

WWS NEWS

WOODROW WILSON SCHOOL
OF PUBLIC AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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FALL/WINTER 2007

IPFM Releases *Global Fissile Materials Report 2007*

**WWS, Center for Health and Wellbeing
Announce Mahmoud Global Health Scholars**

**Putin's Russia and the Nature of Insurgency:
A Q&A with Jason Lyall**

**WWS Students Report Findings, Experiences
Related to Child Support Enforcement**

**Niehaus Center, Oxford Team to Sponsor
Global Leaders Fellowship Program**

Global Fissile Material Report 2007

Second report of the International Panel on Fissile Materials
Developing the technical basis for policy initiatives to secure and
possibly reduce stocks of nuclear weapons and fissile materials

MESSAGE FROM THE DEAN

Welcome to the latest edition of *WWS News*. The fall semester has been an exciting one, and I am pleased to report several positive new developments here at the Woodrow Wilson School, which include awards and honors bestowed upon our faculty.

To start, Michael Oppenheimer and Denise Mauzerall were involved in the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) that shared the 2007 Nobel Peace Prize. Oppenheimer was lead author of a report presented to the United Nations last April, and Mauzerall contributed to an IPCC report issued in 2001.

Also honored was Professor Daniel Kahneman, who received the American Psychological Association's Award for Outstanding Lifetime Contributions to Psychology. The award—the highest bestowed by the Association—was presented in mid-August at its annual convention. Kahneman, a psychologist who retired from the School at the end of the last academic year, was a co-recipient of the 2002 Nobel Prize for Economics.

Angus Deaton, the School's Dwight D. Eisenhower Professor of International Affairs and professor of economics and international affairs, was named president-elect of the American Economic Association (AEA). Deaton's appointment as AEA president, which will begin in 2009, highlights his significant scholarly contributions to the field of economics.

Other news of our faculty's scholarly achievement includes Assistant Professor of Sociology and Public Affairs Elizabeth Armstrong MPA '93, who received the Eliot Freidson Outstanding Publication Award from the Medical Sociology Section of the American Sociological Association for her paper, "Whose Deaths Matter? Mortality, Advocacy, and Attention to Disease in the Mass Media."

Additionally, Jason Lyall, assistant professor of politics and international affairs, in August was named the recipient of the American Political Science Association's (APSA) Helen Dwight Reid Award. The award, supported by the Helen Dwight Reid Educational Foundation, is presented annually for the best doctoral dissertation in the field of international relations, law, and politics.

In other developments, the School, Princeton's Bobst Center for Peace and Justice, and the National Academy for Public Administration this fall announced a new partnership initiative, Institutions for Fragile States. Directed by the School's Jennifer Widner, professor of politics and international affairs, the initiative is part of a global effort to understand how best to establish accountable and capable governments in fragile or post-conflict states.

This fall, however, did bring us some sad news: Charles Berry, who touched the lives of thousands of students at Princeton and the Woodrow Wilson School as a teacher of economics and as a residential college master at Princeton, died in September of complications from cancer. He was 77. Berry, a specialist in industrial organization and applied microeconomics, devised the "Berry Ratio," a leading analytic tool embodied in U.S. tax law and now employed throughout the world.



Jon Boemer

In addition, the School community in December mourned the passing of Lowell Livezey, administrative director of the Woodrow Wilson School's undergraduate program from 1984 to 1988.

Finally, as you will read in the following pages, I am delighted to report that in December the School's Center for Health and Wellbeing selected its first four Adel Mahmoud Global Health Scholars. The Mahmoud Global Health Scholars program, designed to create new opportunities to engage Princeton undergraduates in international health policy, funds support for global, health-related internships and senior thesis research. You can read about these new undergraduate scholars on page 13.

This issue of *WWS News* nicely encapsulates the ongoing, vibrant, dynamic scholarship and policy training and analysis at the School. I invite you to learn more by visiting the campus, attending our public affairs lectures and panels, or by visiting us online at the newly upgraded WWS website, www.princeton.edu. As always, I look forward to seeing or hearing from you.

A handwritten signature in dark ink that reads "Nolan McCarty".

Nolan McCarty
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WWSN News

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

IN THIS ISSUE

- Dean's Message
- 2 IPFM Releases Global Fissile Material Report 2007
Reviews Worldwide Stocks of Key Ingredients for Nuclear Weapons, and Global Efforts to Secure and Eliminate These Materials
- 3 A Conversation with Frank von Hippel
Professor of Public and International Affairs and Co-chair of the International Panel on Fissile Materials
- 5 Faculty Honors
Oppenheimer, Mauzerall Part of Nobel Peace Prize-winning Panel
- 6 Faculty Notes
- 9 Fellowships
School's Niehaus Center Teams with Oxford to Sponsor Global Leaders Fellowship Program
- 10 Undergraduate News
WWS Students Report Findings, Experiences Related to Undergraduate Task Force on Child Support Enforcement
- 12 Undergraduate Policy Task Force
Improving Educational Quality: WWS Task Force Visits Schools in Costa Rica
- 13 Undergraduate Scholars
New Global Health Scholars Announced; Innovative Program's First Mahmoud Scholars to Receive Support for Research and Internships
- 14 Research Brief
Putin's Russia and the Nature of Insurgency: A Q&A with Jason Lyall
- 17 New Research
WWS Begins Largest Academic Survey of Federal Executives
- 18 Center Spotlight
The Program in Law and Public Affairs
- 20 Center Notes
- 22 Center News
Liechtenstein Institute Launches Program on Religion, Diplomacy, and International Relations; Woodrow Wilson School Teams to Launch Institutions for Fragile States; Case Co-Authors Study on Gender Differences in Poor Countries' Obesity Rates; PPNS Holds Workshop, Alumni Forum in Tokyo to Explore Future of Security Cooperation in East Asia; 2007 LAPA Liman Fellow Reports on Fellowship Experience
- 26 Public Affairs Programming
America's New Racism; Logging on to Politics: Joan Blades Explains How One Email Made a Difference; Lessons Learned from U.S. Failure in Iraq
- 29 New Faculty
Richard Keevey to Direct Policy Research Institute for the Region
- 30 Graduate Policy Workshops
WWS Graduate Students Seek Ways to Prevent a Proliferation Chain Reaction in the Middle East
- 31 Faculty Awards
Daniel Kahneman Recipient of APA's Outstanding Lifetime Contributions Award
- 32 Center Research
Law and Public Affairs Program Report Outlines Legal Framework for Military Contractors
- 33 Calendar
"Burmese Days" Photography Exhibition Presented in Bernstein Gallery

Volume 31, Issue 1
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IPFM Releases Global Fissile Material Report 2007

Reviews Worldwide Stocks of Key Ingredients for Nuclear Weapons, and Global Efforts to Secure and Eliminate These Materials

On October 25, the School hosted the launch of the *Global Fissile Material Report 2007* by the International Panel on Fissile Materials (IPFM), an independent group of scientists and analysts from 16 countries. The report provides an annual review of worldwide stocks, production, and disposition of highly enriched uranium (HEU) and plutonium, the key ingredients in nuclear weapons, and assesses global efforts to secure and eliminate these materials. Deep cuts and consolidation in the stocks of highly enriched uranium and plutonium are critical to nuclear disarmament, halting the proliferation of nuclear weapons, and ensuring that terrorists do not acquire nuclear weapons.

Key findings and recommendations of the 2007 Report were presented by Frank von Hippel, the co-chair of IPFM and professor of public and international affairs at the Woodrow Wilson School; Harold Feiveson MPA '63, PhD '72, senior research policy scientist at Princeton; and Alexander Glaser of Princeton University's

Program on Science and Global Security and the IPFM.

Today, global stockpiles of highly enriched uranium total between 1,400 and 2,000 metric tons, enough for almost 60,000–80,000 nuclear weapons. Only the United States and the United Kingdom have declared their stocks. The uncertainty derives from the lack of similar declarations by other nuclear-armed states—particularly by Russia, which possesses the world's largest stock. The possibilities for deep, irreversible cuts in nuclear arsenals will be limited until these states declare their fissile material stocks and take steps to remove them from military programs.

During 2006, the international community continued to make steady, if slow, progress in reducing HEU stocks. Russia



continued on page 4

A Conversation with Frank von Hippel

Professor of Public and International Affairs and Co-chair
of the International Panel on Fissile Materials

by Phyllis Spiegel



Jon Rosemer

Frank von Hippel, a professor of public and international affairs at the Woodrow Wilson School, is known in scientific and political circles as an activist policy-physicist. For more than 30 years, his life—both professional and personal—has been dedicated, in great part, to the study of nuclear nonproliferation and arms control issues. Recognized and respected for his technical and philosophical expertise in this field, and his ability to communicate the facts

as well as the dilemmas, he is sought after as a speaker by foreign governments, negotiating bodies, the U.S. Congress, and non-governmental groups.

Von Hippel said that few people are aware that his passion for his work may have been inherited from his maternal grandfather, James Franck, a renowned German-born American physicist who was a scientific leader in the Manhattan Project and warned that the use of the bomb in a surprise attack against Japan would make inevitable a nuclear arms race with the Soviet Union. His “Franck Report” to the War Department urged, as an alternative, a nuclear explosion in an unpopulated area to demonstrate the power of the bomb “before the eyes of representatives of all the United Nations,” and laid the basis for an international ban. This report, although failing to attain its main objective, still stands as a monument to the rejection by scientists of the use of science in works of destruction.

Franck shared the Nobel Prize for Physics in 1925 for research on the excitation and ionization of atoms by electron bombardment that verified Bohr’s theory that electron configurations in atoms exist at only certain discrete “quantum” energy levels. In 1933, he resigned his professorship at the University of Göttingen and left Germany in protest against Nazi policies.

As a boy and young man, Professor von Hippel knew his grandfather but said that they’d never discussed his role in the Manhattan Project. “As a youngster,” he said, “I was deeply impressed by my grandfather’s love of science, his interest in his grandchildren, and his unpretentious humanity.”

Professor von Hippel, who was born and raised in a suburb of Boston, did his undergraduate work at MIT and in 1962 earned

a D.Phil. in theoretical physics at Oxford where he was a Rhodes Scholar. Before coming to Princeton in the mid ’70s, he did research in theoretical elementary particle physics at the University of Chicago and Cornell, and was an assistant professor of physics at Stanford.

The shift to what he calls public policy physics came after spending a year as a resident fellow at the National Academy of Science, where he organized an American Physical Society summer study on light-water reactor safety. Since the early ’80s, his research has included contributions to the development of the analytical basis for deep cuts in U.S. and Russian nuclear stockpiles, ensuring that plutonium in spent nuclear reactor fuel is not separated out—a process which would make it available for weapons manufacture—and ending production of fissile materials for nuclear weapons.

Involved with disarmament proposals during the Reagan and G.H.W. Bush administrations, he published widely, testified before Congress, and made many trips to Moscow to brainstorm with scientists and government officials who were advising President Gorbachev on arms control issues.

In 1993, when he was invited to serve in the Clinton White House as assistant director of National Security in the Office of Science and Technology Policy, Princeton granted him a two-year leave of absence. However, after 500 days, he found that he had accomplished all that he could in Washington and returned to working on the basis of new policy initiatives at Princeton and in collaboration with non-governmental organizations.

He is the recipient of several prestigious awards, including the American Physical Society’s Forum Award for Promoting the Understanding of the Relationship of Physics and Society, the Public Service Award from the Federation of American Scientists, a MacArthur Prize Fellowship, and the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS) Hilliard Roderick Prize for Excellence in Science, Arms Control, and International Security.

In 2006, a grant from the MacArthur Foundation funded the creation of the International Panel on Fissile Materials, a group of independent arms control and nonproliferation experts from 16 countries, to analyze the technical basis for policy initiatives to reduce global stocks of dangerous fissile materials and the number of sites where they are located. The second annual report has just been published and is available online at www.fissilematerials.org. Professor von Hippel is co-chairman of the panel with emeritus Professor R. Rajaraman of JawaharLal Nehru University in New Delhi, India.

Von Hippel said he would like to see “an increased level of national and international political debate on the dangers to the future of civilization from the huge number of nuclear weapons remaining from the Cold War—with thousands of warheads on missiles that are on hair-trigger alert. People need to be more proactive,” he said, “and we are trying to lay a basis for that—as has the intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change that shared this year’s Nobel Peace Prize.” ■

continued from page 2

transformed about 30 tons of HEU from weapons into low-enriched fuel for U.S. nuclear power reactors. The United States has been eliminating about five tons per year. It also has set aside a large stock of its HEU for use as naval-reactor fuel (enough for 5,000 nuclear warheads). Russia and the United Kingdom also have large reserves of HEU for naval fuel. These naval stocks may hinder future nuclear arms reductions and should be subject to international monitoring.

HEU also has been used to fuel research reactors worldwide, but there is currently an international effort to shift such reactors to low-enriched uranium fuel. At present, 28 countries still have enough civilian HEU at their reactors to make at least one nuclear weapon. Russia, which has half of the world's 140 HEU-fueled research reactors, has no policy with regard to HEU cleanout at home. The international community needs to encourage Russia, and other countries with HEU-fueled reactors, to convert those reactors it still needs, then shut down the rest.

The current global stockpile of separated plutonium is about 500 tons, which is sufficient to manufacture up to 100,000 nuclear weapons. Half is a legacy of the Cold War—about one-third of which has been declared excess for weapons. The other half is civilian, but weapon-usable, and continues to accumulate at a rate of about 10 tons a year because of reprocessing in India, France, Japan, Russia, and the United Kingdom.

Russia and the United States have made only limited progress toward implementing their agreement to each dispose of a minimum of 34 tons of excess weapon-grade plutonium (sufficient for almost 7,000 nuclear weapons each). India, Pakistan and, possibly, Israel continue to produce more plutonium for weapons. However, while both India and Pakistan are expanding their production capabilities, North Korea recently shut down its plutonium production reactor.

There are well-developed proposals, as yet unsupported by either government, for how the United States and Russia could quickly reduce the number of warheads in their nuclear stockpiles to



Senior research scientist and lecturer at WWS Harold Feiveson MPA '63, PhD '72 explains findings of the IPFM.

1,000 each. Deeper cuts to about 200 weapons each could be made if other nuclear weapon states joined the arms limitation process. Such deep cuts would make it possible to eliminate most of the global stockpile of weapons HEU and plutonium.

The United States, Russia, France, and the United Kingdom have officially ended their production of plutonium and HEU for weapons, and China has communicated unofficially that it has joined the moratorium. All enrichment and reprocessing activities in these countries could, therefore, be opened for international safeguards or verification, as in the non-weapon states. In fact, all such activities already are being safeguarded by Euratom in France and the U.K., where International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) safeguarding also is extensive. If the situation in France and the U.K. were replicated across the nuclear weapon states, much of the infrastructure for a verified ban on the production of fissile material for weapons (a Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty) would have been established. Resource constraints on the IAEA, and a lack of political will, provide the main obstacles—technical difficulties are surmountable.

The *Global Fissile Material Report 2007* also looks at the future of civil nuclear energy and its attendant proliferation risks. Many in the nuclear industry hope for a three- to four-fold increase in global nuclear capacity by 2050, despite the very high capital costs and lack of public support for a major expansion.

Oppenheimer, Mauzerall Part of Nobel Peace Prize-winning Panel

Reprinted courtesy Princeton University Office of Communications

Whatever the future of nuclear power, it is important to limit the spread of national gas-centrifuge uranium enrichment plants, as they can be converted easily to the production of HEU for weapons. There is no need for spent-fuel reprocessing plants, either national or multinational. Reprocessing and storage or recycling of the recovered plutonium persists only where governments do not allow much less costly and more secure dry-cask storage of spent fuel, or where reprocessing is the price imposed on utilities for removing spent fuel from reactors to centralized storage sites. Given the huge accumulated stocks of separated civilian plutonium, continued reprocessing is foolhardy and has no economic justification.

