

# BAKER INSTITUTE REPORT

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

## BAKER INSTITUTE HOSTS GROUNDBREAKING CONFERENCE ON ENERGY TECHNOLOGY

One of the most important technical challenges of this century is to provide a sustainable and universally available supply of clean, affordable energy to the world's growing population, especially the 1.6 billion people who currently live without electricity.

Advocating that a solution to the global energy problem will require revolutionary new technology, as well as conservation and evolutionary improvements in existing



Senator Kay Bailey Hutchison meets with Richard Smalley (left), Edward Djerejian, and Gilbert Whitaker (right) prior to the Energy and Nanotechnology conference.

technologies, the Baker Institute, together with three partner entities at Rice, convened a meeting of energy scientists, nanoscientists, policy-makers and business leaders May 2–4 for a conference titled “Energy and Nanotechnology: Strategy for the Future.” The conference was the brainchild of Nobel laureate Richard Smalley, university professor and the Gene

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## PRESIDENT OF RWANDA DISCUSSES CONFLICT RESOLUTION IN AFRICA AND BEYOND

“There is no one-size-fits-all prescription for conflict resolution in Africa or anywhere else,” Rwandan president Paul Kagame told guests of the Baker Institute during a March 6 lecture. “Just as there is no one single cause of conflict, there can never be a magic bullet to troubleshoot every other conflict.”

Citing these lessons learned from experience about conflicts and conflict resolution in Africa, Kagame added that the continent of Africa now realizes it cannot

develop while people continue to be killed in violent conflicts.

“The new economic partnership for Africa’s development seeks, among other things, to create a framework for preventing conflict first and foremost, redressing political and economic governance problems and investing in people and infrastructure. But within this broad framework in which the international community has a role to play, we must

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## BAKER INSTITUTE WEBSITE AUDIENCE INCREASES SIGNIFICANTLY

Registering more than 12,000 viewers per day, the Baker Institute website serves as one of the top public policy think tank websites, providing the latest information on events, reports, and studies to audiences around the world.

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# PRESIDENTIAL ENVOY BAKER VISITS TBILISI, GEORGIA

Former Secretary of State James Baker, III, honorary chair of the Baker Institute, visited Tbilisi, Georgia, July 4–5 as President George W. Bush’s special envoy.

The mission’s primary objective was to discuss with Georgian president Eduard Shevardnadze ways to advance political and eco-

nomics reform in the former Soviet republic, including through free and fair parliamentary elections this fall.

As an envoy of the White House, Baker also discussed U.S.–Georgian cooperation on counterterrorism and other security matters.

The Baker mission reflected the United States’ readiness to work with all Georgian citizens who are committed to advance reform and fight corruption in pursuit of a democratic, prosperous, secure, and stable Georgia.

# EDWARD P. DJEREJIAN TO LEAD REVIEW OF PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

*Editor’s note: The United States Department of State released the following announcement June 5.*

Former ambassador Edward P. Djerejian, currently director of the James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy at Rice University, has been named chairman of a new group that will advise the administration on public diplomacy approaches and programs related to the Arab and Muslim world.

The advisory group is being assembled at the request of Congress and will be composed of 10 to 12 members with background and expertise in public diplomacy, public relations, the media, and the Arab and Muslim regions of the world. The group will study the efficacy of the Department of State’s public diplomacy efforts aimed at this region and recommend new ideas and policy initiatives. In addition, the advisory group will report their findings to Congress by early fall.

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*“Public diplomacy plays a vital role in the conduct of our country’s foreign affairs.”*  
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“I have accepted the invitation by Secretary Colin Powell and Assistant Secretary Patricia Harrison to chair this important advisory group,” Djerejian said. “Public diplomacy plays a vital role in the conduct of our country’s foreign affairs, especially as we relate to those countries with predominately Muslim populations. I look forward to this challenge and am eager to begin our work.”

Djerejian began his foreign service career in 1962, serving in Lebanon, Morocco, France, and Russia before serving as ambassador to Syria, assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern affairs, and

then ambassador to Israel. A leading expert on the complex political, security, economic, religious, and ethnic issues of the Middle East, Djerejian has played key roles in the Arab–Israeli peace process, the U.S.-led coalition against Saddam Hussein’s invasion of Kuwait, successful efforts to end the civil war in Lebanon, the release of U.S. hostages in Lebanon, and the establishment of collective and bilateral security arrangements in the Persian Gulf.

“We are honored that Ambassador Djerejian has agreed to chair this advisory group,” said Harrison, assistant secretary of state for educational and cultural affairs and acting undersecretary for public diplomacy and public affairs. “His expertise and experience in the Middle East will be invaluable as this group evaluates the public diplomacy programs and activities in that region and in other Muslim-majority areas of the world.”

# GALA WILL CELEBRATE BAKER INSTITUTE'S 10TH ANNIVERSARY THIS FALL

On October 17, the Baker Institute will hold a gala celebration commemorating the 10th year since its inception. The vice president of the United States, Richard B. Cheney, will be the guest of honor and keynote speaker. Led by the 10th-anniversary chairs, Mr. and Mrs. J.D. Bucky Allshouse, longtime Baker Institute supporters, the evening will celebrate the institute's first decade with a formal dinner, several awards presented by Baker Institute honorary chair James A. Baker, III, and a video commemorating the past as well as plans for the institute's future.

Appropriately highlighting the institute's growing public policy role in the national and international political arena, the theme



*Baker Institute director Edward Djerejian (left) meets with Cynthia and J.D. Bucky Allshouse, who are chairing the Baker Institute's 10th-anniversary celebration.*

for the gala will be "To Lend a Meaningful Voice." The celebration will honor domestic and foreign leaders in both the public and private sectors, as well as the scholars who have participated in the institute's programs and research.

During its anniversary year, the institute has initiated programs covering topics such as

nanotechnology and energy, sustainable development, democracy in Latin America, early-childhood development, the military use of space, and Russia's role in global energy supply and security. Of special note will be programs this fall on the role of the media in the formulation and implementation of public policy that will feature noted television news

anchors.

Invitations are being mailed in September to current and past supporters, Roundtable members, and other guests. To receive an invitation for individual or corporate sponsorships starting at \$10,000, please call 713-348-2136 or send your name and address to [baker10@rice.edu](mailto:baker10@rice.edu).



*Guests at the Baker Institute Roundtable Diplomat Dinner April 3 included (at left, from left) Carol Ballard, Charles W. Duncan, Jr., Elizabeth Gillis and (at right, from left) Françoise Djerejian and Nancy Crow Allen. The Roundtable is the Baker Institute's premier donor-support organization whose membership is an integral part of the institute's substantive research and programs. Members have an opportunity to participate firsthand in many of the institute's programs and activities, which often include distinguished statesmen who have shaped and continue to impact the future of the nation and world community. For information about how to join the Roundtable, contact Steve Hall at 713-348-2136 or [bakerroundtable@rice.edu](mailto:bakerroundtable@rice.edu).*

## KISSINGER, BAKER, AND ALBRIGHT DISCUSS U.S. FOREIGN POLICY



Former secretaries of state discussed key U.S. foreign policy issues and challenges May 6 during a Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) video teleconference. Participants at the Baker Institute included Director Edward Djerejian (left) and Honorary Chair James A. Baker, III, who served as secretary of state during 1989 to 1992. Shown onscreen (from left) are CFR president Leslie Gelb, Henry Kissinger, secretary of state from 1973 to 1977, and Madeleine Albright, secretary of state from 1997 to 2001. Guests attending the event included Warren W. Tichenor (shown above at right with Baker).

