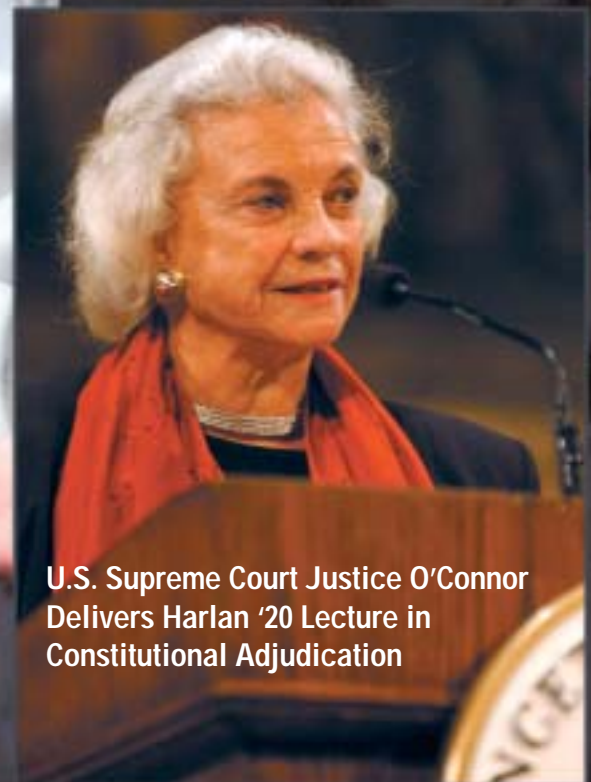


PRINCETON UNIVERSITY
WOODROW
WILSON
SCHOOL
of Public & International Affairs

Sen. Tom Daschle (D-SD) and Robert Caro '57 Discuss Leadership in the Senate

Germany's Foreign Minister
Calls for "Positive Globalization"

"After King's Dream" Panel
Examines MLK's Legacy



U.S. Supreme Court Justice O'Connor
Delivers Harlan '20 Lecture in
Constitutional Adjudication

A Message from the Dean



Denise Applewhite

I write, this time, less as a dean than as a professor, having the extraordinary experience of co-teaching one of our Graduate Policy Workshops, which all second-year M.P.A. and M.P.P. students take to gain hands-on policy experience. Each workshop takes on a real-life client and provides pertinent policy advice based on in-depth classroom and field research. Our task force, which is co-taught by Lecturer of Public and International Affairs William Burke-White, an international criminal lawyer and scholar, has as its client the U.S. Department of State.

Pierre Prosper, America's Ambassador-at-Large for War Crimes Issues, asked us to develop a proposal "for one or more mechanisms that, with international support, could be put in place in the eastern Democratic Republic of Congo with the aim of achieving a measure of accountability for human rights and international humanitarian law violations and promoting reconciliation." Estimates suggest that in the past decade some 3 million Congolese have died from war and war-related disease, famine, and crime. The conflict began with the influx into Eastern Congo of hundreds of thousands of Hutu refugees following the end of the Hutu-led genocide in Rwanda. The conflict is extraordinarily complex, involving scores of different Congolese ethnic groups and political factions, as well as virtually all Congo's neighbors in the Great Lakes region of Africa: Rwanda, Uganda, Burundi, Angola, and Zimbabwe.

Our class of nine M.P.A. students and one M.P.P. student, a remarkable collection of young men and women, includes a State Department official taking a year out following his most recent posting in Ireland; a former Peace Corps volunteer in Nicaragua; a young member of the Japanese Foreign Service; a karate black belt and computer whiz who spent her internship last summer at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in Sierra Leone; a former policy analyst at the Woodrow Wilson Center in Washington; an agricultural policy expert from South Dakota; a former congressional staffer and speechwriter; a Bulgarian national who is a Balkans expert and who has extensively researched the post-Milosevic transition in Serbia; and a human rights activist who spent a year out of the M.P.A. program to report on human rights in Brazil.

They came together last spring and decided that they wanted to do a workshop in the general area of international criminal justice. The group then recruited Burke-White and myself to teach the workshop, and, in fact, I have learned as much as I have taught. That is in no small part due to Burke-White, who has been indispensable, both to me and to the students.

We spent the first five weeks of the course studying the rudiments of the international criminal justice system, focusing on the experience of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia and for Rwanda, the definition of international crimes such as genocide, crimes against humanity, and grave breaches of the law of war. We also familiarized ourselves with the complex history, society, and culture of Congo.

In September we had an extraordinary evening with Justice Richard Goldstone, who had served as head of the Goldstone Commission in South Africa, which was charged with investigating police abuse in South Africa under apartheid. He then became the first prosecutor of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, before returning to South Africa to serve as a justice on the first South African Constitutional Court, post apartheid. Justice Goldstone shared his experience and his insights with us all, helping us imagine what it is like to face years and decades of often hideous crimes—the impossibility of ever achieving anything like full justice, but understanding the necessity of always having to try.

In October, the workshop participants also heard from Peter Rosenblum, clinical professor in human rights at Columbia Law School, who has spent many years in the DRC and who helped us to see the richness of its civil society and legal and educational culture; and from John Prendergast, who was on the front lines of policymaking concerning Congo when he served on the National Security Council during the Clinton administration.

Over fall break, Burke-White and eight of the students went to Congo, while another group journeyed to Rwanda, Uganda, and Europe. The groups spent nearly ten 18-to-20-hour days packed with interviews and travel, touring prison facilities and courtrooms, and assessing what might actually be accomplished on the ground. In Congo, the students were welcomed to Kinshasa by Tony Gambino MPA '85 and his wife Naomi Cahn, who now serve, respectively, as director of USAID in Congo and professor of law at George Washington University; by Nishkala Suntharalingam MPP '01, who is a political officer with the UN in Kinshasa; and by Trish Hiddleston MPP '00, who works as a child protection officer with UNICEF. Several students went to Eastern Congo, where many atrocities have taken place, and interviewed former rebels and current government officials. In Rwanda students had a personal meeting with President Paul Kagame.

On their return, while conducting follow-up interviews with Congo experts in the U.S. and researching further issues raised by the trip, the students began coming to grips with the enormity of the challenge facing the shaky Congolese transitional government and the many Congolese citizens who are desperate, above all, for peace, as well as their own urgent need to formulate a coherent set of policy recommendations to present to Ambassador Prosper. As of this writing, they have collectively agreed upon recommendations regarding the options for prosecution, truth and reconciliation, diplomatic measures, and regional stability that the U.S. should support. The students have prepared a detailed outline of their report and have marshaled extensive background research (collectively, they have written more than 200 pages of interview transcripts, background memos, research reports, and draft proposals). And now they are beginning to write their formal presentation.

For these last few weeks Burke-White and I, as the only international lawyers in the group, have largely played the role of facilitators and legal advisers. But I have been educated watching how much our students have learned, not only about their subject, but also, and equally important, about themselves and one another. They have cohered as an extremely tight group—accepting each other's quirks and foibles while respecting comparative strengths. They have realized that it is up to them to do the best they can with an impossibly complex subject and the inevitable realities of not enough time and not enough resources. These are lessons that will serve them well in government. And they have taken their task extremely seriously, aware that they have been given an important opportunity and determined to make the most of it.

At the beginning of the semester, as we all sat around a large seminar table in the Robertson Hall basement, most of the students directed their comments to Burke-White or to me, waiting for us to call on them to respond. Now they are chairing their own sessions and setting their own agendas, while we look on and chip in from time to time. In late January we will all travel to Washington, D.C. to present the report to Ambassador Prosper. Thanks to the Wilson School's extraordinary resources and to its commitment to hands-on education as well as rigorous training in the classroom, these students are making a difference in public and international affairs even before they graduate. It is a pleasure and a privilege to be able to teach them.

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Anne-Marie Slaughter". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a long, sweeping underline.

Anne-Marie Slaughter '80, Dean
Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs



Jon Roemer

WWSNews

Winter 2004

Editor/Layout
Karyn M. Olsen

Contributing Writers

Steven Barnes
Jeremy Barnicle MPA '04
Peter Bell MPA '64
Anika Binnendijk WWS '03
Christopher Broughton MPA '04
Crystal L. Frierson MPA/JD '07
Eric Quiñones
Michael Spinney
Robin Williams WWS '04

Photos

Denise Applewhite
Sameer Khan
Peter Krogh
Larry Levanti
Rita Nannini
Jon Roemer

Printing

Alcom Printing Group, Inc.

Published by:
Office of External Affairs
The Woodrow Wilson School
of Public and International Affairs
Robertson Hall
Princeton University
Princeton, NJ 08544-1013
Tel (609) 258-2943
Fax (609) 258-4765

Comments and suggestions
are welcome.

Questions, comments, and
suggestions can be e-mailed to:

Karyn Olsen
Manager of Communications
kolsen@princeton.edu

Steven Barnes
Assistant Dean for External Affairs
sbarnes@princeton.edu

IN THIS ISSUE

Volume 27, Issue 2

Winter 2004

A Message from the Dean

WWS hosts luncheon with Sen. Daschle (D-SD) and Robert Caro '57 2
U.S. Supreme Court Justice O'Connor delivers Harlan Lecture 4

Faculty Notes

Policy Brief: Political Appointees and the Quality of Federal Program Management 7
Alumni Commentary: Striving to Reduce Poverty in Ethiopia 9
Public Affairs Panel: After King's Dream 12
STEP Hosts Conference on Unilateralism and U.S. Power 14
Centers and Programs Spotlight: Princeton AIDS Initiative 16

Research Center and Program News

WWS Washington Series 18
WWS in the News 21

Policy Brief: College Attendance and the Texas Top 10 Percent Law 22
Germany's Foreign Minister Calls for "Positive Globalization" 24
Graduate Policy Workshop: WWS Graduate Students Work to Bring Post-Conflict Justice to Congo 26

Moral Moments: Making the Decision to Combat Injustice 28

WWS Calendar

Second Annual Colloquium and WWS Graduate Alumni Weekend Planned 30

For more information or to request additional copies, please call (609) 258-2943

Sen. Tom Daschle (D-SD), Robert Caro '57 Discuss Leadership in the Senate at WWS, Newsweek Event

by Jeremy Barnicle MPA '04

“ Democrats need to build a message-making machine to counter the so-called elephant echo chamber of FOX News, talk radio, Internet sites, and conservative think tanks,” said Senate Minority Leader Tom Daschle (D-SD) at a luncheon forum sponsored by the Woodrow Wilson School and *Newsweek* at the magazine’s headquarters in Manhattan on November 17, 2003.

Not only should Democrats build such a message-delivery system, added Pulitzer Prize-winning historian and Princeton alumnus **Robert Caro '57**, but they should also revisit the message itself.

Caro, recipient of the 2003 Pulitzer Prize in biography for *Master of the Senate*, the third volume in his series on the life of Lyndon Johnson, presented anecdotes about Johnson and illustrated his insights on the nature of political leadership. “There are times when presidents can bring the people around” on what seems like an unpopular issue, Caro said.

The audience of roughly 100 people consisted of Woodrow Wilson School students and alumni, media, and guests of *Newsweek*, who gathered to hear Daschle and Caro share their thoughts

on governing and showing leadership during challenging times. WWS Dean **Anne-Marie Slaughter** introduced the panelists and *Newsweek* senior editor Jonathan Alter moderated the discussion. Alter was a visiting professor of press and politics at Princeton University in the spring of 1997, and is writing a book on Franklin D. Roosevelt.

“Each generation has a seemingly insurmountable problem,” Caro said, noting that Johnson faced a Senate that was dominated by Southerners who were hostile to his plans for passing significant civil rights legislation: “It is the nature of leadership to solve insoluble problems.” And yet with courage, creativity and his trademark tenacity, Johnson managed to win the votes and pass civil rights legislation as Senate majority leader in the late 1950s.

Caro applauded Daschle for his leadership of the Senate Democrats through the recent filibuster to prevent the confirmation of three controversial Bush judicial nominees. “What Senator Daschle did by holding the Democrats together and insisting on debate is what the Senate was created to do,” Caro said.



“Each generation has a seemingly insurmountable problem,” noted Caro. “It is the nature of leadership to solve insoluble problems.”



Dean Anne-Marie Slaughter welcomed the audience *Newsweek* headquarters, introducing fellow panelists (from left to right) Robert Caro '57, Senator Tom Daschle (D-SD) and *Newsweek* senior editor Jonathan Alter.



The audience of nearly 100 included a large contingent of New York-based WWS alumni, as well as numerous WWS graduate and undergraduate students.

Daschle took the opportunity to outline key Democratic messages for the future. Achieving universal health care, he said, “is like climbing Mount Everest” for Democrats: they have to keep working until they reach that goal.

The next peak they need to summit is privacy, which Daschle called “a huge issue for the next generation.” The Democrats’ overarching message, he said, should be redefining strength, and the nation’s strength should be measured by “how educated and healthy we are. The idea that it is easier to build a child than to repair an adult should be the core of our message.”

Both Daschle and Caro were promoting books as well: Daschle has authored the recently released *Like No Other Time: The 107th Congress and the Two Years That Changed America Forever*, and Caro’s prizewinning *Master of the Senate* is the third in a planned four-book series on Lyndon Johnson’s life. Earlier, he won the 1974 Pulitzer in biography for *The Power Broker: Robert Moses and the Fall of New York*.