The report also includes chapters on consolidation of fissile materials in the U.S. nuclear complex, Russia as an international nuclear fuel-service supplier, and the detection of clandestine enrichment and reprocessing programs. The report can be found online at www.ipfmlibrary.org/gfmr07.pdf.

IPFM was founded in January 2006 and is co-chaired by Professor R. Rajaraman of Jawaharlal Nehru University in New Delhi, India, and Professor Frank von Hippel of Princeton University. IPFM is supported by a grant to Princeton University from the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation. ■■■

EDITOR'S NOTE:

In the Summer 2007 issue of "WWS News," we inadvertently left out two WWS undergraduate senior thesis award winners. Steven M. Anderson was the recipient of the Myron T. Herrick Prize for the best senior thesis at the Woodrow Wilson School, and Thomas W. Bohnett was awarded the Lieutenant John A. Larkin Memorial Prize for the best thesis on an approved subject in the field of political economy. We regret the omissions.

Seven Princeton faculty members, including two from the Woodrow Wilson School, were involved in the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) that shared the 2007 Nobel Peace Prize in October.

School faculty Michael Oppenheimer and Denise Mauzerall, along with fellow Princeton faculty Isaac Held, Gabriel Lau, Venkatachalam Ramaswamy, Jorge Sarmiento, and Robert Socolow, contributed to panel reports over the years (e.g., Oppenheimer was lead author of a report presented to the United Nations this past April, and Mauzerall contributed to an IPCC report issued in 2001).

The Norwegian Nobel Committee announced that the prize would be shared by former U.S. Vice President Al Gore and the IPCC for their efforts to "build up and disseminate greater knowledge about man-made climate change, and to lay the foundations for the measures that are needed to counteract such change."

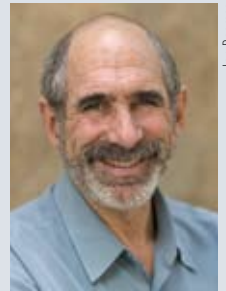
Oppenheimer, who has been affiliated with the panel since 1990, said, "The Nobel Committee's recognition of the IPCC is very encouraging to the thousands of scientists over the years who have dedicated large amounts of time to these reports. The recognition makes it clear that expert advice means something."

The IPCC was created by the U.N. General Assembly in 1988 to provide objective policy advice in response to the growing concern about the risk of climate change. Thousands of scientists and officials from more than 100 countries have collaborated on IPCC reports over the past two decades.

Two panel reports presented earlier this year concluded it was very likely that humans were responsible for global warming and that rising temperatures would likely accelerate if steps were not taken to address the warming trend.

Mauzerall is an associate professor of public and international affairs at WWS; Oppenheimer is the Albert G. Milbank Professor of Geosciences and International Affairs at the School.

Sarmiento is a professor of geosciences and the director of the Program in Atmospheric and Oceanic Sciences; Socolow is a professor of mechanical and aerospace engineering; and Held, Lau, and Ramaswamy are lecturers with the rank of professor in geosciences and atmospheric and oceanic sciences. Held, Lau, and Ramaswamy also are affiliated with the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration's Geophysical Fluid Dynamics Laboratory located in Princeton. ■■■



Michael Oppenheimer



Denise Mauzerall

Jon Koerner

Jon Koerner

FACULTY NOTES

All faculty photos by Jon Roemer



Alan S. Blinder

Elizabeth Armstrong MPA '93, assistant professor of sociology and public affairs, has received the Eliot Freidson Outstanding Publication Award from the Medical Sociology Section of the American Sociological Association for her paper "Whose Deaths Matter? Mortality, Advocacy, and Attention to Disease in the Mass Media." The paper, co-authored with Dan Carpenter of Harvard University and Marie Hojnacki of Penn State University, examines the link between media attention—both print and broadcast—and diseases, mortality rates of those with diseases, and community intervention or interest in diseases.

Roland Benabou, Theodore A. Wells '29 Professor of Economics and Public Affairs, gave the Joseph Schumpeter Lecture at the annual Congress of the European Economic Association in August. The topic of his lecture was "Groupthink and Ideology."

Alan S. Blinder, Gordon S. Rentschler Memorial Professor of Economics and professor of economics and public affairs, testified in June before the House Science and Technology Committee on off shoring. In July, he joined a rotating panel of columnists writing for *The New York Times* Sunday Business Section. In addition, he delivered a lecture on off shoring at the Federal Reserve Bank of New York on July 16, participated in the Aspen Institute's Program on the World Economy in August, and in September keynoted the Bank of Norway's conference, "Decisionmaking by Committee," in Oslo .



Wolfgang Danspeckgruber

Carles Boix, professor of politics and public affairs, has co-edited a new book, *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics* (Oxford University Press, 2007), with Susan C. Stokes, director of the Yale Program on Democracy at Yale University. The book is a compilation of works written by 47 scholars.

Divided into six parts, it offers a comparative analysis of political institutions and behavior. The book is part of the *Oxford Handbooks of Political Science*, a 10-volume set of reference books focusing on specific areas within the discipline of political science, including public policy, political theory, political economy, contextual political analysis, comparative politics, international relations, law and politics, political behavior, political institutions, and political methodology. Each volume is edited by a group of authorities in their respective fields.

On July 16, Professor of Astrophysical Sciences and International Affairs Christopher F. Chyba gave an invited briefing at the U.N. to the Secretary-General's Advisory Board on Disarmament Matters on "Outer Space Weapons." In October, he was asked by the directors of Los Alamos National Laboratory and Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory to co-chair, with former Deputy National Security Advisor J.D. Crouch, a working group titled "Understanding Key Divergent Views on U.S. Nuclear Policy," for the upcoming January



Noreen Goldman

2008 meeting in Washington, D.C., "Strategic Weapons in the 21st Century."

Lecturer of Public and International Affairs Wolfgang Danspeckgruber in May delivered the opening address for the Globalization Symposium in Vienna, Austria, on "God, Gold, Gender, and Generations." In July, he convened and chaired a high-level negotiation in Liechtenstein on aspects of Iran nuclear endeavors. In the epilogue of his new book, edited with Ambassador Robert Finn, *Building State and Security in Afghanistan*, Danspeckgruber drew conceptual conclusions on state building, security creation, and conditions for a functioning economy in a post-conflict society and on the example of the international communities' experience in Afghanistan.

Angus Deaton, Dwight D. Eisenhower Professor of International Affairs and professor of economics and international affairs, was awarded a *laurea honoris causa* from the University of Rome, Tor Vergata in June, as well as an honorary Doctor of Science in economics (D.Sc.) from University College in London in September. He also was elected recently to lead the American Economic Association, to serve as president-elect in 2008 and president in 2009.

Aaron Friedberg, professor of politics and international affairs and a former advisor to Vice President Dick Cheney, has been appointed to the Department of Defense's Defense Policy Board. The Board provides the Secretary of Defense, Deputy Secretary, and Under Secretary for Policy with informed advice and opinions concerning major matters of defense policy. It focuses on long-term issues central to strategic planning for the Department of Defense and is responsible for research and analysis of addressed topics, both long- and short-range.

Frederick H. Shultz Class of 1951 Visiting Professor of International Economic Policy William Frist '74 was unanimously confirmed by the U.S. Senate to the Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC) Board of Directors in October. The MCC works to reduce global poverty, promote sustainable economic growth, improve global health, and enhance education under the guiding principle that foreign assistance is most effective when emphasizing transparency and accountability. Former Senator Frist also joined Africare's Board of Directors in June, and joined Save the Children's Board of Trustees in September, where he will serve as chair of its global Survive to 5 campaign, which seeks to provide basic health interventions that can save more than six million children around the world annually. In June, he launched ONE Vote '08, the ONE Campaign's presidential initiative, which will be co-chaired by Frist and former U.S. Senate Majority Leader Tom Daschle. As a member of the Clinton Global Initiative's (CGI) Global Health Working Group, Senator Frist moderated the "Proven, Low-Cost Strategies to Improve Child Survival and Maternal

Health" session at the CGI Annual Meeting in September. After co-chairing a global health conference at St. Petersburg State University (Russia), Senator Frist published "Improving Russian-U.S. Collaboration on Health" in August. His paper and information on the conference are available at www.csis.org/globalhealthforum.

Noreen Goldman, Hughes-Rogers Professor of Demography and Public Affairs, is serving as the acting director of the Office of Population Research for the 2007-08 academic year. She also has received a new grant award from UCLA (The National Institutes of Health is the prime sponsor). The five-year grant in the amount of \$1.3 million is earmarked for a project that will systematically investigate the relationship between socioeconomic status, immigrant status, health behavior, and health outcomes for Latinos in the United States. The overall goal is to develop a more comprehensive understanding of Latino health. Although the principal focus will be the Latino population, the project also will examine these relationships for other ethnic groups.

David Goldston, scholar-in-residence with the Program in Science, Technology, and Environmental Policy, authored the editorial "Spending Stalemate" for the October edition of *Nature*. In the article, Goldston discusses the 2008 budget impasse between President Bush and the U.S. Congress, which has left the fate of science funding—deemed discretionary versus mandatory—in limbo. Goldston writes, "Although, not counting defense, discretionary spending constitutes only about 20 percent of the nearly \$3 trillion federal budget, it is the subject of most of the annual political wrangling."

Assistant Professor of Politics and International Affairs **Emilie M. Hafner-Burton** recently was awarded a Princeton University Dean of Faculty book grant. Forthcoming in the *Journal of Peace Research* is an article "The Hegemon's Purse: No Economic Peace Between Democracies," co-authored with Alexander H. Montgomery. Also forthcoming in the upcoming issue of *International Sociology* is the article "International Human Rights Law and the Politics of Legitimation: Repressive States and Human Rights Treaties," with Kiyoteru Tsutsui and John Meyer.

Professor of International Affairs **Robert O. Keohane** gave the Harold K. Jacobson Memorial Lecture at the University of Michigan in October on "Voice, Exit, Loyalty, and the Reform of Multilateral Institutions;" and the Castle Lectures at Yale on October 29 and 30 and November 8, on "Designing Multilateral Institutions."

David K. E. Bruce Professor of International Affairs and Professor of Politics **Atul Kohli** delivered a paper this summer at a United Nations-sponsored conference in Bombay, India on "The State and Redistributive Development in India." During the same visit he also delivered a paper, "Imperialism, Old and New," at the Institute for Policy Research in New Delhi. More recently, he delivered a paper on states and economic development at a Ford Foundation-sponsored conference in Sao Paulo, Brazil. His article, "State, Business, and Economic Growth in India," was just published in *Studies in Comparative and International Development*.

Alan Krueger, Bendheim Professor of Economics and Public Policy, has authored the book, *What Makes a Terrorist: Economics and the Roots of Terrorism* (Princeton University Press, 2007). Krueger examines the factors that motivate individuals to participate in terrorism, drawing inferences from terrorists' own backgrounds and the economic, social, and political conditions in the societies from which they come. The book outlines economic and psychological consequences of terrorism, and describes countries that are the most likely breeding grounds for terrorists and those most likely to be targeted. Krueger analyzes the terrorist threat objectively and with the tools of economic science, revealing how our nation's sizeable economy is diverse and resilient enough to withstand the comparatively limited effects of most terrorist strikes. He also calls on the media to be more responsible in reporting on terrorism.

Ambassador **Daniel Kurtzer**, S. Daniel Abraham Visiting Professor of Middle East Policy Studies, authored the op-ed, "Middle East Summit: A Recipe for Failure?" for the October 9 edition of the *International Herald Tribune*. In the article, Kurtzer discussed the summit to be hosted by the U.S. in November, and cautioned against the Bush administration's approach of hosting the talks with key leaders involved in the Mideast peace process without establishing clear goals for the meeting.

David S. Lee, professor of economics and public affairs, has been awarded the 2007 John T. Dunlop Outstanding Scholar Award by the Labor and Employment Relations Association. The award recognizes the research contribution of an academic for the best contribution to research addressing an industrial relations/employment problem of national significance. The award is given to a scholar who has completed their terminal degree in the last 10 years.

Marlaine Lockheed, visiting lecturer in public and international affairs and a visiting fellow at the Center for Global Development in Washington, D.C., published the book, *Exclusion, Gender, and Education* (Center for Global Development, 2007), co-edited with Maureen Lewis. She gave lectures related to the book at the World Bank's Global Symposium on Education in Washington, D.C. in October, and at a Conference on Women's Empowerment in Istanbul in November. An article, "Getting All Girls into School," appeared in the June 2007 issue of the International Monetary Fund's *Finance and Development*, based on her earlier book *Inexcusable Absence*.

Assistant Professor of Politics and International Affairs **Jason Lyall** has been named the recipient of the American Political Science Association's Helen Dwight Reid Award. The award, supported by the Helen Dwight Reid Educational Foundation, is presented annually for the best doctoral dissertation in the field of international relations, law, and politics. Lyall's dissertation, "Paths of Ruin: Why Revisionist States Arise and Die in World Politics," examines how a state's collective identity shapes, and often undermines, its grand strategy and military effectiveness.

Denise Mauzerall, associate professor of public and international affairs, recently spoke on the linkages between climate change and air pollution. Her talks, given at the World Bank in Washington D.C. in May and for the National Academies Institute of Medicine in San Francisco in September, were on "Air Quality and Climate Change: Opportunities for 'Co-benefits.'" In the lectures, she described how climate change might result in worsening air quality while also highlighting opportunities for simultaneously reducing emissions of air pollutants that have both a direct adverse impact on human health and welfare and that contribute to climate change.

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FACULTY NOTES



David S. Lee

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Nolan McCarty, acting dean of the Woodrow Wilson School and Susan Dod Brown Professor of Politics and Public Affairs, and Julian Zelizer, professor of history at the School, have contributed to *The Transformation of American Politics: Activist Government and the Rise of Conservatism* (Princeton University Press, 2007). In the chapter titled “The Policy Effects of Political Polarization,” McCarty examines why American politics are increasingly more polarized, and discusses the link between polarization and policy outcomes, the quality of policy outcomes in a polarized arena, and the effects of polarization on social policy. The chapter, “Seizing Power: Conservatives and Congress since the 1970s,” by Zelizer examines the unintended consequences of congressional reform in the 1970s. Zelizer focuses on the rise of a conservative movement that proved adept at working within the new institutional structures created by liberals in the aftermath of the 1960s, such as the rules that allow for Congress to be televised and ethics regulations enacted in the aftermath of Watergate.

William S. Tod Professor of Sociology and Public Affairs Sara McLanahan, along with Kathy Edin of Harvard University and Ron Mincy of Columbia University, presented papers at a recent conference at Harvard entitled “The Moynihan Report Revisited: Lessons and Reflections after Four Decades.” The papers will be published in a forthcoming volume of the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, edited by Doug Massey and Rob Sampson.

Katherine Newman, Malcolm S. Forbes Class of 1941 Professor of Sociology and Public Affairs, has co-authored *The Missing Class: Portraits of the Near Poor in America* (Beacon Press, 2007) with Victor Tan Chen. Newman and Chen address the plight of nearly 57 million Americans—21 percent of whom are children—sandwiched between the poor and the middle class, and thus just out of reach of public assistance. This “missing class,” the authors assert, is largely invisible and ignored. Drawing on interviews conducted with nine families and public service professionals in the New York metropolitan area from the mid ‘90s to 2002, the authors trace the unique problems faced by individuals in this large and growing demographic—the “near poor”—who have transformed their lives through hard work and determination.

Associate Research Scholar Deborah Pearlstein penned an editorial “Is Justice Possible After Torture?” for the August 17 edition of *The American Prospect*. In the article, Pearlstein argues that the use of torture on detainees to extract information about terrorist plots is backfiring and crippling America’s justice system. Pearlstein writes, “The United States’ decision five years ago to torture detainees has infected a generation of terrorism cases where it might have once been possible to do justice—but may not be anymore.”