## CHAIRMAN OF EGYPT'S RULING PARTY SHARES HIS NATION'S PERSPECTIVE ON GLOBALIZATION

“The United States of America is the only nation on Earth to have been born around an idea—that of freedom,” said Gamal Mubarak, son of Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak and Chairman of Egypt’s National Democratic Party, during a speech at the Baker Institute February 3. “On the other side of the world, for countless millennia, Egypt was born from man’s desire for the sacred, the holy, the eternal. A civilization that set humanity on its course of progress and prosperity over the ages. Together we have a duty to this planet, to its peoples—that they may live in peace—to its

nations—that they may live prosperous—but most of all to ourselves—that we may live as partners answering a sacred call of freedom, justice, and peace.”

Pointing out the multitude of races, peoples, and cultures in the world, Mubarak envisioned a world that is developing a new global culture. “Globalization has brought about bigger markets, integration of production across the world, common knowledge, and the free flow of information. And in as much as this information age has brought forth a global world, this world seeks a global culture, a global voice—one where all our pasts will merge, all

our cultures, our religions, our visions of shared prosperity molded together for a common purpose.”

Touching on the darker side of globalization, Mubarak condemned groups that claim they are “part of us all, and yet their deeds contradict the very values of humanity.” He added, “Those who committed the evil of 9/11 were one such group, one that adopted the mantle of a great religion, perverting the teachings of a holy book, thus speaking another language unfamiliar, indeed incomprehensible, to us

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# U.S.–SYRIA DIALOGUE THAT BEGAN AT BAKER INSTITUTE CONTINUES IN DAMASCUS

In January 2003, participants in the Baker Institute’s U.S.–Syria Dialogue traveled to Damascus for the second series of meetings. Similar to the previous exchanges that took place in Houston in May 2002, there were representatives from both the public and private sectors and academicians from both countries. The main objective of the second dialogue was to build on the ideas previously discussed with a view toward preparing policy recommendations for decision-makers.

From the Syrian side, the deputy minister for foreign affairs and the foreign media director of the ministry of foreign affairs headed the Syrian delegation. Other participants from the Syrian side included the Syrian ambassador to the United States, leading representatives from the Syrian government, Central Bank, Chamber of Commerce, the head of Damascus University’s Information Technology Department, academicians, journalists, and Syrian businessmen. On the U.S. side, the participants included government officials, private corporate representatives, and academicians, as well as experts from U.S. think tanks.

The opening session included statements from Walid Moualem, the deputy minister for foreign affairs, along with Bouthaina Shaaban, the ministry’s foreign media director. From the U.S. side, the opening remarks were made by Baker Institute director Edward P. Djerejian, Senator

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*Specific ideas were discussed in this respect.*  
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Arlen Specter, and U.S. Ambassador to Syria Theodore Kattouf on behalf of Assistant Secretary William Burns.

The dialogue covered topics that included prospects for Middle East peace negotiations, Iraq, terrorism, bilateral relations in the economic, commercial, energy, and investment fields, and bilateral relations in the areas of education, culture, and media.

There were about 20 participants from the U.S. group and

approximately 30 participants from the Syrian side. Similar to the first dialogue, the detailed discussions were off the record in order to promote an open dialogue where ideas could be exchanged in a frank and candid manner. A general description of the proceedings follows.

On the issue of Middle East peace negotiations, the Syrians provided the panels with an in-depth analysis of the negotiating record and their assessment of why the Israeli–Syrian peace talks failed in an effort to document “lessons learned.” Both sides acknowledged that many of the important issues of land, peace, security, and water have basically been negotiated (i.e., 80 to 90 percent) on the Israeli–Syrian track. There was agreement that strong political will on the part of the Israeli and Syrian leadership, along with a strong U.S. role as honest broker, would be needed to resume these negotiations and bring them to a successful conclusion. Specific ideas were discussed in this respect.

On the second day of the dialogue the issue of Iraq was discussed thoroughly. Scenarios were discussed on how a war could be avoided if Iraq complied with United Nations Security Council (UN S.C.) resolutions. However, if war did occur, the American side recognized that what would be critical is not only to win the war, but also to win the

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# EXPERTS CAUTION U.S. POLICY-MAKERS ABOUT COMPLEXITIES OF FOREIGN POLICY FORMULATION TOWARD THE MIDDLE EAST

Political and economic reform in the Middle East faces formidable challenges and could lead to regime changes that are more, not less, hostile to the United States if U.S. policy-makers do not give serious consideration to complex, evolving regional cultural and political trends when formulating U.S. policies in the region.

This assessment is among the conclusions drawn by a group of experts that met at the Baker Institute to discuss cultural change in the Middle East and its impact on politics and oil. Their report, "Social, Cultural, and Religious Factors that Influence Oil Supply and Foreign Relations with the Middle East," was posted earlier this year on the Baker Institute website, <http://www.bakerinstitute.org>.

The group noted that since the terrorist attacks of Sept. 11, a new Arabism has been emerging around an increasing perception of a hostile U.S. intrusiveness toward the Middle East, with friendly Arab regimes worried about a backlash for having too close a relationship with Washington.

Although some in the American neo-conservative movement advocate that the most efficient way to establish a more stable, democratic Middle East is to effect regime change through the use of military force, such an

approach fails to acknowledge the wide differences in history, culture, and sociopolitical organizations among the many countries in the region.

"Successful, sustainable change of forms of government,

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*U.S. policy-makers must accept that social conditions and cultural factors vary from country to country in the Middle East and avoid lumping the entire region under a unified foreign policy umbrella.*

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rulers, and elites requires a well-established buy-in from the bottom, as the general population has to be willing to accept a shift in the status quo," the report states.

One of the reasons political and economic reform in the Middle East is so difficult is the huge gap between the agenda of

the "political Islamists" and the existing "liberalized autocracies." The situation is further complicated by the changes in the cultural landscape of the Middle East that have been influenced by broad access to international media, widened public political discourse, shifting political institutions, and dramatically increased mobility, especially for women.

The group at the Baker Institute noted that U.S. foreign policy cannot in itself force sustained reform in the Middle East. Many of the countries that have gravitated into liberalized autocracy have reached a delicate compromise among the middle class, reformists, Islamists, and ruling regimes. Disturbing this balance could wreak a prolonged, bloody civil chaos long before it produces, if it ever does, liberalized democracies.

U.S. policy-makers must accept that social conditions and cultural factors vary from country to country in the Middle East and avoid lumping the entire region under a unified foreign policy umbrella. "Reminders of the colonial past are a source of extreme bitterness in Palestine, while they serve as a model for nostalgia, glamour, and stylish revivalism and restoration in Morocco," the report states.

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# AN ISRAELI OFFERS PERSPECTIVE ON WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION

The proliferation of weapons of mass destruction in the Middle East raises the question not only of which countries have them, but also of which countries supply them, said Ze'ev Schiff, the Isaac and Mildred Brochstein Fellow in Peace and Security at the Baker Institute.

