Lyman and the 15 graduate students that surrounded him were deep in conversation in New Jersey, but their focus was thousands of miles away—in Africa.

Gathered in the basement of Robertson Hall on a Friday morning, the group was taking a critical look at influential organizations and nations that have power over the fate of democracy, development, and security on the African continent. Using historical examples as case studies, their goal was to explore what major players—including the African Union, the New Partnership for Africa’s Development, and China—could, should, and might do about the current political crisis over election results in Zimbabwe.

Graduate student Emerson Sykes MPA ’09 started the discussion with a brief overview of the African Union and the organization’s response to other conflicts, including the negotiation of a deal between the AU president and rebels in the Côte d’Ivoire in 2005 and an ongoing mission to protect civilians in Sudan.

Sykes had barely finished his presentation when his classmates began their questions: Are the member nations *actually* equal, or do wealthier nations in the African Union hold more sway? How are decisions *really* made?

They wanted to know more—they were eager for an insider’s view. Lyman, former U.S. ambassador to South Africa and Nigeria and former assistant secretary of state for international organization affairs, was able to give it to them.

“South Africa and Nigeria were major players in shaping the African Union,” he explained. “It’s going to be interesting to see how that dynamic changes when their leaders are off the scene next year. And there is always some tension between the chairman of the commission and the heads of state. It came up in Côte d’Ivoire—there was a struggle to find out who was in charge of mediation.”

As for decision making?

“There’s a great reluctance to take a position short of consensus,” Lyman continued. “If there’s no consensus, you won’t see a very strong statement out of the AU.”

Lyman, at the Woodrow Wilson School as a visiting lecturer in 2007–08, is an adjunct research fellow from the Council on Foreign Relations. In teaching his seminar on Africa, which met for three hours every Friday morning this past spring, his goal was to help prepare students academically and professionally for a world in which Africa is becoming increasingly important in international politics.

“He often told stories that casually included references to back-room negotiations with some of the most influential political figures on the [African] continent,” said Sykes, who intends to pursue a career in African political development. “His humility while sharing these phenomenal experiences endeared students to him.”

Lyman supplemented the course with visits from distinguished guest lecturers, including David Crane, the former chief prosecutor of the international war crimes tribunal for Sierra Leone, and Joyce Leader, U.S. deputy chief of mission in Rwanda for three years prior to the 1994 genocide.

And the students themselves added even more diversity to the mix.

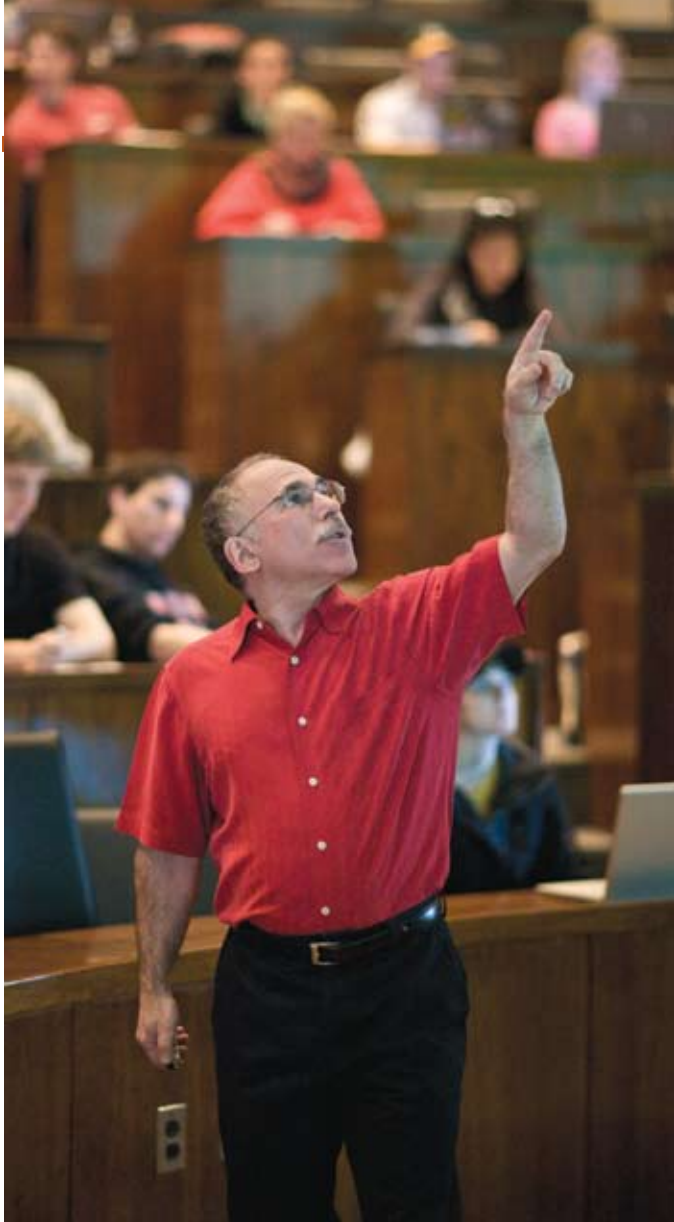
“This class is striking because so many of the students have direct experience in Africa,” Lyman said. “You have a wonderful blend of people with different backgrounds and experiences coming to the table, including members of U.S. and foreign governments, diplomats and seasoned aid workers.”