During her opening remarks, Dean Slaughter highlighted the opportunity for the panelists to

“share their insights and experience as to what it means to lead in America during periods of challenge and transition.”

New York-based WWS alumni turned out in force for the afternoon event.

“It’s wonderful to see the Woodrow Wilson School renewing its base of contact with alumni in the New York area,” said **Anthony So MPA ’86**, a member of the WWS Advisory Council. “This was a fascinating discussion and a great opportunity to get reacquainted with the School. What’s really great is to see that so many of my classmates have stayed true to the mission of the School,” and continue to work in public service, he added.

While plans for a progressive radio network and think tank are promising, Daschle said, elected officials need to go back to their home states and make the case for liberal policies directly to their constituents.

The video webcast of the event is available on the WWS Web site at www.wws.princeton.edu/events/webmedia.html#Daschle_Caro. ■



WWS undergraduates (from left) Brittany Hume '05 and Matthew Catsouphes '05 look on as Sen. Tom Daschle and Ceyda Dagdelen '05 (far right) discuss Sen. Daschle’s new book.

All photos by Jon Roemer

U.S. Supreme Court Justice O'Connor Urges Judges to Emulate Harlan's "Legacy of Respect"



All photos by Denise Applewhite

by Eric Quiñones
Reprinted courtesy of Princeton University Office of Communications.

University President Shirley Tilghman joins the audience in welcoming Justice O'Connor to Princeton.

John Marshall Harlan, one of the most influential Supreme Court justices of the 20th century, left an indelible “legacy of respect” that should be emulated by all judges as they grapple with the legal challenges facing the country, Supreme Court Justice Sandra Day O'Connor said in an address at Princeton University.

O'Connor made her first-ever visit to the University on November 17, 2003, to deliver the inaugural John Marshall Harlan '20 Lecture in Constitutional Adjudication, honoring the most recent Princetonian to serve on the high court. Appointed by President Eisenhower in 1955, Harlan served until his death in 1971.

O'Connor praised Harlan for his passionate yet pragmatic efforts to clarify the judiciary's role in upholding the Constitution. Harlan's career was

marked by his adherence to legal precedents and traditions and his fierce protection of Americans' individual liberties and states' rights, she said.

“This nation's judges face the daunting challenge of setting aside their personal predilections and attacking the complicated and often very controversial cases before them with integrity and with fidelity to the core principles expounded in our Constitution,” O'Connor said. “At the end of the day, the best that can be done by those presented with this work is to follow Justice Harlan's example of respect for the values that undergird that great document.”

In addition to University community members, the audience in Richardson Auditorium included members of Harlan's family and his former law clerks, as well as distinguished members of the legal profession. Deborah Poritz, chief justice of the New Jersey State Supreme Court, said O'Connor's lec-

ture “was fascinating both as a tribute to Justice Harlan and as a reflection of her own jurisprudence.”

In her introductory remarks, Princeton President **Shirley M. Tilghman** recounted O'Connor's difficult entry into the legal profession after graduating from Stanford Law School in 1952 and her decision to take time off to raise three sons before resuming her career. “Thanks at least in part to this somewhat atypical journey, she brings to the court an unusual breadth of experience and depth of knowledge. In the course of her journey she has blazed new trails as both a mentor and an educator,” Princeton's first female president said of the nation's first female Supreme Court justice.

Calling her “the court's leading ambassador to the American public and, indeed, to the world,” Tilghman noted that O'Connor is widely viewed as an inheritor of Harlan's legacy.

“Historians of the court note her diligence and her integrity. She is characterized as a pragmatist, not an ideologue, but tough and conservative,” Tilghman said.

Harlan’s contributions included landmark opinions in cases involving civil rights protection, the right to privacy, and protection of free speech. Citing his ruling in *Cohen v. California* (1971), which upheld a draft protester’s right to display a vulgar slogan in a courthouse, O’Connor noted, “He taught us that the Bill of Rights respects the liberties of even the disrespectful.”

Many of Harlan’s dissenting opinions involved cases in which he saw “the need for a respectful restraint of the strong arm of the federal judiciary in matters that he viewed as more properly within the province of the states,” O’Connor said. Similarly, he was concerned that the judiciary should not overstep its authority in dealing with legislators. “Justice Harlan rightly emphasized that the Constitution does not bestow upon the court blanket authority to step into every situation where the political branch may be thought to have fallen short,” she said.

Harlan was a prolific writer, producing twice as many opinions as his fellow justices during some terms. “Even those who regret Justice Harlan’s positions freely acknowledge that when he has written a concurring or dissenting opinion, they turn to it first,” O’Connor noted.

Christopher Eisgruber ’83, director of Princeton’s Program in Law and Public Affairs, organized the lecture, which is intended to become an annual event, to exemplify

the University’s connection to the law. (Princeton has produced eight Supreme Court justices.) While Harlan never achieved the fame of other justices such as Earl Warren or Thurgood Marshall, “among lawyers and others who know his work he is widely regarded as one of the great Supreme Court justices of the 20th century. He’s admired for his craftsmanship and his commitment to constitutional principle,” Eisgruber said.

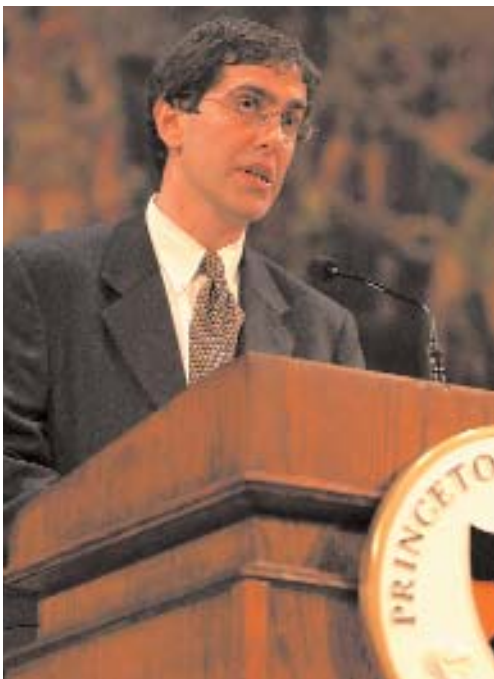
Anne-Marie Slaughter, dean of the Woodrow Wilson School, said of O’Connor’s lecture, “It was a terrific way to start the lecture series to have someone who clearly embodies many of the virtues she was praising in Justice Harlan.”

Prior to her lecture, O’Connor was presented with the James Madison Award for Distinguished Public Service by junior Andrew Bruck, president of the American Whig-Cliosophic Society, Princeton’s largest student organization. The award goes annually to an individual who has dedicated himself or herself to the nation’s service and the service of all nations. Past honorees have included Justice Warren, President Clinton, Golda Meir, Jesse Jackson, and Adlai Stevenson.

Since her appointment by President Reagan in 1981, O’Connor has written landmark opinions in a number of cases, including reaffirming abortion rights in a 1992 case involving Planned Parenthood and upholding affirmative action policies at the University of Michigan’s law school last summer. At a dinner before the lecture, O’Connor told the audience that Princeton should lead efforts to improve diversity in education.

As Tilghman recalled in introducing O’Connor, “She issued a challenge to educators—from kindergarten teachers to law school professors—that in 25 years the court expects that racial preferences will no longer be necessary. I, for one, hope we are able to realize that important goal. Justice O’Connor issued our charge: ‘Get busy!’ ■

Christopher Eisgruber, director of the Program in Law and Public Affairs, welcomed the audience to the event. Eisgruber was instrumental in the creation of the John Marshall Harlan ’20 Lecture in Constitutional Adjudication.



Faculty Notes

Larry Levanti



Elizabeth Armstrong

Assistant Professor of Sociology and Public Affairs **Elizabeth Armstrong** has authored a new book, *Conceiving Risk, Bearing Responsibility: Fetal Alcohol Syndrome and the Diagnosis of Moral Disorder*, published by Johns Hopkins University Press. In the book, she uses fetal alcohol syndrome and the problem of drinking during pregnancy to examine the assumed relationship between somatic and social disorder, the ways in which societal problems are individualized, and the intertwining of health and morality that characterizes American society.

Along with co-principal investigators Dan Carpenter of Harvard University and Marie Hojnacki at Penn State, Armstrong has been awarded a National Science Foundation grant of \$425,000. The grant will be administered over the next two years for their study, "Collaborative Research on Agenda-Setting: Temporal, Institutional, and Cross-Sectional Dynamics of Attention to Disease in the Public Arena." In addition, Armstrong's project "Fetal Personhood: The Raw Edge of Obstetrical Practice and Ethics" has been awarded an Investigator Awards Program in Health Policy Research grant of \$275,000 for the next three years from The Robert Wood Johnson Foundation.

Larry Levanti



Frederick Hitz

In December 2003 **Larry Bartels**, the Donald E. Stokes Professor of Politics and Public Affairs and director of the Center for the Study of Democratic Politics, participated in a discussion panel at the Brookings Institution in Washington, entitled "Do Misperceptions Guide the Tax Policy Debate?" The discussion arose out of polls that found American households consistently saying that increased economic inequality is a bad idea, but at the same time these American households are supporting tax cuts that give bigger gains to higher-income households and make distribution of after-tax income even less equal than before. One of Bartels' conclusions is that Americans simply do not understand the links between public policy choices and economic inequality.

Ben S. Bernanke, the Howard Harrison and Gabrielle Snyder Beck Professor of Economics and Public Affairs and chair of the department of economics (currently on leave) was recently nominated, and confirmed by the U.S. Senate, to serve a full term as a member of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System. Chairman Alan Greenspan swore him into his position on November 14.

Paul DiMaggio, research director for the Center for Arts and Cultural Policy Studies and a professor of sociology, recently published two working papers. The first, "From Unequal Access to Differentiated Use: A Literature Review and Agenda for Research on Digital Inequity," co-authored with Eszter Hargittai, Coral Celeste, and Steven Shafer of Princeton University, examines issues related to the digital divide, differential Internet use, and issues of inequality. The second paper, "Nonprofit Organizations and the Intersectoral Division of Labor in the Arts," takes stock of the role of the nonprofit

enterprise in the production and distribution of the arts (broadly defined), primarily in the United States, focusing on such issues as the emergence of new production and distribution technologies and the similarities and differences between nonprofit and commercial firms.

Professor of Politics and Public Affairs **Jim Doig** recently gave a talk on "Civil Liberties in Canada and Aboriginal Rights" at the University of Cariboo in British Columbia. In 2004 he will present a paper on aboriginal rights at Edinburgh University and will also give a talk on leadership in the Supreme Court of Canada at the University of Manitoba Law School. Doig recently began a study of leadership strategies at the International Labor Organization from 1945-1970, with a grant from the Morse Foundation.

A new book by Lecturer of Public and International Affairs and director of the Project on International Intelligence **Frederick Hitz**, *The Great Game: The Myth and Reality of Espionage*, will be published by Knopf in April 2004. The book, drawn from topics discussed in his freshman seminars, reviews aspects of espionage through the eyes of great spy novelists, including Joseph Conrad, Rudyard Kipling, Somerset Maugham, Graham Greene, and John le Carré, and compares their views to the "real thing." In the book, Hitz poses the question: Is the truth of espionage stranger than the fictional view? A book reading is planned at the Princeton U-Store on Tuesday, April 27, 2004.

Alan Krueger, the Bendheim Professor of Economics and Public Policy and director of the Survey Research Center, and **Marta Tienda**, the Maurice P. Daring '22 Professor in Demographic Studies and professor of sociology and public affairs, were recently selected as Fellows of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. Each fellow is designated to a position named after a distinguished scholar or public servant who has written in the Academy's journal over the past century; Krueger has been named the Theodore Roosevelt Fellow and Tienda the Ernest W. Burgess Fellow. Krueger is on leave at the Russell Sage Foundation in New York for this academic year.

Assistant Professor of Psychology and Public Affairs **Emily Pronin** was recently interviewed on the WKRC Cincinnati morning show regarding the recent death of Nathaniel Jones, an African-American man who died during a violent struggle with the Cincinnati police. The interview focused on the question of how citizens' perceptions of the widely disseminated videotape of the incident could differ so widely.

Pronin is also organizing a symposium for the annual meeting of the Society for Personality and Social Psychology on "Psychological Misunderstandings: Errors in Self and Social Perception and their Implications for Social Conflict." At the symposium, Pronin will be presenting her research identifying a "bias blind spot" and investigating its relation to conflicts between individuals, groups, and nations. ■

WWS News Staff



Emily Pronin

Political Appointees and the Quality of Federal Program Management

Patronage has long been considered one of the spoils of political victory, but is the effective management of federal programs sacrificed in favor of the *quid pro quo*? Or are political appointees, with an outsider's perspective and "real world" experience, better able to manage governmental agencies than their Beltway counterparts?