This summer, Uwe Reinhardt, James Madison Professor of Political Economy and professor of economics and public affairs, was elected president of the International Health Economics Association (IHEA), a global association of health economists. He also was selected to chair New Jersey Governor Jon Corzine’s Commission on Rationalizing Health Care Resources. He has signed on David Grande MPA ‘06 to help write and manage the production of the final report, due out at the end of this year.

Professor of Psychology and Public Affairs Eldar Shafir was the keynote speaker in August at the Roundtable on Behavioral Economics and Public Policy convened by the Australian Government Productivity Commission in Melbourne, Australia. He was also the keynote speaker at the Australian Securities and Investments Commission (ASIC) Stakeholder Forum in Sydney, Australia in August, and was an invited speaker at Moscow’s Kurginyan Center in September.

Alexander Todorov, assistant professor of psychology and public affairs, presented a public lecture for the Foundation for the Advancement of Behavioral and Brain Sciences in Washington, D.C. in October. The event, “Science Cafe,” was dedicated to contributions of psychology to understanding voting behavior. His paper, “Predicting Political Elections from Rapid and Unreflective Face Judgments,” co-authored with Charles C. Ballew II of the University’s Department of Psychology, was published in the November 13 print issue of *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*.

Professor of Ecology and Evolutionary Biology and Public Affairs Dave Wilcove’s new book, *No Way Home: The Decline of the World’s Great Animal Migrations*, was published by Island Press in October. Wilcove explores the reasons why so many of the great animal migrations around the world have disappeared or are declining, the ecological consequences of these losses, and the scientific and political challenges associated with protecting the habitats of species that cross numerous—especially international—administrative boundaries.

Professor of History and Public Affairs Julian Zelizer delivered a paper at an October conference about détente at the State Department, entitled “Détente and Republican Politics in the 1970s.” Other speakers at the conference included Henry Kissinger, James Schlesinger, and Condoleezza Rice. Also in October, he presented a paper, “The Conservative Presidency,” at Boston University Law School, and participated on a panel about the 2008 elections that was broadcast on WHYY’s Radio Times. In November, he presented a paper at the Harvard University Law School workshop on presidential war power. ■

Photo provided by Deborah Pearlstein



Deborah Pearlstein



Julian Zelizer

School's Niehaus Center Teams with Oxford to Sponsor Global Leaders Fellowship Program

Building on a partnership established in 2001, Oxford and Princeton universities have launched a new post-doctoral fellowship initiative, the “Global Leaders Fellowship Program,” created to enhance the capacity of developing countries in the areas of scholarship and policy. A generous gift to Oxford and Princeton has made this program possible.

Beginning in September 2008, up to six annual fellowships will be awarded to promising, early-career scholars from developing countries. Funding by the program will allow fellows to spend one year at Oxford and one year at Princeton pursuing post-doctoral research, with full living costs provided. Program leadership at Oxford will be provided by Dr. Ngaire Woods, a well-known authority on the International Monetary Fund and on negotiations between wealthy and developing countries. Leadership at Princeton will be provided by Robert Keohane, professor of international affairs at Princeton’s Woodrow Wilson School, and a leading scholar of international institutions.

Some of the most pressing challenges the international community faces—such as climate change, pandemics, energy security, and poverty—require global, interconnected solutions. Yet, policymaking on these issues has been dominated by a small number of industrialized countries, and often missing in policy debates within global institutions have been the priorities, experience, and challenges faced by developing countries. Thus, the program’s main objectives are to contribute to the training of a cohort of scholar-practitioners who will help devise innovative strategies to enhance the value of global institutions to the people of developing countries, and to create a network of scholars and practitioners, particularly from developing countries, with expertise in the key issues surrounding globalization.

“The new initiative seeks to address some of the bias in the world’s community of scholars and practitioners in global governance,” said Keohane. “For example, one of the more serious problems faced by poor countries in the world political economy is that they do not have enough highly qualified negotiators. This is a problem particularly for small countries in Africa and the poorer parts of Asia and Latin America. The Program is designed to help improve this situation by providing opportunities for a small number of exceptionally talented people to do post-doctoral work at Oxford and Princeton.”

Keohane continued, “Our hope is that these fellows will return to universities in their home countries and create a multiplier effect



The Radcliffe Camera library at Oxford University

by training many more students. In pursuit of this goal, we plan to build a network of alumni of the Program, working in developing countries, that will help to provide mutual support and a continuing flow of information and ideas to people located from Bangladesh to Botswana.”

In addition to the fellowships, the Program seeks to build a broad network of senior scholars and practitioners who will ensure that fellows receive mentoring and assistance both during and after their time at Oxford and Princeton. A high-level Advisory Council, comprised of established scholar-practitioners from developing countries, has been appointed by the Program’s executive committee to offer advice and support to fellows returning to their own countries who will contribute to policymaking and scholarship. The Advisory Council’s guidance and assistance will be bolstered by material support from a “returning with ideas” fund that encourages fellowship tenure.

The experience of Program organizers makes them confident that developing country governments will make good use of its alumni. Dr. Woods commented, “in every research project, we found senior developing country officials keen to engage, offer advice, facilitate our research, and offer constructive criticisms throughout.”

The program’s executive committee is comprised of Ngaire Woods, Andrew Hurrell, and Yuen Foong Khong, of Oxford; and Robert Keohane, Helen Milner, and Jennifer Widner of Princeton.

Oxford and Princeton established this formal partnership in 2001 to support faculty research collaborations, including graduate student participation and undergraduate student exchanges. ■

WWS Students Report Findings, Experiences Related to Undergraduate Task Force on Child Support Enforcement

Contributions by Lauren Barnett '08, Sian O'Faolain '08, and Meghan Petersack '08

In September, three WWS seniors—Lauren Barnett, Meghan Petersack, and Sian O'Faolain—were selected as guest panelists by the Federal Office of Child Support Enforcement (OCSE) for its 17th National Child Support Enforcement Training Conference in Washington, D.C. The students presented at the conference's closing plenary session.

Barnett has had a policy brief on this topic published by the Roosevelt Institution, a student-run think tank headquartered at Stanford University; and Petersack this summer wrote a policy brief for the Center for Law and Social Policy (CLASP) in Washington.

Following the conference, the students provided some thoughts on their experiences.

Petersack commented, "While most of my friends were getting the last use out of their tank tops and flip flops during freshman week, I was sporting a business suit and boarding the train to Washington D.C."

"I had traveled to the OCSE to present for the first time in January with the other members of my junior task force. My independent research focused on low-income fathers who do not pay child support because they can barely support themselves. I recommended a specific model of employment programs for this target population.

"One idea that I presented to the OCSE's directors involved using 'Fathering Courts' to enforce participation in such employment programs. By drawing federal attention to the locations around the country that have developed these courts, I felt I was really contributing to the child support enforcement system. As an undergraduate who had spent just a few months studying child support policies, it was more than an honor to have access to the time and attention of those running the show at the federal level.

"My involvement with the OCSE continued this past summer through an internship with CLASP. I had the opportunity to focus on child support policies for children in foster care under the guidance of Vicki Turetsky, an expert on child support policy and a mentor to our class in the fall. After nearly a year of working on child support policies, it was both an honor and a pleasure to return to Washington to present my original research findings to representatives from many different states.

"Prior to the start of the conference, aptly titled 'Child Support University,' I had some time to review my presentation and speak with the other panelists, as well as Myles Schlank and Scott Cade. Mr. Schlank, chief of the OCSE's Program Development Branch, organized and moderated the panel. Mr. Cade, director of the Child Support Program in New York, pressed us on our ideas and helped connect our theories to the real world of child support practice at a state level.

"Although I was looking out over an audience of over 100 professionals, I was less nervous than I had expected. I think this is a credit to the overwhelming receptiveness of the child support enforcement community. The conference really affirmed for me that the professionals working in this field not only are hard-working and brilliant people, but also driven by a desire to support children and their families.

"When I first stepped into this policy niche, I barely understood what child support was, much less its role in the lives of our nation's children. I now realize that it is an integral part of any discussion about public policies involving families—more specifically—poor families.

"Whether I end up joining these passionate people working in child support, or directing my energies into other areas of domestic social policy, I definitely will apply the lessons learned about government, family dynamics, and poverty."

O'Faolain noted that, "On August 10, a month before I had planned to start thinking about school again, I received an email from Myles Schlank of the OCSE inviting two of my task force classmates and me to present our junior papers at their Child Support Enforcement



Lauren Barnett, Sian O'Faolain, and Meghan Petersack listen as Scott Cade, director of the Child Support Program, New York, makes a point during the OCSE panel discussion.

Photos by Sameer Khan



Myles Schlank, chief of the OCSE Program Development Branch, moderated the panel.

Training Conference. A month later, I was preparing my presentation, and looking over my junior paper and the PowerPoint file I had presented to about 15 people in the federal office in January.

“The morning of the conference, still expecting to present to a small room of people

in the child support world, I walked into the huge conference room that would seat over 100 people during our presentation two hours later. Mr. Schlank and Mr. Cade accompanied us on the stage. My presentation offered supporting data that co-parenting programs for never-married, low-income parents were both necessary and beneficial to the child support program’s clients and goals.

“Scott Cade responded to my presentation by bringing up the question of how to expand outreach with limited funding, and whether requiring a fee for service would deter clients from using certain programs. In response to my recommendation to attach, electronically, parenting plans to case files, he raised a very specific concern about the capacity of his office’s server, which might not be able to attach large numbers of PDF files. Whereas we had been able to look at the issues in a rather detached way, his question took my presentation and applied it to his own experience with the actual program in New York. A few audience members made comments, such as bringing up the idea of conducting mediation services over the phone, that were ideas I had not come across before nor included in my research. It sparked dynamic conversations with child support professionals applying my presentation to their

real-life experiences in the field.

“This experience speaks to the relevance of the Woodrow Wilson School’s policy task forces, where students have the opportunity to study a relevant policy issue in depth and actually share their research with people who want to hear it. Not only were my colleagues and I introduced into the ‘child support universe,’ but also were able to choose our topics and conduct our research independently on an aspect of the policy issues that most interested us. The chance to relate my own interest in the subject, as a child of divorced parents, to the data I collected on co-parenting programs around the country was one of the most stimulating experiences I have had at Princeton.

“Being a senior commissioner for the same task force this year, I have been able to appreciate the program even more. A behind-the-scenes look confirmed that this particular government agency really appreciates the work done by the task force, and has given this year’s group a topic list of the challenges and questions that are currently most relevant to the agency. I look forward to seeing this year’s juniors have their turn to present their research to the federal office in January.”

Finally, Barnett reported, “Being invited back to Washington was both an exciting and humbling experience. It was an honor that the OCSE took our task force seriously enough to ask us to represent our findings. We always heard that task forces are unique because of their applications to real-world problems, and the OCSE brought this to the forefront for those of us in *WWS 401 Fathers, Child Well-Being, and Child Support Enforcement*. We made two trips to Washington last year, the first to ask questions and the second to speak on our findings. However, being invited for a third time reinforced that they cared about our suggestions.

“The trip itself opened my eyes to how challenging it is to turn policy into practice. Because of the great number of conference attendees from

across the country, we were able to speak with individuals from states that had experimented with some of our proposals. My junior paper advocated increased funding for child support education programs in schools as a means of deterring too-early parenting. The paper came to life when I heard representatives say things like, ‘We had a similar program in Texas, and here are some of the obstacles we faced...’ I realized that, while the proposals in our papers may have been feasible considerations, there also were a host of implementation issues that had not been considered.

“I especially appreciated that each of our presentations was followed by a discussion, during which Scott Cade and audience members provided feedback and asked questions. The entire process was dynamic and stimulating. I was quite surprised when Director Cade quoted a statistic from my paper from memory and wanted to discuss its implications with me.

“WWS 401 was a seminal part of my Princeton career and one whose influence exceeded the boundaries of one semester. I had never been so invested nor so passionate about the issues about which I wrote. I developed personal relationships with individuals who felt that, in going to Washington and writing this paper, I was going to ‘save their programs.’ After presenting in September, I realize how important and exciting this kind of policy is, and have decided to focus my thesis on fragile families, healthy marriages, and the nurturing parent model. I am grateful to the Wilson School for the wonderful opportunities it bestows on undergraduates, and to the offices in Washington that were so supportive of our projects.”

In the fall of 2006, all three women participated in the “Fathers, Child Well-Being, and Child Support Enforcement” undergraduate policy task force directed by WWS Lecturer in Public Affairs Hillard Pouncy. This fall, Barnett and O’Faolain served as senior commissioners for the undergraduate policy task force on Child Support Enforcement Policy, also directed by Pouncy. ■■■

Improving Educational Quality: WWS Task Force Visits Schools in Costa Rica

by Timothy Cheston '08

The Woodrow Wilson School has long valued an understanding of the social and political realities that shape and are shaped by public policy. Over this past fall break, 12 students from a Woodrow Wilson School task force had a unique opportunity to understand the realities of an educational system first hand, moving the classroom from the walls of Robertson Hall to the beautiful vistas of Costa Rica—selected as the site country due to its century-long history of free and compulsory education.

From October 28 to November 4, 2007, participants in the WWS 401b task force, “Inclusive Education in Developing Countries,” traveled there for a course-related study tour. The purpose of the trip was to familiarize students with school education in a developing country, and to allow participants to examine the feasibility of policy options for improving education quality and inclusiveness in light of on-the-ground experience.

The task force was led by Dr. Marlaine Lockheed, who is a lecturer of public and international affairs at the Woodrow Wilson School. She also is a visiting fellow at the Center for Global Development in Washington, D.C., and formerly served as interim director for education at the World Bank and was a principal research scientist at Educational Testing Services in Princeton, N.J. The team included senior commissioners Hilary Billings and Tim Cheston, and WWS junior task force students Jacob Candelaria, Adrienne Clermont, Alexandra Cristea, Angie D’Sa, Alice Easton, Laurie Frey, Deepa Iyer, Katie Ko, and Lynn Yang. The study tour visited three private and six public schools in the capital, San Jose, and Cobano—the major town in the rural southern Nicoya Peninsula—and its surrounding areas. Students had the opportunity to speak with school directors, teachers, students, a regional supervisor of education for the Cobano region, and



Members of the task force shadow a class in a five-student, multi-grade school in Costa Rica.

the head of a prominent, educational, non-governmental organization (NGO).

Students were quick to view its successes in the first two schools they visited: The Lincoln School, a private, American school in San Jose; and the Liceo Experimental Bilingue, reputed to be the best public high school in the country. Both schools had all students pass the national high school graduation exams and emphasized fluency in English for all students.

Traveling away from San Jose, the concerns of educators for improvements in educational quality and performance quickly became apparent. After visiting some of the country’s poorest schools, the content of student conversation changed dramatically as they attempted to understand the underlying causes for the variation in the education system. Students grappled with many of the issues they discussed in the classroom—decentralization, teacher incentives, peer effects—with a new context, understanding how larger concepts are treated and implemented in reality.

After returning to Princeton, each junior in the task force prepared a report for “Save the Children”—the leading independent organization creating lasting change in the lives of children in need in the United States and around the world—with recommendations for improved performance in their educational programs. In classroom discussions and within the content of those reports, it became clear that not only did students bring with them their own knowledge to their Costa Rican experience, but also brought away with them experiences that could be shared in both the classroom and their task force reports. Students contextualized scholarly evidence with personal anecdotes, balancing aggregate statistics with locally defined needs. Ultimately, students left with a greater understanding of the concerns of those educators and students that not only will improve the quality of their academic work this semester, but also undoubtedly influence the policy perspectives they take on into their future career work. ■



Students from the WWS 401b task force are warmly received by Cobano Public High School students in Costa Rica, where a tree was planted in honor of the visit.

Photo provided by students in WWS 401b

New Global Health Scholars Announced

Innovative Program's First Mahmoud Scholars to Receive Support for Research and Internships

The Woodrow Wilson School's Center for Health and Wellbeing (CHW) has selected the first four Adel Mahmoud Global Health Scholars. Each scholar will receive funding support for travel and research to pursue global, health-related internships and senior thesis research.