"This is a global problem, not a local or regional problem," he said. "If you want to deal with Iraq and Libya, you also have to deal with North Korea because it is active in a number of Middle East countries in the production of missiles and enriching uranium for nuclear arms."

Schiff's analysis of the situation is detailed in a Baker Institute working paper titled "Weapons of Mass Destruction and the Middle East: The View from Israel." The paper was published in March 2003, before the war in Iraq. Schiff lives in Tel Aviv, where he is the defense editor of *Ha'aretz*, the leading Israeli daily newspaper.

"The most important objective of the confrontation with Iraq is the elimination of weapons of mass destruction (WMD)," Schiff wrote. He noted that the demand to overthrow Saddam Hussein's regime is based on the assumption that WMD in Iraq cannot be eliminated as long as Hussein is in power, and that Hussein would use those weapons to attack Iraq's neighbors.

If Hussein's WMD were to reach radical terrorist organiza-

tions that lack political and moral restraints, those weapons could be used anywhere in the world. "Clearly, the finger of Saddam Hussein on the nuclear trigger could pose serious threat to regional as well as international stability," Schiff wrote.

Because Israel is on the front line facing Iraq, Israel considers the present situation to be a strategic threat. "If Saddam Hussein successfully develops nuclear weapons, he and his regime would threaten and imperil Israel's very existence," Schiff said. "The threat to Israel will become many times more intense if other countries in the area, such as Iran, are armed with nuclear weapons."

Acknowledging that the fate of Iraq will "profoundly affect" the strategic picture of the entire Middle East, Schiff said a swift and clear U.S.-British victory in Iraq would create many opportunities, including a chance to address the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians. If the latter opportunity is missed, the Israeli Right and settlers would stick to their settlement project in the territories; this would imply a continued Israeli occupation, which Schiff labels "a sure recipe for ongoing terrorism."

A slow and inconclusive victory that leaves WMD in Iraq's possession could undermine regional stability and pose threats to Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Jordan, and Qatar and Oman. Various Middle

East countries would probably try to develop their own WMD or possibly form a coalition to obtain nuclear weapons and resist international pressure and the threat of sanctions.

Schiff noted that every country in the region that seeks to make or obtain WMD "awakens Israel's curiosity." In his paper, Schiff examines the threats posed by various countries in the Middle East. He rated Iraq as "the most dangerous Middle East country today in all that concerns weapons of mass destruction." North Korea is labeled as the "most prominent" in promoting nuclear proliferation. Iran is reportedly carrying out a secret plan to obtain nuclear weapons and could become "a very dangerous player."

Schiff cites a *Washington Post* reference to Pakistan as "the most dangerous place on Earth," noting the country's shaky political leadership and questioning who will have control of its nuclear weapons if another military coup d'etat occurs. Schiff points out that Saudi Arabia supplied some of the funds to develop Pakistan's nuclear project and might be considering building its own deterrent force rather than rely on American defense in light of Iranian and Iraqi nuclear ambitions. Libya also has shown an interest in chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons of mass

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# RABIN'S DAUGHTER SPEAKS OUT ON ROOTS OF TERRORISM

Poverty and ignorance are the “real enemies” in the war on terrorism, according to Dalia Rabin-Pelosof, daughter of the late Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin, who was assassinated in 1995.

“Combating terror in a democratic state cannot be accomplished by military prowess alone. The only real way to solve a problem is to get to the core of the issue, and so we must focus on addressing the roots of terror—poverty and ignorance,” Rabin-Pelosof told guests at the Baker Institute March 25. Education can help make “impressionable youth” less vulnerable to “reverent figureheads” of terrorist networks, she said.

Speaking on “Ten Years After Oslo: Reflections on the Rabin

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*“Combating terror in a democratic state cannot be accomplished by military prowess alone. The only real way to solve a problem is to get to the core of the issue, and so we must focus on addressing the roots of terror—poverty and ignorance.”*

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Legacy in Today’s Middle East,” Rabin-Pelosof recalled Yitzhak Rabin’s pursuit of peace. Two years before his assassination, Rabin and Yasser Arafat signed the Oslo accords, a set of agreements between Israel and the Palestinians specifying a timetable and rules for the pro-

gressive implementation of autonomy on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip.

Rabin-Pelosof noted that her father “knew that the way to eliminate the ongoing threats to Israel was by working to provide our Palestinian neighbors with a reason to hope for a better future for their own children.” She said he believed in the type of leadership that the United States has been providing in the fight against terror, with military missions complemented by education and economic development.

“The assistance of the U.S. government has alleviated the hardships of countless despondent people throughout the world, providing them hope and guiding them toward a better future and promoting the values of democracy,” Rabin-Pelosof said.

Currently the chair of the Yitzhak Rabin Center for Israel



Dalia Rabin-Pelosof (second from left) and her brother, Yuval Rabin (right), are joined by Raymond and Susan Brochstein.

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# FRENCH AMBASSADOR EXPLAINS FRANCE'S STANCE ON THE WAR

The French ambassador to the U.S. presented his analysis of “what went wrong” between the United States and France during a Baker Institute lecture May 22.

Looking back at the September 11 tragedies, Jean-David Levitte recalled a time when France was very much in support of the U.S. Abhorred by the 3,000 civilians who were killed in the terrorist attacks, Levitte said France quickly supported the United Nations (UN) resolution to punish “not only those who committed these acts, but those who provided hospitality, trained, equipped, and financed the terrorist networks.” He noted also that during the war in Afghanistan, France was side by side with the U.S., deploying thousands of soldiers.

Levitte, who became French ambassador to the U.S. in December 2002 after serving as representative of France to the UN for two years, noted that in response to a speech made by President Bush about Saddam Hussein and Iraq’s weapons of mass destruction, the whole UN membership was determined to send weapons inspectors back to Iraq and impose disarmament peacefully, if possible, and by force, if not. In mid-December 2002, France was considering “very strong participation” of its troops if the UN decided use of force was warranted.

France’s stance changed over the next few months, and Levitte



*Jean-David Levitte, French ambassador to the U.S., explained France’s position on the war in Iraq. Below, Levitte displays a souvenir T-shirt given to him by the Baker Institute staff.*



cited several reasons.

“In my view, what went wrong is, first, everybody was expecting a big mistake from Saddam Hussein,” Levitte said. “Maybe because he was scared to death, he was very cautious this time. No mistakes.”

Everyone was also expecting a “smoking gun”—evidence of weapons of mass destruction in Iraq—and when no one found it, France was less inclined to support a war.

Deployment of American troops was a third factor. “We

were all in agreement that this deployment was a good idea, and even a necessity, because it was good to add to the political pressure on the Iraqi leadership,” Levitte said. As the buildup went beyond 200,000 military personnel, Hussein continued to cooperate in a passive way, opening the doors to inspectors and allowing the destruction of missiles by the Iraqi army at the request of the inspectors. Levitte said a majority of the Security Council considered this to be real disarmament and thanked Bush for the leadership role of the U.S. and the presence of its army around Iraq because it triggered the peaceful disarmament of Iraq.

