

# BAKER INSTITUTE REPORT

NOTES FROM THE JAMES A. BAKER III INSTITUTE FOR PUBLIC POLICY OF RICE UNIVERSITY

## BAKER INSTITUTE CELEBRATES ITS 10TH ANNIVERSARY

Vice President Dick Cheney was the keynote speaker at the Baker Institute's 10th anniversary gala, which drew nearly 800 guests to a black-tie dinner October 17, 2003, that raised more than \$3.2 million for the institute's programs. Cynthia Allshouse and Rice trustee J. D. Bucky Allshouse co-chaired the anniversary celebration.

Cheney paid tribute to the institute's honorary chair, James A. Baker, III, and then discussed the war on terrorism.

"There is a certain kind of

man you only encounter a few times in life—what I call a 'hundred-percenter'—a person of ability, judgment, and absolute integrity," Cheney said in reference to Baker.

"This is a man who was chief of staff on day one of the Reagan years and chief of staff 12 years later on the last day of former President Bush's administration," Cheney said. "In between, he led the treasury department, oversaw two landslide victories in presidential politics, and served as the 61st secretary of state dur-

*See our special  
gala feature with color  
photos on page 20.*

ing a period of truly momentous change," Cheney added, citing the fall of the Soviet Union, the Persian Gulf War, and a crisis in Panama during Baker's years at the Department of State.

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## NIGERIAN PRESIDENT REFLECTS ON CHALLENGES FACING HIS NATION

President Olusegun Obasanjo of the Republic of Nigeria observed that Africa, as a whole, has been "unstable for too long" during a November 5, 2003, presentation at the Baker Institute. "We need the rest of the world, but the rest of the world will help us only when we are ready and willing to help ourselves," he asserted.

Obasanjo underlined the need for Africans to believe in themselves as agents of change, a process that will entail, at least in part, "African home-grown solu-

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*President Olusegun Obasanjo of the Republic of Nigeria (left) is greeted by James A. Baker, III.*

# LETTER FROM THE DIRECTOR



In its first decade as a nonpartisan, university-based think tank, the Baker Institute is solidly establishing itself through its research

programs. Focusing on key domestic and foreign policy challenges, it has become a leading forum for visiting national and foreign leaders. It has successfully reached out to local, national, and international audiences through its Internet and telecommunications facility. Thanks to its many generous supporters and donors, the Baker Institute now has a firm financial base on which to build its future. While the Rice University faculty is the main resource for the institute's research program, the endowed visiting Baker Institute fellows and scholars enhance our work by their expertise in the public, private, and academic sectors.

We set the institute's research course on the principle of comparative advantage: Namely, what resources do we have in place at Rice University, in Houston, and the Southwest that we can build on? Houston, the "energy capital of the world," prompted us to establish a now-thriving strategic energy studies program that addresses key supply and demand, security, and geopolitical issues worldwide. Looking ahead, we are initiating The New Energy Research Program. In close collaboration with Rice's Institute for Nanoscale Science and Technology, the Baker Institute is planning a bold new energy research program to con-

tribute to the National Energy Plan of the United States. The research program will help to develop sustainable long-term alternatives to burning fossil fuels for the world's energy supply and, in the process, inspire American youth to pursue careers in the physical sciences and engineering.

With the Texas Medical Center, we are collaborating on societal factors and public policies affecting population health. In 2005, we are planning to initiate, in collaboration with Baylor College of Medicine and other major institutions of the Texas Medical Center, an important program that will address public policy issues in the U.S., such as the cost of medical care, with particular attention to the multitude of factors that distort and inflate these costs. Another major initiative we have begun this year is our Tax Policy Program. This long-term study will create a new body of innovative economic research that will inform the debate on tax and expenditure policy reform issues in academia and the policy world.

Given our geographic setting, we initiated the Americas Project, which is a collaborative effort with the Organization of American States that brings together emerging leaders from Latin America to discuss issues of major importance to the hemisphere. Building on this initiative, we have launched the United States-Mexico Border Project. This will be a long-term study of the geopolitical, economic, cultural, and societal implications of such key issues as immigration, security, water, and environment.

As we embark on new initiatives, we will continue to build on the important research programs under way at the institute. The Transnational China Project, initiated by the Rice faculty, seeks to expand the study and influence of the transnational circulation of people, technologies, commodities, and ideas in Chinese societies, with particular attention to their emerging middle class. Our regional conflict-resolution programs have focused on Arab-Israeli issues, the Western Sahara, and Nagorno-Karabakh. These projects involve academic research, study groups to formulate foreign policy recommendations, and participation in the conflict-resolution process. The post-conflict Iraq study and the U.S.-Syria dialogue are examples of the work being done in this field. Other ongoing research programs include the Houston Task Force on Terrorism, drug policy, and the role of religion and culture in public policy.

These current and future research programs of the Baker Institute deal with some of the most relevant and important public policy issues of our time. We will remain focused on what we can do best, and we are inspired by the challenges we face to continue to bring a meaningful voice to public policy debate and formulation in our country over the next decade.

Edward P. Djerejian

# SUMMIT SHOWCASES TEXAS PLAN TO ENHANCE EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT

A public policy plan to improve early childhood education and development (ECED) for all children in Texas so they will be ready to learn by the time they enter kindergarten underwent review at the Baker Institute January 22-23.

More than 200 advocates of early care, health, and education, elected officials, representatives from governmental agencies,

university researchers, and business leaders throughout Texas were invited to the two-day summit to learn more about and help refine the Texas Plan to Enhance Early Childhood Education and Development. This long-range policy plan capitalizes on current knowledge about the inseparable connection between young children's everyday experiences,

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*The summit on the Texas Plan to Enhance Early Childhood Education and Development featured experts from throughout Texas.*



*Alvin Tarlov, senior fellow in health policy at the Baker Institute and executive director of the Texas Program for Society and Health, discusses the Texas Plan to Enhance Early Childhood Education and Development.*

Background on the sponsoring institutions and organizations:

- The Baker Institute for Public Policy of Rice University helps bridge the gap between the theory and practice of public policy by drawing together experts from academia, government, media, business, and nongovernmental organizations, while also involving students with the policy makers and scholars.
- The Texas Program for Society and Health is an interinstitutional collaboration among Rice University, Baylor College of Medicine, University of Houston, the University of Texas Health Science Center at Houston, and the University of Texas M.D. Anderson Cancer Center. Its mission is to improve population health through research, public policy proposals, community action programs, and training, all with a sharp focus on the social factors and societal conditions that produce health.
- The Texas Early Childhood Education Coalition brings together foundations, businesses, providers, universities, advocates, community groups, and organizations committed to building a statewide network on early care and education and identifying common goals that will provide a vision and plan for early childhood in Texas.



## TOWN HALL MEETING FOCUSES ON HOMELAND SECURITY

The Council for Excellence in Government held its fourth town hall meeting on “Homeland Security from the Citizen’s Perspective” at the Baker Institute February 3. The series of meetings and workshops is a critical new initiative designed to engage and connect citizens, first responders, volunteer and civic organizations, businesses, government officials at federal, state, and local levels, and representatives from academia to focus on citizen’s concerns and develop public policy recommendations for action by the key players involved in implementing homeland security strategies.

The Baker Institute’s founding director, Edward Djerejian, welcomed the group by noting that prior to 9/11, the Baker Institute had established a task force from the City of Houston, Harris County, and the Texas Medical Center to study and make policy recommendations for local responses in the event of a terrorist attack or a natural or accidental catastrophe.

Moderated by Patricia McGinnis, the president of the Council for Excellence in Government, the distinguished panel was anchored by Asa Hutchinson, under secretary of the U.S. Department of Homeland Security for border and transportation security. Hutchinson told the capacity audience that he believed the nation is more secure from ter-



Asa Hutchinson (third from left), under secretary of the U.S. Department of Homeland Security for border and transportation security, was among the panelists for the town hall meeting on “Homeland Security from the Citizen’s Perspective.”

rorist attacks than a year ago and certainly more secure than before the attacks on the World Trade Center. He cited the fact that the U.S. had identified several potential terrorist plots prior to the Super Bowl in Houston February 1, resulting in the cancellation of airline flights in London, Paris, and domestically. He also defended the new U.S.-VISIT program in which most foreign visitors to the U.S. on a visa have their two index fingers scanned and digitally photographed to verify their identity at the port of entry. While the program has been highly controversial, Hutchinson said, “We have identified over 30 criminal aliens trying to enter the U.S. illegally since the scanning began.”

Noting that airline safety has been increased greatly, including passenger screening, locked and reinforced cockpit doors,

and 100 percent luggage screening, he assured everyone that the Department of Homeland Security was a great catalyst for even more changes that will make Americans safer. Observing that one of the greatest concerns Americans have is the coordination and sharing of information among various local, national, and international agencies, he said that although the teamwork aspects have greatly improved, there is still a need to concentrate on the technical barriers to improving security. “People, process, and technology are the foundational pillars of homeland security,” he added.

Other panelists included Robert Eckels, director of the Harris County Office of Emergency Management; Herminia Palacio, executive

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## BUSH SELECTS BAKER TO LEAD EFFORT TO RESTRUCTURE IRAQ’S DEBT

President George W. Bush appointed James A. Baker, III, honorary chair of the Baker Institute, as his personal envoy on the issue of Iraqi debt.

“Secretary Baker will report directly to me and will lead an effort to work with the world’s governments at the highest levels with international organizations and with the Iraqis in seeking the restructuring and reduction of Iraq’s official

debt,” Bush said in a statement issued by the White House on December 5, 2003. “The future of the Iraqi people should not be mortgaged to the enormous burden of debt incurred to enrich Saddam Hussein’s regime. This debt endangers Iraq’s long-term prospects for political health and economic prosperity. The issue of Iraq’s debt must be resolved in a manner that is fair and that does not unjustly burden a struggling

nation at its moment of hope and promise. James Baker’s vast economic, political, and diplomatic experience as a former secretary of state and secretary of the treasury will help to forge an international consensus for an equitable and effective resolution of this issue.”

Baker has met with leaders in Europe, the Middle East, and Asia since his appointment.



U.S. special envoy James A. Baker, III, left, shakes hands with French president Jacques Chirac at the Elysee Palace in Paris while on a European mission in December 2003 to win support for Iraq’s reconstruction. (AP Photo/Michel Euler)

## “CHANGING MINDS, WINNING PEACE” ADDRESSES CHALLENGE OF U.S. DIPLOMACY IN ARAB AND MUSLIM WORLD

“The United States today lacks the capabilities in public diplomacy to meet the national security threat emanating from political instability, economic deprivation, and extremism, especially in the Arab and Muslim world,” stated a report from the Congressionally mandated U.S. Advisory Group on Public Diplomacy for the Arab and Muslim World, chaired by Baker Institute director Edward Djerejian.

Djerejian presented the group’s report to the House Appropriations Committee and to the Administration October 1, 2003. Titled “Changing Minds, Winning Peace,” the report recommended new approaches in structure, resources, and programs to meet the challenge to national security interests in Arab and Muslim countries.

According to the advisory group, a new White House office should be created to promote the



During a January 20 presentation at the Baker Institute, Director Edward Djerejian discusses the “Changing Minds, Winning Peace” report issued by the congressionally mandated U.S. Advisory Group on Public Diplomacy for the Arab and Muslim World, which he chaired.

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*“Public diplomacy requires a seriousness and commitment that matches the gravity of our approach to national defense and traditional state-to-state diplomacy.”*

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national interest by informing, engaging, and influencing people around the world. “Public diplomacy requires a seriousness and commitment that matches the gravity of our approach to national defense and traditional state-to-state diplomacy,” said Djerejian, who was asked by Secretary of State Colin Powell to chair the advisory group.

The 13-member bipartisan advisory group was formed in June 2003 after Congress became concerned about growing animosity toward the United States, especially among Arabs and Muslims abroad. The group traveled to Egypt, Syria, Senegal, Morocco, Turkey, France, and the United Kingdom and held videoconferences in Indonesia and Pakistan to investigate the U.S. public diplomacy programs toward the Arab and Muslim world.

The group was told during its trip that if America does not define itself, the extremists will.