Among the ranks was Taya Weiss MPA ’08, a graduate student who had lived in South Africa from 2001–2007. During that time, she worked at the Institute for Security Studies, conducted fieldwork in countries including Kenya, Sierra Leone, and Liberia, and helped pioneer regional police training in southern Africa on violence against women and children.

Weiss noted, “The United States’ relationships with many African countries are changing, and this course provided much-needed, varied perspectives to understand what’s happening through more than just the usual lens of aid and development.”



Visiting lecturer in public and international affairs Princeton Lyman (above, standing).



Professor of molecular biology and public affairs Lee Silver.

In his classes, Professor Lee Silver does not present ethical conclusions. “My students have a broad range of opinions and diversity. I learn a lot from them,” he said

few lessons about human relations and inspired discussion. Titles included Meat Loaf’s *Paradise by the Dashboard Light*, John Lennon’s *Imagine* (with riffs from Lou Reed’s *Take a Walk on the Wild Side*), ’80s New Wave number *She Blinded Me with Science*, Weird Al Yankovic’s *I Think I’m a Clone Now*, and Christine Lavin’s *Biological Time Bomb*. And bringing science fiction to the screen, there were Monday evening movie showings of *Brave New World*, *Contact*, *Blade Runner* and *Frankenstein*, all of which include fantasies that have become reality.

Offered every spring, the course is constantly updated with rapidly emerging technologies and discoveries. Some of the recent breakthroughs under discussion were the ability to create a 100 percent human genome without human parents, men having babies, babies with five different parents, and implanting human cells into the brains of monkeys. “As scientists do these amazing things with genetic manipulation,” said Professor Silver, “society will have to make the rules about the ethics and politics in areas such as egg procurement, and embryo and cloning research.”

In his classes, Professor Silver does not present ethical conclusions. “My students have a broad range of opinions and diversity. I learn a lot from them,” he said.

Jake Bornstein WWS ’09 appreciated Professor Silver’s “clarification of the scientific perspective of the bioethical debate.”

“The nineteenth century was the century of chemistry,” Bornstein said, “the twentieth of physics, and in the twenty-first, I expect biology will come into its own. The debate over biotechnology will become increasingly intense, and as a policymaker or working in the private sector, it will be important for me to understand the underlying technology,” he noted.

Another student, Amy Margaret Liang ’09, a molecular biology major and a WWS Certificate student, said she was familiar with the biology but was glad to study “the history of how the science developed along with the sociological background and new perspectives.” Liang, who is considering a career as a transplant surgeon, foresees growing organs, rather than what she calls the “disconcerting process of cutting organs out of bodies barely cold.” Liang feels that the new reproductive technologies will be “good for society.”