“But then I heard that a draft resolution was prepared [in Washington] to authorize the use of force,” Levitte said. France considered the decision by the U.S. to go to war to be a mistake,

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# INAUGURAL CONFERENCE OF SHELL CENTER FOR SUSTAINABILITY DRAWS INTEREST OF PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SECTOR

The Baker Institute and the Environmental and Energy Systems Institute at Rice joined together this past spring to help launch the university's new Shell Center for Sustainability. An inaugural conference for the Shell Center, held March 12–13, investigated opportunities and barriers

to sustainable development, a path that will allow human civilization to flourish in the coming century in spite of rapid population growth.

Among the key themes of the conference were how sustainable development could benefit from involvement of public and private

partnerships; lessons learned from market-based solutions; and enhancement of new technologies. Afternoon sessions focused on the particular problems of clean water, air quality, and sustainable fuel choices.

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*Mark Wiesner (left), director of Rice's Environmental and Energy Systems Institute, greets Sir Philip Watts.*



*Participating in a panel discussion at the sustainability conference are (from left) Christian Holmes, Richard Smalley, Sir Philip Watts, Malcolm Gillis, and Edward Djerejian.*



*Rice president Malcolm Gillis presents the opening address at the inaugural conference for the Shell Center for Sustainability.*



*U.S. undersecretary of state for global affairs Paula Dobriansky speaks at the sustainability conference.*

# TRANSNATIONAL CHINA PROJECT UPDATE

## *Chinese Attitudes and Beliefs in Transition, Says Pollster*

Economic and political reforms are changing the values and attitudes of Chinese in surprising ways. Victor Yue Yuan, president of Horizon Survey Research, China's largest private polling company, and vice president of the Chinese Marketing Research Association, reported on these changes in a talk that the Transnational China Project (TCP) co-sponsored with the Asia Society April 28.

Spiritually, according to Yuan, although most Chinese say they believe in luck and destiny, very few believe in deities or supernatural entities. And in 1995 only two percent said they "believed in nothing," but those stating that rose to 35 percent in 2002. Surprisingly, there were no obvious differences in the spiritual beliefs of those in the countryside and those in the cities.

When asked which values should be promoted in Chinese society, some 56 percent said "politeness," 40 percent said "honesty," and nearly a third said a "sense of social responsibility" and "respect for knowledge." And also surprisingly, few Chinese cited "devotion to work," "courage," "communicating with others," "obtaining information," "imagination," "independence," "austerity," "canniness," or "loyalty" as values that needed to be promoted.

When asked who has responsi-



The Transnational  
China Project

中美跨文化游廊

bility to support those in need, some 55 percent said "everybody," 37 percent said "government," three percent each said "rich people" or "NGOs," and less than one percent cited the "international" community.

Despite the tumultuous reforms in recent years, urban residents are optimistic about their futures. According to Yuan, 70 percent think the economic situation is likely to improve. Many, and especially entrepreneurs, also believe that China's accession to the World Trade Organization will bring more positive opportunities. Nevertheless, more than half of all urban residents are concerned about unemployment, nearly a third are worried about social security, and around a quarter cite environmental protection, medical care reform, economic development, housing reform, and education as important concerns. These opinions contrast with 1999, when urbanites were most concerned about official corruption, and 2000, when environmental protection was the top problem.

Chinese views of the outside world are also in transition, said Yuan. Some two-thirds believe China's international status has risen in recent years. And, except for relations with Japan, they think relations with all other countries are improving. More than half think China should actively cooperate with other countries in fighting terrorism. Relations with the United States are seen as problematic, however. In October 2002 only 10 percent listed the United States as a country that is friendly toward China. The U.S. came behind Singapore (28 percent), Russia (28 percent), North Korea (25 percent), South Korea (18 percent), and Australia (12 percent). Chinese recognized the strong economic ties with the United States, however, with 81 percent citing it as the most important country for China's economic development. Some 49.6 percent listed Japan as important, and 12 percent cited Russia. Overall, in comparison with Japan and the United States, Russia is currently the country most favored by Chinese.

## *Further Reforms in China Inevitable, Argues China Expert*

China's opening to the outside world has created inevitable and unavoidable pressures for further political and economic reforms. This is the conclusion of noted China expert Ross Terrill,

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# MEETING IN MOSCOW ADDRESSES U.S.–RUSSIAN ENERGY ISSUES

The strategic and geopolitical implications of Russian energy supply, security, and pricing were the focus of a seminar on U.S.–Russian energy issues hosted in Moscow by the Baker Institute and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace June 17–18. Baker Botts L.L.P., Renaissance Capital, and Lehman Bros. co-sponsored the seminar.

Key issues included U.S.–Russian energy cooperation, the strategic role and future global



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*James A. Baker, III, honorary chair of the Baker Institute, presents the keynote address.*



*Amy Jaffe (left) of the Baker Institute and Tatiana Magarshak, head of strategic research for TNK*



*(From left) Hugo Erikssen, director of Yukos Oil Company; Robert Nurick, director of Carnegie Moscow Center; and Mikhail Khodorkovsky, chairman of Yukos Oil Company*



*Grant Aldonas, undersecretary of commerce for international trade*



*Alexander Vershbow, U.S. ambassador to Russia*

# TRIO OF LECTURES SPOTLIGHTS WOMEN AND GENDER IN ISLAMIC SOCIETIES

Although the events of September 11 and subsequent developments have focused media and scholarly attention on Islam and Muslim societies, this attention has not consistently enhanced understanding. To foster understanding, especially with regard to the status of women, three key representatives of the Muslim women's movement shared their views at the Baker Institute as part of a Women and Gender in Islamic Societies Lecture Series co-sponsored by the Baker Institute and Rice's Center for the Study of Cultures.

The series debuted March 26 with a close-up look at women refugees by Zainab Salbi, founder



*Elora Shehabuddin, Rice University assistant professor of humanities and political science, speaks at the Women and Gender in Islamic Societies Lecture Series.*

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*Noting that the images of women refugees conveyed on TV and in news photos are often shaped by Western standards of selectivity, she stressed the pluralistic identities of Muslim women. . . .*  
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and president of Women for Women International. Salbi's presentation, "Understanding a Refugee Woman's Reality," was based on her work with women survivors of war in Bosnia, Kosovo, Rwanda, Nigeria, Colombia, and Afghanistan.

Salbi spoke at length about the politics of media coverage and the reality of women refugees. Noting that the images of women refugees conveyed on TV and in news photos are often shaped by Western standards of selectivity, she stressed the pluralistic identities of Muslim women, ranging from successful business women to those living in utter poverty, and from students who aspire to professional careers to women partially or fully veiled

who live according to strict tradition.

War and civil strife invariably victimize women, Salbi explained, who has been present at the major crisis centers over the last decade. Rape as a weapon of reprisal and warfare was widespread in the different conflict situations. Those women who end up in refugee camps are the lucky ones, yet life in most refugee camps is a deeply humiliating experience for most of them.

A native of Iraq, Salbi founded Women for Women International, formerly known as Women for Women in Bosnia, in 1993. This nonprofit organization provides

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# FOUR PANELISTS SHARE VIEWS ON INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL COURT AND WAR CRIMES

One of the original prosecutors at the Nuremberg War Crimes Trials was among the panel of experts who discussed “The Legacy of the Nuremberg Trials: War Crimes and Personal Responsibility” at the Baker Institute February 12.