Surveys show that Arabs and Muslims oppose U.S. policies, particularly those related to the Arab–Israeli conflict and Iraq. But the group’s mandate was strictly limited to public diplomacy, which, the group argued, could help reduce the increasing hostility that “makes achieving our policy goals far more difficult.”

Although the group praised the Department of State, the lead agency in public diplomacy, for its dedicated work with available resources, the group noted that “a process of unilateral disarmament in the weapons of advocacy over the last decade has contributed to widespread hostility toward Americans, which has left us vulnerable to lethal threats to our interests and our safety.”

The report stated, “In this time of peril, public diplomacy is absurdly and dangerously underfunded, and simply restoring

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## POLICY ADVISERS LOOK AT GAP BETWEEN SCIENCE AND SOCIETY

Today’s United States policymakers are challenged by a set of problems that are global in scope and require unprecedented international coordination of scientific and technical resources, as well as a decades-long commitment.

For example, trillions of dollars are needed to research, develop, and deploy new forms of sustainable, clean energy within the next few decades if the world is to avoid the worst consequences of global warming. But despite the urgent need to act, the very size and scope of the problem has led to intractable political debate, miring policymakers at precisely the time when decisive action is needed.

Dozens of the nation’s leading science policy advisers gathered at the Baker Institute November 1–2, 2003, to discuss this dilemma and others that confront policymakers as they try to deal with complex issues like the proliferation of nuclear weapons, the environmental impacts of the use of fossil fuel, the conflict between the need for foreign scientists and stricter visa controls for homeland security, and the U.S.’s decreasing number of science, math, and engineering graduates.

A major theme of the conference involved the dilemma of energy’s central role in both economic prosperity and environmental disruption, a theme established early the first day in a keynote address by John Holdren, director of the Science,

Technology, and Public Policy Program at Harvard University’s John F. Kennedy School of Government and a former member of President Clinton’s Council of Advisers on Science and Technology.

“We need to think about the potential for political tensions and upheavals that result from energy strategy inadequacies or energy policy blunders that create or perpetuate economic or environmental impoverishments,” Holdren said, “because those impoverishments are among the most fundamental and enduring causes of tension and conflict in the world in which we live and the future world into which we are moving.”

A number of speakers pointed to the intricate connection between national security, energy, environment, and science policy, particularly as it relates to dependence on oil.

“American science and technology policy will have a pivotal influence on whether the world will become increasingly dependent on Middle East oil in the coming decades,” Baker Institute director Edward Djerejian told the group. “War in the Middle East, the recent political disturbances in Venezuela and Nigeria, emerging environmental pressures—all these events underscore the need for new, more secure sources of energy.”

Several speakers and panelists at the meeting highlighted the

need for increased funding for research into both alternative energy technologies—particularly hydrogen—as well as the need for a serious commitment to developing new energy-conserving technologies like solid-state lighting.

But competition for science resources is fierce, and major new initiatives aren’t likely to get funded at the federal level any time soon, said keynote speaker John Marburger, the director of the Office of Science and Technology Policy at the White House.

“In the immediate future, budget difficulties are going to make it hard to change patterns of support very much. But there are priorities, and this administration is determined to make those priorities apparent,” Marburger said.

Several conference participants, including Nobel Laureate Rick Smalley at Rice, called for continued support of nanotechnology as a means of developing novel new materials, not only for new energy and energy-conserving technologies, but for information technology and healthcare as well. The president’s science adviser echoed that, saying nanotechnology remains a high priority for the Bush Administration.

“The remarkable, inexorable convergence of nano-, info- and biotechnologies is a major driver for [administration] priorities,” Marburger said.

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# AUTHOR AMOS OZ ADVOCATES MUTUAL RECOGNITION AND CO-EXISTENCE BETWEEN ISRAELIS AND PALESTINIANS

Amos Oz, a leading contributor to the Geneva Accord and prominent figure in the Israeli "Peace Now" movement, was an unapologetic proponent for what he identified as a reasoned approach to the current political crisis in the Middle East during his November 7, 2003, lecture at the Baker Institute.

Born in Jerusalem in 1939 and educated at both the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and the University of Oxford, Oz is a full professor who holds the Agnon Chair of Hebrew Literature at the Ben-Gurion University of the Negev in Beer-Sheva. During the 50th anniversary year of Israel's independence, Oz was given his country's highest literary honor, the Israel Prize for Literature.



Amos Oz

The writer of 18 books and more than 450 articles and essays that have been published in 30 languages in more than 35 countries, Oz has been described by *Newsweek* as "a kind of Zionist Orwell . . . determined, above all,

to tell the truth." Unable to share the optimism and ideological certainties of his country's founding generation and disturbed by current Israeli-Palestinian leaderships that he believes are characterized by a "lack of vision, lack of imagination, and lack of political courage," Oz spoke on behalf of an Israeli-Palestinian compromise to be based on mutual recognition and co-existence between Israel and a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza.

Calling the current political relationship between Israeli Jews and Palestinian Arabs a "tragedy," Oz uses the term as he sees it dramatically expressed in the plays of Shakespeare and Chekhov. "Tragedy" in the Middle East, Oz said, is "a clash between right and right . . . a clash between one very powerful, very convincing claim . . . and another no less powerful,

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# EXPERTS GATHER AT BAKER INSTITUTE TO MAKE RECOMMENDATIONS FOR COMMERCIAL SPACE POLICY

The U.S. government needs to work with the aerospace industry to make regulations on export control efficient, fair, transparent, and responsive, according to Bernard Schwartz, keynote speaker for a workshop on commercial space policy and development at the Baker Institute September 17-18, 2003.

Schwartz, chairman and CEO of Loral Space and Communications Ltd., addressed 25 other prominent space industry executives and government and academic space experts from around the world at the workshop, which was co-hosted by the Baker Institute and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

Citing statistics from the Satellite Industry Association, Schwartz noted that America's share of global satellite sales dropped from 64 percent of the

\$12.4 billion market in 1998 to 36 percent in 2002.

To understand such a dramatic decrease in sales, workshop participants discussed the issues and problems associated with commercial space development.

Because satellite licensing in the U.S. was transferred to the Department of State from the Department of Commerce in 1999, commercial satellites were reclassified as munitions and placed under the International Traffic in Arms Regulations (ITAR), which pose restrictions on the exchange of technical data.

In addition to limiting the information that satellite makers in the U.S. can export to buyers in other countries, ITAR lacks clearly defined deadlines. "You don't know when the state department will issue its decision

about your licensing request, so the buyer can't schedule a launch date very far in advance," said Neal Lane, University Professor, senior fellow in science and technology at the Baker Institute, and professor of physics and astronomy.

"Potential customers are more likely to be lured by competitors in European countries where they do not have to worry about such restrictions," said George Abbey, senior fellow in space policy at the Baker Institute.

"If the U.S. is really going to maintain a leadership role, we have to do some things differently," Abbey said. "What we achieve in space will be very dependent on our international relationships."

Most workshop participants agreed that for the United States to remain competitive in the commercial satellite business, those satellites should be treated as communication devices, not munitions, and be governed again by the Department of Commerce. Regulations on such technology need to be more specific and include a timetable for the decision-making process so buyers can predict when they will know whether a deal can be completed.

Another concern addressed at the workshop was evidence that the traditional plans to use space for peaceful purposes might be



Prominent space industry executives and government and academic space experts from around the world attended the Baker Institute's workshop on commercial space policy and development.

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Economist and philosopher Amartya Sen, who won the 1998 Nobel Prize in economics, spoke on "Globalism and Democracy" at the Baker Institute November 11, 2003.

## THE SPACE PROGRAM: PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE

This past year was one of great historical significance. Not only did it mark the 10th anniversary of the Baker Institute, but December 17 was also the 100-year anniversary of powered flight at Kitty Hawk, North Carolina—an event that had great significance to all humankind and provided the foundation that allowed humans to travel 240,000 miles in space to the moon and return safely to Earth. In addition, this past year marked the 35th anniversary of the historic flight to the moon on *Apollo 8*, and a very memorable Christmas Eve reading of scripture—as Frank Borman, Jim Lovell, and Bill Anders circled the lunar surface—which was broadcast live to television viewers around the world in 1968. Man’s first flight in Earth’s orbit

came in 1961, and just seven years later, in 1968, an astronaut was in orbit around the moon—just 65 years after the first powered flight—and seven months after that, man landed on the moon.

But while 2003 had important historical significance, it was also a year of tragedy for the space program, with the loss of the Space Shuttle *Columbia* and its gallant crew on February 1. In view of this traumatic event and concerns about the space program on the part of the administration, Congress, and the nation, it was timely to review where we have been in space, where we are today, and, more importantly, where we may be going in the future. This review was presented in three evening programs by the Baker Institute Space Policy

Program and the Baker Institute Student Forum on December 8, 10, and 11, 2003.

The first astronaut to fly in space six times, Captain John Young (USN, Ret.), shared memories of his *Gemini*, *Apollo*, and space shuttle missions as he presented “To the Moon and Back: Reflections on the Apollo Program” December 8.

Young was selected as an astronaut in 1962 and has played a role in every human spaceflight program since that time. His first mission was on the maiden flight of the *Gemini* spacecraft in March 1965 with Virgil Gus Grissom. He flew a second *Gemini* flight in July 1966 as commander of *Gemini 10* with Mike Collins. He was later to fly two missions to the moon, *Apollo 10* and *Apollo 16*, serving as commander of the latter mission. He served as commander of the first space shuttle flight on *Columbia* in 1981 and flew as commander of the first scientific shuttle mission and the first flight of the European Spacelab in 1984. He presented not only a firsthand look at the past but also made a very compelling argument on where the nation should go in the future.

In his presentation, Young explained why he believes that the exploration of space is the most important program in the country today. He spoke of the technology that has been gained from the program and how it has provided real benefit on

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Frank Culbertson, who has flown two Space Shuttle flights, was one of several astronauts who spoke at the Baker Institute’s series about the space program in December 2003.

## CZECH PRIME MINISTER ADVOCATES STRONG TRANSATLANTIC RELATIONS

The reality of domestic and foreign terrorism has created an even greater imperative for stable and strong transatlantic relations, according to Vladimir Spidla, prime minister of the Czech Republic, who spoke at the Baker Institute July 1, 2003.

European countries can serve as an example of close cooperation though security structures such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), he said. The Czech Republic, although a new country in the wake of the division of the former Czechoslovakia federation, has successfully emerged as a strong supporter of NATO and an ally of the United States.

Spidla emphasized his country’s role as a loyal transatlantic partner whose geographic centrality has historically led it to be a battleground for European control. He highlighted the three pillars of Czech foreign policy since the country came into being in 1993: good relations with its neighbors, becoming a part of the European integration process, and developing a relationship with NATO and other transatlantic security structures.

The prime minister emphasized the role that NATO has played for Americans and Europeans for well over 50 years, maintaining that the alliance was in no danger of falling apart. “NATO has never been

thought of as a security umbrella to crouch under, but rather as a security system with multiple and mutual obligations,” he said. “Were it not for NATO, the slaughter in the Balkans might have continued to this date, with hundreds of thousands more people dead. This is something to remember and to be proud of.”

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Spidla noted that Czechoslovakia, which was twice the victim of betrayal by its allies before freedom in 1989, “felt natural to come to the rescue of Kuwait, another small country in peril,” during the 1991 Iraqi invasion. He also recognized that their troops stood ready, as of a few

months ago, to help protect soldiers and the civilians against the use of weapons of mass destruction and to alleviate the effects of a potential attack by these weapons.

Spidla asserted that NATO could do more in fighting the terrorist threat. He acknowledged that Europe and the United States continue to differ in such areas as support for the Kyoto Protocol and abolition of the death sentence. But, Spidla said, these differences must not inhibit collaborative efforts. He also stressed that an exclusive focus on the transatlantic relationship, while ignoring their European identity, “would be only to their peril and the peril of the Atlantic bond itself.” Although they are two continents, North America and Europe share the same civilization and the responsibility of protecting it, Spidla said.

Martin Palous, ambassador of the Czech Republic to the United States, introduced Spidla at the event. Both Palous and Spidla recognized the contributions of Czech-Americans, such as actor Paul Newman, astronaut Anton Cermak, and McDonald’s founder Ray Kroc.