The revolution in genetics will continue, Professor Silver said. There are three billion bases in the human genome and while scientists predicted all mapping would take to 2020 or 2030, Craig Ventner—with eight technicians and 200 robots did it from—1997 to 2000. Now it’s possible to obtain your personal genetic analysis, tracing ancestry and vital health factors. “And the price is going down,” he said. “It’s now about \$1,000. That breakthrough has opened so many new possibilities for disease control and the future of the human species.” ■■■

WWS 320/MOL 320: Human Genetics, Reproduction, and Public Policy

Instructor: Lee M. Silver, Professor of Molecular Biology and Public Affairs

by Phyllis Spiegel

Professor Lee Silver says he’s “blown away” by the speed of progress in the field of genetics. “Geneticists have unlocked all the doors; there are no barriers to what is possible,” he said. Ten years ago, when he began teaching *Human Genetics, Reproduction, and Public Policy*, Professor Silver expected it to be decades before the technology evolved to where it is today. “If I’d described then what is happening now, it would have been regarded as pure nonsense,” he said.

As a visitor to the class, I realized that here, on Monday and Wednesday mornings in Robertson Hall’s Dodds Auditorium, the undergraduate students were learning a great deal about life and the decisions they would have to make in their own futures.

Professor Silver’s lectures, which covered a span of millions of years, from before the beginning of life as we know it to the creation of life in the laboratory today, were supplemented with a collection of pop songs that indirectly taught a

The Organizational Aspects of Terrorism

A Q&A with Jacob Shapiro



Assistant Professor of Politics and International Affairs Jacob Shapiro studies the organizational aspects of terrorism, insurgency, and security policy. His ongoing research projects examine the balance between secrecy

and openness in counterterrorism, the causes of militant recruitment in Islamic countries, and the relationship between public goods provision and insurgent violence in Iraq and Afghanistan.

A Harmony Fellow at the Combating Terrorism Center at the United States Military Academy and a former naval officer, his work has been published in *International Security*, *International Studies Quarterly*, *Foreign Policy*, and a number of edited volumes. He recently spoke with the School's Office of External Affairs about his research.

Woodrow Wilson School (WWS): What does your research tell us about terrorist groups and their operations?

Jacob Shapiro (JS): The common theme in my research is that I study organizations that produce political violence—terrorists groups, insurgent organizations, militaries. There are a number of streams that this research has taken. The most developed one so far is the research on what drives the organization of terrorist groups. What motivates this research is that if you look at the way participants in terrorist organizations write about their organizational problems, you see this amazing consistency. For example, you see Lenin in 1903 writing about problems recruiting people [for the Bolshevik revolution]—how the people he wanted to bring in, because they were really good at violence, had trouble learning Marxist theory well enough to understand who the people were that they should be attacking, so they tended to attack the wrong targets, setting the cause back.

Almost the exact same concern appears on a memo on recruiting written by al-Qaeda in Iraq in 2005, which basically said “look, we have all these volunteers who want to come and are really excited and motivated to do *jihad*, but they often want to go for the big violent showy attacks. And those are actually setting the cause back by turning the locals against us.”

So, there is this tension between the people who want to recruit and further instill violence, and those who understand how to advance the cause. The problem arises because enforcing control over the operatives in these organizations—making sure they direct violence or other activities in the right way—entails substantial security costs.

And so terrorist groups and terrorist leaders from the 1880s through the present have struggled with this balance between security and control over operations. People in [Abu Musab al-] Zarqawi's organization and lots of others have written about this.

There are many reasons for these problems. One factor is that there are simply different views [with such organizations] on the ultimate goal. Often groups have to bring in people who don't exactly agree on what violence is being used for because they just need fighters to achieve their goal.

Another thing that happens in a lot of these groups is that the process of living underground, where you have these very tight bonds within a small group of people, limits their access to information about the outside world. Their outside contacts are restricted, and within the group strong sanctions against going out and making contacts hamper operatives' views of the world; they often become detached from the larger picture. So, this leads to a particular kind of organizational problem that has plagued a lot of these groups.

It's actually not that different than what goes on in a lot of government bureaucracy. The basic problem is a familiar one where you have the leaders of the organization—the principals—and the people they've hired to do work—their agents. Normally in organization theory, economics, or political science, we think of these agency relationships in terms of the leaders delegating activities to people who have better knowledge than the leaders themselves—technical experts for example.