Based at CHW, the Scholars Program is funded by a grant from the Merck Company Foundation and is designed to create new opportunities to engage Princeton undergraduates in global health policy. The Program was created in honor of Adel Mahmoud M.D., Ph.D. for his pioneering work in global health. Dr. Mahmoud has appointments at both the Wilson School and Princeton's Department of Molecular Biology.

The first four Adel Mahmoud Global Health Scholars are:

- **Alice Easton '09**, an evolutionary biology and ecology major and Woodrow Wilson School certificate student, with interests in both biological processes and ecological patterns, and how innovations and discoveries can be used optimally to solve policy problems. Easton intends to use her scholarship either to investigate methods to control the spread of infectious diseases in India or examine a similar international health topic.

- **Karen Lillie '09**, an anthropology major and premedical student whose areas of interest and research include medical anthropology, infectious diseases, and health disparities. Lillie plans to study the politics of AIDS treatment and prevention in the Caribbean and Mexico.

- **Taher Modarressi '09**, a molecular biology major who, in conjunction with Masih Daneshvari Hospital, this past summer worked in Tehran, Iran on his own research focusing on aspects of illicit drug use. Modarressi intends to use the scholarship to continue this study or explore related drug-treatment and policy issues.

- **Rachel Rizal '09**, a WWS major focusing on international health policy. Recently, she helped organize the "Healthy Families Project," which educates parents and students around the Princeton area about pertinent health topics. Her interests lie in health education and access to treatment and prevention methods for epidemics and infectious diseases. Rizal is planning to research health policies in a developing country for her senior thesis.

"The first four Mahmoud Global Health Scholars are superb students with strong interests in tackling global health issues," said Christina Paxson, director of the Center for Health and Wellbeing and a professor of economics and public affairs at the School. "Their research and internships will enhance significantly these talented students' skills in and knowledge of global public health and policymaking."

"I am delighted that the broad approaches of these students to global health illustrate the excellence and multidisciplinary expertise of Princeton University," said Adel Mahmoud. "Their dedication to exploring the international context of health is exciting and inspirational."

As part of the program, a faculty selection committee selects four juniors each fall for the scholars program from 2007 until 2011. The rigorous application and selection process focuses on both academic performance and interest in global health issues. Additionally, the Program features a lecture series that brings two leading researchers and practitioners in global health policy to Princeton annually. The first lecture will take place in 2008.

The Center for Health and Wellbeing is an interdisciplinary center within the Woodrow Wilson School that seeks to foster research and teaching on the multiple aspects of health and wellbeing in both developed and developing countries.

The Merck Company Foundation was established in 1957 by the global, research-driven pharmaceutical company Merck & Co., Inc. The mission of the Foundation is to support organizations and innovative programs that expand access to medicines, vaccines, and quality healthcare; build capacity in the biomedical and health sciences; promote environments that encourage innovation; and support communities where Merck has a major presence. ■



Alice V. Easton



Karen J. Lillie



Taher Modarressi



Rachel Rizal

Photos by Sameer Khan

Putin's Russia and the Nature of Insu

A Q&A with Jason Lyall

Jason Lyall, an assistant professor of politics and international affairs at the Woodrow Wilson School, is an expert in Russian affairs, ethnic conflict, and insurgency. His current research examines the determinants of insurgent violence in civil war, and why states vary in their military effectiveness both in conventional and in counter-insurgency warfare. Lyall recently spoke with the School's Office of External Affairs about Russian foreign policy and security affairs, and the nature of the Iraq insurgency and other conflicts around the globe.

Woodrow Wilson School (WWS): Russian President Vladimir Putin has agreed to run for Parliament in December as a candidate of the United Russia party. The move likely means that Putin's successor as president would be weak and that there would be a new center of influence outside the Kremlin. What is your view on this maneuvering?

Jason Lyall (JL): President Putin, who has proved both unpredictable and bold in his policy choices during his second term, continually surprises pundits and scholars alike. His decision to stand as a candidate for the United Russia Party in the recent Duma elections is the latest in a series of unexpected moves.

There's no question the gambit is a shrewd one. At one stroke, Putin appears to have consolidated his post-presidency position while avoiding the international outcry—and financial instability—that would attend more crude efforts to amend Russia's constitution to permit a third term.

With the Putin electoral victory, there are at least two possible scenarios that might unfold. First, Putin may be content to wield his influence as Prime Minister, allowing his hand-chosen candidate, Viktor Zubkov, to remain as a puppet president.

Second, Zubkov may remain in power for a decent interval and then step aside, allowing Putin to ascend—or, rather, re-ascend—to the office of president. If Putin has taught us anything, however, it's that Russian politics are unpredictable, so we shouldn't rule out anything.

WWS: Putin has expressed his disapproval about U.S. plans for a missile defense system in Eastern Europe. He also, however, offered a range of new proposals that included modernizing a radar station in Azerbaijan and building a new radar facility in southern Russia. In terms of our foreign policy, do you think this is something the U.S. should consider?

JL: Yes, I believe that the United States should look very closely at Putin's recent proposals to create a joint defense system using existing facilities at Gabala, Azerbaijan, and Armavir, Russia. These proposals were made in the hopes of dissuading the U.S. from its current plans to station anti-ballistic missile systems in Poland and the Czech Republic.

Russia has genuine concerns that the proposed system, which would initially be limited to only 10 missiles, could be expanded, allowing the U.S. to neutralize part of Russia's nuclear arsenal. There's no question that some of Russia's fears are exaggerated for political effect—the proposed system does not yet even exist, and it is unlikely to have either the capability or the density to serve as an offensive weapon against Russia.

Nonetheless, the Kremlin is alarmed that the missile system presages its further isolation in Europe. In short, the U.S. is in danger of trading the uncertain benefit of an as-yet unproven weapon system against an uncertain Iranian threat for an aggrieved Russia willing to impose real costs in the form of withdrawal from existing treaties, such as the Intermediate Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), and diplomatic intransigence over issues such as Kosovo or Iran.

rgency

WWS: On this subject, Putin also has threatened to withdraw from the INF. The treaty, which limits U.S. and Russian short- and medium-range missiles, was signed 20 years ago and led to the elimination of almost 3,000 Russian and American missiles. If the U.S. follows through on its plan, do you believe Putin will withdraw?

JL: It's unclear whether Putin is serious about INF withdrawal or if this is the opening wedge in a negotiating strategy. There's a small chance that Russia might withdraw, but I believe that Putin is unlikely to take this step. The Russian military, for example, is strongly opposed to abrogating the treaty.

More generally, Putin has consistently extolled the virtues of binding international agreements, especially when dealing with strategic issues. Pulling out from the INF would make it even harder to sign a new START agreement, which the Kremlin desperately wants, with an already treaty-shy United States.

Finally, the consequences of a withdrawal would be quite severe, if not immediately felt. Russia already is actively modernizing its land- and sea-based nuclear forces, along with its submarine and satellite capabilities. If INF restrictions are lifted, we can expect that such efforts will accelerate.

WWS: Upon going to Tehran for the recent Caspian summit, Putin became the first Kremlin leader to visit Iran since World War II. What are the implications here? Why now?



Assistant Professor of Politics and International Affairs
Jason Lyall

Jon Reemer

JL: Putin's attendance at the second summit of the Caspian Sea Littoral Nations served several purposes. Russia's relationship with Iran has captured most of the attention, and with good reason. Part of the summit, including Putin's personal meetings with Iran's President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad and Supreme Leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, clearly were designed to dissuade the U.S. from considering a military solution to Iran's nuclear aspirations.

Central to this task were Putin's efforts to wrest a pledge from the attending states (Iran, Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, and Kazakhstan) not to lease their military facilities to "outside powers." Similarly, Putin also publicly denounced even the mention of the use of armed force toward Iran.

While Iran is unquestionably a pressing issue, it was not the only one discussed at the summit. Putin also plainly was seeking to torpedo efforts by Azerbaijan, Kazakh-

stan, and Turkmenistan to construct a trans-Caspian natural gas pipeline (TCP) that would bypass Russian territory. This project is backed actively by the E.U. and the U.S., but is just as strongly condemned by Russia. More generally, Putin was seeking a resolution of outstanding issues of territorial control and resource-sharing disputes that arose in the wake of the Soviet Union's dissolution.

At present, there is no agreed-upon framework for the division of resources in the energy-rich Caspian, which could create tensions if each country seeks to exploit the "commons" for its own benefit. An agreement would end these tensions while institutionalizing Russia's dominant position within an emerging natural gas cartel centered on the Caspian Sea littoral states.

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Research Brief

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WWS: On the same subject, Putin went on this trip reportedly to offer a solution that would lead to a break in the standoff regarding Iran's nuclear program. Nevertheless, Moscow is helping Iran build a nuclear power plant. Does this not pose some sort of conflict of interest?

JL: There's no question that Putin is playing both sides here. On the one hand, Putin's decision to support, if sometimes haltingly, the Yeltsin-era decision to build the Bushehr reactor was central in creating the current imbroglio over Iran. On the other hand, Putin is using the diplomatic crisis to increase his leverage over Iran by capitalizing on anti-American sentiment in Tehran and elsewhere to cement his position as a key broker. In essence, he can exploit the threat of American military action to bolster his influence in Tehran and Brussels, while making Russia valuable to Washington as an intermediary.

At the end of the day, the Kremlin does not want a nuclear-armed Iran, but it also does not share the American perception that Iran is an immediate—or even future—threat to regional stability. It is therefore much more prepared to play a patient waiting game than is Washington.

WWS: The five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council are split on whether to sanction Iran more harshly if the country does not meet its commitments to the international community. How do you think this will play out?

JL: It's difficult to predict. I believe that we're likely to witness a side payment in which Tehran agrees to stop uranium enrichment in exchange for a formal security guarantee from Russia and the other Caspian Sea states. This type of agreement has a precedent in recent efforts to mothball the North Korean nuclear program. While Russia firmly supports Iran's legal right to develop peaceful nuclear energy facilities, it is

unlikely to stand with Iran if Tehran proves unwilling to make concessions.

WWS: Your current research focuses in part on the determinants of insurgent violence in civil war. Can you tell us more about this?

JL: I am currently engaged in a project supported by the United States Institute for Peace that uses satellite imagery and mapping software known as Geographic Information Systems (GIS) to explain patterns in insurgent violence over time and space.

When most of us think of civil wars, we tend to assume that violence is either random or uniform throughout a conflict area. This isn't accurate, however, as insurgent violence actually exhibits predictable patterns in its intensity and geographic location. The main effort behind the project is to develop theories about why we observe the patterns that we do in insurgent violence.

I am particularly interested in examining how the actions of the state can affect how insurgents choose and attack their targets. What happens, for example, if the state uses indiscriminate violence against the population? What if its soldiers abuse the population? Do we observe increases or decreases in insurgent attacks after these actions?

I use GIS to help answer these questions in the context of the ongoing Russian counter-insurgency campaign in Chechnya, where rebels have been fighting for independence since 1999. Using GIS, I can create maps of the locations of insurgent attacks down to the smallest village in Chechnya. This enables us to identify patterns in



Russian President Vladimir Putin

the data: Do insurgents attack in mountainous areas or in the lowlands? Do they avoid Russian bases or seek them out? Does their pattern of violence change after a Russian military operation? How do these operations affect neighboring villages?

GIS is a very powerful tool that enables us to observe and test patterns in attacks over time and space that would remain hidden to observers using more traditional methods. Future research will test these GIS-inspired insights in different contexts such as Iraq and Afghanistan.

WWS: You also recently co-authored a study that found great powers are far less likely to win asymmetrical conflicts now than in the nineteenth century. The analysis shows that the likelihood of a great power winning an asymmetrical war went from 85 percent during 1800–1850 to 21 percent during 1950–2003. Is this analogous to the situation in Iraq and, if so, how?

JL: My co-author, Lt. Colonel Isaiah (Ike) Wilson III [U.S. Army], and I undertook this study partly out of a frustration with current debates about

WWS Begins Largest Academic Survey of Federal Executives

Iraq, which struck us as either ahistorical or focused on a small set of comparative cases (usually Vietnam). Insurgency has a long historical pedigree, however, and we thought that we could use the broader lessons of history to shed light on developments in Iraq.

As part of this effort, we collected data on 280 insurgencies waged since 1800. We find that the ability of states to defeat insurgents steadily declines after World War I. Surprisingly, nineteenth century armies, despite their fairly rudimentary nature, were vastly better at defeating insurgents than their high-tech twentieth century counterparts.

Why? We argue that as armies increasingly rely on mechanized vehicles such as tanks to fight “modern” war, they unwittingly undercut their ability to collect the types of information necessary to selectively sift insurgents from the noncombatant population. Mechanized armies, therefore, typically end up inciting, rather than suppressing, insurgents by creating new grievances among fence-sitting populations.

We also find that a state’s chances of suppressing an insurgency diminish if rebels have external support or sanctuaries in neighboring states. Foreign occupiers also fare poorly in the twentieth century.

These findings have clear implications for Iraq today, where a highly mechanized U.S. military is trying to defeat multiple insurgent organizations that have either safe havens in neighboring states (especially Syria), or receive aid from abroad (especially Iran).

That the U.S. also is perceived as a foreign occupier does not bode well for America’s chances in Iraq. In many ways, the U.S. is the leading edge of a historical trend that finds highly sophisticated militaries nonetheless crippled by their own technological prowess when trying to defeat “primitive” insurgencies. ■■■

The “Survey on the Future of the Government Service,” aimed at examining and analyzing the backgrounds, political views, and experiences of 7,500 executives across the U.S. government, was launched in early November.

The largest academic survey of federal executives ever conducted is a collaborative effort of Assistant Professor of Politics and Public Affairs David Lewis of WWS, Anthony Bertelli of the University of Georgia, and David Nixon of the University of Hawaii. Funding for the survey is being provided by the Woodrow Wilson School and the Department of Politics at Princeton.

“This survey will be an invaluable tool for scholars examining the changing nature of public service and how best to train the next generation of public servants,” said Lewis, an expert in federal management and leadership. “Both political appointees and career professionals play an important role in our government, and we need to better understand their career paths, politics, and views on where the future of public service is headed.”

By conducting the study, available online at www.princeton.edu/~sfgs, researchers aim to identify more effectively the career paths and current job roles of federal executives, examining such issues as how they obtained their current positions, what education and work experience they had prior to assuming their current posts, and what motivated them to pursue government work.

The survey addresses the political views of federal executives, such as party affiliation and how they identify themselves ideologically (i.e., liberal or conservative). It also seeks to determine how much contact federal executives have with various political actors, including Congressional committees, interest groups, the White House, and political appointees. Also included are questions about the responsiveness of these executives to political direction, and questions about the future of public service, particularly government service, e.g., should young people enter public service? If so, what type of education should they get? Should the U.S. create a national public service academy?

Additionally, researchers will examine executives’ perceptions about how well the Program Assessment Rating Tool (PART)—an instrument created to measure program performance—is working.

The results of the survey will contribute to ongoing scholarly research on America’s public service and inform the work of the Woodrow Wilson School’s task force, “The Changing Nature of Government Service,” which is investigating the current state of government service in order to make recommendations about how best to train the next generation of public servants. The task force is chaired by former Federal Reserve Chairman Paul Volcker ‘49. ■■■



Assistant Professor of Politics and Public Affairs David Lewis

Jon Roemer

The Program in Law and Public Affairs

Princeton University's Program in Law and Public Affairs (LAPA) explores the role of law in politics, society, the economy, and culture in the United States, in countries around the world, and across national borders. Through its programming, teaching, and research initiatives, LAPA combines the multidisciplinary expertise of Princeton's faculty with the knowledge and perspectives provided by leading academic and practical experts on American, international, and comparative law, creating an exciting new forum to address the complex problems of the new century.