## ROBERTSON BECOMES CHAIR OF ROUNDTABLE

The Baker Institute is pleased to announce that Wilhelmina E. (Beth) Robertson is the new chair of the institute's premier membership organization, the Roundtable. A native Houstonian, Robertson has spent much of her life working with business and civic organizations to improve the city and its institutions.

She has served on the boards of several local philanthropic foundations, including the Cullen Foundation, and was a founding board member of the

Greater Houston Community Foundation. Educational institutions have always been important to Robertson, and she has served on the Board of Regents for the University of Houston System as well as a development board member for The University of Texas Health Science Center at Houston.

Robertson earned her bachelor of arts degree from The University of Texas at Austin and received an honorary doctor of letters from the University of Houston in 1998.



Beth Robertson

## SURVEY INDICATES MAJORITY OF ISRAELIS AND PALESTINIANS SUPPORT PEACE PROPOSAL

In a public opinion poll jointly sponsored by the Baker Institute and the International Crisis Group in Washington, D.C., majorities among both Israelis and Palestinians living in the West Bank and Gaza expressed their support for a peace proposal that would resolve the key issues of borders, Jerusalem, refugees, and the role of the international community.

Israelis and Palestinians were asked whether they would support the following proposal: Suppose there was a peace proposal between Israel and Palestine that ends the conflict, recognizes two sovereign states—the state of Israel and the state of Palestine—and provides for full, normal diplomatic and other relations between the two countries.

The state of Palestine would be based on the lines of 1967, encompassing Gaza and the West Bank, with mutually agreed minor border modifications. Israel would incorporate a small amount of the West Bank, including settlements such as Ma'aleh Adumim that are located close to or on the Green Line in which a majority of its current settlers live. In exchange, the new state of Palestine would get an equivalent amount of land from Israel. In addition, Arab neighborhoods of East Jerusalem would become the capital of Palestine. West Jerusalem and the Jewish neighborhoods of East Jerusalem would be the capital of Israel. Each side would govern its holy sites, and there would be internationally backed guarantees for

access by people of all religious faiths and against any excavation. Also, Palestinian refugees will have the right to return to the state of Palestine and to areas of Israel that will become part of Palestine as a result of the territorial swap. They also may be resettled in third countries or in current host countries, subject to those countries' sovereign decision. Refugees will receive rehabilitation assistance and compensation for property lost and for harm incurred due to their refugee status.

Finally, a U.S.-led multinational force would help provide security and ensure implementation of the agreement.

53.3 percent of Israelis polled

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## SCHIFF DISCUSSES TERRORISM, IRAQ, AND ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN ISSUES

"Saddam Hussein's defeat has not restrained those that indiscriminately kill innocent civilians by suicide bombings and other terrorist means," declared Ze'ev Schiff in a lecture at the Baker Institute November 18, 2003. An award-winning Israeli journalist and the 2003 Isaac and Mildred Brochstein Fellow in Peace and Security in Honor of Yitzak Rabin, Schiff said, "Palestinian terrorism has its own roots. It was thought that a quick victory in Iraq would discourage terrorism and bring Israel and the Palestinians back to the negotiating table, but that did not happen. Violent terrorism has frozen the 'Road Map for Peace.'"

It is not surprising that a resolution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is bogged down, Schiff observed. After the collapse of the Camp David Accords in July 2000, brutal conflict erupted and then escalated. While acknowledging that Palestinians endure considerable hardship, Schiff said that terrorism has not brought them any closer to peace.

Schiff noted Egypt's positive role in the area. Egypt continues to oppose the Islamic Resistance Movement, Hamas, and its declared jihad against Israel. Schiff also expressed optimism for the Saudi initiative, which states that if Israel is willing to compromise with the Palestinians over the difficult issues, other



Ze'ev Schiff

Arab states should assist in seeking a peace settlement, even if it means cutting Arafat out of the peace process.

As military affairs editor for Israel's leading daily newspaper, *Haaretz*, Schiff has won numerous Israeli awards for journalism. His book *October Earthquake: Yom Kippur 1973* earned him Israel's highest journalism award—the Sokolov Prize. *Intifada*, which he co-authored with Ehud Ya'ari, became an international best seller when it was published in 1990.

In introducing Schiff's lecture, Baker Institute director Edward Djerejian described Schiff as "the closest you will ever get to being in the inner sanctum of the Israeli military establishment, Mossad and Shin Bet combined." Pointing out that the president of Israel recently awarded Schiff

the prestigious Chaim Herzog Prize for unique contributions to Israel, Djerejian, a former U.S. ambassador to Israel and Syria, told the audience that Schiff was the first stop on many U.S. ambassadors' visits to Israel.

Schiff said it would be a grave mistake for the U.S. to pull out of Iraq. "The withdrawal of American forces would deal an overwhelming blow to the free world. The damage would not be confined to Iraq; it would embolden terrorism and spread across the globe," Schiff said.

Once regarded as a local problem, terrorism and guerrilla warfare have become a global strategic problem that uses fanatical religious ideology to enlist supporters, Schiff added.

He also addressed the threat

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# TRANSNATIONAL CHINA PROJECT EXPANDS RESEARCH ON CHANGES IN ASIAN CULTURES

The Transnational China Project (TCP) is expanding its pioneering research into the ways modern media are shaping Chinese and other Asian cultures. The TCP recently hosted an international workshop exploring the many complex relationships between religious pilgrimage, consumerism, and popular culture in East Asia. Its scholars have also traveled abroad to set up organizational ties to universities in China and England in order to study advertising's role in creating new local, national, and transnational identities among China's urban populations.

The Transnational China Project is directed by Steven Lewis, senior researcher at the Baker Institute; Benjamin Lee, Rice professor of anthropology; and Richard Smith, the George and Nancy Rupp Professor of Humanities and professor of history at Rice.

Religious pilgrimage may yet become a powerful form of economic, political, and social association in East Asia. That conclusion emerged from discussions at an international research workshop, "Religious Pilgrimage, Consumerism, and Popular Culture in East Asia," hosted by the TCP at the Baker Institute February 14. Religious pilgrimage is increasingly influential economically and socially in both real and cyber tourism among Tibetans and non-Asians, according to Rice

religious studies scholar Alejandro Chaoul. It has also become a quiet form of protest—with secret "nocturnal pilgrimages" or circumambulations around holy sites in Lhasa by Tibetan officials—as seen in the research of Columbia University scholar Robbie Barnett.



The Transnational China Project

中美跨文化游廊

The easing of travel restrictions among Asian countries has also created pathways for transnational networks of priests, followers, and religious organizations. The work of Jing Li of the University of Pennsylvania shows how local government officials and priests of the Dai people in Banna in China's southwest Yunnan Province have worked together to develop a local tourism industry that draws both young Han urbanites from China's cities and visitors from Southeast Asia. U.C.-Santa Barbara's Mayfair Yang reveals the strategic role television corporations played in establishing pilgrimage ties between "daughter" Matsu Temples in Taiwan and the rebuilt "mother temple" of

Matsu in Mainland China's Fujian Province.

But despite the shared religious histories and philosophies of Buddhism and Confucianism among Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans, obstacles to transnational religious pilgrimage in East Asia remain. According to the research of Emanuel Pastreich of the University of Illinois-Urbana-Champaign, a powerful rhetoric of nationalism supporting state control over organized religion is shared by these countries. So-called popular religions or "new religions" are often the target of both state control and privately owned popular media. Perhaps for this reason, as Lewis's research suggests, the public spaces of many East Asian cities often contain few advertisements for religious organizations and religious pilgrimage, leaving them filled with predominantly consumption-oriented commercial messages.

Religious pilgrimage is also an activity shaped by distinctly national economic and social factors and the inheritance of unique national cultural historical practices. As the work of Ian Reader of Lancaster University shows, pilgrimage is a significant economic and social activity in Japan, and Japanese frequently travel around Japan and overseas for leisure. But few Japanese engage in transnational religious pilgrimage, preferring instead to follow local pilgrimage routes

and religious customs. The work of Sarah Thal, a Rice University historian, reveals the power of history and continuity in religious practice in Japan. She examines the complex and negotiated ways that Japanese temples continue to use their own inherited symbols of spirituality—including protective amulets and the visual portrayals of such spirits as Tengu—to attract pilgrims and tourists in an era of popular media-driven consumption.

TCP researchers, Rice historians and religious studies scholars, and this network of experts from Europe and Asia plan to jointly explore these themes at future workshops and conferences. They are also gathering new research partners to explore the role of advertising in shaping new identities in Chinese urban populations.

As China continues to develop a market economy and open up to the global economy, advertisers are making appeals to middle-class lifestyles. What are the values expressed in these appeals? Some lifestyle advertisements tell Chinese to think of themselves as citizens of great cosmopolitan cities, such as Shanghai or Beijing. Others ask consumers to identify with the Chinese nation. Still others appeal to a distinctly unbounded, transnational Chinese middle class. Are these advertisements affecting the way the Chinese identify with each other?

Rice University's Transnational China Project, with support from the Henry Luce Foundation of New York, is using a combination of surveys of advertising cam-



(From left) Former chancellor of Germany Helmut Kohl is joined by Susan Baker and James A. Baker, III, as they look at a section of the Berlin Wall on display outside the Baker Institute. Kohl was chancellor and James Baker was U.S. secretary of state when the Berlin Wall fell in 1989. Kohl and Baker, honorary chair of the Baker Institute, participated in a discussion of "Transatlantic Relations" and a question-and-answer session at the Baker Institute October 1, 2003.

paigns in Asia's urban spaces and surveys of Chinese consumers to explore the impact of consumerism on this aspect of Chinese culture.

Preliminary results reveal that corporations, nongovernmental organizations, and governments are all targeting young, predominantly female urbanites in Chinese cities, asking them to think of themselves as members of an emerging transnational Chinese middle class. These results were presented by TCP researchers Lewis and Smith at two international academic conferences.

At the international conference "East Asian Cities: New Cultural and Ideological Formations" in Shanghai in December 2003, TCP scholars discussed comparative research projects with Professor Wang Xiaoming, director of the new Center for Contemporary Chinese Cultural Studies at Shanghai University; and faculty

from the Department of Cultural Studies at Lingnan University in Hong Kong; and the Center for Transcultural Studies in Chicago. And at the February conference, "Contemporary Chinese Visual Culture," they developed research ties to scholars based at the new Center for Contemporary Chinese Visual Culture at the University of Westminster in London. Both of these meetings allow the TCP to gather even more resources to examine the role of popular media in shaping changes in contemporary Chinese culture.

The TCP examines how the circulation of people, ideas, values, and technologies among Chinese societies affects contemporary Chinese culture. Reports, transcripts, audio files, and extensive image archives from workshops and public lectures can be found on the project's bilingual website, <http://www.ruf.rice.edu/~tnchina>.



# AMERICAS PROJECT EXAMINES CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES OF DEMOCRACY IN THE HEMISPHERE

The last two decades have been marked by a truly historical shift toward democracy throughout Latin America. The continent stained for many years by coups d'etat and military juntas has successfully moved into the democratic arena.

"It has been a painful process that involved much sacrifice, and it is still a long way from being completed," said Erika de la Garza, program coordinator for the Baker Institute's Americas Project. The task before the continent today is to consolidate and deepen all elements of democratic governance.

The most recent Americas Project colloquium stressed the practical approaches to addressing this challenge, with a focus on improving performance by the judiciary, increasing accountability in the budget, attacking corruption, and encouraging a constructive role for civil society in fostering democratic practices. The 15 fellows of the Americas Project 2003 came from Argentina, Bahamas, Brazil, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Haiti, Jamaica, Mexico, Peru, Suriname, the United States, Uruguay, and Venezuela. They discussed these

important topics in a roundtable setting sharing their countries' successes and failures. The conclusions of their work over four days of intensive discussion will be available later this year in a Baker Institute study.