Assistant Professor **David E. Lewis** of the Woodrow Wilson School and John B. Gilmour, associate professor in the Department of Government at the College of William and Mary, have collaborated on a new study of the Bush administration's government-wide performance measures to discover any relationship between political appointees and the quality of federal program management. Lewis and Gilmour examine the federal program assessment rating tool (PART) scores given to 234 federal programs. These scores are used by the Bush administration to assess the efficacy of government programs in order to establish merit-based budget increases for fiscal year 2004.

In their study, Lewis and Gilmour initially observe that, based on a simple review of PART scores published by the U.S. government's Office of Management and Budget (OMB), senior-executive-run federal programs get systematically higher grades than those that are run by political appointees. These initial findings fall in line with one conclusion of the 2003 Volcker Commission report recommending a reduction in the number of political appointees, as well as a 2002 Brookings Institution report recommending explicit limits on the number of political appointees for the creation of the Department of Homeland Security. The 2002 Brookings report was similar in nature to recommendations included in 1989 legislation creating the U.S. Department of Veterans



Larry Levanti

David E. Lewis is an assistant professor of politics and public affairs at the Woodrow Wilson School.

Affairs. In fact, Lewis and Gilmour point out that the issue of limiting the number of political appointees was discussed in the last two sessions of Congress, both in hearing and as legislation introduced by Representative Bill Luther (D-MN).

Lewis and Gilmour go on to estimate statistical models in order to evaluate the relationship. They take special care to address a number of statistical problems that could raise questions over their findings. Specifically, they address how grading errors or bias might lead to false conclusions about comparative management quality in appointee-run versus senior-executive-run federal programs.

First, because the grading scheme was developed for and administered by the Bush administration, the paper says, the grading system could be skewed to produce results that favor programs based on ideology and partisanship rather than on true management merit. Next, inaccuracies could result from the

graders' subjective opinion rather than on true management quality. Lastly, due to the broad scope and range of the programs graded, a lack of familiarity on the part of the graders could sway results.

Ultimately, the authors conclude that instances of error, bias, or favoritism would not be likely to affect the study's overall results, and that if they did, they would bias findings in favor of appointees. As such, the PART scores represent a unique opportunity to examine important questions that exist regarding the efficacy of public management.

Lewis and Gilmour argue that there seem to be certain inherent advantages to senior-management-run programs and disadvantages with appointee-run programs that have a significant effect on management performance.

Programs administered by senior executives have advantages because senior executives often have greater familiarity both with the organization of the program itself and also with entities outside the program that can influence its success. Greater cohesiveness seems to exist between senior program managers and staff, resulting in greater consistency and efficiency. And because senior managers are more likely to remain within a program through many administrations, they are more likely to have developed the personal networks and skills that facilitate governance. Additionally, senior managers are often drawn from within the programs they are called on to manage, giving them a deeper familiarity with the goals and complexities of their programs. Finally, senior managers are trained and steeped in public management, making them uniquely equipped to function in a public management environment.

continued on page 8

Political Appointees (continued)

continued from page 7

Programs run by political appointees, on the other hand, are often at a disadvantage because there are frequent turnovers and the process of appointing managers leaves periodic leadership vacuums. Appointed managers may be selected for political reasons rather than for reasons applicable to the goals of their programs; they may know what the administration wants, but lack the ability to translate those goals into a clear plan for the program.

Lewis and Gilmour offer the caveat that, clearly, there are federal programs administered by political appointees of extraordinary ability who excel at their positions. There are fewer programs, however, that benefit from multiple and successive political appointees of just this type.

Study Findings

The OMB surveyed 234 federal programs and sufficient data were available to conduct a comparative study of 214 of them. Of that number 165 (77 percent) were managed by political appointees while 49 programs (23 percent) were managed by employees of the Senior Executive Service. Each program was given a score between 0 and 100 in four categories: program purposes and design, strategic planning, program management, and program results. These categorical scores were then weighted and used by OMB to create an overall management score from 0 to 100 and overall categorization as ineffective, results not demonstrated, adequate, moderately effective, and effective.

Lewis and Gilmour find a statistically significant difference between political appointee-run programs and senior-executive-run programs on management scores even when accounting for differences in departments, program types, and political content of the programs. They estimate that political appointee-run programs score about 10 to 15 points lower in all categories except program purpose and design, where there is no significant difference between appointee-run and senior-executive-run programs. The total management grade is close to 10 points lower for the appointee-run programs. Programs run by politi-

cal appointees are 35 percent more likely to be graded as ineffective or as not having demonstrated results. They are 6 percent less likely to be graded as effective.

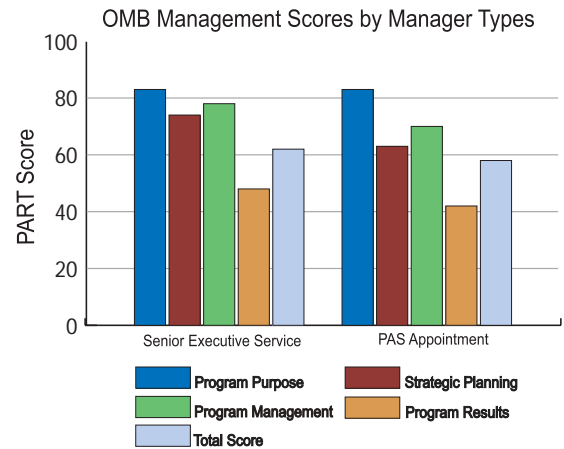
Because of limitations in the data Lewis and Gilmour do not distinguish between career and noncareer senior-executive-run programs.

Policy Implications

The findings of Lewis and Gilmour bolster the claims of the Volcker Commission and others that governmental programs can suffer under appointee management, and offer support for a robust discussion of the proper role and number of political appointees in the federal government.

The research presented in their study is also important in that it offers a benchmark for future research into federal program management. As the OMB expands its PART evaluations (the results of 234 new program evaluations were released in September 2003 these results can be similarly studied in order to test for trends and/or consistency.

From a policy point of view, the Lewis and Gilmour research offers a fresh perspective on performance evaluation beyond simple budgetary fixes. Federal programs whose effectiveness is in question can be examined in terms of management issues rather than simply as an issue of resources. For example, if the Federal Election Commission does not perform to meet expectations, a change in management might be considered rather than a cut in budget, which is not really likely to improve program performance. ■



Striving to Reduce Poverty in Ethiopia

by Peter Bell MPA '64
President, CARE

As president of CARE, one of the world's largest private international humanitarian organizations, I have seen extreme poverty and despair up close. Yet in my travels around the world I have also witnessed how the combined efforts of governments, international and local nongovernmental organizations, and ordinary men and women can turn hopes for a better, brighter future into reality.

In September 2003, I traveled to Ethiopia to see firsthand how farming and pastoral families in southern Ethiopia had coped with the 2002–2003 drought, which left close to 14 million Ethiopians—21 percent of the population—in need of emergency food assistance. I also sought to learn how CARE and its partners have responded to the emergency and have worked with communities and local governments to strengthen their capacity to prevent, withstand, and overcome future shocks.

A country twice the size of Texas, Ethiopia is one of the poorest nations in the world. The average person earns about \$100 a year and can expect to live to only 41 years of age. Eighty percent of the country's 67 million people eke out a living from subsistence agriculture. Regional and district governments lack the capacity to provide adequate educational and health services. Infrastructure is poor, and Ethiopians in food surplus regions find it hard to transport grains to those in food deficit regions. Families who have not recovered from previous years of food shortage have had to sell their assets (e.g., cattle, goats, chickens) as last-ditch efforts to meet immediate needs. Malaria and water-related illnesses can be fatal. And HIV/AIDS is a growing threat, with 3 million people already infected and a million children orphaned.

What Works?

As Georgia Shaver, director of the United Nations World Food Program (WFP) in Ethiopia, explained, “The old wives’ tale that food crises happen every ten years in Ethiopia is coming undone. The frequency of shocks is increasing.” Eight million Ethiopians faced starvation during the drought of 1999–2000. In 2001–2002, a bumper grain harvest saturated markets, which lowered prices and led many farmers to plant fewer crops the following year—they had not expected that the rains would fail again. But they did. In June 2002, the government of Ethiopia announced that the country was facing yet another emergency.

This time, 14 million Ethiopians were at risk of starvation. CARE Ethiopia launched a large-scale response and provided food assistance to some 900,000 people in East and West Hararghe. The two zones were among the most severely affected by last year's drought; some areas lost up to 95 percent of their crops before the 2002 harvest. Through the efforts of CARE and our partners, we helped reduce the rate of acute malnutrition in West Hararghe from 15 percent in October 2002 to 10.1 percent in June 2003. Still unacceptably high, 10 percent is at least considered the “normal” level of acute malnutrition in Ethiopia.

According to the director of WFP, the response to the 2002–2003 drought was more successful than in previous emergencies for several reasons. First, in contrast to its response to the 1999–2000 drought, the government of Ethiopia acknowledged the potential scale of this crisis, supported contingency planning, and prioritized issues related to timeliness, targeting, nutrition, and ration size and quality. Regional authorities in East



Photos courtesy of CARE

During his recent visit to Ethiopia, Peter Bell met with parents from the Parent-Teacher Association (PTA) at Medicho #9 School.

and West Hararghe were also engaged. Second, international agencies provided take-home rations of supplementary food early on, which prevented most families from spiraling toward severe malnutrition. Finally, coordination among the various international agencies helped ensure extensive, rapid coverage in both East and West Hararghe. WFP and CARE, for example, worked together to train regional authorities on emergency preparedness and supply chain management.

Not only the WFP director, but also the commissioner of the Disaster Preparedness and Prevention Commission (DPPC), the U.S. ambassador to Ethiopia, and both the outgoing and incoming country directors of the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) each affirmed the importance of partnership. In addition, they acknowledged the need to invest more in long-term development because, as the DPPC commissioner put it plainly, “You never know when the next drought will hit.”

continued on page 10

Striving to Reduce Poverty in Ethiopia (continued)



Children of Medicho #9 School.

continued from page 9

Empowering Farmers and Supporting Local Markets

In Miesso, a town in West Hararghe, CARE implemented an innovative project in response to crop failure in the 2002 harvest. In such crises, devastated farm families are often compelled to eat the seeds that they might have sown for their next crop. Instead of distributing new seeds of our choosing directly to farmers, CARE gave out vouchers with which farmers could go to their local markets and select from a wide range of seeds, including early-maturing and drought-resistant varieties. We also worked with traders to ensure an abundant supply of seeds throughout the planting season. Germination rates have been comparable to those of high-quality, improved commercial varieties.

I met one of the traders who participated in the project, Asnaku Tadesse. After her husband died, Asnaku was left to take care of their five children, whose ages now range from eight to 15. She aban-

doned farming and started her own trading business, often traveling long distances to buy seeds that she later sells in markets in and around Miesso. She told me that she decided to participate in the project because it looked profitable. She was right. Last planting season, she sold enough seeds to pay back loans, buy new clothes for her children, repair her home, and even put a little bit away in savings.

Farmers were equally pleased with the program. "Before, we were hovering between life and death. With no food, we were in total darkness," reported Ebro Sali Weday. "Three months ago, CARE provided us with seed vouchers. We used the vouchers to select the seeds we wanted from the market and planted them immediately. As the crops began to grow, we felt boundless joy. This year, we will not live in darkness."

Ebro Sali's family is among the 86,000 families participating in the project in East and West Hararghe, where CARE distributed vouchers worth a total of \$600,000 and mobilized 74 local traders. In doing so, CARE supported agricultural recovery, sustained more robust local markets, empowered farmers to apply their knowledge of seed selection, and reduced vulnerability to crop failure by promoting diversity. Given the rains in 2003, farmers are counting on harvests sufficient for them to feed their families and to begin rebuilding their assets.

Who Wants to Be a Farmer?

During my trip, I visited Medicho No. 9, one of the schools in which CARE and UNICEF had helped to organize special summer programs for students forced by the drought to drop out. The goal was for the students to make up what they had missed and to start the new school year at an age-appropriate grade level. To draw them back to the classroom, UNICEF had provided medicines and CARE had repaired dilapidated buildings, constructed latrines, installed desks and chairs, distributed note paper and pencils, paid the summer salaries of

teachers, and provided lunches for the children.

In total, the school includes just four grades; to continue on to the fifth grade, students needed to hike to another school at least five kilometers away. I was amazed at how many children could pack themselves into one room, heartened that parents were sending their children to school, but also concerned about the quality of their education. The student-to-teacher ratio in the first grade was 120:1!

I asked the students what they wanted to be when they grew up. Many eagerly raised their hands and politely asserted that they wanted to be doctors, pilots, teachers, or drivers. No one wanted to be a farmer. They told me that the life of a farmer is very challenging. Farmers cannot feed their families, let alone have enough money to buy clothes or writing materials for their children. Many of the children, no doubt, will eventually become farmers. I trust that, by then, there will have been much greater investment in long-term agricultural development in Ethiopia and that farmers will be better equipped to maintain agricultural production and withstand climactic shocks.

One such investment is in irrigation. Several kilometers away from Medicho No. 9, the highland community of Bobassa had built an irrigation system three years ago with CARE's support. In 2002 and 2003, more than half of the 133 households successfully fed themselves throughout the drought, harvesting sufficient amounts of sorghum, maize, and beans. Some even had enough to loan seeds to neighbors, relatives, and friends. And the remaining families of Bobassa did not require food assistance until well into 2003. The project underscores the importance of helping farming families invest in long-term agricultural development.