LAPA's new logo and the launching of its website, lapa.princeton.edu, represent a renewed commitment to serve the interests of the full Princeton community through expanded programming and events. "We have reorganized our program and staff to manage the increased involvement of students and faculty and identify future roles for LAPA in promoting the exploration of legal issues at Princeton," explains LAPA Director Kim Lane Scheppele. "By seeking to engage students in multidisciplinary and intellectually stimulating examinations of major policy challenges in today's world, we also are identifying public service opportunities where they can use their education to make a difference."

LAPA Fellows

Each year, LAPA hosts a select group of Fellows drawn from the academy, legal practice, government, and policymaking institutions. In addition to pursuing unique research projects, they share their experience and expertise with students and faculty in both formal and informal settings. The 2007-2008 LAPA Fellows are:

- **Robert B. Ahdieh '94**, Microsoft/LAPA Fellow in information technology, intellectual property, and economic organization. A WWS graduate, Bobby is a professor of law and director of the Center on Federalism and Intersystemic Governance at Emory Law School. His scholarly interests focus on questions of regulatory design. His senior thesis was published as a book, *Russia's Constitutional Revolution* (Penn State Press, 1997). Before joining the Emory faculty, he served as a trial attorney in the U.S. Department of Justice.
- **Jeffrey L. Dunoff**, Charles Klein Professor of Law and Government and director of the Institute for International Law and Public Policy at Temple University Beasley School of Law. He currently is examining the fragmentation of the international legal system and the use of constitutional discourse across different areas of international law. Jeff also has served as the only American member of the blue-ribbon Warwick Commission on the Future of the Trade System, and was a visiting fellow at Cambridge University and a consultant for the World Bank.
- **Marci A. Hamilton**, Martin and Kathleen Crane LAPA Fellow. She is the Paul R. Verkuil Chair in Public Law at Benjamin N. Cardozo School of Law, Yeshiva University, and the author of *God vs. the Gavel: Religion and the Rule of Law* (Cambridge University Press, 2005) and *Justice Denied: What America Must Do to Protect its Children* (Cambridge University Press, 2008), as well as a columnist for www.findlaw.com. A former Supreme



The 2007-08 LAPA Fellows (left to right): Carol Heimer, Aidan O'Neill, Marci Hamilton, Peter Lindseth, Robert Ahdieh '94, Jeffrey Dunoff.

Court clerk, Marci served as lead counsel in the Supreme Court case challenging the constitutionality of the Religious Freedom Restoration Act.

- **Carol A. Heimer**, professor of sociology at Northwestern University and senior research fellow at the American Bar Foundation. Carol has received awards for her scholarship in sociology of both law and medicine. She currently is writing a book based upon her NSF-funded ethnographic work and interviews in HIV/AIDS clinics in the U.S., Uganda, South Africa, and Thailand.
- **Peter Lindseth**, professor of law at the University of Connecticut School of Law. Having earned both a J.D. and Ph.D. in European history, Peter combines these interests to focus his research on the relationship between public law and the nation-state in Western Europe and North America in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.
- **Aidan O'Neill**, the inaugural University Center for Human Values (UCHV)/LAPA Fellow. Based in Edinburgh, Scotland, Aidan is a Queen's Counsel (QC). He has argued cases in the courts of Scotland, England, and Wales, as well as in the European Court of Human Rights and the European Court of Justice. He is the author of several legal texts and academic articles concerning human rights, constitutional law, and E.U. law. He currently is examining the interaction between law, politics, and religion.

Student Activities: Promoting Learning and Service Opportunities

The LAPA Student Forum, led by Philip Levitz '08 and Pauline Yeung '08, this fall launched the Undergraduate Associates Program, which accepted 61 students. A kick-off dinner with the LAPA fellows generated considerable enthusiasm, with many students volunteering to plan additional student activities. Already scheduled are a symposium on Chinese law, and a conversation with Walter Murphy, McCormick Professor of Jurisprudence Emeritus.

The Arthur Liman Fellowships in Public Interest Law again will be awarded to four undergraduates and two graduate students for summer work with nonprofit organizations assisting individuals or interest groups that lack sufficient resources to retain attorneys or engage in sustained legal advocacy. In the program's first two years at Princeton, 12 fellows worked in nine different states and one foreign country on projects including tenants' rights, prison reform, human rights, and global justice. (See related article on page 24.)

In the spirit of LAPA Director Scheppele's observation that "law is too important to be left only to lawyers," LAPA this November initiated a lunch series for M.P.P. and M.P.A. candidates on "Law in Public Service: Not Just for Lawyers." Deborah Pearlstein, research scholar at WWS and former Supreme Court clerk and director of U.S. Law and National Security at Human Rights First, and Robert Ashbaugh, former Inspector General at the Department of Homeland Security and U.S. Justice departments, were among the inaugural speakers. Although lawyers, both are in a position to explore the role of law in policy development and advocacy, as well as the nobility of public service. LAPA also is making plans to welcome the participants in the new WWS M.P.P. Program for Lawyers beginning next fall.

LAPA continues to sponsor the biweekly Law-Engaged Graduate Students (LEGS) seminars where Ph.D. candidates present their law-related research for discussion among a multidisciplinary gathering of graduate students and faculty.

Events: Fostering Public Debate and Scholarly Deliberations

LAPA's Fall 2007 calendar began with the third annual faculty retreat, where Princeton faculty presented their recent scholarship and engaged their colleagues and selected graduate students in lively discourse. This year, the truly multidisciplinary LAPA-associated faculty presenters and commentators included Keith Whittington, Dirk Hartog, Margot Canaday, Kim Lane Scheppele, Leora Batnitzky, Gideon Rosen, Emilie Hafner-Burton, David Leheny, Robert Keohane, Steve Macedo, and Harold James.

LAPA also hosted two panel discussions honoring the publication of books by Princeton faculty associates. In October, Paul Starr presented his book *Freedom's Power: The True Force of Liberalism* (Basic Books, 2007), and provoked a thoughtful exchange between "liberal-leaning" E.J. Dionne Jr., *Washington Post*, and Jennifer Hochschild, Harvard University, with the more conservative James Ceaser, University of Virginia, and Peter Berkowitz, Hoover Institute, in a panel presented with the James Madison Program. The publication of Provost Christopher Eisgruber's book, *The Next Justice: Repairing the Supreme Court Appointments Process* (Princeton University Press, 2007) brought together panelists Jan Crawford Greenburg, ABC News; Michael Dorf, Columbia Law School; Ron Klain, executive vice president and general counsel, Revolution, Inc.; and David Yalof, University of Connecticut.



Photo provided by the Program in Law and Public Affairs

The "All Starr" panel: Professor Paul Starr (far right) discussed his new book, *Freedom's Power: The True Force of Liberalism*, while distinguished panelists prepare to respond at the LAPA-sponsored forum on October 25. From left to right: E.J. Dionne, Jr., James Ceaser, Jennifer Hochschild, and Peter Berkowitz.

Mary Ann Glendon of Harvard Law School delivered the annual Walter F. Murphy Lecture in American Constitutionalism on November 19. Her talk, entitled "Importing Legal Ideas," was co-sponsored by LAPA and the James Madison Program. In December, LAPA will host the annual "Constitutional Law Schmooze," where invited constitutional scholars from around the country gather to examine an issue of constitutional law. This year's topic is "Executive Power."

With the arrival of 2008, LAPA will host or co-sponsor a variety of exciting conferences on topical issues. In February, a daylong public conference will bring together scholars from around the country to engage in one of the first retrospectives of "The Contributions of William H. Rehnquist to American Constitutional Jurisprudence." The following week, a major conference on "The Limits of Constitutional Democracy" will span three days and examine a variety of controversial issues from many philosophical and political orientations. During reunions, LAPA again will host a one-day seminar featuring stimulating panel discussions of noted scholars. This year's theme is "Law and Religion." LAPA also will continue convening the biweekly "LAPA Seminars," where its fellows and distinguished scholars present research papers.

The New LAPA "Infrastructure"

To develop and staff its expanding agenda, LAPA has put into place a new office organization and personnel. Office Coordinator Jennifer Bolton joins LAPA after five years of working for Princeton Vice President and Secretary Robert Durkee and, before that, at the Pew Foundation. Events Manager Judi Rivkin brings to LAPA her skills honed as events administrator for the James Madison Program, as well as related work with the Seattle Symphony and N.Y. Yankees owner George Steinbrenner. Leslie Gerwin fills the position of assistant director, bridging the academic and staff roles based upon her long career as a professor at both law and public health schools, and as a public policy consultant and a non-profit executive.

You can view LAPA's new look and its many activities by visiting their website lapa.princeton.edu. ■■■

CENTER NOTES

On December 3, the [Bendheim-Thoman Center for Research on Child Wellbeing \(CRCW\)](#) co-sponsored a seminar entitled “Household Allocation of EITC Funds” by Professor Kathy Edin of Harvard University’s John F. Kennedy School of Government. It was co-sponsored by the Department of Sociology. The Fragile Families Study was the subject of a plenary panel at November’s National Council on Family Relations conference in Pittsburgh. CRCW Director Sara McLanahan and Kathy Edin of Harvard University discussed the findings of the study in its first five years. As part of the nine-year follow-up, the study earlier this year started collecting saliva samples from mothers and children. The DNA retrieved from these samples will be used to examine the effects of genes and gene-environment interactions on the health and wellbeing of mothers and children. WWS’s McLanahan and Christina Paxson, along with Dan Notterman of the University Department of Molecular Biology, assembled a panel of DNA experts from a variety of fields (pediatrics, genetics, psychology, and biology) to help them identify target genes and keep abreast of this rapidly changing field. The first meeting of the advisory group was held in June.

The [Center for the Study of Democratic Politics \(CSDP\)](#) welcomed its 2007-2008 class of visiting scholars. Dinissa Duvanova, assistant professor of political science at the State University of New York at Buffalo, will expand her research on corruption and regulation of business associations in post-Communist countries; Rodney Hero, Packey J. Dee III Professor of American Democracy at the University of Notre Dame, will continue his work on the importance of Latinos in understanding American politics and political development using data from the Latino National Survey; Thomas Sattler, who completed his Ph.D. at Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule (ETH) in Zurich, will examine the potential trade-off between economic efficiency and political accountability with an independent central bank, developing and implementing a game-theoretic model applied to data from the past 50 years in Germany; Ismail White, assistant professor, Department of Political Science at Ohio State University, will extend his work on how racial cues shape Black Americans’ thinking about politics, including conducting a set of laboratory experiments on the role race plays in Blacks’ political decision making; and Cesar Zucco, who recently completed his Ph.D. at UCLA, will focus on executive-legislative relations in multiparty presidential systems, with emphases in Brazil, Bolivia, and Uruguay. CSDP also recently sponsored the “Conference on the Changing Media and Political Accountability,” focusing on how recent and ongoing changes in the media environment affect political accountability by looking at the interrelationships among media organizations, political actors, and the public. Organized by Martin Gilens, Markus Prior, and Paul Starr, the two-day conference featured presentations by scholars and practitioners from across the country. Discussions among presenters, faculty, and graduate students explored issues of how new media technologies (including cable and satellite television, the Internet, and mobile platforms such as cell phones and iPods), and new

media formats (including blogs, social networking sites, YouTube, and electronic town halls) affect newspapers and other traditional media. Papers also addressed questions about how traditional media are adapting to new competition—such as shifting content in the face of user-supplied content—and the blurring of news and entertainment. The conference offered an opportunity to tackle unique questions, and expanded the research agenda to include the link between media and political accountability in economic, technological, and regulatory contexts.

The [Future of Children](#) has released its latest publication, *The Next Generation of Antipoverty Policies* (Vol. 17, No. 2). The volume focuses on eight policy proposals for reducing poverty in the U.S. Accompanying the journal are an executive summary and a policy brief. The volume concludes that a combination of work requirements and social welfare policies are the best approach to reducing poverty. According to the 11 leading scholars who contributed to the journal, these strategies should focus on both long- and short-term poverty alleviation. In October, authors of an upcoming *Future of Children* volume on “Juvenile Justice” gathered at Princeton for a rough-draft conference. The authors, editors, and discussants talked about papers on how the juvenile justice system impacts children and youth. The volume, to be published next fall, will cover current trends in juvenile justice policy and practice, and contemporary challenges facing policymakers and practitioners.

The [Liechtenstein Institute on Self-Determination \(LISD\)](#) is in the second year of a research project on Afghanistan and the region, funded in part by a grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York. The project is co-directed by Wolfgang Danspeckgruber, LISD director and lecturer in public and international affairs, and Robert P. Finn *78, LISD senior research associate and lecturer in Near Eastern Studies. In July, LISD convened a project conference in Triesenberg, Liechtenstein, focusing on Iran and its role in regional security, and in November hosted an international colloquium in Brussels, Belgium, focusing on the present and future of security and state building in Afghanistan. The Iran meeting brought together participants from the U.S., E.U., Saudi Arabia, Israel, and Iran, while participants in the Brussels meeting included over 40 senior policymakers, academics, governmental representatives, as well as representatives of the public and private sectors, key institutions and non-governmental organizations active in Afghanistan and the region. As part of the project on Afghanistan and the region, Danspeckgruber and Finn co-edited the book, *Building State and Security in Afghanistan*. Contributing authors to the volume are globally recognized scholars and policy specialists whose chapters and conclusions are based on their hands-on work and research in Afghanistan, especially since 2001. The book includes a foreword by Hamid Karzai, president of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, and a preface by H.S.H. Prince Hans Adam II of Liechtenstein. LISD also welcomed new visiting scholars and staff to the Institute at

the start of the fall semester. Salman Ahmed is a visiting research scholar with WWS and LISD, on leave from his position as chief of office and special assistant in the Office of the U.N. Undersecretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations. Uriel Abulof is a post-doctoral fellow with the Leonard Davis Institute for International Relations, and will be a visitor-in-residence at LISD for the 2007-2008 academic year. Carol Wang joined the LISD staff as special assistant to the LISD director.

The **Niehaus Center for Globalization and Governance (NCGG)** has welcomed eight talented scholars into the Center's Fellowship Program. These awards are designed to promote basic research in the broad areas of international and comparative political economy, international organization and global governance, and globalization. Xun Cao received his Ph.D. in political science from the University of Washington, and is a lecturer in the Department of Government, University of Essex. His research focuses on networks of international political economy—such as trade, transnational capital flows, intergovernmental organizational connections, and migration—and how network dynamics at the international level can be used to explain behaviors of embedded national economies. Songying Fang is an assistant professor of political science at the University of Minnesota. She received her Ph.D. from the University of Rochester. Her research areas are international relations, political economy, applied game theory, and quantitative methodology. Gerald DiGiusto is a visiting assistant professor in the Department of Government and Legal Studies at Bowdoin College. He received a Ph.D. in political science from Duke University. His research and teaching focus on international organization, the power and influence of private actors in international cooperation and world politics, the domestic politics of interstate bargaining, United States foreign policy, and the foreign policy behavior of non-democracies. Daniel Kono is an assistant professor of political science at the University of California at Davis. His research focuses on the effects of international and domestic institutions on trade policy. Kevin Morrison is a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Political Science at Duke University. His dissertation focuses on political regime stability and explores the effect of a variety of different revenue sources derived without taxation of society. Ralph Ossa received his Ph.D. in economics from the London School of Economics and Political Science. He is a joint fellow of NCGG and the International Economics Section. His research focuses on international trade and economic development. Currently, he is working on a new theory of the World Trade Organization (WTO) that helps in evaluating some core WTO principles from an economic perspective. Sonal Pandya completed her Ph.D. in political science at Harvard University. Following her fellowship, she will join the faculty of the University of Virginia. Sonal's research examines the intersection of international economic integration and economic development. Joseph Wright received his Ph.D. in political science at UCLA. He also holds an M.A. in political economy from Washington University (St. Louis, Mo.). His research interests lie in comparative

political economy and international development. More information about the fellows and the Fellows Program can be found on the NCGG website www.princeton.edu/~pcglobal/.