In terrorist organizations, that information advantage is flipped and it is very often the leaders that have a better understanding about the relationships between the uses of violence and political outcomes. Fortunately for us, all the things terrorist leaders can do to tell their subordinates what to do put them at risk of being captured.

Leaders having an information advantage but paying costs for directing subordinates is actually pretty common. Think about government bureaucracies where people have come up through the ranks. Because of their experience and connections, the leaders in these organizations often have a

better understanding of how to work the system, or of what the operational environment is, than people lower in the bureaucracy.

But leaders have to delegate many tasks because their time and attention is limited. Taking the time to tell people how to do things is really costly. Thus, the whole organizational problem is not so different.

What is different is that terrorist groups have a particularly sanguinary thing they are producing. Because governments are hunting these guys, the costs of all the regular organizational tools of control are much higher. You see lots of bureaucracy in these groups for the same reasons you see bureaucracy in the military, or private firms, and so on.

WWS: How are you able to access these letters and this information? Are they in the public domain?

JS: It varies. A lot of groups historically have produced materials that have been captured by different government agencies and then made public. In 1979, the French police raided this warehouse just across the border from Spain, and they captured not only the lead operatives for whom they were looking, also the organization's archives.

A lot of the stuff with which I am working with in terms of the insurgency in Iraq and al-Qaeda come from the Department of Defense's Harmony database, which is a database of all the documents that have been captured over the last few years on operations against terrorist groups. It now has over a million documents covering everything the government has picked up in pursuing the war on terror.

There are all kinds of internal correspondence from al-Qaeda and Iraqi insurgent groups. There's a good deal from Saddam Hussein's regime, and for the last three years I've been working with the Combating Terrorism Center at West Point to analyze documents from the database and release them to the public.

WWS: Is there anything you found surprising in your research?

JS: Yes. When you see [members of terrorist organizations] arguing over accounting standards or arguing what kinds of expenses need to be reported, or fighting over whether or not they can buy new fax machines or new air conditioners, or apologizing for not including the dates for every transaction.

I recently was looking at the Islamic State of Iraq, a successor organization of al-Qaeda. In 2006 the group's media office sent out a memo saying, 'Hey everybody, make sure all your recruits fill out applications and use the attached form. And if you don't have the ability to reproduce it, contact our office and we'll make copies and have them delivered.' You see this stuff that appears incredibly normal, what you would see in any organization, and it demystifies these guys.

Terrorists are organizations made up of people, and they're using all the same tools that other humans in organizations use.

WWS: Are there other individuals or organizations with whom you are working to access this information?

JS: I've worked with David Siegel at Florida State University on understanding the core organizational problems behind the financial management of terrorism. Managing finances and managing violence turn out to be two different organizational problems. In managing finances, the basic problem is that because these organizations are covert there's always some scope for the operators managing money to take advantage and keep a bit for themselves. In managing violence, the issue is making sure the violence is directed in the right way.

WWS: Please tell us about your forthcoming publications.

JS: I have a book chapter on al-Qaeda's failed efforts to operate in the Horn of Africa, which will be coming out sometime next year. I'm working on a book manuscript about terrorism, on some of the issues we've just talked about. The tentative title is, *The Terrorist Challenge: Security, Efficiency, Control*.

I also have a paper under review that looks at the balance between secrecy and openness in counterterrorism. Another area I've researched is homeland security and security policy, and this piece looks at the balance between secrecy and openness. People have all these great reasons for or against secrecy—protect democracy, hold the government accountable, and so on. In this piece we basically say, forget all of that: from a narrow point of view, that is, "stopping terrorists from blowing us up angle," we ask if there's an advantage to sharing information [with the public] that might be useful to terrorists?

The reason this is important is that the introduction to the threat of terrorism into the set of national security concerns has led to a massive increase in government information that's kept behind walls. I think this is bad not only for democracy but also for counterterrorism.

WWS: Why?