Combined with quality education, adequate health services, and access to roads

and markets, children like those at Medicho No. 9 would not only have a better chance at staying in school and learning just what it takes to become a doctor, pilot, teacher, or driver, they might even aspire to be farmers. They might actually break the cycle of rural poverty.

Family Planning

For more than five years, CARE has been working with communities in West Hararghe to improve family planning practices. As a result, the rate of contraceptive use has increased from 2 to 31 percent, compared to the national average of 8 percent. In the village of Bedessa, we met with volunteers who were raising awareness about family planning and reproductive health. Most women there are choosing to use DepoProvera and to practice birth spacing. The volunteers explained that people are now seeing family planning as a viable coping mechanism, knowing that when the rains fail and agricultural production drops, it is easier to feed a family of four than to feed a family of nine. In our conversation, the volunteers reported that demand for contraceptives is outstripping supply at the government-run health clinics.

The Village of Doho

I also visited the village of Doho, a once-temporary settlement situated on a vast semi-arid plain. Though connected to a dirt road, albeit narrow and bumpy, the village of Doho seemed very remote from the hustle and bustle of city, or even town, life. Cattle grazed languidly under the protective shade of the trees that dotted the landscape. Men, with rifles (to protect livestock from looting by other clans) slung casually over their backs, and women, decked in brightly colored wraps and beaded jewelry, watched us as we drove in—they were just as intrigued by us as we were by them.

Doho has become more permanent over the years. The government built a health clinic there, and CARE provided the materials and technical support to build a school and a community meeting place. At the meeting place, a large hut with a cement floor and thatched straw ceiling,

we sat down with a group of women and a council of male elders to talk about how last year's drought had affected them, what challenges they face as a pastoral community, and how they have sought to end the practice of female genital cutting, a rite of passage for young girls that persists throughout much of the Horn of Africa.

Toward the end of our conversation, the women asked if we could help them improve access to education for their children. They told us that girls who go to school can refuse to be cut and can delay their age of marriage. They can also teach others about the health consequences of female genital cutting. The male elders expressed their support for educating girls and explained that with a little awareness, they have been able to curtail harmful traditions, and are now seeking other ways to create a better future for themselves and their children.



In Ethiopia and elsewhere in the world, natural disasters are often underpinned by social and policy disasters. The current Ethiopian crisis is not just a case of failed rains. It is the culmination of years of repressive rule, constraint, conflict, inadequate education and health care, plus the spread of HIV/AIDS in a desperately poor and drought-prone country. Treating the symptoms of poverty during bad harvests is simply not sufficient. The underlying causes of poverty and food insecurity are complex. We—civil society groups, local community structures, the Ethiopian government, international organizations, and international donors—must break the cycle of poverty by investing more heavily in long-term development.

There is a real window of opportunity to help eradicate extreme poverty in

that the relationship between NGOs and the government of Ethiopia has improved in recent years. The government has become more positive about working with the humanitarian community. Donors are expressing more interest in addressing underlying causes of poverty, and a USAID official noted that “development chatter” is starting to spread among the humanitarian agencies in Ethiopia—everyone is realizing that the impact of Ethiopia's recurrent emergencies is exacerbated by the lack of long-term development.

Ordinary Ethiopians are also demonstrating a commitment to overcome poverty. For example, neighborhood associations that have traditionally focused on providing support for funeral services are expanding their mission. They are using their collective resources to care for AIDS orphans, to provide income-generating opportunities for unemployed youth, and to work with local governments to improve their social and physical infrastructure.

With decent rains in 2003, the Ethiopians we met had high hopes for a promising harvest. I am confident that with their energy and dedication, and the commitment of the government of Ethiopia and international donors, they and the ordinary men, women, and children of Ethiopia will succeed in reducing, and eventually ending, extreme poverty. ■

Community health volunteers in Bedessa, Ethiopia.



Panel: After King's Dream

by Crystal L. Frierson, MPA/JD '07

On August 28, 1963, in front of the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C., Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. delivered his famous speech: "I Have a Dream." That speech, delivered at the March on Washington, 100 years after the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation, became the most memorable rallying cry of the civil rights movement. In November 2003, to commemorate the 40th anniversary of the March, the Woodrow Wilson School, jointly with the University's Program in African-American Studies, hosted a panel discussion, "After King's Dream," for University faculty, students, and Princeton community members at Dodds Auditorium in Robertson Hall.

The panel was introduced by Valerie Smith, director of the African-American Studies program, and included journalist Diane McWhorter, Dr. Devon W. Carbado, Dr. G. Zoharah Simmons, and Dr. Michael Eric Dyson '93. They discussed the achievements and failures of the civil rights era from legal, social, political, and historical perspectives, and the nation's continuing struggle with questions of equality and justice.

Director of the African-American Studies Program Valerie Smith (center) introduced panelists (from left to right) Dr. Devon Carbado, Diane McWhorter, Dr. G. Zoharah Simmons, and Dr. Michael Eric Dyson '93.

Professor Smith opened the event by noting that the panel had been organized to allow a distinguished group of scholars, activists, and writers to consider together the complicated legacy of the civil rights movement so that "we might productively remember, assess, be inspired by, and make use of that legacy." Dr. Eddie Glaude '97, associate professor of religion, then welcomed the guests and introduced the panelists.

Diane McWhorter discussed her research on the bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama, in 1963, and that city's nearly 40-year struggle toward justice and reconciliation. McWhorter said that she "came out of a segregationist culture and family" from the nation's "bastion of apartheid," as she characterized Birmingham in the 1960s. Her Pulitzer Prize-winning book, *Carry Me Home: Birmingham, Alabama: The Climactic Battle of the Civil Rights Revolution*, documents this tumultuous period.



Diane McWhorter



All photos by Larry Levanti

Using the church bombing as an example, McWhorter explained that, beginning in the early 1960s, a "lasting partnership, if one of strange bedfellows," was created between the business community in Birmingham and the civil rights movement. She suggested that the Birmingham businessmen engaged in such a partnership because they thought of themselves "as segregationists, but not fools," and were

moved to negotiate a settlement with Dr. King in 1963 in order to protect business in the city, noting that they have been important factors in reconciliation efforts in Birmingham ever since.

Devon W. Carbado, a professor of law at the University of California, Los Angeles Law School and director of the Critical Race Studies concentration there, talked about the serious civil rights problem he sees in “equal-protection jurisprudence.” Although he doesn’t think the law can be enlisted to solve civil rights problems simply, he argued that the “law structures the political and rhetorical terms,” e.g., what may be spoken and what may not. “What’s going on when Jim Crow politics and affirmative action are processed in the same way?” he asked, explaining that under current equal-protection jurisprudence these issues receive the same “strict scrutiny.” He then guided the audience through a detailed critique of how U.S. courts treat civil rights cases and suggested some ways in which this area of jurisprudence can be challenged to achieve civil rights victories.

G. Zoharah Simmons, a civil rights activist who marched with Dr. King and was an active member of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), worked full-time for seven years on voter registration and desegregation in the South. She is now an assistant professor of religion at the University of Florida. Simmons said of the civil rights movement that “the struggle has not borne the fruit” that was expected, and suggested that King’s vision has been co-opted as part of a “neo-conservative backlash which is seeking to completely . . . thwart any forward movement toward a just and inclusive society.” Suggesting that King’s dream is “deeply antithetical to the

flawed American dream,” which she called “deeply rooted in institutionalized racism, corporate greed, and economic exploitation,” she concluded that until the American dream is genuinely reconciled with Dr. King’s, the United States would not achieve justice or equality.

Michael Eric Dyson, Avalon Foundation Professor in the Humanities and professor of African-American and religious studies at the University of Pennsylvania, and a best-selling author, said that Dr. King’s speech “seized [America’s] imaginative collar and shook it up.” King’s genius, he suggested, was that he “appealed to the rhetorical practices of white liberal ministers and theologians, and essentially recycled back to white America what it had been hearing on a daily basis, but not from a black figure.” However, in freezing King “in snapshot fashion” in front of the Lincoln Memorial, “we have overlooked some of the more interesting and contradictory elements of that speech” because we have selectively recalled its content.

Dyson concluded by noting the urgent need to reconcile the gap between the civil rights and hip-hop generations in the African-American community.

The panel discussion is available for viewing as an archived video webcast at www.wws.princeton.edu/events/webmedia.html. A complete listing of all Public Affairs programming for the spring 2004 semester can be found at www.wws.princeton.edu/events/comingevents.html. ■



Dr. Devon W. Carbado



Dr. G. Zoharah Simmons



Dr. Michael Eric Dyson

STEP Hosts Conference on Unilateralism and U.S. Power

by Christopher Broughton MPA '04

Although the steps of Robertson Hall were covered in nearly a foot of fresh snow on December 5, 2003, a group of policymakers, international lawyers, political and environmental scientists as well as graduate and undergraduate students gathered in Dodds Auditorium to examine the topic of Unilateralism and U.S. Power. The conference, co-sponsored by the Program in Science, Technology, and Environmental Policy (STEP), the Program in Law and Public Affairs, the Princeton Institute on International and Regional Studies (PIIRS), and WWS, examined United States policy in trade, environment, human rights and security affairs as well as factors that explain the U.S.'s inclination toward uni- versus multi-lateralism. The conference co-chairs, **Michael Oppenheimer**, chairperson of STEP, and **Kal Raustiala**, acting professor of law at UCLA School of Law and former visiting fellow with the WWS Program in Law and Public Affairs, opened the day's proceedings with the question had led them to organize the conference: "What should or could other states do to influence U.S. policy?" WWS Dean **Anne-Marie Slaughter** welcomed the audience by noting the striking fact that "such a conference was organized by two environmental scientists."

In her opening remarks Paula Dobriansky, U.S. Under Secretary of State for Trade, Environment, Human Rights, and Security Affairs, observed that America has worked with other countries with respect to global democratization, free markets, global AIDS initiatives, among other issues, yet with the caveat that "while multilateralism is our first resort, it cannot and must not be our last resort."

Human Rights Watch director Kenneth Roth commented that Dobriansky had taken "the concept of unilateralism, which is essentially a procedural concept, and turned it into a substantive concept."

While he agreed that consultation with others was not the highest standard for evaluating the substance of foreign affairs, he said that "it is in America's interest to have a world of voluntary compliance" and that when international norms are ignored by the U.S., "you discourage others from abiding by them."

Stephen Krasner of Stanford University furthered the day's debate in the first panel by asserting that "the security interests of the U.S. are different from those of its allies," and that "because of different risks to us we must employ different tools to mitigate them." Columbia University economist Jagdish Bhagwati raised the point that domestic interest groups play an enormous role in the formulation of trade policy, and suggested that inserting the agendas of particular U.S. interests into WTO negotiations is "unilateralism working through multilateralism." Michael Oppenheimer began his presentation by noting that environmental foreign policy, like trade, is greatly influenced by domestic interest groups, and that "until there is a domestic political consensus on global warming there won't be advancement on Kyoto."

The conference's second panel addressed the factors that explain the inclination of the U.S. toward unilateralism or multilateralism. Harvard University professor Andrew Moravcsik opened the panel by presenting one of the paradoxes of American politics: that the U.S. "resists the application of international norms, yet has a robust history of juridical protections domestically." He explained the quandary by noting that America's fragmented political institutions give higher priority to minority conservative viewpoints, and that the U.S. does not need exterior support for domestic implementation of its international commitments, given the vitality of the American judiciary, particularly "because the U.S. elevates the Supreme Court to the level of questioning the constitutionality of laws—which does not happen in other countries."



Under Secretary of State for Trade, Environment, Human Rights, and Security Affairs Paula Dobriansky declared that "while multilateralism is our first resort, it cannot and must not be our last resort."

Columbia University law professor José Alvarez addressed the role of lawyers in the unilateralism debate, noting the existence of "a wide legal divide between the U.S. and the rest of the world." "The U.S. remains as legal as it ever has been," he said, "it is just listening to different lawyers," adding that "because we are enamored of our checks and balances system, we are suspicious of other checks and balances" such as the International Criminal Court. Alvarez gave several explanations for the American reluctance to participate in multilateral institutions and instruments: One of them was the distinct legal training, traditions, and philosophical disposition of lawyers in the U.S.; another was the existence of varying perceptions on each side of the Atlantic regarding the proper role of lawyers as dispassionate observers or active participants in political affairs.

The penultimate afternoon panel included several scholars who commented on the historical perspectives of America's commitment to multilateralism. UCLA law professor Jonathan Zasloff opened the panel by stating that "multilateralism is a second-order issue; the most important is your basic strategic orientation and an examination of what your threats are." Zasloff also argued that the 1920s were a time when America was substantially multilateralist in its foreign relations, as "multilateralism was seen to be a replacement for the balance-of-power system" often cited as a principal cause of the First World War.