Luigi Einaudi, assistant secretary general to the Organization of American States (OAS), gave the keynote address for the Americas Project, which celebrated its fifth anniversary. Einaudi served as U.S. ambassador to the OAS during 1989-93. From 1995 to 1998, he was the

*continued on page 36*



*The Americas Project, coordinated by Erika de la Garza, brings some of the Western Hemisphere's brightest and most promising young leaders to the Baker Institute.*

# PANELISTS PROVIDE THEIR INSIGHT ON CAFTA

In the past decade, there has been a tremendous increase in bilateral and regional trade agreements. "If there were a mutual fund in regional trade agreements, I would have money in it because the price of the shares would be going up," said University of Houston law professor Stephen Zamora, who moderated a panel discussion on the free trade agreement between Central America and the United States at the Baker Institute, October 24, 2003.

As part of what has been an aggressive trade policy, the Bush Administration pushed forth a bilateral free trade agreement with the five Central American countries of Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua—the other "Southern border."

The Central American Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA) with the United States began its intense one-year round of negotiations in January 2003 and concluded in December. The eighth of nine rounds of negotiations took place in Houston last October.

Panel participants were Regina Vargo, assistant United States representative for the Americas; Anabel González, Costa Rican special ambassador for U.S. trade affairs; and Texas congressman Kevin Brady.

All panelists agreed that the trade agreement's purpose went beyond economic efficiency. It was also about addressing poverty, about the relationship between

government and the private sector, about transparency, the rule of law, and strengthening democracy in a region that no more than a decade ago was in political turmoil and war. CAFTA is crucial for these Central American countries, given that their small economies are highly dependent on trade and foreign investment. Trade with the United States is vital to the countries of Central America. They exported \$11 billion worth of goods to the United States in 2001, well over half their total exports. Central America also represents an important market for U.S. companies.

"For every \$1 they [Central Americans] sell to U.S., they've bought back \$1.36. We need more trading partners like that," explained Brady. U.S. exports to the region totaled \$9 billion dollars in 2001, up 42 percent from 1996; this was more than exports to Russia, India, and Indonesia combined. In addition, U.S. firms have invested about \$4 billion in Central America.

Vargo pointed out that the Dominican Republic, which is already a major trade partner for the U.S., will be joining CAFTA later this year. Once it joins, the six countries will represent the second-largest export market—after Brazil—for the U.S. in Latin America.

Furthermore, CAFTA will serve as a model for other small economies in the region that are skeptical of the benefits of a free trade agreement between such dissimi-

lar economies. "CAFTA can show the world that it is possible to have agreements between developed countries such as United States and developing countries such as those of Central America," said Gonzalez.

Except for Costa Rica, the Central American countries reached and signed the agreement in December 2003. Costa Rica diverted from the group, asking the United States for more time in an attempt to define its participation in the opening of its telecommunications and insurance markets, which are currently government monopolies. In late January 2004, after a lengthy negotiation process, Costa Rica rejoined the group and signed the agreement. The six countries will need to send the agreement to their congresses for ratification. This might prove to be tough in some of the Central American countries that face internal opposition of some sectors of civil society. And this might be especially challenging in the case of the United States, which is in an election year. In addition, Brady pointed out two other possible challenges for the U.S: the fact that in Congress there is little knowledge of Central America's reforms and progress since the days of social and political turmoil and the fact that CAFTA has been targeted by those who oppose free trade in general. Despite the odds, the signatories hope to have the agreement put into effect January 1, 2005.

# JENNINGS, MITCHELL, LEHRER SHARE VIEWS ON MEDIA AND PUBLIC POLICY

Three nationally known television news journalists reversed roles with James A. Baker, III, and fielded his candid questions about coverage of elections, the war, and other timely issues during a discussion of the role of media and public policy October 18, 2003.

The Baker Institute brought Peter Jennings, Andrea Mitchell, and Jim Lehrer to the Rice campus as part of the institute's 10th anniversary celebration.

Jennings is anchor and senior editor for *ABC News' World News Tonight*. Mitchell is chief foreign affairs correspondent for NBC News. Lehrer is executive editor and anchor of *The NewsHour with Jim Lehrer* on PBS.

Baker, honorary chair of the Baker Institute, began the evening's informal discussion with an inquiry about how reporting on elections can influence the campaigns and the election results themselves.

"As an editor, we recognize that the relationship between politics and television in this day and age is so tight in every respect that it's almost intimidating," Jennings said. He acknowledged that editors and anchors can introduce their opinion by the stories they select to cover, by the amount of time given to them, and by the reporters assigned to cover them.

His approach to election and campaign reporting is to start with the "horse race story," because people want to know who's ahead. But he prefers not to use polls as



(From left) James A. Baker, III, moderates a panel discussion about media and public policy with national broadcast news journalists Peter Jennings, Andrea Mitchell, and Jim Lehrer.

a substitute for reporting. "We try to have some sense of when issues matter, when fundraising matters, and when horse racing matters," he said.

Mitchell noted the difficulty of deciding what is—and isn't—news during the closing days of a campaign and pointed out how TV is often reactive to things that develop. "The classic case is what the *L.A. Times* decided to do with its front page in California's very abbreviated gubernatorial race," she said, referring to stories about candidate Arnold Schwarzenegger's alleged past sexual misconduct. "It rolled the story into television."

Mitchell also cited the difficulty of piercing "the television façade of the media advisers to the candidates," adding that news coverage of Ronald Reagan's campaign in 1984 often looked exactly like Reagan's campaign advertisements. "People were understandably confused—voters and viewers—between what was advertising and what was newscast," she said.

One of the new developments in campaign coverage this year has been the impact of the Internet, as evidenced by the millions of dollars raised by Howard Dean, much of which was done via the Internet.

"He was a marginal candidate," Lehrer said. "Howard Dean did not get where he is because of anything any of us in the press did. We didn't cover him. We just covered what happened. Dean worked the Internet. He did his own thing, and then he forced us to cover him as news, not as great forecasters or great people with our fingers on the pulse of the nation."

Mitchell was critical of the media's past coverage of important issues in election years. "It is startling how little foreign policy was discussed during the 2000 campaign," she said. "And now we see, almost four years later, that we weren't really covering the issues that ended up being the most important issues of the campaign."

"As smart as we are, we don't always do a good job at anticipat-

ing what the important issues are that are going to affect the American people, that are going to be seizing attention in Congress and in the White House and the state department and the Pentagon in the succeeding four years," she said. But she is hopeful that this year may be the most "issue-driven" in presidential politics.

Lehrer shares her optimism. "We may have the first presidential election of my professional career where something really important is going to be at the heart of the dialogue," he said. "No matter who the Democratic nominee is, there is going to be somebody to the left on issues like Iraq, pre-emption, and other things Bush has done, and the country is going to hear really good debate about it."

Baker lamented how much time is given to entertainment news as the amount of hard news seems to be declining. Mitchell said the problem is compounded by the proliferation of talk shows on cable. "It's hard for the average person to figure out what is news and what is opinion," she said.

Jennings added, "We have a phenomenal amount of news and opinion available to us. It's very confusing for consumers to see all the stuff that is coming in."

Lehrer said three forms of journalism can help people process that large volume of information: reporting what happened, analyzing what it means, and expressing an opinion on what people should

think about it.

"Each one is a separate function and should be done by a different person," Lehrer said. "How can people make up their minds about things if they're not first told cleanly about what exactly happened?" He emphasized that analysis and opinion need to be distinguished from straight reporting. Trying to combine all three functions in one story results in a



(From left) James A. Baker, III, and former U.S. President George W. Bush meet with Peter Jennings, Andrea Mitchell, and Jim Lehrer prior to a forum at Rice.

"disaster for professional journalism," he said.

Baker asked the journalists how they handle leaks about classified information that might compromise national security.

"Very, very carefully," Mitchell said. "Most often we err on the side of being cautious." Journalists can check with the intelligence agency to get the government's opinion on whether releasing the information would be a problem, but sometimes the matter can be more of a potential embarrassment than a national security issue. "That's a journalistic decision you have to make," Mitchell said.

Jennings said his first interest is usually less in the actual story to be leaked and more in the teller. "We get leaked stuff all the time by interested people at every level of government and every level of the military," he said. Consideration has to be given to whether the secretary of a particular department is trying to put a particular spin on a story or whether a disenfranchised or unhappy employee has an ax to grind.

Efforts are generally made to find someone else who can confirm the information that could be leaked. "One source is not good enough," Jennings said. "Two is better, and on some stories three is absolutely imperative, including the source's mother."

Sometimes rather than leak information, journalists are asked to withhold a story, often to avoid putting an American life in jeopardy.

"The one absolutely catastrophic thing for any journalist and any news organization is to be wrong," Jennings said. "You only have to be wrong with a really big one once, and then you should go into hardware."

Lehrer also noted the critical need to be right. "In our line of work, all we have is our credibility," he said. "If we lose that, we've lost everything. It's like dynamite. We're dealing with our reputations every day, every night."

The recording of this unique discussion is archived on the BIPP website, <http://bakerinstitute.org>.



# TENTH ANNIVERSARY GALA



*James A. Baker, III; Anne Duncan; Charles Duncan*



*Elizabeth Gillis; Susan Baker; Bucky Allshouse; Cynthia Allshouse; James A. Baker, III; Françoise Djerejian; Edward P. Djerejian*



*Bill Barnett*



*Lloyd Bentsen, Françoise Djerejian, Beryl Ann Bentsen*



*Peggy Barnett, Walt Smith, Mary Lou Smith*



*Allen Matusow, Lynn Elsenhans*



*Susan Baker, Mary Bonner Baker, Lynne Cheney*



*Burdine Clayton Johnson, Christophe Venghiattis, Rhonda Tichenor; Warren Tichenor; Warren Tichenor, II*



*Babür Özden, Elizabeth Özden, Mary Hale McLean*



*James A. Baker, IV, DeeDee McMurtry, Burt McMurtry*



*Richard Stoll, Edward P. Djerejian*



*Dick Cheney*



*Malcolm Gillis, Elizabeth Gillis, Edward P. Djerejian*



*Elyse Lanier, Bob Lanier*



*Front row: Mary Catherine Dillman, Zenaido Camacho; Back row: Shawn Leventhal, Noorain Khan, Alan Kolodny*



*Hushang Ansary, Shahla Ansary*



## STUDENT FORUM BRINGS A NUMBER OF SPEAKERS TO BAKER INSTITUTE

The members of the Baker Institute Student Forum (BISF) have actively served as the Baker Institute's arm to the Rice student body for the past year. The fall 2003 term brought many distinguished guests and events to Rice, helping achieve the BISF's goal of addressing the questions and interests of the Rice student body, providing opportunities for Rice students to interact with distinguished statesmen, journalists, and scholars, and lending a meaningful voice to our nation's discourse.

To begin the fall of 2003, the BISF hosted a breakfast for the students and faculty, featuring Clark T. Randt Jr., U.S. ambassador to China. More than 150 students and faculty heard Randt address U.S.-China relations. Randt also gave insights into trade, North Korea, Taiwan, and human rights. Following his talk, Randt participated in a question-and-answer session with audience members.

In attempt to address the hot topic of affirmative action, the BISF hosted a student-only luncheon with Adam Liptak, the national legal correspondent for the *New York Times*. Of all the U.S. social policies implemented in recent decades with the intent of providing equal opportunities for minorities, affirmative action has received the most attention and ostensibly the most criticism. As debate continues to simmer over whether the laws support the

consideration of race, ethnicity, and gender in hiring and admissions procedures, Texas has found itself at the very epicenter of the dispute, with influential court decisions rekindling scrutiny and controversy. Liptak opened the program titled "The Future of Affirmative Action" with a brief speech that set the stage for an engaging discussion with students on current issues and implications of U.S. affirmative action policy.

To commemorate the Baker Institute's decade-long service to the world of public policy, the BISF organized the 10th Anniversary Student Celebration, an event that allowed students to take part in the festivities of the 10th Anniversary Gala weekend. A Sunday brunch took place on Jamail Plaza and featured a string quartet and a keynote address from the institute's honorary chair, James A. Baker, III. After his address, Baker mingled and took pictures with students and Baker Institute staff.



Baker Institute Student Forum members Emery Ellis (left), Jo Kent and Noorain Khan (right) meet with James A. Baker, III, honorary chair of the Baker Institute.