Benjamin Ferencz, the chief prosecutor of Nuremberg Trial No. 9, the Einsatzgruppen Case, recalled that more than a million people—mostly Jews—were murdered in cold blood by 2,000 Nazis over a two-year period during World War II. The traumatic scenes he witnessed in Germany while serving in the U.S. Army motivated him to spend the rest of his life trying to make the world more humane.

As the first man in the army to deal with war crimes, Ferencz wanted the court for the Nuremberg trials “to affirm by its decision the right of all human beings to live in peace and dignity regardless of their race or creed,” he said. “We’ve got to make it a criminal act to kill people or punish people because of their difference. We have to teach them tolerance and acceptance.”

Ferencz charged the 22 defendants in his case with genocide and crimes against humanity, and all were convicted. According to the principles established by the Nuremberg trials, the murderer is subject to the rule of law regardless of rank or station. Ferencz advocated applying these

principles to other courts, including the International Criminal Court created by the United Nations and strongly supported by Ferencz.

The Bush administration opposes the international court out of concern that the court could be used for politically motivated prosecution of U.S. troops. Ferencz said he and the leading international lawyers of the world and the entire European community are in favor of the international court, and he thinks the U.S. opposition is “misguided.”

Like Ferencz, another panelist at the Baker forum, Gary Bass, who is an assistant professor of politics and international studies at Princeton University, is in favor of war crimes trials.

“They are better than vengeance and forgetting, and they are enormously important for the victims,” said Bass, author of *Stay the Hand of Vengeance: The Politics of War Crimes Tribunals*.

Bass noted, however, that legal justice is not the same as substantive justice. “You always have to be on guard against cynical politicians,” he said, adding that legal action can be confused with real political action.

He cited the Clinton administration’s support of a war crimes tribunal for ex-Yugoslavian officials as an example. In 1992 the horrible images of emaciated Bosnian prisoners standing behind barbed wire generated a

sense that the administration had to do something, but it didn’t want to intervene; to take the heat off public opinion, the U.S. government supported on paper a war crimes tribunal. “So the war dragged on for three-and-a-half years while 200,000 people died, but we had this war crimes tribunal,” Bass said. “One of the anxieties I have about the permanent International Criminal Court is that it may become a legal excuse for inaction.”

He said the International Criminal Court can help bring to justice some of the worst war criminals since World War II, referencing the genocide in Bosnia, but noted the need not just for good law, but for “more compassionate, more humanitarian, more broad-minded politics at home in the U.S.”

Panelist Jerry Fowler, adjunct professor of refugee and asylum law at George Washington University Law School and director of the Committee on Conscience at the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C., provided background information about the International Criminal Court.

The court will have jurisdiction over specifically defined crimes: genocide (intentional physical destruction of entire groups of people); crimes against humanity (widespread or system-

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# MANDELBAUM ANALYZES IDEAS THAT CONQUERED THE WORLD

For the first time since the ideas of peace, democracy, and free markets were introduced in the second half of the 18th century, they have no serious rivals for organizing social life, according to author Michael Mandelbaum.

Speaking at the Baker Institute January 24, the author of *The Ideas that Conquered the World: Peace, Democracy, and Free Markets in the 21st Century* proposed that these ideas succeed the Cold War as a framework for world events.

“During most of the second half of the 20th century, almost everything that happened in the world either derived from or could be related to the great global struggle between the East and West,” Mandelbaum said. After the Cold War ended, this framework “dissolved,” and three ideas have since prevailed:

- peace as a method for organizing international relations;
- democracy as the optimal form of government;
- free markets as the best way of structuring economic life.

“The universal character of these three ideas is the source of their appeal,” Mandelbaum said, noting that they were developed largely in Great Britain and secondarily in France, but are not exclusively Western. “Japan is as much a market economy as Great Britain is, and India is a democracy like the United States,” he said.

From a historical perspective,

Mandelbaum pointed out that the Cold War, unlike World Wars I and II and the Napoleonic wars, was not won by force of arms but rather by force of example. “The success of the West, our societies, our political systems, and our economies was key to the collapse of communism,” he said. “The forces that brought down communism are still operating. They exert gravitational pull on the whole world.”

The European continent continues to enjoy a lasting peace because of the widespread aversion to the use of force by the armed forces in Europe. The armed forces there are configured for defending, but not attacking, territory. Each government knows which forces the

other governments have and how those forces are being used.

East Asia, however, is “the most dangerous place on the planet,” said Mandelbaum, a senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations and the Christian A. Herter Professor of American Foreign Policy at the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies.

The central issue for the future of East Asia security involves China and its policy and relations with neighbors, Mandelbaum said. The only issue over which China might fight a war that could spread throughout East Asia and elsewhere is the

*continued on page 31*



*Baker Institute director Edward Djerejian (left) met with Kim Jae-sup, South Korean vice foreign affairs-trade minister, March 28 in Seoul.*

## STUDENT FORUM HOSTS A VARIETY OF IMPRESSIVE SPEAKERS

The members of the Baker Institute Student Forum (BISF) are pleased to have had another successful semester. The spring 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 the nation's discourse.

Robert Hummer, director of the Population Research Center at The University of Texas at Austin, addressed Rice students in an event titled "Health Disparities and Public Policy: Do Race, Ethnicity, and Religion Matter?" Hummer discussed with

students the social and political realities currently facing marginalized groups within the U.S. The discussion focused on the differentiating life opportunities afforded individuals as related to various social factors such as race and ethnicity, religion, immigration, and gender.

At "Culture, Religion, and Politics in Lithuania," Emanuelis Zingeris, a former member of the Lithuanian Parliament who currently serves as director of the Tolerance Center in Vilnius, Lithuania, and of the Jewish Cultural Heritage Support Fund of Lithuania, discussed his involvement in the growth of a democratic Lithuania and how Lithuania has developed since the fall of the Berlin Wall.

*continued on page 30*



*Participants and organizers for the April 10 discussion titled "Conversation on Iraq: Conflict, Costs, and Consequences" included (seated, from left) Tarif Abboushi, director of the Houston chapter of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination League; Joe Barnes, the Bonner Means Baker Visiting Fellow at the Baker Institute; Shawn Leventhal of the Baker Institute Student Forum; Mahmoud El-Gamal, professor of Islamic Economics, Finance, and Management at Rice; Amy Jaffe, the Wallace Wilson Fellow for Energy Studies at the Baker Institute; Richard Stoll, Rice professor of political science; and (standing, from left) Baker Institute Student Forum members Narayan Mulukutta, Noorain Khan, Navin Vij, Jo Kent, Alan Kolodny, Dustin Stephens, and Mary Catherine Dillman.*

## OTHER NOTEWORTHY EVENTS

James A. Baker, III, honorary chair of the Baker Institute, spoke to the American Corporate Counsel Association at the Baker Institute June 9.

U.S. senator John Cornyn from Texas met with first responders from the Houston area who serve on the front lines in emergencies February 19 at the Baker Institute. During the private meeting, Cornyn listened to the first responders' assessments of and concerns about threats to the nation's security and the city of Houston's preparedness for a terrorist attack. After the meeting, Cornyn and Baker Institute director Edward Djerejian, who chairs the Houston Task Force on Terrorism, briefed the news media on what was discussed.