Charles Kupchan of Georgetown University continued the discussion by suggesting that the policies the U.S. took from Pearl Harbor onward might be the exception, not the rule. Because of its geographical isolation and individualist political culture the U.S. throughout much of its history adopted a unilateralist stance. The American embrace of multilateralism resulted from the unique threats the nation confronted during World War II, which made the formation of coalitions a vital necessity. External threats to the U.S. were greatly

diminished by the collapse of the Soviet Union, which acted as a moderating force for the U.S. to act multilaterally. Yet "terrorism is pushing the U.S. toward unilateralism," Kupchan said, due to the difficulty of marshaling external coalitions against an uncertain enemy and the diminution of domestic political discourse on security issues. After September 11, 2001, in fact, "our country changed in ways that could make this century look more like the nineteenth than the twentieth century."

The final panel of the STEP conference examined the means by which other countries may influence U.S. policy and practice. New York University law professor Thomas Franck cited Israel as a textbook example of a foreign country that has been successful in influencing U.S. policy. He said that "the U.S. obsession with being the world's only superpower" has blinded it to "checks on its power," and that large trade and budget deficits will force this country to become engaged in multilateral dialogue.



Columbia University economist Jagdish Bhagwati makes a point to fellow panelists Kenneth Roth, director of Human Rights Watch; Stephen Krasner, a professor of political science at Stanford University, and Professor Michael Oppenheimer of the Woodrow Wilson School.



Conference co-organizers Michael Oppenheimer (left), professor of geosciences and international affairs, and Kal Raustiala (right), acting professor of law at UCLA School of Law and former visiting fellow with the Program in Law and Public Affairs at Princeton, challenged their fellow participants to answer the question, "What should or could other states do to influence U.S. policy?"

Photos by Sameer Khan

Josef Joffe of the German magazine *Die Zeit* outlined two grand strategies for foreign relations with the great powers throughout history: "balancing and bandwagoning," which he said were used "as a way to maximize influence." Bandwagoning, the process of trying to extract influence from cooperation instead of withholding it, is now obsolete because "there has never been as dramatic a gap in military power—this has kissed NATO goodbye in favor of the Rumsfeld coalition." Yet Joffe also observed that "the most interesting areas of U.S. interests require cooperation from other countries," most importantly in the war on terror, control of the trade in fissile material, money laundering, and intelligence, as well as assistance in containing "rogue nations."

Professor Philippe Sands from University College, London, concluded the panel by stating that "in the United Kingdom these issues—steel, the ICC, Guantánamo—are couched in legal terms inside the framework of international law," and that British concern is less with American unilateralism than with the policy of "selectivity and double standards" which the United States has pursued with respect to the application of international law. ■

Princeton AIDS Initiative Is WWS Clearinghouse for HIV/AIDS-Related Research and Resources

The Princeton AIDS Initiative (PAI) at the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs aims to bring students, faculty, alumni, and other members of the Princeton University community together to focus on the devastating HIV/AIDS pandemic. In keeping with the spirit of the University's informal motto,

"Princeton in the nation's service and in the service of all nations," PAI was created in recognition of the fact that few international problems demand more immediate attention and creative action than the global spread of HIV/AIDS.

Led by PAI's faculty director, Assistant Professor of Politics Evan Lieberman, brainstorming for the initiative began last spring, and was supported by WWS Dean Anne-Marie Slaughter, WWS graduate students, and undergraduate students working on AIDS projects.

The PAI provides a central—and more importantly, a virtual—location for coordinating and promoting many of the AIDS-related activities that have already existed on campus for several years. "The Internet is one of the best ways to create an infrastructure to bring the various entities together," Lieberman noted in a recent interview with the *Princeton Weekly Bulletin*. "That was the first step because there are so many activities going on across the community and PAI will help create a virtual connection."

The PAI Web site www.wws.princeton.edu/pai provides information about current courses focusing on or related to HIV/AIDS issues, as well as details about an ongoing speaker series in which scholars, activists, and policymakers will help illuminate the causes and consequences of the HIV/AIDS pandemic for the Princeton community.



In addition, the PAI serves as a Web portal offering access to University and external reference materials for carrying out research on HIV/AIDS, and giving information about meetings initiated by students and others concerned about HIV/AIDS. It also hosts links to other AIDS-related organizations and institutions around the

world, as well as to working papers produced by Princeton faculty and graduate students, and gives details of action-oriented projects that include internships and research opportunities for students.

Upcoming Events


Wednesday, February 4, 2004; Bowl 002, Robertson Hall; 4:30 p.m.

"The Mother of Missed Opportunities: Human Rights and the Global HIV/AIDS Crisis." Joanne Csete, Director HIV/AIDS and Human Rights Program, Human Rights Watch. *Sponsored by the Liechtenstein Institute on Self-Determination with PAI, the Center for Health and Wellbeing, the Princeton Institute for International and Regional Studies.*

Tuesday, March 2, 2004; Bowl 001, Robertson Hall; 4:30 p.m.

"China's Response to the HIV/AIDS Pandemic." Dr. Bates Gill, Freeman Chair in China Studies, Center for Strategic and International Studies. *Sponsored by PAI and the Center for Health and Wellbeing.*

Tuesday, April 27, 2004; Bowl 001, Robertson Hall; 4:30 p.m.

Photo-journalism on the quiet lives of people with HIV/AIDS in the United States and Africa. Anne Sherwood '92, Documentary photographer. 

Assistant Professor of Politics Evan Lieberman serves as Faculty Director of the Princeton AIDS Initiative.



WWS News staff

Research Center and Program News

Rita Nannini



At a recent conference co-sponsored by the Bendheim-Thoman Center for Research on Child Wellbeing John Hills, professor of social policy and director of the ESRC Research Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion (CASE) at the London School of Economics, spoke about policy changes that have been made to help reduce child poverty in Great Britain.

The **Bendheim-Thoman Center for Research on Child Wellbeing (CRCW)** and the **Center for Health and Wellbeing (CHW)** co-sponsored a conference in January 2003 with the MacArthur Network on the Family and the Economy and Columbia University's Center for Social Indicators entitled "Supporting Children: English-Speaking Countries in International Context." The objectives of the conference were to describe total expenditures on children (including public and private time and money) in the four largest English-speaking nations; analyze the redistribution effects of public expenditures on children in these countries; assess the effects of public expenditures on child outcomes; and to describe and assess recent trends/possible future directions in child and family policies in the English-speaking countries in a broader international context.

The **Center for Arts and Cultural Policy Studies (CACPS)** will be sponsoring a symposium on May 6, 2004 entitled "The Creation of the Media." This event will bring together distinguished scholars of American culture and the media to examine and debate the arguments featured in a new book by CACPS affiliate and adviser **Paul Starr**, *The Creation of the Media: Political Origins of Modern Communications*. The book deals with free expression, intellectual property, and other aspects of the legal framework of communications as well as the specific trajectories of the press, postal and telecommunications networks, the movies, and broadcasting.

CACPS has also announced that **Dr. Andreas Gebesmair**, of the International Research Institute for Media, Communication and Cultural Development in Vienna, and **Dr. Antoine Hennion**, director of research at the Ecole des Mines de Paris, will join CACPS as visiting scholars. While at Princeton, Gebesmair will examine the strategies of the global music industry and their impact on local music production. Hennion, who has written extensively on the sociology of music, media and cultural industries, and innovation, will be working on a project examining amateurs in the arts and the social processes by which individuals develop attachments to different types of cultural activities.

The MacArthur Foundation announced in November 2003 that the **Center for Migration and Development (CMD)** was awarded a research and writing grant in the amount of \$100,000 over a period of 18 months. Principal investigators **Alejandro Portes**, the Howard Harrison and Gabrielle Snyder Beck Professor of Sociology, chair of the Department of Sociology, and director of CMD, and **Cristina Escobar** of the sociology department, will study "Transnational Immigrant Organizations and Community Development."

On January 30, the **Education Research Section (ERS)** and WWS co-sponsored a conference for New Jersey school superintendents on the *No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 (NCLB)*. Now that the Act is two years old, schools are beginning to face its full impact—superintendents are struggling with how to interpret and react to the first year test results in order to properly evaluate and support their schools. The conference addressed key issues regarding accountability, the new student and school database, as well as the likelihood that these new accountability systems would improve student outcomes.

The **Program in Law and Public Affairs (LAPA)** is co-sponsoring a conference with New York University called "Altneuland: The Constitution of Europe in an American Perspective." It will be held on Thursday, April 29 and Friday, April 30, 2004 at the New York University School of Law.

LAPA has also announced the third Continuing Legal Education (CLE) conference, "Law and Politics at the Supreme Court." It will be held on Thursday, May 27, 2004, and is open to lawyers wishing to earn CLE credit. At this unique multidisciplinary conference, panelists will analyze controversies now before the Supreme Court—topics such as campaign finance reform, international human rights, the rights of detained terrorism suspects, and tuition vouchers for religious education—from a variety of perspectives. The legal merits as well as the political issues and ethical principles that lie behind each of the cases will be examined by policymakers, lawyers, and academics from a variety of disciplines.

Princeton Institute for International and Regional Studies (PIIRS) director **Miguel Centeno** has founded and directed the International Networks Archive (INA), a global coalition of scholars dedicated to studying the effects of globalization on the world. INA is collecting data on numerous topics with the hope of producing a "Historical Atlas of Globalization" that will span 2,000 years. A second goal of INA is to develop a nongeographic system of mapping our world, in the belief that such a system—based on elements such as telephone traffic and student migration—might be more meaningful than geographic measurements in considering the state of the world today. The INA Web site is accessible at www.princeton.edu/~ina/.

Oleg Bukharin VS '91, a member of the research staff working with the **Program on Science and Global Security (S&GS)** has been awarded a research and writing grant by the MacArthur Foundation in the amount of \$75,000 to study "Russia's Nuclear Enterprise: From the Cold War to 2020." ■

WWS Washington Series

Advancing Solutions to Domestic and Global Policy Problems

By Michael Spinney

In November and December, the Woodrow Wilson School continued its WWS Washington Seminar Series, sponsoring two policy panels in the nation's capital on nuclear terrorism and the future of U.S. anti-terrorism law. On November 5, the WWS convened a panel entitled "Preventing Terrorists from Acquiring Nuclear Explosives," at Washington's Center for Strategic and International Studies. Panelists included **Frank von Hippel**, professor of public and international affairs and co-director of the WWS' Program on Science and Global Security (S&GS), **Harold Feiveson MPA '63, PhD '72**, senior research policy analyst and co-director of S&GS, and **Jofi Joseph MPA '99**, professional staff member of the U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. The three addressed an audience of some 100 policymakers, Princeton and WWS alumni, representatives of the media, and others.

Anne-Marie Slaughter, dean of the Woodrow Wilson School, provided introductory remarks for the event. "I spent [today] at a joint conference with the Council on Foreign Relations and the American Society of International Law, talking about how to update old rules to meet new threats," Slaughter said in opening the panel discussion. Noting the seriousness of the issue at hand, she commented that the view most often expressed by experts at the CFR-ASIL conference was that the "weapons of mass destruction we are most concerned about are nuclear explosives," even more so than biological or chemical weapons.

The first speaker, Frank von Hippel, focused on keeping nuclear material, specifically highly enriched uranium, out of terrorist hands.

He explained that the process for enriching uranium is beyond the technical capacity of terror groups (and most countries), but that if highly enriched uranium is obtained, the bomb-making process is simple enough that it is possible to "improvise a nuclear explosive on the spot."

He reported that there are nearly two thousand tons of highly enriched uranium in existence today, 95 percent of which is located within either the United States or Russia, and that the "key challenge is to keep highly enriched uranium out of terrorist hands."

That is accomplished by making the manufacturing of highly enriched uranium a more secure process, and by keeping the material in secure locations.

The first objective, von Hippel said, is achieved through better security techniques and through cooperation with America's Russian counterparts. Nearly \$1 billion is spent to secure weapons-grade uranium each year, he noted, \$300 million of which is dedicated to assisting the cash-strapped Russian government, where joint security efforts are hampered by a lingering sense of suspicion by the military.



Dean Anne-Marie Slaughter introduces the November 5 panel, "Preventing Terrorists from Acquiring Nuclear Explosives." From left to right, Jofi Joseph MPA '99, Harold Feiveson MPA '63, PhD '72, and Frank von Hippel.

The second goal, he explained, involves converting existing nuclear reactors throughout the developing world, and within Russia's fleet of seven nuclear-powered icebreakers, from weapons-grade fuel to less highly enriched fuel.

Von Hippel concluded his presentation by stating that this situation is one that has been in development since 1978, with 31 reactors converted so far and seven more in the process of conversion, but that the program is hindered by its low profile and lack of prioritization.

Harold Feiveson took the podium next and spoke of challenges facing the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), as illustrated by recent developments in three countries: Iraq, Iran, and North Korea. Iraq, Feiveson said, exposed the difficulties involved in policing undeclared facilities, but in spite of recent

events in that nation, the real threat to nuclear non-proliferation violations is most dramatically shown in North Korea, where enforcement of the treaty is almost impossible because of that country's lack of transparency and belligerence. Threats have also been exposed in Iran, where the possibility of that country's withdrawing from the treaty exists—after Iran has legally obtained all the materials it needs to build nuclear weapons.