JS: Because the government has a limited capacity for conducting basic research and for finding out things it doesn't know. If you put information behind walls, the only way you could use it to make society safer and more resilient is if you already know how you are going to use the information. And there is a lot out there about basic critical infrastructure—about vulnerabilities and elements of basic research—that's being locked up because officials question whether terrorists might use it against us. But that is fundamentally the wrong question. The right question is will terrorists make better use of such publicly available information than the massive complex of government, the academy, private industry, and local government that is continually trying to figure out how to make people safer against terrorist attacks?

I teach in a mid-career program for homeland security professionals and make this case to them. What's really interesting there is that state and local officials almost always get it. Their argument is usually that no amount of bureaucratic engineering will make the information go where it needs to, and so we need to get this stuff out there in the open.

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From the Field: WWS Students Explore Saudi Politics, Society

by Jeanne Jackson-DeVoe

A group of eight Woodrow Wilson School students and professors had a rare opportunity to see firsthand some of the inner workings of Saudi Arabian society and politics during a week-long visit to Riyadh from May 22 to 29.

Accompanied by former Lecturer of Public and International Affairs Christopher Boucek and WWS Acting Dean Nolan McCarty, the group made the most of their time in the kingdom's capital, where they met with about 25 different groups including princes, ministers, journalists, western diplomats, senior Saudi officials, leaders of non-profit groups, and numerous others to discuss some of the crucial issues facing Saudi Arabia as well as the U.S.-Saudi relationship.

The trip was the culmination of Boucek's fall seminar "Saudi Arabia: Security, Energy, and U.S. Policy," which focused on the security and stability of Saudi Arabia and its policy relationship with the U.S. Each student studied different policy issues, and so each came to Saudi Arabia with a different perspective and different questions.

"I've said all along you really have to go see it," said Boucek, who was at the Woodrow Wilson School for two years prior to taking his recent position as an associate in the Middle East Program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington, D.C. "I think Saudi Arabia especially is a place where it's very easy to have one set of understanding that boils down to sand, Islam, and oil. When you stop thinking that, you can actually appreciate the kind of challenges and problems going on in the country."

Boucek had spent more than a year trying to arrange the trip for the students and to get a group to sponsor them. The King Faisal Foundation, a Saudi-based international philanthropic organization, agreed to sponsor the students' visas and assist with transportation. Boucek emphasized that the group be able to set its own schedule. Eight out of 10 students in the seminar went on the trip, which was fully funded by the University.

Boucek, along with Ph.D. student Jeff Colgan and recent WWS graduate Amy Schedlbauer MPP '08 (who is a foreign service officer with the U.S. Department of State), discussed the trip in a slide show and lecture on June 20 at the School's Robertson Hall. They showed slides of Riyadh, a modern city with its skyscrapers and palm trees, as well as slides of Old Riyadh, where the Masmak Fortress was an example of the mud buildings that made up the city in the 1930s.

Members of the Majlis ash-Shura (Saudi parliament) during a meeting with students from the WWS delegation.



Photos provided by Jeff Colgan

The WWS delegation were guests at the home of Dr. Khalil al-Khalil, member of the Majlis ash-Shura, one evening during their visit to Saudi Arabia. From left to right: Amy Schedlbauer, Julie Sawyer, Ryan Phillips, Hannah Jung, Jeff Colgan, Dr. Khalil al-Khalil, Dr. Christopher Boucek, Dr. Ralph Salmi (a professor emeritus at California State University-San Bernardino who was also an invited guest), Nate Hodson, Mark Christopher, and Jon Kaufman.

The kingdom has developed quickly due to its status as the number one oil exporter in the world. But it remains a traditional, tribal society and, even as it has modernized, has held on to its traditions. Its harsh punishments of criminals, including capital punishment and floggings, have been criticized by human rights organizations such as Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch. But Schedlbauer explained that there is a large conservative Muslim population that wields a lot of power, so even those advocating change must move slowly, or the conservatives "could put an end to everything."

The division between men and women in Saudi Arabia was striking. "The segregation of men and women cannot be overemphasized," Colgan said. When the group visited the newspaper *al-Hayat*, for example, an editor introduced them to five fully veiled women journalists who were in a separate newsroom.