"Nuclear Proliferations and the Middle East Conflict" was a discussion with Ze'ev Schiff, prominent Israeli author and editorialist. Over coffee and cookies, Schiff answered students' questions about the current situation in the Middle East. His visit to Rice marked the end of his tenure as the Baker Institute's Rabin fellow in Middle East peace and security.

To end the fall semester, the BISF co-sponsored a three-part series on NASA with the Baker Institute Space Policy Program. Students enjoyed this series that featured NASA's past triumphs, its current dilemmas, and its uncertain future. Distinguished presenters included Captain John Young and Colonel Vladimir Titov of Russia.

These events were received with an overwhelming response by the Rice community. After three successful semesters, the members of the BISF look forward to another successful academic term this spring.

## KEMP PRESENTS 21ST-CENTURY MARSHALL PLAN IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Jack Kemp addressed a capacity audience at the Baker Institute January 30 on the question of how the United States should guide the reconstruction of the Middle East during his special presentation of a 21st-Century Marshall Plan. The plan was presented at the White House in February.

Since Kemp's selection as the Republican vice presidential candidate in 1996, he has been actively co-directing Empower America, which aims to ensure that government actions "foster growth, economic well-being, freedom, and individual responsibility." The 21st-Century Marshall Plan clearly follows his organization's ambitions. Kemp supports the congressional recommendation to give \$87 billion to Iraq over three years. However, he has an additional philosophical element to accompany these funds. He focuses on ideas that could establish infrastructure, education, industry, and long-lasting economic success in the Middle East.

Kemp's ideas are closely tied with Peruvian economist Hernando de Soto, who noted that low-income people are held back because they do not have access to capital markets even though they possess some wealth in the form of homes and small businesses. Access to loans at reasonable rates is denied because the low-income people do not have a clear title to their prop-



Jack Kemp

erty. Once property rights are clearly, unambiguously defined, people can borrow at reasonable cost. Currently, they have to pay exorbitant rates to money lenders, which reduces the number of investments they can make and expect a reasonable profit. Access to loans at reasonable rates should unleash their creativity.

De Soto also focuses on the overwhelming regulations and licensing requirements facing investors, citing that an astronomical number of permissions had to be granted before someone could start up a bakery in Egypt. His idea is to streamline the licensing/regulatory process to get a burst of economic activity.

Because lack of access to capital markets and overburdensome regulations affect low-income people more than rich people, de Soto believes that reforms would

energize a whole new group of people.

De Soto's and Kemp's approach hinges on creating liquid assets that the average citizen can use to stimulate industry and launch their entrepreneurial endeavors.

Kemp suggested privatization of Iraqi oil as a way to both maintain nationalism and incite economic activity. If the oil reserves in Iraq are privatized and broken into Iraqi-controlled companies, the stock will be made available to the people. Thus, the Iraqi public would hold tangible stake in the future of their nation through control of their major industry. Kemp asserted that private control of their most powerful asset will help turn "dead capital into live capital" through

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"Every person who sat at the Cabinet table during those years will tell you that Jim Baker commanded the utmost respect for the work he did, for the intellect he brought to bear on every issue, and for the example he set for all of us every day," Cheney said. He commended Baker for his superb instincts in politics and government and his ability to remain calm and handle any situation with confidence, skill, character, and wit.

The vice president noted that the Rice University institute named in Baker's honor was founded "to bring voices of experience and learning into the discussion about American foreign policy and national security," and then he segued into the post-September 11 challenges facing world leaders.

"We're fighting a war against terror—a war requiring critical choices already made, and new choices still before us," Cheney said. "On 9/11 we came to recognize our vulnerability to the threats of a new era. We saw the harm that 19 evil men could do, armed with little more than airline tickets and box cutters and driven by a philosophy of hatred."

From training manuals found in the caves of Afghanistan and interrogations of captured terrorists, the government has learned about Al Qaeda's ambitions to develop or acquire chemical, nuclear, or biological weapons. "We must do everything in our

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– Vice President Dick Cheney

power to keep terrorists from ever acquiring weapons of mass destruction," Cheney said.

Strengthening defenses in the U.S. is not a sufficient strategy to protect the homeland. "There is only one way to protect ourselves against catastrophic terrorist violence, and that is to destroy the terrorists before they can launch further attacks against the United States," Cheney said.

The government is dismantling the financial networks that support terror and working closely with intelligence services in other countries.

"And we are applying the Bush doctrine," Cheney said. "Any person or government that supports, protects, or harbors terrorists is complicit of the murder of the innocent and will be held to account."

Cheney said the war in Iraq was necessary to rid that nation of its "murderous dictator," Saddam

Hussein, because 12 years of diplomatic efforts to compel Hussein to comply with the terms of the 1991 Gulf War cease-fire had failed. Americans' debate over U.S. action in Iraq "comes down to a choice between action that assures our security and inaction that allows dangers to grow," Cheney said. Noting that more than 50 countries "are contributing to peace and stability in Iraq today" and doing the same in Afghanistan, Cheney said the results support President Bush's decision to decline "the course of inaction."

In the Middle East and beyond, the United States "will continue to encourage the advance of free markets, democracy, and tolerance because these are the ideals and aspirations that overcome violence and turn societies to the pursuit of peace," Cheney said.

"Only America has the might and the will to lead the world

through at a time of peril, toward greater security and peace," he said. "And as we've done before, we accept the great mission that history has given us."

The gala was an elegant affair held under a large tent in front of James A. Baker III Hall.

Edward Djerejian, founding director of the Baker Institute, thanked the guests for their decade of generous support, noting that of the more than \$65 million donated to the institute since its founding, and after paying for the construction of Baker Hall, \$45 million is in endowed funds for scholars, fellows, and research programs.

A video presentation that began with congratulations from Secretary of State Colin Powell highlighted the accomplishments of the Baker Institute and its supporters, centering around the gala theme, "To Lend a Meaningful Voice."

Djerejian presented gifts to members of the Rice faculty who have been instrumental in the institute's establishment and success.

"Dr. Malcolm Gillis, with Elizabeth Gillis at his side, has been one of the institute's strongest advocates during his entire time as president of Rice University," Djerejian said. Elizabeth Gillis is honorary co-chair of the Baker Institute Roundtable with Susan Baker, wife of James A. Baker, III.

Richard Stoll, professor of political science and associate dean of social sciences, was acknowledged for conceiving the

idea of establishing a public policy institute named for James Baker in a 1992 memo to George Rupp, who was then president of Rice, and for his work as the institute's first associate director for academic affairs.

Baker presented awards to members of the community who have been crucial to the success of the Baker Institute, starting with Anne and Charles Duncan, who provided "the personal and financial support necessary to get the institute up and running" during its early years. Charles Duncan, who was chair of Rice's board of

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*"To put it very bluntly,  
without the Duncans  
there would be no  
Baker Institute today,"  
Baker said. "And we  
owe them an immense  
debt of gratitude."*

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trustees at the time, accompanied Rupp on the visit to Baker in Washington, D.C., to propose the institute.

"To put it very bluntly, without the Duncans there would be no Baker Institute today," Baker said. "And we owe them an immense debt of gratitude."

Baker acknowledged Françoise Djerejian, the director's wife, as the "unsung heroine" of the Baker Institute. "Working without compensation and largely behind the scenes, Françoise has served as the institute's de facto curator, arbiter of taste, and confidante to Susan and me," Baker said, complimenting her "quiet elegance."

Baker also honored the Allshouses, who adopted the Baker Institute early in its existence. "They are responsible not just for the success of this gala, but also for the success of our building dedication ceremony in 1997," Baker said. "Nobody has ever had better adoptive parents."

E. William Barnett, chair of the Rice University Board of Trustees, concluded the program by thanking Cheney and his wife, Lynne, for their presence as special guests. "It has made all the difference in the world," he said.

Barnett then proposed a toast, "not just to the last 10 outstanding years, but to the great years that lie ahead for the Baker Institute and Rice University."

# NIGERIA

*continued from page 1*

tions to their problems. The core challenge for Africa today is the challenge of positive thinking . . . the challenge that Africans should—and must—accept being the captains of their destiny and masters of their own fate,” he said.

Among the problems Nigeria must address, he observed, is a fact “incipient in all human societies and in most human activities”—corruption. Noting that the damage done to his country by corruption is “unquantifiable,” Obasanjo affirmed that his administration’s highest priority is the security of life and property within Nigeria. The requirements of that commitment include upholding human rights, promoting democracy and good government, and ensuring peace and security, not only within the boundaries of Nigeria, but also throughout the entire African continent.

When Obasanjo was inaugurated in 1999, 16 years of consecutive military rule ended for Nigerians who were exhausted by extended, crisis-prone military regimes. At that time, Nigeria had suffered deterioration of most of its democratic institutions amid an economic environment experiencing acute stagnation. As the new president of Africa’s most populous nation, Obasanjo insisted he was committed to restoring a democracy in which the role of government is limited and there is greater

opportunity for the initiative and talent of his people.

A former general himself, Obasanjo made history by returning the Nigerian government to civilian rule in 1979. And when he acceded to the presidency of Nigeria, he had already taken a vigorous stand against the former Abacha dictatorship.

But the new presidency faced overwhelming problems, including a dysfunctional bureaucracy, collapsed infrastructure, and a police force ineffective against corruption. Once inaugurated, Obasanjo acted quickly to release scores of individuals held without charge, to cancel a number of questionable contracts and licenses made by the former military regimes, and to establish a blue-ribbon panel to investigate human rights abuses. The Obasanjo presidency also moved to recover millions of dollars in funds secreted in overseas accounts.

With the security of life and property a centerpiece of his administration, Obasanjo declared his determination to restore to Nigerians “hope and confidence . . . in themselves,” and in Nigeria, a “hospitable environment for business.”

Consequently, Obasanjo said, his government supported “private-sector”-led, “market-oriented” economic growth, which has already had some success. During 2000, this support resulted in the successful turnover to the private sector of state-owned banks, fuel distribution companies, and cement plants. Under Obasanjo’s

reform programs, profitable markets outside the energy sector, such as specialized telecommunications providers, have developed. Furthermore, public and private sectors are increasingly joining forces to form productive partnerships that have, for instance, strengthened health systems and facilitated service delivery in such areas as malaria prevention and immunization.

Obasanjo indicated that promoting democratic principles, assuring the security of life and property, as well as rebuilding and maintaining infrastructure were necessary if Nigeria was to expand the scope of foreign investment and commerce.

With proven oil reserves estimated to be 25 billion barrels and natural gas reserves of well over 100 trillion cubic feet, Nigeria has already emerged among the top five suppliers of crude oil to the United States, where the African nation is also expected to be a key supplier of natural gas.

In fact, the United States is Nigeria’s largest customer for crude oil, accounting for 40 percent of the country’s total oil exports, and currently providing about 10 percent of overall United States oil imports. Consequently, Nigeria is in a strategic position to help the West diversify oil resources and, therefore, contribute significantly to global energy security.

In light of current and potential international relations, Obasanjo described the relationship between the United States

and Nigeria as “deep and growing.” Already, the United States is a leading trade partner of Nigeria and, as such, is second only to the United Kingdom.

Since the president’s inauguration, relationships between the United States and Nigeria have improved. Both nations have worked together on a number of important foreign policy goals, including regional peacekeeping.

And when the United States was attacked by terrorists September 11, 2001, the government of Nigeria not only officially condemned the terrorist attacks, but also supported military action against the Taliban and Al Qaeda. Since 9/11, Nigeria has played a leading role in forging an antiterrorism consensus among states in sub-Saharan Africa.

This consensus is a welcome accomplishment for a country of 140 million people evenly divided between Christians and Muslims; and it suggests that Nigeria has the potential to be a model for multiconfessional co-existence. Obasanjo admitted the existence of extreme elements in both the Muslim and Christian communities of his country but observed that moderates exist “in sufficient numbers to prevail on both sides.”

During his presentation, Obasanjo noted that his presidency would be characterized by a continued commitment to certain fundamental principles that included nonalignment and noninterference in the internal affairs of other nations, the

peaceful settlement of disputes, regional economic cooperation and development, and African unity and independence.

In pursuit of these principles, Obasanjo expressed pride that Nigeria has become a leading African voice in the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Nonaligned Movement, the Commonwealth, and the United Nations.