Whether North Korea has taken its current posture in order to build a nuclear weapons arsenal or to gain a diplomatic bargaining chip is a drama being played out on the international stage, Feiveson noted. And Iran's aims are even murkier, though its construction of a centrifuge, enrichment of a small amount of uranium, and acknowledgment of the existence of a heavy-water program hint strongly of its intent to separate plutonium, most likely for a weapons program.

Feiveson concluded that a moratorium on further reprocessing must be enacted, and that any enrichment programs must be conducted under multinational supervision. He also asserted that the NPT needs to be buttressed by a clause preventing non-nuclear states that withdraw from the treaty from retaining facilities and materials gained under the treaty.

The November 5 session concluded with a presentation by Jofi Joseph, who spoke on the need for better threat reduction programs.

Immediately following the terror attacks of September 11, 2001, Joseph said, federal spending skyrocketed: tens of billions of dollars were spent to fund war in Afghanistan, preparations for war in Iraq, and the creation of the Department of Homeland Security. Spending on threat reduction programs, however, remained flat.

Indeed, Joseph reported, two years following 9/11, total annual spending on

threat reduction across all governmental agencies, including the Department of Defense and the Department of Energy, amounts to only \$1.2 billion, and little has changed with regard to the administration of those programs.

"Threat reduction has no natural constituency," Joseph said. "Apart from a few contractors, no one is making money on weapons reduction programs, and most of the money is spent overseas."

Part of the problem is inertia, he said. "It's been 10 years since the Soviet Union broke up. We've survived a decade without a worst-case scenario," and over the course of those 10 years, support for weapons reduction programs has waned.

But Joseph warned that the lessons of 9/11 need to be applied to threat reduction because "al-Qaeda has made significant inroads in places like Uzbekistan, where there are significant amounts of weapons-grade materials."

Joseph said that there is little support for funding programs designed to help Russia dismantle its nuclear arsenal, since it is widely believed that those funds amount to little more than a subsidy for the Russian government. But Joseph argued that if the U.S. does not support such programs, they simply will not exist; that the Russian government would halt further dismantling efforts because it cannot support them on its own.



The December 11 WWS Washington Seminar Series event, "The Patriot Act, the Bill of Rights, and Detentions Without Trial: The Future of U.S. Anti-Terrorism Law," featured panelists **Christopher Eisgruber '83**, Laurance S. Rockefeller Professor of Public Affairs, and director of the WWS Program in



Harold Feiveson MPA '63, PhD '72, co-director of the Program on Science and Global Security

Law and Public Affairs, and **Eric Biel MPA/JD '85**, consultant to the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights.

Eisgruber opened the panel by discussing ways to adapt civil liberties to the new circumstances that exist in the United States, in the wake of the terror attacks of September 11, 2001.

Most people fall into three categories of thought, he said: The first, that everything has changed since 9/11, that we are "living in a world of threats we couldn't have dreamed of" prior to that date, and that we've got to give up liberties to protect against new attacks. Second, others perceive that nothing has changed, that all that needs to be done to prevent future attacks is to improve communications and cooperation between federal law enforcement and intelligence agencies. And third, some share a belief that "security and civil liberties are a zero-sum game" and that we "purchase more security by giving up certain liberties."

continued on page 20

WWS Washington Series (continued)

continued from page 19

But Eisgruber offered a fourth option, that there are ways to adapt our laws and protect our liberties to counter the threat of terrorism.

“If we want to continue to have the kind of civil liberties that have mattered so much to American society, we have to think about how it is that we can set up legal and policy institutions that will protect those liberties and guarantee the way of life we care about, and values we care about,” he said.

The divisions between civil and military courts must be more clearly defined, Eisgruber commented, citing the example of José Padilla, alleged al-Qaeda operative and U.S. citizen, while also using the trial of German saboteurs during World War II as a case study.

Ultimately, he concluded, gatekeeping measures are needed to determine clearly whether civil or military courts have jurisdiction in any case, and “daylight” provisions should be enacted to ensure that all proceedings are kept in the public purview.

Eric Biel added to the discussion by looking into respect for human rights and the rule of law in the post-9/11 era. He opened by drawing a comparison between the post-World War I era and the past two years, referring to a scathing independent report that took Mitchell Palmer, President Wilson’s attorney general, to task for secretive and questionable tactics in rooting out Communists following the close of World War I.

“There’s a need for anyone concerned with protecting the rule of law, separation of powers, judicial oversight, executive branch activities, and other fundamentals of our constitutional system to at least assess and try to delineate . . . what is happening today and what the appropriate response should be,” Biel said, referring to anti-terror and law enforcement efforts following 9/11.

He went on to discuss the repercussions of the Patriot Act, which is now coming under increased bipartisan criticism.

“In the immediate aftermath of 9/11 there were emergency measures taken that received very little scrutiny,” Biel said, referring to the Patriot Act. Now, two years after its passage, the ramifications of that law, not fully understood at the time though seen as an appropriate response to the threat of terror, are becoming better known.

Biel noted that what is needed is to change the approach to enforcing anti-terrorism law, rather than drafting new laws that may infringe upon human rights and civil liberties. He cited the need for increased coordination between intelligence and law enforcement services; attention to the critical infrastructure within agencies; and recognition that much more has to be done to mobilize technologies that can support security and law enforcement. These, Biel said, are the “consequences of human rights protection in a new era of global security.”



Eric Biel MPA/JD '85, consultant to the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, discussed the respect of human rights and the rule of law in the post-9/11 era.



The next WWS Washington Seminar Series event will be a panel discussion, “A Report on the Middle East Roadmap,” as of this printing to be held on Wednesday, January 21, at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, D.C. Video webcasts of past WWS policy events can be seen on the WWS Web site at www.wws.princeton.edu/events/webmedia.html. ■■■



WWS in the News

A Selection of Recent Citations

Assistant Professor of Politics and International Affairs **Gary Bass** was quoted in a December Associated Press article, "Saddam Footage Shatters His Strong Image," and in December was quoted for a *U.S. News and World Report* article on the capture of Saddam Hussein, "The Despot in the Dock." Also in December, Bass was interviewed on National Public Radio's "Talk of the Nation" program, discussing the history of war crimes tribunals.

In November, Visiting Lecturer of Public and International Affairs **Paul Buckhurst** was quoted in the *New York Times* article, "Behind Beauty of 9/11 Designs, Devil May Be in Nuts and Bolts."

Professor of Politics, Emeritus **Fred Greenstein** was quoted in the December *Financial Times* article, "Gore Set to Back Dean as Presidential Candidate." In November, Professor Greenstein was quoted in the *Los Angeles Times* article, "Amid Secrecy, Bush Visits Troops in Iraq"; the *Wall Street Journal Europe* article, "History Favors Bush Campaign"; and the *Washington Post* article, "History's Tea Leaves Point to Bush's Reelection." He was also featured in the October *Austin-American Statesman* article, "A Bushel of New Books about Bush."

Professor of Politics and International Affairs **Jeffrey Herbst** was quoted in the November *New York Times* article, "New College Programs Reflect a Renewed Interest in Africa."

In November, the research of Professor of Psychology and Public Affairs **Daniel Kahneman** was referenced in the *Australian Financial Review* article, "Before Investing, Know Thyself," and in the October *Sydney Morning Herald* article, "Look On The Bright Side."

As 2003 came to a close, Bendheim Professor of Economics and Public Policy **Alan Krueger** wrote the following articles for the *New York Times*: "Study on Cities that Woo Industry," in December; "Why Jobs Were So Late," in November; and "Cloudy Thinking on Tax Cuts," in October. He was also featured in the *Financial Times* Lex column on the U.S. economy, in October.

Professor of Economics and International Affairs **Paul Krugman** continued to write his twice-weekly *New York Times* column.

The research of Assistant Professor of Politics and Public Affairs **David Lewis** was featured in the *Federal Times* article, "Career Executives Top Appointees as Managers," and in the GovExec.com article, "Study Says Career Executives Make Better Managers than Appointees."

Sara McLanahan, professor of sociology and public affairs and director of the Bendheim-Thoman Center for Research on Child Wellbeing, was featured in the October *New York Times* article, "It's a Girl! (Will the Economy Suffer?)" and quoted in the *Salt Lake Tribune* article, "Childbirth a Chance to Boost Marriages."

In December, **Michael Oppenheimer**, professor of geosciences and international affairs and director of the program on Science, Technology and Environmental Policy, was quoted for the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* article, "Pension Funds Focus on Climate Change"; and in November, he was quoted for the *USA Today* article, "Global Warming Debate Heats Up on Capitol Hill."

Uwe Reinhardt, James Madison Professor of Political Economy, was quoted for the December *U.S. News and World Report* article, "A Medicare Prescription That's Hard to Swallow," and in November he was quoted in the *New York Times* article, "A \$400 Billion Purchase, All on Credit," and in the *Chicago Tribune* article, "Some

Analysts Fear Medicare Drug Benefits Bill Will Worsen Healthcare Costs."

Professor of Molecular Biology and Public Affairs **Lee Silver** was quoted for the December *New York Times* article, "When Fish Fluoresce, Can Teenagers Be Far Behind?"; and in November, he was a featured guest on ABC's "Nightline" program, discussing racial identity, culture, and genetics.

In December, **Anne-Marie Slaughter**, dean of the WWS, appeared on NBC Nightly News; on National Public Radio's "Morning Edition" program; and on Boston Public Radio's "On Point" program, discussing the war on terror and what's next for Iraq. Also in December, Dean Slaughter authored op-eds published in the *Washington Post* and the *International Herald Tribune*, and was quoted in the *USA Today* articles, "U.S. Wants Iraq to Have 'Major Role' in Dealing with Ex-Leader," and "Courts Test U.S. Strategy in Legal War on Terror." In November, Dean Slaughter was quoted in the Reuters article, "Despite Deaths, U.S. Must Stay In Iraq," in October in the *Wall Street Journal* article, "The U.N.: Searching For Relevance," and the msnbc.com article, "Is a U.S. War Against Iraq Illegal?"

Professor of Sociology and Public Affairs **Marta Tienda** was quoted for the October *Austin-American Statesman* article, "Top 10 Law Not Helping Minorities, Study Says."

In December, Professor of Economics and Public Affairs **James Trussell** was quoted in the *USA Today* article, "How Wider Use of a Pill Could Quiet Abortion Fights"; in the *Christian Science Monitor* article, "How 'Morning-After Pill' Will Affect Sex Habits"; for the *International Herald Tribune* article, "2 Panels Endorse Drugstore Sale of Morning-After Pill"; and in the *New York Times* article, "Debate on Selling Morning-After Pill Over the Counter." ■

College Attendance and the Texas Top 10 Percent Law: Permanent Contagion or Transitory Promise?

In the wake of the historic June 2003 ruling by the U.S. Supreme Court in the *Grutter v. Bollinger* case, which affirmed that universities can consider race in admissions decisions, there is growing support for the repeal of H.B.588. Passed in 1997 and implemented in 1998 in response to the Fifth Circuit Court's ruling in *Hopwood v. U. of Texas Law School*, this law was designed to maintain or improve campus diversity by guaranteeing automatic admission to Texas public institutions to students who graduate in the top 10 percent of their class.

But in a new study, “College Attendance and the Texas Top 10 Percent Law: Permanent Contagion or Transitory Promise?” Marta Tienda, professor of sociology and public affairs at the Woodrow Wilson School, and co-authors Kalena Cortes and Sunny Niu of Princeton University’s Office of Population Research have considered whether, for whom, and how knowledge and awareness of the Texas Top 10 Percent Law influences high school students’ intentions to go to college, and if the law impacts enrollment at two- versus four-year institutions of higher education.

The researchers analyzed survey data from the Texas Higher Educational Opportunity Project (THEOP). Based on a representative sample of Texas high school seniors first interviewed during spring 2002 and reinterviewed a year later, Tienda and her colleagues found that students who knew a lot about the Texas Top 10 Percent Law were nearly five times as likely as their counterparts who did not know about the law to indicate that they planned to attend a four-year college, relative to not attending.



Marta Tienda, professor of sociology and public affairs.

Further, the researchers found confirmation that students’ knowledge of the Texas Top 10 Percent Law was related to enrollment: students very familiar with the law were almost six times as likely to enroll in a four-year college, and almost twice as likely to enroll in a two-year institution compared with their student counterparts who did not know about the law.

The study illustrates the need to analyze the factors that promote high school students’ college aspirations and enrollment, particularly those of blacks and Hispanics, and to draw lessons from the experience with the Texas Top 10 Percent plan.

Study Findings

The results of this study by Tienda and her colleagues highlight stark differences by race, ethnicity, rank in class, and economic advantage when it comes to college aspirations and actual enrollment in an institution of higher education.

Overall, minority and nonminority students differed in their college intentions and application behavior. Nearly 90 percent of Asian seniors reported they were college-bound compared with three out of four blacks and whites, but only 62 percent of Hispanics. Race and ethnic disparities were smaller among students ranked in the top 10 percent of their senior class, but widened among lower ranked students. Regarding college application behavior, 60 percent of Asian, 46 percent of white, 40 percent of black, and 30 percent of Hispanic seniors had actually applied to one or more four-year colleges by the spring of their senior year. Although graduates in the top 10 percent of their graduating class were more likely than lower ranked students to set their sights on four-year institutions of higher education, only 71 percent of the highest ranking Hispanic graduates aspired to four-year colleges as compared with approximately 80 percent of similarly ranked black and white graduates, and versus 88 percent of students of Asian origin.