The segregation extends to shopping malls, restaurants, and universities. The majority of receptionists and secretaries in offices, and perfume salespersons at department stores, are men. Even McDonald's has separate sections for men and for women and families. Women cannot drive and most do not go out in public by themselves without a male member of their family; many women, therefore, have drivers who take them from place to place. But in families that cannot afford a driver, the man of the house must come home to drive children to school or take women shopping.

The status of women ultimately may change because of economic realities, Schedlbauer said, since many large Saudi families cannot live on one income. The women students visited Al-Nahda, a women's charity that helps poor and abused women, providing educational programs and placing women in jobs.

The students also met with representatives from two recently formed human rights groups: the National Society for Human Rights and the government-sponsored Human Rights Commission. Human rights is a new concept in Saudi Arabia, Colgan said, noting that the kingdom banned slavery



Fashions for today's Saudi woman, but advertising cannot keep up—in keeping with Saudi custom, the female model is blurred out of focus.

less than 30 years ago, in 1962. Both human rights groups have limited powers, but the Commission has been working on informing Saudis of their legal rights.

The Princeton delegation received a warm welcome from members of the Majlis ash-Shura, the Consultative Council, a legislature made up of 150 members appointed by the king, who stopped legislating to greet them. The king must approve the laws passed by the Majlis, but they do not have any power to allocate money; members of the Majlis disagree about whether they should have that power.

Saudi Arabia is the world's largest exporter of petroleum and oil is "the main engine of the country," Schedlbauer said. The kingdom currently produces 9.5 million barrels a day and its goal is to increase capacity to 12 million barrels a day by 2009, according to the *New York Times*. Dean McCarty noted that Saudi officials expressed little sympathy for American complaints about the price of oil, because they felt Americans should be drilling offshore to produce oil themselves.

The subject of the Iraq war also inevitably came up; Saudis said they deplored the fact that the U.S. had invaded Iraq, but they also don't want to see the U.S. leave Iraq in its current state of upheaval. That tempered their view of the U.S. presidential candidates. "They say Obama has great ideas, but we really want continuity," Colgan said.

Those insights were what made the trip worthwhile. The bonds formed with so many Saudi Arabian groups will make it much easier for the next group of Princeton students to visit Iraq, Boucek said, and added that he hopes the trips continue in his absence. "Policy students need to go out and see the world," he said. "For these students Saudi Arabia isn't going to be an abstraction; it's going to be real." ■■■

The Organizational Aspects of Terrorism

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We're better at figuring out how to use this than the knuckleheads we are trying to protect against. The federal officials in the program, however, feel that it's just a matter of bureaucratic engineering. They say, if we just get the procedures right everyone will know what they need to know.

My favorite example of how this played out is when I was teaching this class one day and I made the argument that we should forget about all the nice democratic stuff. The director of emergency management from a major Midwestern city said, "Well that's all fine and good, but what if I need this information out there because I am more worried about the federal government taking away my liberties than I am about the threat of terrorism?" I saw a lawyer for the Department of Homeland Security turn to this person, daggers just shooting out of their eyes, likely thinking "How could you possibly impugn the motives of the federal government?" So, there's an interesting divide here.

But there are a number of examples where people outside the government have gone and analyzed information that could possibly be useful for terrorists, yet found ways to make society safer and more resilient, even assuming that terrorists could optimally use the information they have. This idea that security and openness are opposing values is just fundamentally wrong.

WWS: What is your next step in your research?

JS: The other side of my research is the organization of violence. I'm working on a few different things. One is a large project on the benign counterinsurgency. We want to look at what things other than killing insurgents have worked in Iraq, Afghanistan, the Philippines, and Vietnam to reduce the level of insurgent activity. In the process of

answering this very practical question we get a lot of leverage on larger academic theories of what the fundamental strategic interaction is in insurgency.

Why this really matters is that insurgency and counterinsurgency are going to be the main type of warfare in the world for at least the next 20 or 30 years. If we can identify ways or conditions under which fewer civilians die and suffer—conditional on being trapped in that kind of warfare—that's a good thing.

WWS: Have you interviewed or surveyed people from one of these groups?