Ambassador Jacques Paul Klein, who served as special representative of the United Nations Secretary-General and chief of the UN Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina, presented a lecture titled "Bosnia, Herzegovina, and the Lessons of History" at the Baker Institute April 17.

Paul Reid, director of the Office of Monetary Affairs for the Department of State, gave a lecture titled "How Fares the Washington Consensus in Latin America? Evidence from Argentina and Venezuela" at the Baker Institute April 15.

# BAKER INSTITUTE-SPONSORED ENERGY RESEARCH WINS INTERNATIONAL PRIZE

The Baker Institute's energy program received top honors this year at the annual meeting of the International Association for Energy Economics (IAEE) held June 5 in Prague.

A research paper, "Economic Development and End-Use Energy Demand," received the prestigious Best Paper of the Year award from the *Energy Journal*, an important international economics academic journal published quarterly by the IAEE. The paper's authors are Ronald Soligo, Baker Institute scholar and Rice University economics professor; and Kenneth Medlock III, economic modeling consultant to the Baker Institute, lecturer in the Department of Economics at Rice, and corporate consultant at El Paso Corporation. The paper was published in the Volume 22, No. 2 issue of the *Energy Journal*.

The IAEE is the main association for economists engaged in energy research from around the world. Its members include top academic scholars and economists with governments, non-governmental organizations and energy companies. The award is a major achievement for the Baker Institute's energy program, which has been receiving increasing attention from the academic community in the U.S. and abroad. Many articles and working papers published as part of the BIPP energy program are

being included in course syllabi at Harvard, Yale, Columbia, and University of California at Berkeley, among others. The energy program is coordinated by Amy Myers Jaffe, the Wallace Wilson Fellow for Energy Studies at the Baker Institute and associate director for the Rice Energy Program.

"The innovative economic modeling and outstanding scholarship of Dr. Soligo and Dr. Medlock represent the kind of

.....  
*The award is a major achievement for the Baker Institute's energy program.*  
.....

incisive and cutting-edge research that our programs are designed to promote," said Baker Institute director Edward Djerejian. "We are very proud to receive this academic honor and extend our congratulations to the authors and organizers of our Baker Institute energy studies."

The award-winning paper, which involved an original economic model and discussion of the relationship between a nation's energy consumption and its stage of economic development, was commissioned as

part of the Baker Institute's study on China and long-range Asian energy security, made possible through the generous support of the Center for International Political Economy and subsequent programs sponsored by the Petroleum Energy Center of Japan. The innovative paper builds a better understanding of how the changing composition of production and consumption leads to a decline in energy intensity during the course of economic development. The paper focuses on how end-use energy demand changes as countries become wealthier. The relationship between rising per-capita income and increased demand for consumer durables such as passenger motor vehicles is an important determinant of future energy demand in countries such as China, India, and Brazil, where an emerging middle class will be seeking higher levels of such consumer products.

Soligo and Medlock traveled to Prague in June to receive the award and present a recent paper on automobile technology and global emissions. They are currently working together with Rice economics chair Peter Hartley on new models of the impact of the increase in Russian energy production on Asian markets and the world natural gas export system.

# ENERGY

(continued from page 1)

and Norman Hackerman Professor of Chemistry and Physics at Rice and director of the Carbon Nanotechnology Laboratory.

“Advancement of nanotechnology solutions can be an integral component of solving the energy problem,” explained Smalley. “Breakthroughs in nanotechnology open up the possibility of moving beyond our current alternatives for energy supply by introducing technologies that are more efficient, inexpensive, and environmentally sound.”

“Energy is not just a critical national concern to the United States but also a global one,” added Amy Jaffe, the Wallace Wilson Fellow for Energy Studies at Rice’s James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy, which co-hosted the conference with the Center for Nanoscale Science and Technology (CNST), the Environmental and Energy Systems Institute (EESI), and the

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*“Advancement of nanotechnology solutions can be an integral component of solving the energy problem.”*

.....

Rice Alliance for Technology and Entrepreneurship. “There is no question that science and technology research is the critical link to a sound national energy policy.”

The conference provided an opportunity for scientists to confer not only among themselves but also with policy specialists and experts from other disciplines to examine energy issues both from a policy and technological perspective and to examine creative alternatives to traditional approaches, said Jaffe, who is also associate director of the Rice Energy Program. The conference is a lead-in to a science gathering Rice University will be sponsoring later in the year on energy and nanoscience for the National Nanoscience Initiative, under a grant from the National Science Foundation.

The conference, which was attended by more than 400 people, aimed to broaden public understanding of how scientific disciplines such as nanoscience, which can appear esoteric with little bearing on people’s lives, in reality spawn technologies that can have a direct impact, including the potential to help solve the challenge of developing cheaper, more efficient, and environmen-



*Richard Smalley was a keynote speaker at the Energy and Nanotechnology conference.*

tally sound energy supplies.

Senator Kay Bailey Hutchison delivered the conference welcome address and stressed the important role Texas universities are playing in pivotal national scientific accomplishment. Other speakers included Edward Djerejian, director of the Baker Institute, who discussed U.S. strategic energy policy; Smalley, who outlined the possibilities of a nanoenergy initiative; Richard Russell, associate director for technology, Office of Science and Technology Policy, Executive Office of the President of the United States, who laid out the goals for U.S. national science initiatives; Steven Currall, the William and Stephanie Sick Chair

## ENERGY

in Entrepreneurship and associate professor of management, psychology, and statistics at Rice and founding director of the Rice Alliance for Technology and Entrepreneurship, who commented on technology and economic development; Jeremy Rifkin, author of *The Hydrogen Economy*, who focused on the need for innovation to meet the transportation challenge; Walter Chapman, professor in chemical engineering at Rice, and Gerald Dickens, associate professor of earth science at Rice, both of whom discussed innovative research on methane hydrates; and Peter Hartley, chair and professor of economics at Rice, who outlined the possibility for breakthrough technologies to make electrical grids more efficient. Neal Lane, university professor, senior fellow at the Baker Institute, and professor of physics and astronomy at Rice, introduced closing speaker, Dean Kamen, chairman of Segway L.L.C. and president of DEKA Research and Development. Kamen's rousing lecture rounded off two days of lively discussion on the approaches needed to radically change the options available for the production and consumption of clean energy. Kamen stressed that completely new paradigms are needed to consider the urban environment and personal transportation usage in the U.S. and abroad.

The conference was sponsored, in part, by the Baker

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*"There is no question  
that science and  
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Institute's Shell Distinguished Lecture Series. Other sponsors include Matthew Simmons, Simmons & Company, John Thrash, The Baker Institute Roundtable, and the Baker Institute Energy Forum. Energy Forum members include Anadarko Petroleum, Apache, Baker Hughes, BP, ChevronTexaco, ConocoPhillips, Duke Energy, ExxonMobil, Halliburton, IRI International, Kuwait Petroleum, Marathon, Noble Drilling, Petroleum Energy Center of Japan, Schlumberger, Shell, Tasajillo Charitable Trust, and Wallace S. Wilson.

Conference proceedings are available at <http://www.bakerinstitute.org>. A full conference report will be published.