Obasanjo maintained that he is optimistic about Nigeria’s future, but he looks beyond the boundaries of his own country. What he wants, he said, is an Africa where the leadership is “thinking in the right direction” and “an Africa where leadership is committed to the principles of peace, stability, growth, development, and progress.”

Finally, the president of the Republic of Nigeria looked forward to a time when “misery and poverty may soon be banished from the continent” and “sustainable development will be here to stay.”

“Today’s Africa,” he concluded, “is a continent full of hope.”

Obasanjo was a Shell Distinguished Lecture Series speaker.

# SURVEY

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said they would support such a proposal, while 43.9 percent said they would oppose it. On the Palestinian side, 55.6 percent expressed support and 38.5 percent opposition. The survey was conducted by Penn, Schoen & Berland Associates, Inc. in partnership with TNS/Teleseker and PCPO. Of 1,241 interviews that were conducted, 610 were among Israeli citizens and 631 among Palestinians living in the West Bank and Gaza. Interviews in Israel were conducted by phone; in the Palestinian Authority, interviews were conducted in person. The margin of error for the survey is +/- 4 percent.

Edward Djerejian, director of the Baker Institute, said, “At such a difficult and painful time for Israelis and Palestinians, this poll is a timely reminder of the fact that majorities on both sides are prepared to embrace an agreement that meets their respective core aspirations and interests.”

The results of the survey, released in November 2003, should have important policy implications. Robert Malley, Middle East program director at the International Crisis Group, said, “It is the responsibility of Israeli and Palestinian political leaders and of the international community to devise appropriate mechanisms to translate what is the clear popular aspiration on both sides into a political agreement.”



## TEXAS PLAN

*continued from page 3*

brain structuring, and the ideal conditions for learning. The plan includes proposals that define the governance and financing mechanisms for a complete system of early childhood education and development with public or private settings for children 3 to 4 years of age.

The Baker Institute's Texas Program for Society and Health, in collaboration with the Texas Early Childhood Education Coalition, wrote preliminary recommendations for a statewide early care and education system that is widely available, sets standards for quality, and advocates the participation of parents and community.

"Study after study documents unambiguously that the early years are critical to development and health for both children and adults," said Alvin Tarlov, a senior fellow in health policy at the Baker Institute and executive director of the Texas Program for Society and Health. "Brain research lends support to the importance of providing nurturing, educationally stimulating, and safe environments and experiences during a child's early years."

The plan incorporates the essential components of successful early care that have been determined through research over the past 30 years. "Everything from facility design, curriculum, and teacher training to teacher-student ratios, learning

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*"Study after study documents unambiguously that the early years are critical to development and health for both children and adults."*

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standards, parental roles, and the quality and quantity of nurturing and stimulating experiences can impact a child's development and learning potential," agreed the co-chairs of the Texas Early Childhood Education Coalition—Karen R. Johnson, president and CEO of the United Ways of Texas, and Sandy Dochen, Texas public affairs manager of IBM–Austin. The plan was developed because, despite the need, early care and education services are not readily available to all children in Texas.

"This policy plan is timely because our state is beginning a conversation on financing education, and early childhood education needs to be a part of those considerations," said Lauri Andress, director of operations for the Texas Program for Society and Health. "Some of the available services often result in household expenditures that equal or surpass the cost of a college education, which means many families are struggling to afford them and could use some assistance similar to the way we

finance K–12 or higher education."

Edward Djerejian, director of the Baker Institute, noted that because early care is a public issue affecting the quality of the whole society, the Texas Plan is important. "Parents are more effective at work if their children are cared for in a safe, nurturing, and developmentally effective environment," he said. "Among the multiple benefits of having high-quality childcare available to everyone in Texas are enhanced economic productivity, family stability, a healthier population, and children whose development has been maximized to increase their potential for success and happiness as adults."

During the summit at the Baker Institute, a diverse range of people from across the state discussed the Texas Plan. Based on observations made by participants, several key amendments and additions will be added to the plan, including a section noting the importance of the development of policies in the future for children from birth to age 3.

"The Texas Plan is considered a working document," stressed Kaitlin Graham, coalition coordinator of the Texas Early Childhood Education Coalition. "Now that the summit is over, we are arranging and attending meetings all over the state to ensure everyone has a chance to discuss and refine the policy plan."

As a result of feedback since the summit, among the issues to be emphasized and expanded

in the plan are the incremental nature of the plan based upon a 10-year timeline for implementation, the critical role of parent choice provided in the plan, and the strategy for placing ECED on the legislative agenda.

"This is an enormous undertaking, and we want to re-emphasize that the Texas Plan could take at least 10 years before it is fully operational," said Andress. "We also want to make clear that under the plan, parents may choose where their children learn—whether that is in an early care and education setting or at home."

"As we begin the critical debate on how to fund public education in Texas, we have an excellent opportunity to make a meaningful down payment on quality, full-day, pre-K education in our state," said Rob Mosbacher, chairman of PreSchool for All and a supporter of early childhood education. "I hope we will seize that opportunity."

The Texas Plan was developed over a five-month period that began with two policy retreats in September and October 2003. Support for the plan was provided by the Hogg Foundation for Mental Health, the Brown Foundation Inc., the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, the Baker Institute of Rice University, the University of Texas Health Science Center at Houston, and the University of Texas M.D. Anderson Cancer Center.

## DIPLOMACY

*continued from page 6*

it to its Cold War status is not enough." The group advocated a "dramatic increase in funding" after finding that last year's funding for all public diplomacy programs amounted to \$600 million, with only \$25 million left for outreach programs in the Arab and Muslim world.

Under the reorganization proposed by the advisory group, a new White House special counselor with Cabinet rank, backed by an advisory board of experts, would provide strategic direction and coordination of public diplomacy government-wide. A high-level dormant interagency policy-coordinating group within the National Security Council would be reactivated and revitalized.

The Department of State would remain the lead agency for enacting policy and, along with other parts of government that participate in public diplomacy—including the Department of Defense, the U.S. Agency for International Development, and government-sponsored international broadcasting—it would be brought under the new strategic policy umbrella.

The report criticized the lack of testing and measuring of public diplomacy programs and called for a "new culture of measurement" in the State Department and elsewhere. A similar finding is contained in a report on public diplomacy issued recently by the U.S. General Accounting Office.

The report also raised serious concerns about the deficiency in personnel who can speak the languages of the region. The group found that the State Department has only 54 Arabic speakers with a reasonable level of fluency, and only a handful of those are able and willing to participate in media discussion on Arab television and radio. The report calls for 300 fluent Arabic speakers within two years and another 300 by 2008.

The report also asked for an independent review of the planned government-sponsored Middle East Television Network (Al Hurra) and recommended consideration be given to establishing a corporation for public broadcasting. The report urged the Broadcasting Board of Governors to adopt a "clearer objective than building a large audience" with its new music-oriented radio network in Arab countries, Radio Sawa.

"We hope this report will bring about the changes needed to provide strategic direction and help secure the resources to accomplish the crucial work of public diplomacy," said Djerejian, former ambassador to Syria and Israel and former assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern affairs.

The full report is available on the Baker Institute website, <http://bakerinstitute.org>.

## TOWN HALL

*continued from page 4*

director of Harris County Public Health and Environmental Services; Michael Smith, a major from the Harris County Sheriff's Office; Donna Morea, executive vice president for American Management System's (AMS) Public Sector Group; and Jay Kimbrough, homeland security director for the state of Texas. The meeting was broadcast live on KTRH news radio.

Eckels, responding to a question from the audience, noted that there are now 300 agencies on the Harris County radio system and that they are working with the City of Houston to add more. He added that the Greater Harris County 9-1-1 network is now equipped with a "Neighborhood Early Warning System." Explaining that the system works as a reverse 9-1-1 system, he said it can target specific jurisdictions and communities with phone calls to alert the public of an emergency and tell them what actions they should take.

Building upon Eckels' explanation, Morea agreed that communication is a key element in the fight against terrorism and that it is extremely important for local governments and businesses not only to invest in communication systems, but also to invest in protection against cyberterrorism. "The Internet is the most accessible technology in our lifetime," she noted. But easy access to information also carries the risk of terrorists using it for nefarious

purposes. The panel also highly recommended that every household have a battery-powered radio and fresh batteries for emergency situations.

McGinnis told the audience that the top three concerns of Houston residents were an attack on a public place, an attack on the city's infrastructure, and bioterrorism. Kimbrough added that another great concern was the Port of Houston and the refineries in the area. The Port of Houston managing director, Wade Battles, was in the audience and commented on the security measures that the Port Authority has implemented, including their close work with the U.S. Coast Guard. He also mentioned that they have formed an Area Marine Security Committee that meets monthly to coordinate security efforts.

Palacio addressed concerns about the threat of bioterrorism, specifically what measures were taken locally to protect the public during the Super Bowl. She told the audience that the Harris County Health System was on alert and working closely with the City of Houston Health Department and health departments from neighboring counties.

Asked about how concerned citizens can become involved with local emergency response teams and community efforts, Eckels spoke about the Harris County Citizen Corps, which coordinates with volunteer groups like the Salvation Army, Red Cross, United Way, and many other citizen corps programs.

When questioned about the

efficacy of the Department of Homeland Security, Hutchinson spoke about the difficulty in measuring what has been prevented.

The Council for Excellence in Government is nonpartisan, nonprofit, and national in scope. The council works to improve the performance of government at all levels and government's place in the lives and esteem of American citizens. It believes that the continued economic and social progress of the United States requires government to demonstrate creativity, responsiveness, and accountability, to employ a motivated, empowered work force, and to retain public respect and trust.

The first town hall meeting was held in St. Louis in October 2003. A Miami town hall took place in December 2003, and one was held in San Diego in January. Other town hall meetings are scheduled for Seattle and Boston.

The Houston Town Hall was sponsored by AMS, Hewlett-Packard, and SBC Communications.

## EXPERTS FROM UNIVERSITY OF HAIFA ANALYZE THE MEDIATION PROCESS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Experts from Israel's University of Haifa shared their insights on terrorism, the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, and other timely topics related to the Middle East during a September 16, 2003 program at the Baker Institute.

Titled "Mediating the Middle East: Constructed or Real Realities," the program began with comments from Allen Matusow, associate director for academic programs at the Baker Institute and the William Gaines Twyman Professor of History; Yael Ravia-Zadok, consul general of Israel to the Southwest Region; and Yehuda Hayuth and Yael Mester, president and vice president, respectively, of the University of Haifa.

The following topics and presenters from the University of Haifa

were featured during the program:

- "The Palestinian-Israeli Conflict, Recent Trends," Yehuda Hayuth, President of the University of Haifa and expert on globalization, trade and transport, and terrorism
- "The Spectrum of Political Positions in Israeli Society," Ami Pedahzur, senior lecturer of political science and deputy director of national security studies
- "The Theater of Terror," Ron Robin, expert in American media and politics and author of *Enclaves of America: The Rhetoric of American Political Architecture Abroad*
- "The Middle East and Its Formation in the Modern Era," Amatzia Baram, professor of history of the Middle East and direc-

tor of the Jewish-Arab Center and the Gustav Heinemann Institute for the Study of the Middle East

- "The Palestinian Refugees: The Creation of the Problem and Proposals for a Solution," Joseph Ginat, professor of cultural anthropology and archaeology at University of Haifa and co-director of the University of Oklahoma Center for Peace Studies
- "Israeli Demography and Its Implications on Limited Resources," Arnon Soffer, professor of geography, University of Haifa's chair of geostrategy, and vice chairman of the National Security Studies Center

The Baker Institute and the Consulate General of Israel to the Southwest Region co-hosted the program.

## SPACE POLICY

*continued from page 9*

changing.

"It's clear that there has been serious discussion within the government to expand the use of space for military purposes, such as the national missile defense initiative, with space considered as the next battlefield," Lane said. This strategy would impact the nation's commercial development of space as well as its ability to cooperate with other nations, for example, in astronomy and other areas of space research.

Although the education of future engineers and technicians for the nation's space programs

is another important policy issue, it received less emphasis in this workshop because last year's Space Policy Summit at the Baker Institute focused on that topic.