JS: I have interviewed people in Jemaah Islamiyah, which is an Islamist terrorist organization in Southeast Asia, but at the moment I'm not. What I am going to be doing in the next couple of years is survey work with a number of different Indonesian militant organizations. The basic problem of existing studies of what makes people join these groups is that people only interview militants.

What this means is that you can't tell what separates a militant from a group of potential militants who might have joined, but didn't. As an inferential matter you can't figure out what's causing people to become militants. So, there are two things you can do. You can go and survey both groups. Or, you can survey militants and then use statistical methods to match them up with an existing pool of non-militants that we know something about.

For example, in Indonesia what we're going to do is to talk with militants from three different groups and in essence match them up statistically with people who responded to household surveys. That will let us see, for instance, what role attending a *madrassa*, in being poor, or in being the middle child plays in making a militant. ■■■

Pathways to Public Service Offers Options to Princeton Alumni

Photos by Sameer Khan



Professor Nannerl Keohane chaired the WWS Steering Committee for Pathways to Public Service; in her remarks she encouraged participants not to underestimate the importance of their own professional fulfillment.



Max Stier, director of the Partnership for Public Service, gave an overview of federal government service position in his keynote address.

Twenty-eight Princeton alumni participated in the Woodrow Wilson School's pilot program, "Pathways to Public Service," June 5–7 at the University. The workshop was for alumni who have "stepped out" of the workforce for several years to raise a family, and who are considering re-entering.

The three-day event was designed to provide information about working in the public sector and to encourage participants to consider this option. "Pathways to Public Service gave me a fresh perspective on where I might be heading and, quite literally, paths I could take," said workshop participant Alison Keel '85 of

Gladwyne, Pa. "It was both informative and inspiring. I am confident that Princeton's efforts here are going to yield new employees at all levels of government."

A WWS Steering Committee, chaired by Nannerl Keohane, the Laurance S. Rockefeller Distinguished Visiting Professor of Public Affairs, developed the workshop schedule. Participants took part in panel discussions and presentations featuring University faculty and staff members, as well as senior officials from various government agencies. Sessions focused on providing an introduction to the public sector at the local, state, and federal levels; information about how to search for government jobs and write a résumé; and networking opportunities, particularly in the form of panelists and speakers sharing personal experiences of balancing work and family.

"Your professional identity may already be clear to you, or defining it may still lie ahead of you; and it can surely change over time,"

Professor Keohane encouraged the participants on the final evening of the workshop. "As you think about the future, then, honor the values you have chosen and pursued as you have stepped out to care for your family,

but don't underestimate the importance of your own professional fulfillment and what that can bring to you, your families, and your community."

Pathways to Public Service successfully attracted Princeton alumni who are considering re-entering the workforce. "I believe the workshop was universally felt to be invigorating and extremely worthwhile," wrote participant Kara S. Fulcher *97 of Greenville, S.C. "I enjoyed the intellectual stimulation provided by the speakers and panelists; I reveled in the camaraderie that developed among the participants who were a fascinating cross-section of Princeton alumni; and I deeply appreciated the enthusiasm, attention and guidance provided by the staff and faculty involved in Pathways to Public Service." ■■■



*"I enjoyed the intellectual stimulation provided by the speakers and panelists; I reveled in the camaraderie that developed among the participants, who were a fascinating cross-section of Princeton alumni; and I deeply appreciated the enthusiasm, attention and guidance provided by the staff and faculty involved in Pathways to Public Service," said alumnus Kara Fulcher *97.*

CALENDAR

Thursday, September 11

Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, World Affairs Council of San Francisco

World Affairs Council Auditorium, 312 Sutter Street, San Francisco, Calif.; 5:30 p.m.

Iraq and the Road Ahead

Ambassador Barbara Bodine, Diplomat-in-Residence at WWS and director of the Scholars in the Nation's Service Initiative, will deliver a policy address considering the best options for the next president's Iraq policy. Advance registration is recommended for guaranteed seating; walk-ins are also welcome. For more information or to register online please visit www.itsyourworld.org.