Tienda and her colleagues also found that *when* students begin to think about going to college has a direct impact on their college aspirations. Compared with students who always planned to pursue higher education, seniors who did not begin thinking about college until middle school were less likely to report concrete plans to do so, and those who only began thinking about postsecondary education in high school were even less likely to report college intentions. There were also large race and ethnic differences: only 53 percent of Hispanic seniors reported that they had always aspired to attend college, compared with 71, 68 and 61 percent of Asian, white, and black seniors, respectively.

The researchers identified other key factors that influence the type of college preferred, namely, cost and geographical distance. Cost is the most salient consideration in deciding between two- and four-year institutions. College-bound seniors who reported that cost was a consideration in establishing their preferences were just over two times as likely as those with unspecified preferences to name a community (two-year) college as their intended destination. Moreover, seniors who reported that cost and distance were important considerations in their college choice were 1.7 and 1.5 times as likely as students who did not consider these factors to actually *enroll* in a two-year college.

Policy Implications

Given the changing demographic composition of the state of Texas, and evidence that minority students are especially likely to form their college aspirations late, the researchers identify an urgent need to develop strategies to cultivate college orientations in elementary school, particularly for Hispanic students, who exhibit the lowest college-going rates despite their rapid growth as a share of the state's population.

And as cost remains a strong disincentive, the study authors recommend that Texas and other states make college affordable for high-achieving students from low-income families who desire to attend either two- or four-year institutions. They propose developing incentives for school districts with weak college traditions to raise their college-going rates. For example, legislators and educators should encourage the strengthening of partnerships between schools and universities, like the Longhorn Opportunity

Scholarship and Century Scholars programs initiated by the University of Texas and Texas A&M, respectively, which provide financial support that brings college attendance within the reach of low-income students.

Because minority students are more likely to enroll in two-year institutions than their white counterparts, it is also imperative that policymakers, in tandem with university administrators, focus on strengthening the transition to four-year institutions so that the numbers of college graduates match enrollment rates.

"The Texas Top Ten Percent Law has expanded opportunities, but policymakers need to go further to provide college opportunities for the state's high school graduates, especially Hispanics, blacks, and the economically disadvantaged," Tienda noted in a recent press release.

While there is growing evidence that the Texas Top 10 Percent Law appears to have broadened educational opportunity throughout the state, there is dissatisfaction with the saturation of the public flagship with Top 10 admits. "As Texas considers what to do about the Top 10 Percent Law in response to the Supreme Court's affirmative action decision, it may be a mistake to rescind the law altogether," Tienda stated. "Instead, given the strong association between knowledge of the law and college-going behavior, it may be prudent to remove the provision allowing students to select their institution of choice and allow the University of Texas and Texas A&M systems to determine where students are placed, as is done in California and Florida." ■

Slaughter named Bert G. Kerstetter '66 University Professor of Politics and International Affairs

Reprinted courtesy of Princeton University Office of Communications.

The University recently announced that WWS Dean Anne-Marie Slaughter '80 was named the Bert G. Kerstetter '66 University Professor of Politics and International Affairs.

The newly endowed chair, which honors excellence in teaching, research, and scholarship, was established by a gift from Bert G. Kerstetter, who graduated from Princeton in 1966 with a degree in philosophy. Effective September 1, 2003, it is one of three newly endowed chairs approved by the Trustees of Princeton University.

Kerstetter, who was an early advocate of Princeton's Center for Human Values, has made many gifts to Princeton, including the Russell B. Kerstetter Room in Marx Hall. Bringing together his interests in philosophy and athletics, he endowed a freshman seminar that focuses on the relationship between the sports experience and personal ethical development; to encourage informal interaction between students and faculty, he also endowed the Human Values Forum, a series of dinner meetings that address emerging ethical issues.

Kerstetter, who graduated from Yale Law School in 1969, has been president of Everfast Inc., based in Kennett Square, Pennsylvania, for 33 years. He serves on the advisory boards of both the Center for Human Values and the department of philosophy.

"The Woodrow Wilson School has earned a world-class reputation for excellence. I am pleased to be able to support Princeton's continued development of this extraordinary legacy," Kerstetter said. "Dean Slaughter has shown exceptional leadership, and it is indeed an honor to be associated with her efforts."

Slaughter, who received her A.B. from the Woodrow Wilson School in 1980, writes and lectures widely on international law and foreign policy issues. She has written on subjects such as the effectiveness of international courts and tribunals, the legal dimensions of the war on terrorism, building global democracy, international law, and international relations theory. ■

Germany's Foreign Minister Calls for "Positive Globalization"

by Lutz Berners MPA '04

On November 19, Joschka Fischer, foreign minister of the Federal Republic of Germany, delivered a major policy speech at the Woodrow Wilson School, calling for "positive globalization" and strong cooperation between the European Union and the United States, as both take an active role in an emerging new world order.

According to Fischer, "Security in the 21st century can no longer be defined by 20th-century ideologies." The United States should, therefore, embrace an integrated Europe as a power in the making, and both powers should work together toward a strong transatlantic relationship that can guarantee security.

"Positive globalization is the real strategic response to the deadly threat of terrorism," Fischer said, affirming his conviction that "progress depends on the globalization of fundamental values." To this end, Europe and the United States need to foster strong democracies around the world as well as effective multilateral organizations, such as the United Nations. Labeling the United Nations an organization with "global legitimacy," Fischer called for the United States, in its capacity as a world power, to take an active role in the organization. The United States and Europe must now join forces again to master the same challenges as they did during the Cold War, he said.

"Is the West at an end? No, only if the transatlantic relationship is without future," Fischer insisted. Calling the European Union a "power in the making," Fischer talked about strengthening current inequality of powers as a better base for the transatlantic relationship. Common transatlantic

interests would "force NATO into the twenty-first century," he said, but added that the prerequisite transatlantic relations could only exist if the two pillars bore more or less the same burden. "Not a strong Europe, but a weak pillar would be a threat to the future of NATO. Strengthening the European pillar is in the United States' best interest," was how he put it.

The EU is at a key turning point in its history, in Fischer's view, with the addition of new members and on the verge of drafting its constitution. While the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century were marked by nation/state building, the current age is an age of integration. He urged the U.S. to embrace the opportunity and support European integration.

Turning to the EU's security strategy, Fischer pointed to the progress made in recent years but also admitted failure to articulate a common strategy in response to the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. "We are now working to make a common security strategy" in order to participate more effectively in the international order, he said. Fischer argued that EU enlargement was good for stability and security and listed three main weaknesses in the current state: First, EU member



"Positive globalization is the real strategic response to the deadly threat of terrorism," noted Joschka Fischer, foreign minister of the Federal Republic of Germany.

countries need to devise a process for policy formation. Next, the European Union needs to create the tool for implementation, in the form of institutions. Last, the European Union needs military capabilities and therefore needs to modernize. “In a group of 15, soon to be 25, nations with different historical backgrounds and interests, political coordination and decision-making will continue to be difficult,” he said. “This is understandable in the light of Europe’s development. But I fear that we cannot afford to continue the current painful process of coordination in the future.”

The foreign minister described a certain degree of United States distrust toward the EU’s emerging role as “inevitable,” but emphatically denied that NATO would be weakened as a consequence. “NATO is a key institution of transatlantic relations and a guarantor of security,” and the role of the EU will be to “complement NATO, not compete with it,” Fischer said.

In discussing the strengths a united Europe can bring to the transatlantic relationship, Fischer pointed to Europe’s experience with nation-building within its own continent. “The European Union as such is the biggest European peace initiative in history.” He described Europe as having the best instruments for nation-building, including experience with creating financial instruments in emerging economies, significant contributions to the international fight against terror, support for the UN, stabilizing partnerships in financial policy, and engagement in

the weapons-of-mass-destruction issue. To prevent future global and regional arms races, Fischer called for the UN to act as a framework to establish an effective international arms control regime “which both enjoys international legitimacy and has effective control and sanctions mechanisms. If we want to make the world safer together, then there is no way around such a system. I believe the United Nations offers the right framework for such a regime.”

As to the timeline for European integration, the foreign minister said more discussion was needed on EU systems and that it was hard to assess how long the process would take. “Only time will tell whether the European integration process will have to go through one or another crisis to get there,” Fischer said.

Fischer concluded his talk by listing three fundamental principles of transatlantic relations. First, there must be a fundamental commitment of Western democracies to their own core values: “freedom, human rights, tolerance, democracy, the rule of law, and the social market economy.” Next, there must be commitment to and respect for an internation-

al order based on “shared values, the law, consent, cooperation, and participation.” Third, the partners must have the political determination and military strength to avert new dangers, “to destroy once and for all totalitarian networks and ideologies built on hatred.”

“The road to success for the Western democracies should lie in combining these three elements, which determine effective multilateralism,” Fischer said. “These principles, in my view, will guide us in making our joint contribution toward a peaceful, just, and democratic world order. We both believe in it, America and Europe.”

Fischer’s visit to the WWS was sponsored by the Liechtenstein Institute on Self-Determination, the Program on European Politics and Society, and the Woodrow Wilson School. ■

Wolfgang Danspeckgruber (right), director of the Woodrow Wilson School’s Liechtenstein Institute on Self-Determination, presents Joschka Fischer with a memento of his visit to Princeton University.



WWS Graduate Students Work to Bring Post-Conflict Justice to Congo

While many reports and assessments have touched on the need for post-conflict justice in Africa's Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), there are no comprehensive analyses of the form that justice in Congo might and should take. The Woodrow Wilson School's Graduate Policy Workshop, *WWS 591f: The Enforcement of International Criminal Law*, aims to produce recommendations on what mechanisms should be established to bring justice to Congo.

According to prominent international NGOs, more than 3 million people, including 2 million civilians, have died since 1998 directly or indirectly as a result of the conflict in the DRC. There are extensive reports of massive human rights and humanitarian violations, including indiscriminate killings, summary executions, widespread rapes, wholesale destruction of property, and the large-scale use of child soldiers. Today there is a fragile peace throughout most of the DRC, but the country remains unstable and violence continues in parts of Eastern Congo. As of July 2003 a new transitional government was formed in the DRC, comprising members of the former Kabila regime, five different rebel groups, civil society stakeholders, and unarmed opposition groups.

This past October, workshop students traveled to the DRC to advise the U.S. State Department on developing a court system to deal with the massive crimes, including the murder of an estimated 2 million citizens, committed in the country over the last decade.

Each fall at the WWS, six to eight graduate policy workshops are designed to investigate a policy issue for a client or to provide information and analysis to organizations or individuals with expertise in the topic. Each workshop consists of 8 to 10 second-year M.P.A. and M.P.P. students who evaluate the policy problem and develop a final report for and/or presentation to the client or experts in this area.

The Enforcement of International Criminal Law was taught by WWS Dean [Anne-Marie Slaughter](#) and co-instructed by Lecturer of Public and International Affairs [William Burke-White](#), who led the field research in Africa. The graduate students in the workshop did five weeks of extensive preparation for their 10 days of research in the

field during fall break. Preparation included not only the logistics of creating a marathon schedule of on-site interviews with senior government officials, NGOs, local activists, victims, and even alleged war criminals, but also learning the fundamentals of international law and the complexities of Congo.

In addition, some extraordinary resources came to the Woodrow Wilson School to enrich the preparation, including Justice Richard Goldstone, formerly head of the Goldstone Commission of South Africa; Peter Rosenblum, Clinical Professor in Human Rights at Columbia Law School; and John Prendergast, a National Security Council member during the Clinton administration.

One key feature of the workshops includes travel to the area or country of interest. With the State Department as their client, workshop participants headed into the field. In addition to the seven students who went to Congo, one student went to Europe, to engage with the French, Belgian, and Dutch governments, and to meet with officials from the International Criminal Court in The Hague, and two went to Rwanda and Uganda, where they interviewed Rwandan President Paul Kagame. In Congo, three students stayed in Kinshasa, where they interviewed civil society members, international NGOs, and government officials—including both the American and Swiss ambassadors to Congo. Burke-White and the other four students flew to Eastern Congo, and then split up between Kisangani, in the center of the country, and Goma and Bukavu, near the Rwandan border.

With the Congolese infrastructure in ruins after a decade of massive destruction, flying to Eastern Congo, where most of the massacres have taken place, is no easy task. Transport included a bi-weekly mail plane and a United Nations charter flight. Immigration officials rigorously checked and stamped students' passports in Kisangani, Goma, and Bukavu, although they had arrived on domestic flights. Even so, the students held roundtable meetings with community activist groups and local NGOs in both Kisangani and Bukavu, and were impressed by their commitment to promote human rights and combat impunity for war crimes. Just outside these cities, however, the grim reality was one of continued violent attacks, poverty, hunger, and displacement.

Courtesy of members of WWS 591f



William Burke-White and Barbara Feinstein MPA '04 (sitting at desk in center) discuss crimes in Congo with leaders of local human rights organizations in Bukavu, Congo.