On November 9, the **Policy Research Institute for the Region (PRIOR)** and the University of Pennsylvania Institute for Urban Research co-hosted the conference "Land and Power: The Impact of Eminent Domain in Urban Communities." New Jersey Public Advocate Ronald Chen served as keynote speaker for the program that focused on the far-reaching influences of the *Kelo v. City of New London* decision across New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania. The event featured research presentations and panel discussions on how eminent domain has shaped and been shaped by advocacy strategies, government policy, and the media. On December 14, PRIOR sponsored a forum in which former New Jersey governors Brendan T. Byrne '49, James J. Florio, Donald T. DiFrancesco, and James E. McGreevey discussed the effects of the *Abbott v. Burke* decision and the attendant impact on the matter of school funding. Each governor lent his insights during a panel conversation that was followed by an open dialogue with the audience. PRIOR recently released *The Economic Geography of Megaregions*, the latest addition to a growing list of publications. The work, an outgrowth of a conference held in February, examines the economic, social, and political questions that arise from the intermingling of exchanges, networks, and patterns among proximate metropolitan locations. The content includes a comparative analysis of 10 megaregions by Edward Glaeser, Fred and Eleanor Glimp Professor of Economics at Harvard University, as well as a critique of framing policy decisions within the context of megaregions by Saskia Sassen, professor of sociology at Columbia University. The publication also contains summaries of commentary provided by Princeton University's Paul Krugman, and Kip Bergstrom, executive director of the Rhode Island Economic Policy Council.

The **Program on Science & Global Security (PSGS)** has been awarded a new grant of \$272,000 from the Carnegie Corporation to be used, in part, for an ongoing seminar series bringing together domestic and international experts in biotechnology, biosecurity, and global health issues. The program also published the *Global Fissile Material Report 2007* for the International Panel on Fissile Materials (IPFM) in October; a story can be found on page 2 of this issue. The report was featured by *The Bulletin of Atomic Scientists* as its lead item on its website. Harold Feiveson, Alexander Glaser, and Frank von Hippel of the Program on Science & Global Security represented the IPFM and spoke at the United Nations in October on the topic "Toward a Global Cleanout of Nuclear Weapon Materials." This event was sponsored by the United Nations Non-Governmental Organizational Committee on Disarmament, Peace, and Security, with the cooperation of the U.N. Office for Disarmament Affairs. ■

Liechtenstein Institute Launches Program on Religion, Diplomacy, and International Relations

The Liechtenstein Institute on Self Determination (LISD) launched a new research initiative at the start of the academic year—the Program on Religion, Diplomacy, and International Relations (PORDIR). Wolfgang Danspeckgruber, LISD director and lecturer in public and international affairs, and Paul Raushenbush, associate dean of religious life, co-direct the program.

Given the undeniable role religion is playing in interstate and intrastate conflicts, as well as in aspects of international affairs in the twenty-first century, PORDIR was created to offer Princeton students and faculty the opportunity to study, reflect, and generate ideas concerning the multiple intersections of religion, diplomacy, and international relations. “Part of what it means to be an educated citizen of the world is to understand the ways in which religion factors into both personal lives and public arenas,” observed Dean Raushenbush. “PORDIR wants to solicit a breadth of perspectives and provide a foundation for a better understanding of the nexus of religious practice and the practice of international relations.”

The program explores the influence of religion and religious beliefs in the conduct of international diplomacy, power politics, crisis and conflict management, and other activities of state and non-state actors. While the focus

of the program clearly is defined as religion and international relations, it has received an overwhelmingly positive response, attracting participants from the university community representing an array of academic departments, including sociology, religion, economics, politics, philosophy, history, Near Eastern studies, South Asian studies, and African studies. “From the Institute’s work on the Balkans to its current work on Afghanistan, LISD has had a longstanding engagement with the role that religion has played in the conduct of international diplomacy and negotiations,” said Professor Danspeckgruber. “In the post-9/11 world, religion is again front and center in international relations, and we see PORDIR as playing an important role in the ongoing interdisciplinary conversation within the wider University community about this crucial, and often emotional, issue.”

A key component of the program is the opportunity for a cohort of students to participate as Fellows in Religion and International Affairs. Each fellow presents at least one paper during the 2007-2008 academic year at the Program’s luncheon seminar series; produces an academic, journal-length article that will be published in an edited volume; assists in the planning of the program’s annual colloquium; helps select featured speakers for the program’s lecture series; and regularly contributes to the PORDIR blog.

The 12 Fellows in Religion and International Affairs for 2007-2008 are:

- **Jon Gandomi**, a second-year M.P.A. at WWS studying international relations, with an emphasis on international security and conflict resolution;
- **Ali Hamoudi**, a first-year M.P.A. at WWS researching the Judea-Christian-Muslim view of history to see how political development, law, and religion interact;
- **Manav A. Lalwani**, a junior in the politics department who is focusing on international relations and political economy, especially in South and East Asia;
- **Celene Ayat M. Lizzio**, a senior undergraduate in the Department of Near Eastern Studies and a first-year participant in the Teacher Preparation Certificate Program;
- **Christopher MacPherson**, a second-year graduate student at WWS studying a range of issues from domestic policy to post-conflict development and counterinsurgency;
- **Avi Miller**, an undergraduate junior majoring in philosophy, with academic interests ranging from Greek philosophy and Jewish thought, to psychology and film;
- **Andrea Nedic**, a second-year Ph.D. student in the electrical engineering department, with an interest in movements of political self determination motivated by religious separatism, specifically as related to the European integration process;

continued on page 25



The 2007-08 PORDIR fellows include: (from left to right): Manav Lalwani, Avi Miller, Joshua Walker, Ali Hamoudi, Nealin Parker, Zvi Smith, PORDIR co-directors Paul Raushenbush and Wolfgang Danspeckgruber, Jon Gandomi, Celene Ayat M. Lizzio, Angela Matheny (LISD faculty assistant), Christopher MacPherson, Jona Repishit, and Andrea Nedic. Missing from photo is Leanne Smith.

Photo provided by the Liechtenstein Institute on Self-Determination

Woodrow Wilson School Teams to Launch Institutions for Fragile States

The Woodrow Wilson School, the Bobst Center for Peace and Justice at Princeton, and the National Academy for Public Administration have announced a new partnership initiative, “Institutions for Fragile States.”

The Institutions for Fragile States is a response to the international demand for problem-focused knowledge, practical lessons, and a general understanding of state formation in volatile political settings. Directed by Jennifer Widner, professor of politics and international affairs at the Woodrow Wilson School and director of Bobst Center for Peace and Justice, the initiative is part of a global effort to develop an understanding of how best to establish accountable and capable governments in fragile or post-conflict states.

“The demand for practical, problem-focused knowledge about building core governmental institutions is intense,” said Widner. “The shame is that, thus far, the international community has been able to offer so little; too much Western research and writing, for example, focuses on donors and on very general principles. We need to generate knowledge that can help citizens of countries size up their options, learn from each other, and make their own decisions.”

Fragile States incorporates existing graduate policy workshops currently offered by the Woodrow Wilson School with two new research initiatives: an oral history program and natural experiments.

The new oral histories program serves as the foundation for the natural experiments studies. It enables students to conduct field research on the basic facts and timelines of institutions and civil services in fragile states in an effort to gain an understanding of and insight into the causal relationships and best practices for policy intervention. Priority themes for 2007-08 include selected aspects of civilian policing, elections



*Professor of Politics and Public Affairs
Jennifer Widner*

management, mineral resource management, and civil service reform.

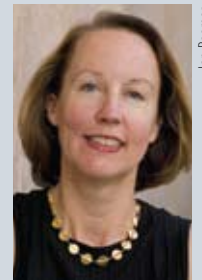
The natural experiments program systematically assesses the before/after status of program beneficiaries or institutional performance, or the differences in these outcomes across similar locales—some in volatile environments and contexts that make it difficult to arrive at reliable research conclusions. At least one published academic paper and one presentation to local and global policymakers will result from each team’s work.

As a part of this initiative, academic year two Woodrow Wilson School graduate policy workshops will address managing elections in fragile states and post-conflict settings, and how Provincial Reconstruction Teams—small, civilian-military units that assist provincial governments in Iraq and Afghanistan—can govern more effectively, promote economic development, and deliver essential services to populations.

More information about the new program may be found at www.princeton.edu/~states.

Case Co-authors Study on Gender Differences in Poor Countries’ Obesity Rates

Anne Case MPA ’83, director of the Woodrow Wilson School’s Research Program in Development Studies (RPDS) and the School’s Alexander Stewart 1886 Professor of Economics and Public Affairs, has co-authored a new study, “Sex Differences in Obesity Rates in Poor Countries: Evidence from South Africa.” The study, co-authored with Alicia Menendez of the University of Chicago’s Harris School of Public Policy, is part of a National Bureau of Economic Research working paper series.



In the study, the authors note that while around the globe women and men face different risks of obesity, in most countries, obesity is more prevalent among women than men. Case and Menendez examine the proximate (e.g., physical exertion and food intake) and underlying (e.g., childhood and adult poverty, depression, and attitudes about obesity) explanations for this phenomenon.

Evaluating the evidence for each explanation using data collected in a South African township outside of Cape Town, the authors identified two factors that explain the greater obesity rates they discovered among women. First, they found that women “who were nutritionally deprived as children were significantly more likely to be obese as adults, while men who were deprived as children faced no greater risk.” In addition, Case and Menendez write that “women of higher adult socioeconomic status are significantly more likely to be obese, which is not true for men.”

While the authors note that the above two factors can fully explain the difference in obesity rates they find in their sample, they offer more speculatively that “women’s perceptions of an ‘ideal’ female body are larger than men’s perceptions of the ‘ideal’ male body, and individuals with larger ‘ideal’ body images are significantly more likely to be obese.”

The authors’ research has been supported by grants from the National Institute on Aging.

A copy of the study may be found at the RPDS website at www.princeton.edu/~rpds/downloads/Case_Menendez_NBER_w13541_oct07.pdf.


PPNS Holds Workshop, Alumni Forum in Tokyo to Explore Future of Security Cooperation in East Asia

Woodrow Wilson School faculty traveled to Tokyo, Japan in mid-October for a high-level workshop and alumni forum to explore the future of security cooperation in East Asia. Co-sponsored with the University of Tokyo's Graduate School of Public Policy, the Princeton Project on National Security, and the Future of Multilateralism Project, the events brought together leading scholars and practitioners from the United States, Japan, China, and South Korea.

Discussions kicked off with a workshop on "Multilateral Security Architecture in East Asia," convened by G. John Ikenberry, Albert G. Milbank Professor of Politics and International Affairs at WWS, and Kiichi Fujiwara, professor of international politics at the University of Tokyo. During the two-day private session, over 20 experts debated the prospects for regional security cooperation in light of the conflicting and competing interests of the major states in the region.

"What is needed is a security mechanism that allows the parties to be in an institutional framework that facilitates consultations and agreed-upon expectations of restraint and commitment," said Professor Ikenberry, who leads the Future of Multilateralism Project and co-directs the Princeton Project.

Woodrow Wilson School alumni held an elegant dinner for workshop participants and area alumni on October 12 at Ramages restaurant, located in Aoyama's landmark Spiral Building. Toshiaki Ogasawara VS '66, chairman of the board of NIFCO, Inc. *Japan Times* hosted the event, and Naoshi Hirose MPA '92, director of World Trade Organization affairs at Japan's Ministry of Economy, Trade & Industry, served as master of ceremonies. Over dinner, Hidehiro Konno MPA '74, chairman and CEO of Nippon Export and Investment Insurance, offered his thoughts on the prospects for institution building in the Asian region, with particular emphasis on the importance of economic relationships.

Workshop participants then held a half-day open forum on October 13, which was well attended by Woodrow Wilson School alumni, University of Tokyo faculty and students, and press. The morning panel on "The Future of East Asian Security" featured professors Ikenberry and Fujiwara, along with Wang Jisi, dean of Peking University's School of International Studies, Ambassador Chung-in Moon, professor of political science at Yonsei University, Kurt Campbell, CEO of the Center for a New American Security, and Aaron Friedberg, professor of politics and international affairs at the Woodrow Wilson School. The forum concluded with lunchtime keynote address by Kazumasa Kusaka MPA '77, president of the Japan Cooperation Center for the Middle East and advisor for Dentsu Inc. 



"The Future of East Asian Security" panel included (from left to right): John Ikenberry, Wang Jisi, Ambassador Chung-in Moon, Kurt Campbell, Aaron Friedberg, and Kiichi Fujiwara.

2007 LAPA Liman Fellow Rep Fellowship Experience

The Arthur Liman Public Interest Program was endowed to honor Arthur Liman, Yale Law School Class of 1957, who personified the ideal of commitment to the public interest. Throughout his long and distinguished career, he demonstrated how dedicated lawyers in both public and private life can serve the needs of people and causes that might otherwise go unrepresented.

Although best known as an attorney in private practice, Arthur Liman served in a wide variety of public service positions. He was chief counsel to the New York State Special Commission on Attica Prison; president of the Legal Aid Society of New York and the Neighborhood Defender Services of Harlem; chair of the Legal Action Center in New York City and the New York State Capital Defender's Office; and special counsel to the United States Senate Committee Investigating Secret Military Assistance to Iran and the Nicaraguan Opposition.

Established in 1997 at Yale Law School to encourage young people to pursue public service and further Arthur Liman's commitment to justice, the program has expanded to include fellows from Barnard, Brown, Harvard, Spelman, and Yale, as well as Princeton. Yale's law school coordinates the program and holds an annual conference each spring for Liman Fellows to meet and explore the meaning and impact of public interest law. At the conclusion of the internship, each of the fellows writes a report explaining how the internship affected his or her understanding of public interest law and future academic and career plans.

At Princeton University, the Program in Law and Public Affairs is grateful for the gift of the Liman Family, particularly Emily Liman '85, that enables Princeton undergraduate and graduate students to participate in this program. In 2007, **Amelia Rawls '07** was named a Liman Fellow; her report to the Liman Fellowship Committee describing her internship and how it has affected her future career plans follows.

orts on

During the summer of 2007, I worked as an intern for the Center for Human Rights and Global Justice (CHRGJ) at NYU Law School. CHRGJ is a research and advocacy organization that partners with NYU's International Human Rights Clinic to provide research and legal analysis supporting various nonprofit human rights activities.

The Center's work is divided into six project areas:

- Detainees and the "War on Terror"
- Racial profiling and national security
- Caste discrimination
- Economic, social, and cultural rights
- Extrajudicial executions
- Transitional justice

Within each of these areas, the Center works independently or with other major human rights organizations (e.g., Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch) to publish current reports and research, litigate on behalf of victims of human rights abuses, and advocate for policy changes before government and international authorities. These projects often are conducted in conjunction with academic courses at the law school and/or with the ongoing research of NYU professors.

As an intern with CHRGJ, my most important assignment was to perform background research and draft memoranda relating to a field study and possible lawsuit regarding deficient water quality/access in Haiti. International human rights treaties protect a legal "right to water," but in Haiti, as in many other developing countries, this right is routinely violated by both private and public actors. Combining my research from the Center with the surveys/data taken by NYU researchers in Port-de-Paix, Haiti, CHRGJ laid the groundwork for future litigation before U.S. courts and the International Court of Justice.

A second assignment was to help with the Center's work on detainee abuse and extraordinary rendition by the U.S. and foreign governments. This project area received a great deal of media attention over the summer, as NYU's International Human Rights Clinic joined a civil suit filed by the ACLU against a private company believed to have



Amelia Rawls '07

facilitated rendition and torture of detainees. One of the more exciting aspects of my summer was being asked to draft a small section of the complaint filed in that case.

Finally, I also worked with experts from Human Rights Watch on a briefing paper about human rights violations committed by multinational corporations. The paper was being prepared with the goal of eventual submission to the United Nations. Building on previously conducted research and reports, I analyzed patterns of illegal action in scenarios ranging from gold and diamond mining in Africa, to Indonesia's pulp and paper industry.