## WEBSITE

*(continued from page 1)*

Since its creation, <http://www.bakerinstitute.org> has served as a valuable resource, offering easy access to archived research studies, webcasts of event speakers, contact information for staff members and research fellows, the latest institute reports, and summaries of research programs and ongoing projects.

The most popular areas of the website include the working papers, where the most recent papers contributing toward ongoing research projects are easily accessible, and the webcasts, where viewers can watch the distinguished speakers' presentations as they happen or access past events to watch in the comfort of their home or office.

The wealth of resources available on the institute's website is reaching greater audiences daily. In the past year, the average number of daily viewers has increased by nearly 1,000. In the three-month period February to April 2003, the website has received more than 500,000 hits per month. Worldwide interest in the Baker Institute is evidenced by viewers from more than a hundred countries accessing the institute's information online, including large audiences in the Middle East and Asia.

In the coming year, we look forward to adding more features and invite you to visit the site for publications and event information.

# AFRICA

*continued from page 1*

avert conflict by making the right interventions in the right place and the right time.”

Kagame, who was elected president of the Republic of Rwanda by the Transitional National Assembly in 2000, reflected on his country’s troubled history during his talk. He described the 1994 genocide of Tutsi countrymen by the Hutu majority in Rwanda, with a death toll exceeding one million people in 100 days, as the “most brutal and the fastest” massive killing in history.

Kagame faulted the United Nations (UN) for not trying to prevent or stop the genocide. “There was sufficient information to the UN and to everybody that genocide was being prepared and was going to take place,” he said. “There was enough time for people who wanted to act to prepare to do so for the protection of innocent people’s lives, but this was not done. Even still, after failing to

.....  
*“There was enough time for people who wanted to act to prepare to do so for the protection of innocent people’s lives, but this was not done.”*  
.....



*Rwandan president Paul Kagame discusses conflict resolution in Africa.*

stop it, when others acted to do so, they should have still come to try and help with a quick recovery and reconstruction of the country, which was not done.”

Kagame noted that conflict is not an exclusively African phenomenon, and he hopes the international community will become more of a learning community. “Despite the repeated refrain ‘never again’ that we heard between the Holocaust and the Rwandan genocide in 1994, the world has witnessed massive slaughter. How much outrage should we consider so unbearable to be able to elicit collective and effective response from the global community?” he asked. “The imperative for international action has not become less since 1994. In fact, the world currently looks more unsafe and uncertain in the rate of terrorism, weapons of mass destruction, and remnants of genocidal forces. The call for acting together has never been more urgent than I think it is today.”

According to Kagame, success in preventing and managing conflicts depends on elements that are never abundant—leadership and viable institutions. The world needs leaders and institutions that unite and reconcile, that create and enforce laws and regulations, that embrace diversity, that improve the livelihood of all citizens without discriminating, and that work together toward a shared prosperity and sustainable peace, he said. Kagame commended the Baker Institute for identifying these elements as being critical to public policy.

Some conflicts are justifiable if they challenge the status quo and address injustice, and Rwanda is an example of this, Kagame noted. “My country would have become a failed state in the dark days of 1994 when the whole world abandoned us if we had not, as Rwandan people, risen to the occasion and did what we did—defend our nation and protect our people. It is this same obligation that underlies

Rwanda's recovery and is cause for hope for a bright future."

The Rwandan genocide left the new government of national unity the "exceptional and daunting" challenge of dealing with a dispersed population, a collapsed socioeconomic infrastructure, the absence of institutions, and legal proceedings against the perpetrators of the killings, Kagame said.

"Our long-term perspective is that we need to invest in the education and health of our people as a strategic choice that will enable us to competitively enhance productivity and innova-

tion in an economy that is currently pre-industrial," he said.

The government has repaired the socioeconomic infrastructure, schools, healthcare centers, telecommunications, energy, and water systems. For the last eight years, economic growth has exceeded 6 percent, and inflation is below 5 percent.

Rwanda is working within the regional framework to promote cooperation and economic integration at the intercontinental level through the new economic partnership for Africa's development, enabling an environment

that is conducive to foreign and local investment.

Kagame is optimistic about the progress his country has made. "We are succeeding. We are uniting and reconciling our people. We are building a society under the rule of law," he said. "As a precondition for long-term peace, security, stability, and development, and as a consequence of astute management of our conflict, Rwanda is now one of the most secure countries on our continent."

## EGYPT

*continued from page 4*

all."

Mubarak expressed outrage at groups that pervert the merciful and compassionate God he has known all his life: "They are not of us, but you cannot tell. How could you? They have brought forth the chasm that will tear us apart and destroy our world— isolate you, isolate us in a world of suspicion, of fear, of conflict, and bring about the end of our modern world."

Noting that "the United States and Egypt share the values of freedom, of openness, of a deep desire for peace and prosperity," Mubarak outlined his hope for the future. "We are each other's keepers, and for this you must guide us through your world, your dreams, and the commonness of our values, just as we must guide you

through our culture, our language, our aspirations, so that we can truly become one in our humanity, one global village for a global world."

Focusing on the Middle East regional conflict, Mubarak said, "Today, a comprehensive Arab-Israeli peace must be our utmost priority. All Arabs and Israelis have an inherent right to finally live in peace, a peace that will end the Israeli occupation of 1967, a peace that will give birth to a sovereign and viable Palestinian state, a peace where Israel lives in security and acceptance amongst its Arab neighbors."

Mubarak made special mention of the greater role that women are assuming in Egyptian society, proudly observing that Egyptian women "have come forward to assume greater challenges as judges, doctors, executives, politicians, thus constitut-

ing a vital force in our society."

Mubarak was appointed in 2002 to lead the National Democratic Party (NDP). He has been responsible for advocating a new party platform that sharply breaks with past NDP thinking. He calls for a "more open, market-based, liberal, democratic, rule-based society—strong in its beliefs, self-confident and secure in its future and in its role in the region and the world at large."

After his introduction by Baker Institute director Edward Djerejian, Mubarak said that the Baker Institute has made an "invaluable contribution in fostering greater understanding between America and the Middle East, bearing the name of one of America's truly great statesmen who has worked tirelessly for the cause of peace."

## DIALOGUE

*continued from page 5*

peace in order to enhance stability and progress in the region as a whole. There also was discussion that this would not be a war for oil; rather, it would be for the stated purposes in UN S.C.

Resolution 1441.

The Syrians reminded the panel that they were staunch supporters of the coalition during the first Gulf War because they realized at the time that Saddam Hussein was a real threat to his neighbors. They didn't see that same threat today. The Syrians were mainly concerned with how a humanitarian crisis would affect their country with the consequent influx of Iraqi refugees that would damage their already weak and fragile economy. Further, they stressed the need to keep Iraq intact as a country and to avoid sectarian divisions that could impact negatively on the whole region.

There was a very detailed discussion of the economic reform policies of the Syrian government under President Bashar al-Asad and what is being done in that respect. The Syrian panelists stated that the term "economic change" rather than "economic reform" is preferable. They argued against the "ready-made recipes" of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund, commenting that these reforms are not the best fit for countries that are economically underde-

veloped like Syria. Their main argument against those reforms is that wherever they were applied, they had very negative social consequences (unemployment and increased poverty), without succeeding to produce sustained development for the economy. They also emphasized that reform cannot be limited to the "financial and administrative" fields, but also should cover technological and organizational fields. The Syrians commented that there are no ready-made recipes and that the main components of economic change need to be analyzed and discussed thoroughly before being adopted, due to the sensitivity of the issue and its impact, especially on society. They stressed the importance of economic diversity and that each economic sector—private, public, or mixed—has its role to play in the improvement of the national economy.