In September, barely a month before the field research began, Louis Moreno-Ocampo, the new prosecutor of the International Criminal Court (ICC), announced that the crimes committed in the Ituri region of Congo would be the first closely followed by his office. The announcement set the stage for an extraordinary moment in field research when Burke-White spontaneously arranged for an interview with Thomas Lubanga, president of the Congolese Patriotic Union—one of the principal armed groups of the Ituri region. Lubanga walked into the café at the Grand Hotel Kinshasa, lawyer in tow—a striking presence in a Savile Row suit. After arguing that ICC prosecutions would break the fragile peace, Lubanga asked for a copy of the new court's statute to see if he might face prosecution. Though his lawyer was quick to note that Lubanga himself was innocent, he, too, wanted a briefing on the legal definitions of crimes against humanity.

In contrast to meeting with alleged war criminals, the students also met with several dedicated WWS alumni providing relief to the peoples of Congo. **Tony**

Gambino MPA '85, director of the U.S. Agency for International Development for the DRC, provided invaluable insights and perspectives, remarking, "This place is a graveyard of good ideas," and cautioning workshop participants that any policy recommendations for Congo needed to be targeted and very specific. **Trish Hiddleston MPP '00**, currently working for UNICEF's Office of Child Protection, and **Nishkala Suntharalingam MPP '01**, a political affairs officer with the UN Mission, also assisted with critical information and contacts, including an interview with Special Representative to the Secretary-General William Swing.

Workshop participants were also able to acquire yet another perspective on the challenges of working and living in the DRC from their very own classmate, **Joe Dickman MPA '05**, on a year-out placement for his Field II studies with the development organization, CARE. For example, the DRC is a place where one can work on nearly every development issue with the Congolese people, who are very dedicated and charismatic. However, those same challenges can seem insurmountable at times, and

require a lot of energy and enthusiasm. Finding a balance between work and life can therefore be very difficult.

Upon their return the students faced the enormous challenge of integrating all their research and formulating policy recommendations to present to U.S. Ambassador-at-Large for War Crimes Issues Pierre Prosper in late January. While the specific recommendations to the Department of State remain confidential, the students have proposed the creation of a semi-internationalized court—similar to that currently in operation in Sierra Leone—and specifically tailored to the geographic, political, and infrastructure challenges of Congo.

Such a court, consisting of both Congolese and international judges, would hold accountable those most responsible for the horrendous crimes in the Congo, while seeking to preserve the fragile peace process. In addition, the group's proposal considers and evaluates Congo's fledgling Truth and Reconciliation Commission and its currently nonfunctional domestic judiciary. A separate, nonconfidential version of the report will be made available to the Congolese government and to the public, with plans for it to be published online.

The students who took part in this workshop, who met with Congolese people and their families and heard real stories of individuals dedicated to bringing peace and justice to the DRC, felt connected to the outcome and became even more resolved to develop a solution of which they could feel proud. With this resolve, however, comes an increasing frustration—that they may not be able to develop the perfect solution. Complicated problems frequently require complicated solutions and are often quite risky—which is also an important lesson for future policymakers. ■

Moral Moments: Making the Decision to Combat Injustice

by Anika Binnendijk WWS '03 and
Robin Williams WWS '04

On Saturday, October 4, the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, the Program in Judaic Studies at Princeton University, and the Humanity in Action international fellowship program hosted a symposium entitled “Moral Moments: Making the Decision to Combat Injustice.” The day-long event aimed to examine cases of resistance to the social or political oppression of particular groups through history, and to consider the motivations and methods within an opposition campaign.

The symposium was introduced by **Anne-Marie Slaughter**, dean of the Woodrow Wilson School. Dean Slaughter opened the event with a discussion of the significance of “moral entrepreneurs” within a society, also highlighting the roles for support played by ordinary citizens and national and foreign governments.

Held in honor of the 60th anniversary of the protection of Danish Jewry from Nazi demands, much of the symposium focused on the actions of Denmark during World War II. In October 1943, as rumors spread that German Nazis were about to round up Danish Jews for exportation, Danish citizens initiated active and potentially life-threatening resistance. In order to avoid Nazi capture, Danish resisters coordinated escape routes for most Jews to neutral Sweden through networks of civilian homes and fishing boats. As a result of Danish action, only 472 out of roughly 8,000 Danish Jews were lost to Hitler’s “final solution.” An exhibit on the Danish rescue effort by photographer Judy Ellis Glickman opened in conjunction with the symposium, in the Bernstein Gallery of Robertson Hall.

Daniel Goldhagen, scholar, author of *Hitler’s Willing Executioners*, and member of the Humanity in Action board of directors, moder-

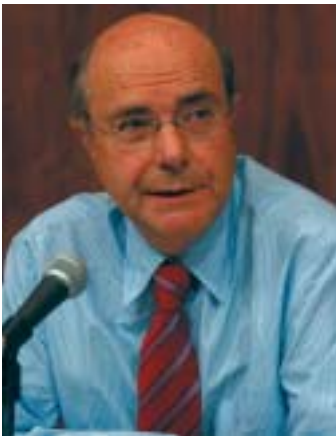
ated the event. Dr. Bo Lidegaard, a Danish historian and senior member of the Danish Foreign Service, opened the symposium discussion with two examples of the Danish struggle during WWII—the protection of the Jews, and the personal efforts of Henrik Kauffmann, then Danish Ambassador to the United States. Kauffmann defied orders by the compliant Danish government to practice a foreign policy conforming to Nazi demands, and instead pursued an alternate track in Washington that included the opening of Greenland to Allied air bases.

Symposium participants then watched a clip of the Emmy-nominated PBS television series *A Force More Powerful*, which outlined the strategies of civilian-based resistance to Nazi occupation. A three-person panel consisting of *A Force More Powerful’s* director and co-author Jack DuVall, the Hon. Ulrik Federspiel, Danish Ambassador to the United States, and Dr. Lidegaard debated the significance and implications of the Danish actions.

After lunch and a tour of the photo exhibition, participants reconvened to hear Adam Hochschild, author of *King Leopold’s Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror, and Heroism in Colonial Africa*, deliver a lecture on the British anti-slave trade movement of the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Tactics by the group of advocates included the first large-scale use of posters, logos, and a widespread media campaign to pursue a social movement.

Humanity in Action sponsors an integrated set of educational programs for university students and postgraduates in America, Denmark, Germany, and The Netherlands. Through core education programs and internships, the foundation works to fulfill its mission to engage student leaders in the study and work of human rights with a specific focus on the protection of minorities. The program is open to sophomores, juniors, and seniors in American colleges and universities. Interested students should visit its Web site www.humanityinaction.org. ■

Sameer Khan



The Honorable Ulrik Federspiel, Danish Ambassador to the United States, debated the significance and implications of the Danish actions in protecting the Danish Jews during Hitler’s “final solution.”

WWSCalendar

Wednesday, February 4, 2004

4:30 p.m., Dodds Auditorium, Robertson Hall

Princeton AIDS Initiative, Liechtenstein Institute on Self-Determination, and Center for Health and Wellbeing
"The Mother of Missed Opportunities: Human Rights and the Global HIV/AIDS Crisis"

A discussion of human rights and the global HIV/AIDS crisis by Joanne Csete, director of HIV/AIDS and the human rights program at Human Rights Watch. This event is part of the Princeton AIDS Initiative speaker series. For more information, visit the PAI Web site at www.wws.princeton.edu/pai or call program coordinator Timothy Waldron at (609) 258-4143.

Wednesday, February 11, 2004

4:30 p.m., Dodds Auditorium, Robertson Hall

Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs
"Censorship versus Respect: The First Amendment and Political Correctness"

The Woodrow Wilson School presents a panel discussion on the freedom of speech on college campuses. Moderated by Anne-Marie Slaughter, dean of WWS, panelists include Anita L. Allen, visiting professor of public affairs at WWS, fellow of the Program in Law and Public Affairs, and professor of law and philosophy at the University of Pennsylvania Law School; Stanley N. Katz, lecturer with rank of professor of public and international affairs and director of the Center for Arts and Cultural Policy Studies, WWS; Kenneth I. Kersch, assistant professor of politics, Princeton University; and David G. Robinson '04, editorial editor of *The Daily Princetonian*.

Friday-Saturday, February 13-14, 2004

9:00 a.m.–5:00 p.m., Dodds Auditorium, Robertson Hall

Princeton Institute for International and Regional Studies
State of the World Conference

The inaugural State of the World Conference, to be held Friday and Saturday, February 13–14, in Dodds Auditorium and webcast simultaneously, will reflect on PIIRS' mission to integrate international and regional studies at the university into informed and coherent perspectives on global affairs. The conference will look at critical issue areas for global affairs through the eyes of both international and regional scholars. Among the topics of discussion will be the relationship between parallel increases in claims to ethnic uniqueness and pressures to conform to a common definition of human rights; the continuously complex relationship between growth and inequality; how local interests and perceptions conflict or mesh with global pressures; and developments in global security, the rise of the United States, and the apparent victory of classic liberalism over other ideologies. More information and a complete agenda can be found on PIIRS' Web site at www.princeton.edu/~piirs/.

Saturday, February 28, 2004

9:00 a.m.–12:00 noon, Dodds Auditorium/Bernstein Gallery, Robertson Hall

Policy Research Institute for the Region, Woodrow Wilson School, Center for Health and Wellbeing, Bendheim-Thoman Center for Research on Child Wellbeing, Princeton University's Office of Religious Life, and The Crisis Ministry of Princeton and Trenton
"Can We End Poverty As We Know It? Pictures, Programs, and Policies"

A combination conference/art show to discuss New Jersey's welfare reform and issues and policies confronting people in poverty. The keynote address will be given by Dr. W. Wilson Goode Sr., former mayor of Philadelphia and currently senior adviser on Faith-Based Initiatives for Public/Private Ventures. A showing of works by Princeton community photographers Nancy Hodges and Chrissie Knight, offering a glimpse into the lives of clients of The Crisis Ministry of Princeton and Trenton, will also open in the Bernstein Gallery in conjunction with the conference. For more information, contact PRIOR at (609) 258-7811 or email prior@princeton.edu.

Friday-Saturday, April 23-24, 2004

10:00 a.m.–7:00 p.m. Friday and 9:00 a.m.–4:30 p.m. Saturday, on-campus locations to be announced

Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs
"The Princeton Colloquium on Public and International Affairs"

Dean Anne-Marie Slaughter invites all to the second annual Princeton Colloquium on Public and International Affairs, an international and interdisciplinary opportunity to bring together prominent policymakers and scholars from around the world to discuss the momentous challenges facing the world today. This year's colloquium will address issues related to nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) within the public policy arena, including health issues, ethical dilemmas, volunteerism, and nation-building. For more information, visit www.wws.princeton.edu/pcpia.

Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs
Graduate Alumni Weekend

Coinciding with the PCPIA is the WWS Graduate Alumni Weekend. All alumni are welcome; alumni from graduate classes ending in "4" or "9" are especially invited to attend. In addition to the Colloquium events, a series of special events specifically for returning alumni have been planned. The Alumni Weekend program will begin at 6:30 p.m. on Friday evening with a reception and dinner at the School. Additional information, a complete agenda, as well as registration information can be found online at www.wws.princeton.edu/qzalumni/.

Save the Dates! Friday-Saturday, April 23 and 24, 2004: Princeton Colloquium on Public and International Affairs and WWS Graduate Alumni Weekend

The Woodrow Wilson School has announced that the 2004 Princeton Colloquium on Public and International Affairs and the WWS Graduate Alumni Weekend will take place Friday–Saturday, April 23–24, 2004, on the Princeton University campus.

The 2004 Princeton Colloquium will feature panels of academic experts and policy practitioners, in conjunction with keynote speakers, who will examine the increasing role and importance of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in addressing pressing domestic and international challenges traditionally within the exclusive purview of governments. As NGOs take greater roles in nation-building and in the battle against the AIDS pandemic, for example, the 2004 Colloquium will provide important insights and suggest guidelines for the legitimate roles of different actors in national and global governance. Information is available online at www.wws.princeton.edu/pcpia.

Coinciding with the PCPIA is the WWS Graduate Alumni Weekend, which will also be held on Friday–Saturday, April 23–24, 2004. Alumni from every fifth graduate class ending in “4” or “9” are especially invited to attend; alumni from other classes are also welcome. While alumni are invited to attend all sessions of the Colloquium, the WWS has planned a series of special events specifically for returning alumni. Following Friday’s Colloquium sessions, the Graduate Alumni Weekend program will begin at 6:30 p.m. with a reception and dinner at the School. After dinner, Katherine Marshall MPA ‘69, director of the Development Dialogue on Values and Ethics and counselor to the President of the World Bank, will present the keynote speech.

On Saturday morning WWS Dean Anne-Marie Slaughter will host a breakfast for all returning alumni and their families and guests. After breakfast, alumni may attend the remaining sessions of the Colloquium. More details about Alumni Weekend may be found online at www.wws.princeton.edu/qzalumni. ■

Front cover photo by Jon Roemer;
inset photo by Denise Applewhite



Robertson Hall
Princeton, New Jersey 08544-1013

Nonprofit
Organization
U.S. Postage
PAID
Permit No. 186
Princeton, NJ