Friday, September 12

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: Access to Universal Healthcare: New Jersey, The Nation, and The Globe

Second in this three-part series, participants in "Access to Universal Healthcare: New Jersey, The Nation, and The Globe" will explore universal healthcare, weighing proposals for New Jersey and examining models from within the nation and throughout the globe. Among the participants will be the Woodrow Wilson School's Uwe Reinhardt, New Jersey State Senator Joe Vitale, and Heather Howard, commissioner of the New Jersey Department of Health and Senior Services. More information may be found at www.princeton.edu/prior/.

Friday, October 17

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 Summit for Children's Health in New Jersey

"The Summit for Children's Health in New Jersey," third in the series of Health Enterprise symposiums, will bring together scholars, practitioners, and leaders in the field to examine the topics of prenatal care and infant mortality, the pediatric workforce, infrastructure, the medical home, and SCHIP. More information may be found at www.princeton.edu/prior/.

Friday–Saturday, October 17–18

Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton Institute for International and Regional Studies, and the East Asian Studies Program

219 Aaron Burr Hall

Vietnam and East Asia in a Globalized Context

This two-day conference will include panels on economic challenges facing Vietnam, systemic and actual financial challenges, civil governance, and challenges facing Vietnam's healthcare and educational systems. For more information, please contact PIIRS at (609) 258-7965.

Thursday, October 23

Program in Law and Public Affairs, Princeton University Public Lecture Series

Location to be announced

The John Marshall Harlan '20 Lecture in Constitutional Adjudication: A Conversation with U.S. Supreme Court Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg and Princeton University Provost Christopher Eisgruber

LAPA and the University Public Lecture Series are pleased to present the annual John Marshall Harlan '20 Lecture in Constitutional Adjudication, a conversation with U.S. Supreme Court Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg and University Provost and Professor Christopher Eisgruber. The lecture, which will be free and open to the public, will be one a first-come, first-served basis. Please visit the LAPA website at lapa.princeton.edu and click on the "Events" section to obtain additional details as they become available.

More events may be found by visiting the Woodrow Wilson School Calendar at wvs.princeton.edu.

Bernstein Gallery to Present “HUMAN EVIDENCE: The Iraq War”

The Woodrow Wilson School's Bernstein Gallery, lower level of Robertson Hall, will present the opening gallery exhibition of the 2008–09 year, “HUMAN EVIDENCE: The Iraq War,” beginning September 1, 2008. The exhibition will feature works on paper by Daniel Heyman, including one portfolio on loan from the Princeton University Art Museum, and photography by New York Times photojournalist Michael Kamber.

Heyman has created portraits of victims of the Iraq war, and has given voice to these individuals by including their testimony on the artwork. His work has been shown widely in both his hometown of Philadelphia and nationally, including: the DePaul University Museum of Art in Chicago; the Renaissance Society in Chicago; the Samuel Dorsky Museum of Art at SUNY New Paltz; the North Dakota Museum of Art; and the New York Public Library. Kamber is a photojournalist currently attached to the Baghdad bureau of the New York Times. Since 2002, he has covered conflicts in Iraq, Liberia, the Sudan, Cote d'Ivoire, Somalia, Haiti, Israel, Nigeria, Chad, and the Congo. His images have been published in nearly every major news magazine in the U.S. and Europe, as well as many newspapers.



Daniel Heyman, from the “Blackwater Project” portfolio, 2008



Michael Kamber, Latafiya, Iraq, May 19, 2007; Alpha Co. 2-15, Task force 2-15, 2nd Brigade Combat Team, 10th Mountain Division.

The exhibition will be held in conjunction with a panel discussion on Tuesday, October 21, 2008. Heyman and Kamber will be joined by human rights lawyer Susan Burke, lead counsel, Abu Ghraib torture litigation, for the firm of Burke O'Neil, LLC, and Steven Simon, recently appointed as the John L. Weinberg/Goldman Sachs and Company Visiting Professor of Public and International Affairs at WWS; he is also the Hasib J. Sabbagh Senior Fellow for Middle Eastern Studies at the Council on Foreign Relations. The panel discussion will be held at 4:30 p.m. in Bowl 016, Robertson Hall, adjacent to the Bernstein Gallery. A reception will immediately follow the panel in the Gallery.

More information about the exhibit and panel discussion may be found on line by visiting www.princeton.edu/bernstein. ■■■

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