A particularly memorable moment of my internship was my introduction to detainee abuse litigation. Although, like many people, I had always felt a guttural outrage at the idea of torture and other illegal interrogation techniques, I had never before been able to link those practices with the name or face of an individual victim and, thus, until that moment, had maintained only an abstract and generic understanding of the problem. That understanding changed quickly, however, as my familiarity with the enormous human consequences of those practices increased, and as I learned how the experience of being "disappeared" and subsequently tortured had destroyed every aspect of one client's life. I found that I became infinitely more committed to my assignments when I could make the connection between a policy and an individual; this realization was invaluable as it showed me that within the nonprofit sector, my talents and energies might better be suited to direct client representation than to research and publishing.

I graduated in May from Princeton University with a degree from the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, and I am thrilled to report that I will be attending Yale Law School in the fall. I expect to explore several areas of public interest law, including immigration and asylum law, and detention work similar to that on which I worked this summer. I would like to close with my sincerest thanks to the Liman family and to the Liman Fellowship program for providing me with an amazing opportunity I will never forget. ■■■

Liechtenstein Institute Launches PORDIR

continued from page 22

- **Nealin Parker**, an M.P.A. student at WWS interested in religious concepts of post-conflict punishment and reconciliation;
- **Jona Repishti**, a second-year M.P.A. candidate in international relations at WWS focusing on development;
- **Leanne Smith**, a WWS M.P.P. student who has been practicing law and public policy across a variety of fields—primarily international and human rights laws—since graduating from the Australian National University (ANU);
- **Zvi Smith**, a junior undergraduate in the politics department focusing on political theory and international relations, especially in the Middle East; and
- **Joshua Walker**, a Ph.D. candidate at WWS focusing on international relations and security studies, especially related to Turkey.

The fellows bring a wealth of international relations experience to the program, including work for governments and non-governmental organizations in Afghanistan, the Balkans, Iraq, Israel, Turkey, numerous African, Asian, and South American nations, and the countries of the former Soviet Union. As noted by Dean Raushenbush, the fellows "represent a remarkable cross-section of Princeton's student body—including a variety of religious traditions, political perspectives, academic disciplines, and national backgrounds—which makes for incredibly vibrant and productive conversations. The problem when we meet is how to wrap-up the discussion and get them to leave."

For more information about the program, fellows, upcoming events, and a link to the PORDIR blog visit www.princeton.edu/lisd/projects/PORDIR. ■■■

With almost 40 lecturers on campus this past fall, the School's public affairs programming brings a diverse group of domestic and internationally focused speakers to campus. Following is a small selection of some of the diverse topics covered this semester. All of the School's public affairs events are taped and archived on the School's website and may be viewed as streaming video by visiting www.wws.princeton.edu/events/webmedia.html. Contributions by Tanya DeMello MPA '08.

America's New Racism

On October 4, Duke University sociology professor Eduardo Bonilla-Silva presented the talk, "It's REAL! Racism, Discrimination, Color-Blindness, and the Future of Racial Stratification in America" at the Woodrow Wilson School.

Bonilla-Silva believes that racism is alive and well in the U.S. today, and that it has just reared its head in a different way. The author of the book *Racism without Racists: Color-Blind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in the United States*, he deals with the future of racial stratification in America beyond the white/black dichotomy.

Bonilla-Silva initially gained visibility and respect in the '90s by challenging social scientists to reanalyze what he perceived to be their prejudiced perspectives. Today, he speaks of the "new racism" in the U.S.—a subtle, institutional, and hidden racism. He asks how it can be that when surveyed, people of color consistently express a preference for living in mixed-race neighborhoods, yet neighborhood segregation remains extremely pronounced. Indeed, the availability of housing and access to housing is still largely determined based on race: in the U.S. today, 29 percent of Black Americans are likely to pay higher mortgages on the same homes as White Americans; and in almost every area of the U.S., there are issues to accessing services and assets for people of color.

Bonilla-Silva coined a term for what he believes to be at the root of the problem: "Color-Blind Racism." He defined this as the effort to be completely race neutral in words, policy, and action. It is the view that "the past is the past" and that White Americans are weary of the burden of responsibility from having had ancestors that owned slaves, even when they themselves have never been slave owners. He includes the backlash against affirmative action as a part of color-blind racism—people hiding behind the notion that merit must dominate in selection, ignoring the fact that often the merits of a person of color are ignored or diminished because of the color of their skin. As a result, discrimination has been entrenched and is being promoted by U.S. institutions that use systemic racism and the notion of being color neutral to discriminate legitimately.



larry levanti

"We are not color-blind. And the more we are race conscious, the more we will be able to overcome issues of race."

—Eduardo Bonilla-Silva

He stated most simply, "We are not color-blind. And the more we are race conscious, the more we will be able to overcome issues of race." He advocates for race-based policies and pushes further for laws that deal with the new-style racism that is hiding behind being color neutral to avoid helping communities of color to rise in this country.

The power of Bonilla-Silva's talk was that while he is a strong advocate and stated his views with intense conviction, he was funny and open and—most importantly—not shy to open himself to vulnerability. His speech consisted of personal anecdotes and moments where he had been humiliated, mistreated, and judged based on the new racism. He made the audience uncomfortable at times, because he spoke of the unspoken and compelled listeners to refuse to be silent, to speak even if vulnerable, to tell stories with incredulity but without shame, and to allow that discomfort to translate into action. He asserted that discomfort should motivate people to bring up controversial discussions, reject racist policies established under the guise of color-neutral policies, and educate others on the systemic racism that will thrive if ignored.

Logging on to Politics: Joan Blades Explains How One Email Made a Difference

In 1998, when Joan Blades turned on the TV and all she saw were stories about Bill Clinton's impeachment, she became fed up. She was frustrated and bewildered that in light of so many pressing and critical issues, the only thing about which people were talking were Clinton's indiscretions with a White House intern. So, Blades and her husband sent out an email to family and friends, trying to find some common ground from which most Americans could sign on and work toward creating real civic engagement and attention to crucial issues affecting the U.S.

Thus, MoveOn.org was born. The idea of MoveOn.org was to organize and inform citizens by using the Internet. Within a few weeks, this email to their small network grew to over 100,000 people, and in a year, to almost half a million people. Today, MoveOn.org has garnered 300,000 petition signers, 3,000 active volunteers, and generated more than one million communications to Congress.

The heart of MoveOn.org is the "Wisdom of Crowds" philosophy, by which a crowd of everyday people who unite will actually come up with a better answer than experts. MoveOn.org started as a grassroots organization that literally set up hundreds of house parties all across the country to determine the main issues facing Americans today. They identified them to be: healthcare, global warming, clean energy, and the restoration of democracy. They then began to mobilize people around these issues to voice their opinions to the government.

Whether or not people ascribe to the values and mission of the organization, no one will deny that it has been able to be heard in the highest levels of the political arena. What is truly amazing about MoveOn.org, though, is how it works—through emails and house parties, hundreds of thousands of people that had never been political before have become engaged.



Joan Blades, founder of Mom's Rising

But on October 17th, 2007, Joan came to talk to a group of young WWS graduate students about a new organization she founded: Mom's Rising. While Joan is a successful professional—she is a software industry veteran, having co-founded a leading entertainment software company, Berkeley Systems, and Cavort Learning Systems, an Internet education startup—she is also a proud mother.

When she learned about the disparities faced by mothers in the workforce, she felt compelled to initiate change. The statistics are shocking: a woman who reveals that she is a single mother is 79 percent less likely to get a job than a man is; only four countries in the world have no paid maternity leave, one of which is the United States.

Although the audience consisted mostly of young, single people, most of whom do not have children and are in the midst of launching very demanding and promising career paths, she managed to connect these young people to causes that have united 120,000 mothers across the nation. Using the same brilliant methods used in MoveOn.org, mothers have logged on and are communicating with each other, organizing and, most importantly, mobilizing to advocate for political change on key issues. Mom's Rising is working for open, flexible work hours, healthcare coverage for all children in the U.S., better childcare, and fair wages for equal work. As she talked, students quickly saw that these issues are not simply about Mothers Rising but, as she so beautifully puts it, families rising. These policies affect everyone's daily lives and she calls for participation by all citizens who care about these issues.

Again, her Internet-local gathering model is a systems approach that has transformed political action. Thousands of mothers are showing up at political hearings and pushing officials to put these issues on the table. It's working, and it's working in a big way because it's easy to start, easy to get involved, and, according to her, people who are engaged in a small way typically have a higher probability of becoming involved more broadly in issues.

In true form, Joan finished her inspiring talk by asking only one thing from the audience: to get online, log on, and get involved.

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Lessons Learned from U.S. Failure in Iraq

Ambassador Barbara Bodine, a former senior foreign service officer, spent most of her 30-year diplomatic career in the Middle East and on the Arabian Peninsula. She served in Baghdad during the Iran-Iraq War and as Deputy Chief of Mission in Kuwait during the Iraqi invasion and occupation in 1990. On October 22, she shared her views and candid criticism of U.S. involvement in Iraq, citing her experience in 2003 when she served as coordinator for post-conflict reconstruction for Baghdad and the central governorates of Iraq.

Ambassador Bodine, currently serving as a diplomat-in-residence at WWS, states honestly that it is very difficult to analyze the current successes and failures of U.S. policies in Iraq. She notes that comprehensive analyses in these situations are usually difficult, as the consequences and lessons learned from them traditionally do not emerge without the benefit of hindsight—something for which she believes we can ill afford to wait. In her opinion, the Iraqi invasion is fraught with grave mistakes, and she urges that analysis of U.S. failures must be undertaken swiftly if we are to have any hope of learning from them.

As Ambassador Bodine talked candidly and with detail about the process by which decisions were made for the invasion and subsequent “rebuilding,” she expressed deep concern about one key issue—the unwavering and unquestioned support afforded to decision makers. She posited that if the U.S. aimed to liberate rather than occupy, the war would have been brief and neat, with movement toward nation-building rather than mere regime change. Instead, five months of occupation has turned into five years, with the useless loss of countless American and Iraqi lives, and monetary costs totaling one billion dollars every eight hours.

In searching for an explanation for what she considers a great failure in foreign U.S. policy, she stated with great conviction, “Iraq unraveled not because the administration did not know, but because they did not listen.” According to Bodine, there was very little debate surrounding the “how,” “when,” and “with what resources” issues

when the decision was made to invade Iraq. Key officials, especially those in the field, either were ignored, marginalized, or fired rather than heard. She cited this lack of debate and open discussion within the administration as the direct cause of an unplanned, unilateral invasion.

She continued by saying that the failure lay not only in the decision to invade hastily, but in the aftermath of the invasion and the attempts to rebuild. It was here that the U.S. lost its credibility with the Iraqi population—a population that needed security and stability after years of brutal dictatorship. She pointed out that the U.S. either was unable or lacked the will to curb the riots and looting that occurred after the invasion, and that these instances are symbols of our country’s neglectfulness. She stressed this neglect simply because we failed to take care of the citizens we were there to protect and to encourage. Instead, the Iraqi citizens watched as the U.S. allowed riots and anarchy in the streets, labeling these problems as by-products of “liberation.”

As a result, the U.S. has lost the opportunity to prove itself a legitimate force in Iraq, and has become painted as a nation more interested in liberating assets than human beings. Moreover, as rebuilding efforts continue to spiral into disarray, the failure to listen to key intelligence and strategists that know the area, history, and people of Iraq, serves to denigrate further U.S. goals and their legitimacy.

So where do we go from here? Ambassador Bodine said that Iraq first must have the capacity to create and maintain a legitimate and stable government. She joked that one of the lead strategists once looked at her team and said, “Can you at least pretend that we’re a sovereign nation when you speak about your plans for our country?”

Today she believes that the U.S. needs to change its approach, and she urged the administration to stop talking about withdrawal and



Ambassador Barbara Bodine

Sameer Khan

begin talking about transition. She is confident that the Iraqi people can and do manage multiple identities, and that the U.S. needs to focus on those that can serve to unite the nation. She trusts that through diplomacy and acceptance of all sectarian parties, unity can be achieved.

To that end, Ambassador Bodine called for an increasing demilitarization of U.S. foreign policy, citing that when you have 200 times more people in the National Guard than in the Foreign Service, it is little wonder that officers are being tasked with service missions for which they are under-prepared and under-trained.

Bodine's final recommendation was clear, the U.S. must leave Iraq; but she cautioned that the U.S. cannot leave as it came: unplanned, unilaterally, and without Iraqi involvement—an element of the plan on which Bodine placed the most importance. She maintained that the Iraqi people are capable and willing, and that they are the only ones that can bring true legitimacy and stability to their government and nation due to the simple fact that it is *their* government and nation and they will be the ones living with the results.

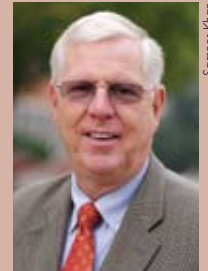
Bodine closed with a touching story that should serve as a warning and a reminder to those who tend not to think about the human element in this war. She recounted her experience with an Iraqi military strategist who came to her when she first was charged with the planning and reconstruction strategy. According to Bodine, he was a young man who had developed the most intricate of plans involving a bottom-up approach linking neighborhoods in the community and unifying them. He insisted that by encouraging the people to voice their needs to higher levels, more good could be achieved, but that the people required direction. It was an extremely high-level, detailed city plan that included public participation, a transparent hierarchy, clear roles and responsibilities, and a framework by which Iraqis could effectively govern on the city level.

What amazed her was that he had not learned this at university, but had come up with it himself. Having worked in the field and living the life of a typical Iraqi citizen, he understood the issues and needs of his people. Unfortunately, this young man was assassinated shortly after their encounter.

However, Ambassador Bodine assured us that there are many Iraqis like this man—capable and bright people that have the desire to participate in the rebuilding of the Iraqi nation. Her opinion was that until the administration recognized this potential in the people of Iraq, the U.S. would be unable to move forward. ■■■

Richard Keevey to Direct Policy Research Institute for the Region

Richard Keevey, a former senior official with the federal government and the state of New Jersey, has been selected as the new director of the School's Policy Research Institute for the Region.



Sameer Khan

The Institute was established by Princeton University and the Woodrow Wilson School to bring the resources of the University community to bear on solving the increasingly interdependent public policy challenges facing New Jersey, New York, and southeastern Pennsylvania.

Keevey earned his B.A. in political science from La Salle College and earned a master's degree in government administration from the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School. Since 2004, he has served as director of State Operations and director of the National Academy of Public Administration's Performance and Human Resources Management consortiums. The Academy is an independent, non-partisan organization chartered by Congress to help federal, state, and local governments improve their effectiveness and accountability.

Keevey previously was chief financial officer at the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, appointed by President Clinton, where he was responsible for all financial management issues, including budgeting, system integration, and financial reporting. Keevey also served as deputy undersecretary for financial management and director for finance and accounting at the Department of Defense, where he received medals for Outstanding Service and Distinguished Service from the Secretary of Defense.

His state government experience includes appointments by two governors—as director of the Office of Management and Budget, and as the state budget director and state comptroller for the state of New Jersey.

Keevey has been a visiting lecturer at the Woodrow Wilson School and has taught as an adjunct professor at Seton Hall University, American University, the University of Maryland, and Rutgers University. He also was an elected school board member and president for his school district in Cinnaminson, N.J. for nine years, and a member of the board of directors of Zurbrugg Hospital in Riverside, N.J.

In addition, Keevey has worked in the private sector, most recently as director of the Core Administration Program at The Unisys Corporation. He also was director of the Budget and Financial Management Consulting Practice at Anderson, LLP. Keevey has authored numerous articles on management and finance, and also served for two years in the U.S. Army as an artillery officer in Germany.