The workshop provided a forum for candid discussion of the issues so that participants could better understand the depth of the problems related to the development of commercial space, Lane said.

Abbey, former director of the Johnson Space Center, noted that the Baker Institute's continued interest in space policy will likely result in follow-up activities related to discussions that took place at the most recent workshop.

Members of the American

Academy of Arts and Sciences Committee on International Security Studies who participated in the workshop were co-chair John Steinbruner, director of the Center for International and Security Studies at the University of Maryland; Martin Malin, program director; Richard Garwin, senior fellow for science and technology at the Council on Foreign Relations; Roald Sagdeev, director of the East-West Space Science Center at the University of Maryland; and Lane, former director of National Science Foundation and the U.S. Office of Science and Technology Policy and former assistant to the president for science and technology.



## POLICY

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The conference, titled “Bridging the Gap Between Science and Society: The Relationship Between Policy and Research in National Laboratories, Universities, Government, and Industry,” was co-sponsored by the Baker Institute, the Department of Physics and Astronomy at Rice, Los Alamos National Laboratory, and the National Science Foundation.

The two-day conference also honored Rice’s Neal Lane, University Professor, senior fellow in science and technology at the Baker Institute, and former director of the Office of Science and Technology Policy in the Clinton White House (1998–2001).

“The idea for this conference began forming when Neal Lane’s former students decided to honor him on the occasion of his 65th birthday,” said Rice President Malcolm Gillis. “The names of the invited participants tell us a great deal about not only Neal’s exceptional career, but also the distinguished careers he has helped to launch.”

## IRAQ

*continued from page 13*

of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) in the Middle East, saying that the struggle against nuclear proliferation should not only be waged against countries attempting to build nuclear weapons, but also against the suppliers of nuclear and advanced missile technology, specifically North

Korea. When asked about the failure to find WMDs in Iraq, he answered, “Israeli intelligence is absolutely sure that [they] exist there.” Citing the “clear success of Israeli and U.S. intelligence” concerning Iran’s now-admitted secret program to develop nuclear weapons, Schiff said that despite the world community’s disbelief, Israel and the U.S. were correct in their assessment of Iran’s nuclear

A hallmark of Lane’s career, both at the White House and during his tenure as director of the National Science Foundation (NSF), is his effort to enlist more “civic scientists,” working scientists who actively engage the public. Gillis and many other participants at the conference praised Lane’s efforts in this regard, and Lane himself renewed the call during a November 2 address.

“A civic scientist to me is a true scientist or engineer or technical professional who uses his or her knowledge, accomplishments, analytical skills, and personal skills to make the connection—bridge the gaps—between science, technology, and [their] applications for the benefit of people and nations,” Lane said.

In addition to Marburger and Lane, the meeting drew dozens of high-level science policy advisers, including NSF director Rita Colwell; former White House science advisers Allan Bromley (George H. Bush), John “Jack” Gibbons (Clinton), and H. Guyford Stever (Ford); Warren Washington, chairman of the National Science Board; Bruce

Alberts, president of the National Academy of Sciences; William Wulf, president of the National Academy of Engineering; M. R. C. Greenwood, chancellor of the University of California, Santa Cruz, and former president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science; John Holdren, director of the Science, Technology, and Public Policy Program at Harvard University’s John F. Kennedy School of Government and former member of President Clinton’s Council of Advisers on Science and Technology; Thomas Meyer, associate director for strategic research at Los Alamos National Laboratory; Raymond Juzaitis, associate director for weapons research at Los Alamos National Laboratory; John Young, former president and CEO of Hewlett-Packard and former co-chair of President Clinton’s Council of Advisers on Science and Technology; and Norman Neureiter, former science and technology adviser for both Secretary of State Colin Powell and former Secretary of State Madeline Albright, and former vice president of Texas Instruments, Asia.

intentions.

When asked if Arafat and Sharon were capable of working together to reach a peace accord, Schiff said that Arafat could not keep his promises and that Sharon, despite being ready for peace, has demanded unacceptable conditions of the Palestinians. Schiff stated matter-of-factly, “The two gentlemen cannot make peace with each other.”

## AMOS OZ

*continued from page 8*

no less convincing claim over the same tiny slice of land.”

Oz suggested that this clash would, ultimately, be resolved in one of two ways. “There’s the Shakespeare tradition of resolving a tragedy with the stage hewed with dead bodies, and justice, of sorts, prevails.” The alternative falls within the Chekhov tradition. “In the conclusion of the tragedy by Chekhov, everyone is disappointed, disillusioned, embittered, heartbroken . . . but alive!”

According to Oz, in public-opinion polls of Israeli Jews and Palestinian Arabs, the solid majority of “60 percent, sometimes as much as 70 percent,” are unhappily ready to accept a two-state solution. In this respect, Oz believes that “the two peoples—the Israeli people and the Palestinian people—are ahead of their leaderships.”

Although “Palestinians have, unwillingly, tried to live in other Arab countries . . . they were rejected, sometimes even humiliated by so-called Arab brethren.” Oz pointed out, “The Palestinians are in Palestine because Palestine is their homeland and the only homeland of the Palestinian people.”

Likewise, “The Israeli Jews are in Israel because there is no other country in the whole world which Jews as a people, as a nation, could ever call home.” Oz contended that both the Israeli Jews and the Palestinian Arabs

are two very different nations haunted by similar pasts.

“The Arabs were victimized by Europe through colonialism, imperialism, oppression, and exploitation; the Jews through suppression, discrimination, and, finally, mass murder in the Nazi period,” he said. Hence, the Israeli–Palestinian conflict is, interestingly, “a conflict between two victims.”

Having dedicated his life in prose and politics to resolving this conflict, Oz discussed his active participation in the two-year construction of the recently released Geneva Accord. The Geneva Accord is an initiative to establish a two-state solution to the Israeli–Palestinian conflict, a solution that addresses, according to Oz, “the most urgent issue” in the Middle East—the issue of the Palestinian refugees.

The key to achieving regional peace, he asserted, is compromise. “If we don’t accept an unhappy compromise, unhappy for both sides, if we don’t learn how to unhappily co-exist and contain our burned sense of injustice . . . we end up in a doomed state . . . The word *compromise* is synonymous with the word *life*.”

For the future of peace in the Middle East, Oz believes that crucial to the two-state solution is “recognition for recognition, statehood for statehood, independence for independence, security for security, good neighborliness for good neighborliness, respect for respect.”

To emphasize the importance of compromise in achieving peace

in the Middle East, Oz recalled a comment he made during the writing of the Geneva Accord. “Some day we will have to erect a joint memorial to horrible folly, yours and ours,” Oz told the former Palestinian cabinet minister Yasir Abed-Rabbo. “After all, you could have been a free people 55 years ago, five or six years ago, tens of thousand of dead ago—our dead and your dead—had you signed a document similar to this one in 1948. And we Israelis could have long ago lived in peace and security, had we offered the Palestinian people in 1967 what this document offers them now.”

Oz added, “The present crisis in the world is the ancient struggle between fanaticism and tolerance, between fanaticism and life.”

“Fanaticism,” he affirmed, “is older than Islam . . . older than Christianity . . . older than Judaism . . . older than any state, any government, or political system” and represents, unfortunately, “an ever present common component of human nature, an evil gene, if you wish.”

Oz admitted that he does not expect a “sudden burst of love” between Israel and Palestine. But what he does expect, and what he himself is so arduously working toward, is what he analogizes to be “a fair and just divorce between Israel and Palestine.” It will be “a painful, complicated divorce,” for the divorce terms establish “a two-family house” wherein “no one is moving out.”

## SPACE PROGRAM

*continued from page 10*

Earth. And he noted, looking to the future, how space technology could help alleviate future environmental problems and the potential effects of major asteroid impacts. He argued that the road to Mars clearly runs through the moon. He also pointed out the real benefit to Earth of providing reliable uninterrupted power generation from the moon, as outlined in recent University of Houston studies. Young spoke of the need to upgrade the space shuttle and the importance of accomplishing the scientific studies planned for the International Space Station.

Young's remarks, relative to ongoing activities in human spaceflight, provided an excellent introduction to the second evening of the three-part program, "The International Space Station and Space Shuttle: A Foundation for the Future."

That program, held December 10, featured three astronauts with considerable spaceflight experience: Peggy Whitson, Frank Culbertson (USN, Ret.), and Brewster Shaw (USAF, Ret.). Whitson is a graduate of Rice University, from which she received a PhD in biochemistry in 1985. In 2002, she flew as the science officer and flight engineer on *Expedition 5* and lived aboard the International Space Station for more than 184 days. She also is as an adjunct associate professor of biochemistry and cell biology at Rice. Culbertson has flown

two space shuttle flights and, in 2001, served as commander of Expedition 3 aboard the International Space Station for 121 days. Culbertson also served as program manager for the very successful Shuttle-Mir program in partnership with the Russians. He is now a senior vice president at Science Applications International Corporation. Shaw has had a distinguished career as an astronaut and in industry. He flew three space shuttle flights, serving as commander on his last two. He became manager of the Space Shuttle Program and subsequently joined the industry, in 1996, to become Boeing's International Space Station Program vice president and general manager. Shaw is now chief operating officer of United Space Alliance, the prime contractor for the Space Shuttle Program.

The three speakers stressed the importance that the space shuttle plays, along with the International Space Station, in providing the foundation for the future of human space exploration. The space shuttle has a unique capability to carry large cargoes to space, and the space station assembly cannot be completed without its support. Whitson emphasized that to accomplish science research onboard the station, significant up-mass and down-mass is required. The shuttle is the only vehicle in the world that can provide that capability. The *Soyuz*, the *Progress*, and the European and Japanese transfer vehicles cannot provide that capability. Whitson also stated that the human

research being conducted on the space station is already providing help in answering questions that will enable human flights to Mars. The point was again made by Culbertson that we first need to get back to the moon and live and work there to prepare for a mission to Mars.

The value, importance, and quality of the United States' international partnership with Russia were emphasized by all three speakers. The Space Station would not be operating today without the Russians and access to the *Soyuz* and *Progress* spacecrafts. Moscow's control center also provides a very necessary backup to Houston's Mission Control Center. When questioned about the quality of the Russian equipment and systems, all three astronauts emphasized the equipment's reliability, quality, and simplicity. The Russian approach has been to stay with proven designs and put great emphasis on the testing of equipment and to provide redundancy with dissimilar systems. The Russian approach to providing oxygen was used as an example; they provide three differently designed systems. There was a feeling that the U.S. and Russian approach complemented each other very well on the station. Brewster spoke of the Russian performance in providing the propulsion module. The Russians provided an excellent module on time and under budget on a fixed-price contract.

The speakers pointed out the importance of human exploration to the future and to maintaining

the nation's leadership role in the world. They also spoke about the benefits of the technology and science to be accomplished on the station. Cancer cells are being grown on the station as part of a research program to better understand the process and mechanism of their growth. Research on the problems experienced with zero gravity, with the loss of calcium in the human body, could help enhance the understanding of osteoporosis here on Earth.

The discussion of the ongoing space shuttle and space station activities provided a good introduction to the third evening's panel discussion on December 11, "The Future of Human and Robotic Space Exploration." Panelists included Charles Bolden, Jr. (USMC, Ret.), astronaut and vice president of TechTrans International; Eugene Levy, Howard R. Hughes Provost and professor of physics and astronomy at Rice; Charles Precourt (USAF, Ret.), astronaut and deputy manager of the International Space Station Program; Leon Silver, the W.M. Keck Foundation Professor for Research Geology, emeritus, at California Institute of Technology; Christopher Stott, president of ManSat Corporation; and Vladimir Georgievich Titov (Russian AF, Ret.), Russian cosmonaut, and director for space and communications for Russia and the Commonwealth of Independent States for the Boeing Company. Neal Lane, senior fellow in science and technology at the Baker Institute, University Professor, and professor of physics and astronomy

at Rice, served as the panel moderator.

Greater emphasis of robotic exploration, as opposed to human exploration, was advocated by at least one member of the panel—Levy—and robotic exploration to be followed later by human exploration by a second member—Bolden. The case for and the importance of human exploration was also clearly stated by Silver and the other panel members. The need to conduct exploration, whether robotic or human, with international partnerships was emphasized by the entire panel. It was pointed out that the International Space Station's very existence was due to the U.S.'s outstanding partnership with Russia. Demonstrating America's ability to work together effectively has been one of the most significant benefits gained from the program. It has been said that learning to do that alone justifies the cost of the program. The importance of maintaining U.S. leadership in space was also discussed, along with the fact that the world looks to America to lead the way.

The discussion noted that commercial space has become significant in an economic sense, a \$100 billion business last year alone. But the U.S. needs to ensure that its laws do not inhibit or restrict growth. The U.S. export control regulations were cited as an example of unenlightened policies that have severely constrained the U.S. space industry from competing in the world market.

The need to continue to fly the space shuttle was again emphasized due to the shuttle's unique features, including its up-mass and down-mass capabilities. And it was pointed out that there is no replacement on the horizon.

Titov and Precourt provided an example of U.S.-Russia cooperation as Titov presented his comments to the audience and Precourt provided real-time translation in English. Titov presented a Russian study done in the 1960s for a Mars mission. With development of the needed propulsion systems, the Russians felt that the technology would support the human exploration of Mars. He made the case for proving systems and capabilities onboard the space station. In addition, the Russian long-duration flights, over a year in length, have gone a long way to proving the capability of humans to fly for the prolonged period required for a mission to Mars.

The consensus was that both the moon and Mars should be the goal for both robotic and human exploration, but with differing views on the priorities, timing, and emphasis for robotic versus human missions. The panel session established the need for further dialogue, and with the president's recent space policy announcement, the Baker Institute is planning a workshop on the topic in the future.

Donors for the presentations were the Boeing Company, United Space Alliance and Science Applications International Corporation, and the Lockheed Martin Corporation.



## AMERICAS

*continued from page 16*

U.S. special envoy in the peace talks that led to a comprehensive settlement by Ecuador and Peru of their centuries-old territorial conflict. During his tenure at OAS, Einaudi has carried out diplomatic efforts to reduce tensions in several countries in Central America.

As a complement to enrich the discussions of the Americas Project's fellows, four experts were brought in for a panel discussion titled "Democratic Governance and Accountability in the Americas." The panelists were Linn Hammergren, Latin America project sector specialist for the World Bank; Rudolf Hommes, former minister of finance of Colombia (1990–1994); Jorge Santistevan de Noriega, first national ombudsman of Peru (1996–2000); and Andreas Schedler, political science professor at the Center for Economic Research and Teaching in Mexico. Kurt Weyland, associate professor of government at The University of Texas at Austin, served as moderator.

The panelists agreed that for the past 10 years, democratization in Latin America has been concentrated in setting up the systems by which elections are properly held. In this sense, there has been great improvement. The questions of who would rule the countries and the amount of power the militaries would have are no longer a concern. The issue of vertical accountabil-

ity—which refers to the accountability exercised between citizens and their governments (first proposed by Guillermo O'Donnell, professor of government and international studies at the University of Notre Dame)—in Latin America has mostly been resolved. However, Schedler pointed out that people should not neglect the electoral arena. Even though much has been achieved on this front, it is no guarantee of electoral accountability. He suggested reorganizing the disorganized Latin American democracies and to start thinking not only of strengthening civil society but also strengthen-

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*"The question is, Who guards the guardians? To whom is the judiciary accountable?"*

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ing political parties and the links between parties and civil society.

On the other hand, the lack of horizontal accountability—described by O'Donnell as the checks and balances among the different bodies of government—remains a widespread problem in the region: it is weak and, in many cases, absent from Latin American governments. The traditional role of checks and balances, of controls within the government, remains deficient. In the case

of the judiciary, Hammergren described the transformation the Latin American judiciaries have entailed. In most countries, judiciaries have moved from being small, unimportant, and underfunded to strong, important bodies with increased powers, resources, and autonomy. "The question is, Who guards the guardians? To whom is the judiciary accountable?" asked Hammergren. To illustrate her point, she described the case of Paraguay, where the members of the Supreme Court decided they had lifetime tenure relying on a controversial interpretation of the constitution. "Who could contradict them? To whom do you appeal if it is the Supreme Court's decision?" she asked.

Santistevan emphasized the necessity to impose transparency in the judicial branch. If the judiciary were to open its archives and information to the people, they could "organize a system of watchdogging, of vigilance, of monitoring," he said. He applauded the U.S. Supreme Court's achievements in transparency by having the justices' curriculum vitae as well as all the decisions in which they had been involved available for the public to see on the Web.

The judiciary's budget is another potential problem of accountability. The way they allocate their budget, how much goes where, and the determination of their salaries are just several issues that should be openly discussed. The same issues could be raised on the economic front.

Hommes pointed out that evidence has shown that where there is more effective control over budget, there is a better macroeconomic performance. In other words, not being too democratic in the management of the budget would probably achieve better results. However, Hommes also stressed that democracy is not only compelling to growth but is also a positive factor. He mentioned that autonomous central banks might be seen as progress in terms of accountability—yet they are not democratic institutions.

Furthermore, he raised the question of centralization versus decentralization. Decentralization, unless done in an organized way with the right rules in place, can be a setback or a potential disaster/problem. Hommes mentioned that in some cases decentralization in Colombia has made it easier for guerrillas and paramilitaries to have access to local budgets. He suggested that in most cases, excess of power leads to corruption.

On the social front, Santistevan stressed the role of civil society as a new actor in the political arena. In the past few years, citizens have gained more access to information, which allows them to demand more. Santistevan described the way in which civil society sometimes manifests its discontent and voices its demands in the form of crowds on the streets, as the politics of "streets and screens." He said, "If the demonstrations don't

appear on TV channels, they have no influence in society." In his view, this venue of making their voices heard—"streets and screens"—undermines the roles of political parties and democracy. Schedler pointed out the importance of finding an institutionalized alternative to removing unpopular presidents rather than the popular "streets and screens" model. He cited a need to find "intelligent systems of recalling

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*Despite all the criticism and deficiencies in the quality of Latin American new democracies, one could argue that it is part of any process of consolidation—part of "growing pains."*

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elections that strengthen party systems, strengthen representative democracy instead of eroding it."

Despite all the criticism and deficiencies in the quality of Latin American new democracies, one could argue that it is part of any process of consolidation—part of "growing pains." According to a chart distributed by Schedler, which compares the

European Community to Latin American democracies using data from the *Economist's* 2003 release of Latinobarometro, Latin Americans rate their satisfaction with democracy and its performance as below average. Europeans place greater trust in institutions such as police, army, and the justice system than do the Latin Americans. However, when comparing trust in government and political parties, the two regions score about the same. According to Schedler, Latin American democracies are doing extremely well if one compares them to European democracies at the same time of youth.

The Americas Project is a collaborative venture joining the resources and expertise of Rice's Baker Institute and the Organization of American States. It is designed to create a leadership forum where emerging economic, political, and cultural pacesetters from throughout North and South America can engage in dialogue on important topics of hemispheric consequences. The project brings together approximately 15 fellows selected competitively from the various countries of the Western Hemisphere. It attracts some of the hemisphere's brightest and most promising young leaders.

## MARSHALL PLAN

*continued from page 23*

empowering the people, participating in their economy, and eventually leveraging future investments.

Kemp's main support comes from the work that de Soto has done in helping the Egyptian economy regain its legitimacy. Egypt has made great strides from the time when the majority of their business ran in an underground economy. Through the support of property rights and registration of property (regardless of its value), Kemp declares that the Third World can trans-

form property into useable capital.

Another benefit that will help solidify a strong internal market is the maintenance of cultural traditions and respect of religions. Kemp's plan incorporates the original ideals from the Marshall Plan and adapts it to the particular needs of the Middle East. The plan intends to aid struggling nations through increasing production, expansion of foreign trade, economic cooperation, controlled inflation, and government regulation. None of these aims insult or threaten the rich and important culture of the Middle East.

Though Kemp is deeply enthusiastic and confident in a Marshall Plan for the 21st century, he acknowledged that there are realistic limitations to the success of his plan. In an open trade economy, the U.S. can only support so much trade of textiles and other Third World products. Despite efforts to maintain and uphold cultural integrity in Middle East nations, extremists prevent the acceptance and integration of constructive policies and ideas.

Kemp's Middle East Marshall Plan was characterized as an approach with "pragmatic idealism."

## REPORT FEATURES COMPREHENSIVE OVERVIEW OF ENERGY-INVESTMENT NEEDS FOR FUTURE

With world energy demand predicted to rise by two-thirds by 2030, a new study by the International Energy Agency (IEA) in Paris estimates \$16 trillion of new investment will be needed over the next three decades to maintain and expand energy supply.

Two officials from IEA presented an overview of "World Energy Investment Outlook 2003" at the Baker Institute November 14, 2003. The event was sponsored by the Baker Institute Energy Forum.

Claude Mandil, executive director of IEA, and Fatih Birol, IEA chief economist, spoke after introductory remarks by Matthew

Simmons, chairman of Simmons and Company International.

The IEA study was a collaboration of experts and organizations, including the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, the World Bank, and major energy companies and financial institutions. The study quantifies energy investment needs by fuel sector and region and identifies the obstacles to mobilizing capital on the required scale.

Mandil said he is unaware of any previous attempt to build "such a comprehensive picture of future energy investment, worldwide, in all parts of the energy supply chain."

The study revealed a num-

ber of unexpected observations, including the following:

- The projected rate of investment will still leave 1.4 billion people without access to electricity in 2030, only 200 million fewer than now.
- Power generation, transmission, and distribution will absorb nearly 60 percent of global energy investment, or almost \$10 trillion.
- Transmission and distribution will account for more than half of the global electricity-sector investment.
- The coal industry requires only \$400 billion, or 2 percent of global energy investment.

## BRAZIL NEEDS TO RESTRUCTURE ENERGY SECTOR, STUDY SAYS

Although Brazil's energy reforms during the 1990s transformed the major oil importer into a nation with the potential to become a net exporter, a study by the Baker Institute warns that Brazil needs further restructuring of its energy sector to meet the nation's domestic need for oil.

Brazil's demand for oil could rise between 1 and 4 percent a year between now and 2015, according to the Baker Institute analysis. Consequently, much of the country's 1 million-barrel-a-day increase in production will simply offset domestic needs.

"Without more restructuring of its energy sector, Brazil might have difficulty ensuring that sufficient investment can be made to continue to meet the rising requirement for fuel and electricity," said Amy Jaffe, the Wallace Wilson Fellow for Energy Studies at the Baker Institute and associate director of the Rice Energy Program. "Our study notes that how Brazil meets its growing energy requirements will have direct bearing on the development of energy trade flows in the Western Hemisphere."

Brazil, the largest country in Latin America, is the 10th-largest energy consumer worldwide. In South America, Brazil is the largest energy consumer; in the Western Hemisphere, it is the third largest, ranking behind the United States and Canada.

The Baker Institute study,

available online at <http://bakerinstitute.org>, comprises five academic research papers and two economic analysis presentations, including a comparison of best international privatization practices in the oil industry and peer comparisons of the performance of Petrobras, the company created by the Brazilian government in 1953 to run the oil industry.

"Brazil can afford to privatize Petrobras and liberalize the energy sector to guarantee the low-cost provision of fuels in future energy crises," Jaffe said. "But to implement these reforms successfully, Brazil needs to create a decentralized fiscal system that does not require a state oil and gas company as a macro-economic policy tool, and it needs to strengthen the independent regulatory authority of the state to protect the interests of Brazilian consumers."

The study concluded that Brazil needs to do the following:

- address the future status of Petrobras, a "giant state oil concern"
- improve the climate for competitive markets in natural gas and power by limiting Petrobras's role in those markets
- work toward a fully competitive regional gas market with broad participation and ample liquidity, with gas prices determined by the fundamental economic principles of supply and demand
- link power and natural gas

prices more explicitly by contract and eliminate price indices that hold power and gas prices in different currencies

- enhance the budget of regulatory agencies to ensure that they are adequately staffed and not subject to interference from other bodies of government
- improve third-party access to natural gas transmission infrastructure and information

The BP Foundation was a sponsor of the study.

### *Baker Institute Report*

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