"Richard brings to the Policy Research Institute for the Region stunning breadth and depth of experience spanning government at all levels, academia, and the private sector," said Acting Dean of the Woodrow Wilson School Nolan McCarty. "We at the School are confident that under his leadership, the Institute will continue to contribute to the intellectual life of the University, while tackling critical policy issues facing the tri-state area." ■■■

WWS Graduate Students Seek Ways to Prevent a Proliferation Chain Reaction in the Middle East

by Sandya Das MPA '08

During fall break, WWS second-year M.P.A. students Sandya Das, Florentina Mulaj, and Ryan Phillips, along with Professor Harold Feiveson MPA '63, PhD '72 at the Program for Global Science and Security, traveled to Egypt and Israel to examine Egypt's future nuclear intentions as the threat of nuclear proliferation rises in the Middle East. As part of the fall policy workshop, "Preventing Proliferation Chain Reactions," these students met with senior foreign and U.S. government officials, think tanks, and journalists in Cairo, Tel Aviv, and Jerusalem. The purpose of their trip was to gain an improved understanding of the motivations that would lead Egypt to reexamine its non-nuclear status; explore possible regional arrangements to reduce the proliferation threat in the Middle East; and develop U.S. policy recommendations to reduce the likelihood of Egypt acquiring its own nuclear capability.

Discussions with Egyptian government officials and brain trusts in Cairo provided students with insight into Egypt's nuclear proliferation concerns. The Egyptians and Arab League expressed concern about Iran's current nuclear enrichment activities. A nuclear-armed Iran poses a greater threat to the region's stability because "Iran has regional ambitions that go beyond its nuclear capability and could escalate the increasing Sunni and Shia rift in the region," said an Arab League official.

However, despite the Iranian nuclear threat, Egypt would not support a U.S. or internationally led military attack against Iran. An Egyptian government official asserted, "while the Iranian President's rhetoric is dangerous...they have the right to develop a peaceful program as a member of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT)." A U.S. attack, remarked an Arab League official, "would be devastating to the region," as it would not stop Iran from pur-



From left to right: Sandya Das, Florentina Mulaj, Professor Harold Feiveson, and Ryan Phillips.

suing its nuclear ambitions or from retaliating with attacks on its own regional neighbors.

Egyptian and Arab League authorities also voiced their frustration with efforts to reduce nuclear asymmetry in the Middle East. Egypt has made several commitments toward regional nonproliferation, notably ratifying the NPT in 1981 and continuing to support a 1974 U.N. General Assembly Resolution calling for a zone free of nuclear weapons. During the Arms Control and Regional Security (ACRS) talks in the 1990s, Egypt tried to put pressure on Israel's nuclear capability. Yet, the Israeli government continues to insist that its participation in regional disarmament efforts is conditional upon establishing confidence-building measures and achieving a comprehensive peace in the Middle East.

Acknowledging these constraints in past regional efforts, the students were able to understand the Egyptians' current struggle to advance regional disarmament efforts. According to one Egyptian official on disarmament affairs, "Israel must start talking about nuclear issues and showing signs toward its own disarmament in order to make any progress." It did not make sense to him, "why Arab countries would have to make more nonproliferation commitments when Israel has made none." Ali Serri, director of the Disarmament Affairs Department at the Egyptian Ministry

of Foreign Affairs, urged the U.S. to "be more forthcoming in encouraging Israel's involvement in regional efforts," further stating, "You support us formally, but not in concrete terms."

In Tel Aviv and Jerusalem, the students asked about Israel's potential to engage in future regional nonproliferation and arms-control arrangements. An Israeli source responded that Israel still supports the idea of a zone free of weapons of mass destruction; but, in view of the current regional situation, "we have to go through a series of confidence-building measures before any real progress can be made." Another Israeli source involved in Middle Eastern affairs added, "there is no room for Israel to maneuver...and no room to give up anything. We have regional threats from all sides."

While Israel's government has lacked engagement in regional disarmament efforts, it has devoted serious attention to addressing the risk of a future Iran nuclear threat. Many Israelis are concerned that a nuclear-armed Iran poses an "existential" threat to Israel. An Israeli source claimed that the Iranian regime has developed an ideology that is hostile to Israel—calling for the destruction of Israel, having a President that is more vocal about "wiping Israel off the map," and exerting behavior that supports terrorism in the region by rearming Islamist Shia political organizations—Hezbollah in Lebanon and Hamas in Gaza. These assumptions have



Above: The students met with former government officials, nuclear scientists, and political scientists from Cairo University at the Egyptian Council for Foreign Affairs, a non-governmental think-tank organization. Below: Mulaj, Das, Feiveson, and Phillips also met with Mr. Ali Serri, director of the Disarmament Affairs Department at the Egyptian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.



caused Israel to believe that it is urgent to stop Iran's nuclear buildup as "the only thing worse than military action to stop Iran are the consequences of a nuclear Iran," said former Director of Intelligence at the Mossad, Dr. Uzi Arad '75.

Since Israel believes reaching an Israeli-Palestinian peace settlement is essential, the students looked into the prospects of achieving this goal at the Annapolis peace conference in November. Shlomo Brom at the Institute for National Security Studies in Tel Aviv said, "while it might be unrealistic to expect agreement, there is always the hope that talks will revive semblance of movement." Another Israeli observer mentioned, "The conference is ceremonial to ignite the process," but "there has to be the right mix, which is very touchy and difficult." He explained that, "we first have to help reestablish the Palestinian Authority and its power,

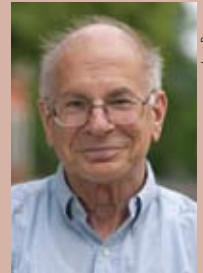
and build institutions that will support long-term peace." Others expressed little hope for success at the conference. Dr. Arad believed it may prove to be an "exercise in futility because Hamas, which is now in control of Gaza, is bent on eliminating the state of Israel."

Since their return, the students collaborated with other workshop participants who conducted field research in Tokyo and Seoul to study Japan and South Korea's future nuclear decision making. All participants have integrated their research and formulated U.S. policy recommendations to reduce the likelihood of these three countries going nuclear. In January, they will present their final report to several U.S. government agencies, including Congress, the National Security Council, and the State and Defense departments.

Drawing from her experiences in Egypt and Israel, Florentina Mulaj MPA '08 reflected that, "continued regional unrest, accompanied by a nuclear Israel, presents a real proliferation chain-reaction problem." Ryan Phillips MPA '08 further highlighted "just how difficult it is to make any progress on nonproliferation in the Middle East without serious engagement by the U.S. on multiple fronts. Lacking such a commitment, the threat of a proliferation chain reaction is very real." ■■■

Daniel Kahneman Recipient of APA's Outstanding Lifetime Contributions Award

Daniel Kahneman, Eugene Higgins Professor of Psychology and professor of psychology and public affairs at the Woodrow Wilson School, is the recipient of the American Psychological Association's (APA) Award for Outstanding Lifetime Contributions to Psychology. The award, which is the highest bestowed by the Association, was presented at its annual convention in August.



Jon Roemer

Kahneman pioneered the integration of research about decision making into economics. A co-recipient of the Nobel Prize for Economics in 2002, Kahneman began his prize-winning research in the 1960s, seeking to increase understanding of how people make economic choices. His research with Amos Tversky on decision making under uncertainty resulted in the formation of a new branch of economics: prospect theory.

Formerly a professor of psychology at the University of California, Berkeley, a fellow at the Canadian Institute for Advanced Research, a professor of psychology at the University of British Columbia, a fellow at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, and a professor at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, Kahneman is a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and the National Academy of Sciences. He also is a fellow of the American Psychological Association, the American Psychological Society, the Society of Experimental Psychologists, and the Econometric Society.

Kahneman has been the recipient of numerous awards, among them the Distinguished Scientific Contribution Award of the APA, the Warren Medal of the Society of Experimental Psychologists, the Kennedy School's 2006 Thomas C. Schelling Award, and the Hilgard Award for Career Contributions to General Psychology. ■■■

Law and Public Affairs Program Report Outlines Legal Framework for U.S. Military Contractors

The Program in Law and Public Affairs has issued a new report proposing a framework for handling the legal regulation of military contractors.

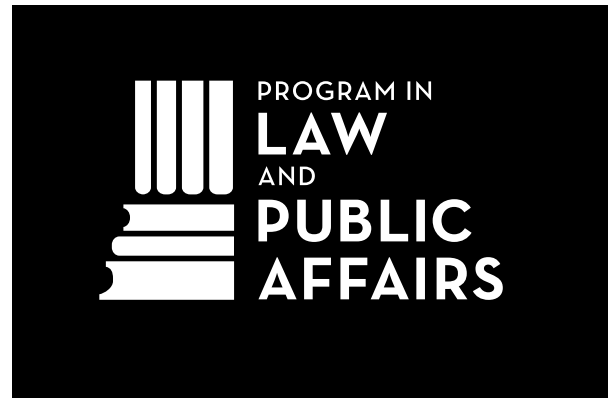
The report resulted from a June meeting that brought together senior military and government officials, contractors, academic experts, and Washington policymakers to discuss how security contractors working in zones of conflict should be trained, integrated with military forces, and held accountable. The group signed off on the summary report this week.

“This is clearly an area in which the law has yet to catch up with facts on the ground,” said LAPA Visiting Scholar Deborah Pearlstein, a U.S. legal expert and one of the organizers of the event. “We’d invited high-level participants from military and private sector backgrounds to Princeton with the idea that they’d be able to hash some of this out off the record. We came away surprised at how much common ground there was,” Pearlstein said.

While participants diverged on a range of issues, the group found broad agreement in several key areas:

- It is important to close gaps in the Military Extraterritorial Jurisdiction Act (MEJA), which provides for contractors to be put on trial in U.S. federal courts when they have violated U.S. law abroad;
- MEJA investigation and prosecution authority should be consolidated within a dedicated unit in the Department of Justice;
- Federal agency policies governing contractors in conflict zones should be standardized and coordinated;
- The military should have limited authority to pursue prosecution of contractors through the military justice system, at least where discipline through the civilian justice system is impossible; and
- Greater public debate is essential to determine which, if any, government security functions may be inappropriate for private outsourcing.

In addition to questions of accountability in cases of abuse, the report summarizes the group’s discussions about the origins and direction of the contracting industry, the appropriate role of contractors on the battlefield, and the special challenges of intelligence-gathering and security-related functions.




“As the nature of government changes, the nature of accountability must change with it,” said Anne-Marie Slaughter, dean of the School and an expert in international law. “This project is exactly the role that I hope to see the Woodrow Wilson School play in bringing people together and advancing deliberation and recommendations on an important and timely public policy issue.”

The workshop was held under the “Chatham House Rule,” which permits summaries of the group’s discussions and conclusions to be made public without attributing particular positions to particular speakers.

The workshop was the first in a series of policy problem-solving workshops in issues of law and security co-sponsored by LAPA and the Woodrow Wilson School. It was organized by WWS Professor and LAPA Director Kim Lane Scheppele, Deborah Pearlstein, and University of Connecticut Law Professor Laura Dickinson, a fellow at LAPA in 2006-07.

“We wanted to give important participants in the debates over military contracting an opportunity to work through to a consensus on the problem,” Scheppele said. “By inviting them to Princeton, giving them a space to debate in confidence, and working from concrete examples to general policy, we were able to find common ground on this crucial issue.”

The report may be found at lapa.princeton.edu/conferences/military07/MilCon_Workshop_Summary.pdf. 

CALENDAR

Friday, February 8, 2008

The Program in Law and Public Affairs and the James Madison Program in American Ideals and Institutions

“The Contributions of William H. Rehnquist to American Constitutional Jurisprudence”

This conference will discuss justice William H. Rehnquist’s contributions to American constitutional jurisprudence in three panels: Federalism as a Constitutional Principle, Constitutional Criminal Procedure, and Religion and the Constitution. Additional information may be found online at lapa.princeton.edu/events.php.

Friday, February 8, 2008

The Policy Research Institute for the Region

“Mount Laurel at 25: The Unfinished Agenda of Fair Share Housing”

This conference will look at the New Jersey Supreme Court decision on exclusionary zoning, affordable housing, and sound planning. Experts and key participants in the implementation of Mount Laurel II will convene to examine the origins of the decision, comment on the current state of the doctrine and its influence in the region and the nation, and focus on the unfinished agenda, including issues of race, class, redevelopment and smart growth. In addition to a keynote luncheon address by Michael Stegman, director of policy for the Program on Human and Community Development at the McArthur Foundation and former assistant secretary for policy development at the Department of Housing and Urban Development, three panels will explore central questions regarding the future of the doctrine, as New Jersey, the region, and the nation grapple with persistent housing and related land use challenges. For more information and to register, visit www.princeton.edu/prior.

Thursday, February 14–Saturday, February 16, 2008

The Program in Law and Public Affairs, the University Center for Human Values, and the James Madison Program in American Ideals and Institutions

“The Limits of Constitutional Democracy”

The large theme of this conference is failure and success in constitution making, or the limits of constitutional democracy. Recent scholarly work in political science and law converge with events throughout the world, making this a timely and important project inside and outside of the academy. The conference will extend and elaborate upon the project of critically re-examining constitutional architecture, drawing on the tools of political theory and philosophy, social science, and law. This enterprise is examined by Walter Murphy’s recent book, *Constitutional Democracy*.

Friday, April 11–Saturday, April 12, 2008

The Woodrow Wilson School, the Princeton Environmental Institute, and the School of Engineering and Applied Science

Dodds Auditorium, Robertson Hall

The Princeton Colloquium on Public and International Affairs—“The Grand Challenges: Energy, Water, and Global Health”

Several of the most significant problems facing humanity today are also the most complex: Energy, Environment, and Security; Rural Poverty Land Use, Biodiversity and Water in Africa; and Global Health and Infectious Disease. Recognizing that these issues represent irreducible mixtures of social, political, and environmental challenges, the Princeton Environmental Institute (PEI), the Woodrow Wilson School (WWS) and the School of Engineering and Applied Science have launched a new program of teaching and research to focus on these “Grand Challenges.” Drawing from this exciting research, the 2008 Princeton Colloquium on Public and International Affairs will examine these three issues in depth, with a focus on their interrelated causes and the identification of potential interdisciplinary solutions. For more information, visit www.princeton.edu/ppcia.

Friday, May 2, 2008

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

Dodds Auditorium, Robertson Hall

“Media, Technology, and Schools: Bridging Research and Practice”

Electronic media has become an integral part of students’ lives and a major point of interest for educators. Questions about the impact of electronic media on student learning and wellbeing have led many school districts to questions how and why they should be using technology. The purpose of this conference is to showcase innovative uses of technology in the classroom, and provide school districts with ways that they can enhance their classroom curriculums and professional development programs. An overview of the research regarding electronic media and its links to achievement and social development also will be provided. This conference is designed in conjunction with the latest journal issue of the *Future of Children* “Children and Electronic Media.” This issue, due to be released in March 2007 shines a spotlight on electronic media, focusing mainly on its impact on childhood wellbeing and policy implications. For more information visit www.futureofchildren.princeton.edu/media/.

"Burmese Days" Photography Exhibition Presented in Bernstein Gallery

From December 3, 2007 through January 11, 2008, the Woodrow Wilson School's Bernstein Gallery presented an exhibition of photographs, "Burmese Days," by Mary Cross. The work on view was a continuation of Cross's continued photographic investigation into different cultures of the world.

"Burmese Days" was the result of a trip made by Cross to Burma (Myanmar) in the fall of 2004. As with all of her photography from different parts of the world, "Burmese Days" shows the photographer's ability to capture both the timeless icons and the daily ephemera of life in another culture. Current events in Myanmar have made even more clear to the world outside that this once peaceful Buddhist country is at the mercy of a brutal government. However, these pictures do not show signs of its abusive military, which makes them all the more disturbingly beautiful.

Cross is the author of *Behind the Great Wall, Egypt; Morocco: Sahara to the Sea*; and *Vietnam: Spirits of the Earth*. She has had numerous solo exhibitions in the U.S., including at Harvard University, the University of California, Berkeley, The University of Pennsylvania, and The Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History. As a young woman, Cross studied philosophy and literature at the Sorbonne, and later studied photography under the late Philippe Halsman. ■■■



"Monk With Begging Bowl," Mary Cross

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