The U.S. participants emphasized the importance of Syria moving forward on a timely basis on its economic reform programs and provided specific recommendations on how the investment climate in Syria needs to be improved substantially. It also was pointed out that corruption, if not reined in, can become a systemic barrier to investment from abroad, especially from the United States.

The discussion on combating terrorism was conducted in a candid exchange in a separate panel by experts on both sides in an effort to determine whether further progress can be made on

this critical issue, despite serious outstanding differences between the U.S. and Syrian sides.

There was extensive discussion on the role of media and cultural dialogue. Academic, educational, and student exchanges were recognized as productive programs that should be enhanced. These panels discussed the perceptions and the misconceptions that exist between the two countries and what can be done to enhance the dialogue between them. The American participants pointed out that given the events of September 11, Americans are looking at the Middle East with much greater interest now. Subjects such as the Arab world, Islam, the Arab-Israeli dispute, and the whole issue of terrorism, political extremism, and religious extremism are being discussed extensively, and American public opinion is focused on these issues. Bilateral exchanges, especially among academicians and students and the media, provide an opportunity for both sides to enhance understanding of the real factors at play. The Syrian side stressed the role of scholars and intellectuals as the first line of this dialogue. Specific ideas and proposals were made.

Both groups agreed to continue the U.S.–Syria dialogue as an effective second-track forum between the two countries.

## WEAPONS

*continued from page 7*

destruction and has been getting assistance from experts from Iraq, North Korea, and Pakistan.

Israel has been an undeclared nuclear country. Although it has not signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, it has declared a willingness to sign the treaty against nuclear tests. "Israel is conducting a deliberate policy of ambiguity, which it regards as best possible deterrence against its enemies," Schiff wrote.

## TERRORISM

*continued from page 8*

Studies, Rabin-Pelossof commended President George W. Bush for his leadership in the war on Iraq and said she was optimistic about the outcome of the war. "I hope the removal of a major destabilizing force in the Middle East will deliver a blow to problematic regimes in the area, especially those who develop and use weapons of mass destruction and terrorist tools," she said. "I also hope the impact of the war will moderate the radical countries in the region and encourage them to adopt a more realistic and sober approach toward accepting Israel as a neighbor."

Fighting terror while also upholding the principles of democracy and freedom is a complex objective that Israel has struggled with for years, and Rabin-Pelossof stressed the need

He concluded that many of the Middle East countries now find themselves at the edge of an abyss and are at the point of arming themselves with WMD because of threats to security by other countries that have such weapons. "One way to draw back from the abyss would be the elimination of Iraq's WMD and the facilities that are developing them," Schiff said. "If Iraqi weapons of mass destruction are totally eliminated, the possibility opens for a thorough and comprehensive international supervision system in cooperation with

for Israel and the Palestinians to return to the negotiating table to end the "vicious spiral of violence." She acknowledged this is not an easy task, but she remains hopeful: "I believe that the conflicts' accumulating effect on the Palestinians has led to the growing awareness, a soul searching among the Palestinian public and leadership, that the use of terror will not bear fruit," she said.

With people becoming more willing to voice their criticism and with the appointment of Abu Mazen as prime minister of the Palestinian Authority, Rabin-Pelossof believes the Palestinians have a better chance of gaining control over the terrorist infrastructure that has flourished in their midst.

"While the situation on the ground in my region is still ridden with blood and despair, I remain committed to my father's vision of creating a secure, demo-

the Iraqi regime."

Successful removal of WMD in Iraq would serve as a clear warning to other countries that are developing nuclear arms. "According to Israeli intelligence, there still is a chance of arresting the nuclearization of the Middle East," Schiff wrote. "The door has not been shut on that struggle. It all depends on the course of events in Iraq."

The full text of Schiff's paper is available on the Baker Institute website, <http://www.bakerinstitute.org>.

cratic, and prosperous Israel, living at peace with its neighbors," Rabin-Pelossof said. "He knew this could not be achieved without taking the necessary steps toward reconciliation. This is the key word: reconciliation. This is the essence of his legacy, and I intend to do all within my power to bring it to fruition. For the alternative is unthinkable."

Cliff Morgan, chair of the Department of Political Science at Rice, introduced Rabin-Pelossof at the event and noted that James A. Baker, III, honorary chair of the Baker Institute, and Baker Institute director Edward Djerejian worked closely with Yitzhak Rabin to resolve conflict in the Middle East.

Baker welcomed Rabin-Pelossof and her brother, Yuval, to the Baker Institute and described their parents as "courageous warriors for peace."

## POLICY

*continued from page 6*

While the Palestine issue dominates political discourse in the Middle East by a wide margin, the broadening Arab perspective regarding perceived hostile advances in the region by the U.S. could be on a collision course with an emerging post-Sept. 11 U.S. political strategy. The Baker Institute group concluded that at a minimum, U.S. policy-makers should be aware both of the extreme complexity of Arab anti-Americanism and of the basic political dynamics within the Middle East. In both cases,

oversimplification could lead the U.S. into grave error. The democratization of the Middle East may prove far more difficult than envisaged by optimistic, though well-meaning, observers; indeed, more representative governments might lead, in certain countries, to regimes that are more hostile to the United States.

Participants in the cultural workshop seminar were Amy Jaffe, Joe Barnes, and Jareer Ellass from Rice's Baker Institute; George Marcus from Rice's Department of Anthropology; Ussama Makdisi from Rice's Department of History; Daniel Brumberg from Georgetown

University's Department of Government; Gerald Butt from the Middle East Economic Survey; and Susan Ossman, Michael Hudson, and Mamoun Fandy from the Center for Contemporary Arab Studies at Georgetown University. The meeting took place Nov. 1, 2002, at the Baker Institute. The group's findings were prepared in conjunction with an energy study sponsored by the Petroleum Energy Center of Japan and the Baker Institute.

## FRANCE

*continued from page 9*

and Levitte advised the White House not to put a second resolution to a vote, knowing that Russia and China were likely to veto it. "Unfortunately, this message was not accepted because Tony Blair needed a second resolution," Levitte said.

"Why were, and still are, we against this war?" Levitte asked. "It was a war of choice, it was a war of preemption, and in our view, it sets a very dangerous precedent that has already been mentioned by the foreign minister of India. The war of preemption could be a temptation for India against Pakistan. For us, what was at stake was really an important question of principle."

Levitte wrote an op-ed in the *New York Times* that stated that because Iraq is a very difficult country—a violent society with no tradition of democracy—rebuilding Iraq is a long-term ambition and a very difficult one to implement.

"Beyond Iraq, we were anticipating difficulties throughout the Arab world because, as we know, the peace process was and still is in a stalemate," he said. "And beyond this difficult situation, we were anticipating more recruitment for al-Qaida and more terrorist acts in the Middle East and elsewhere. These are the reasons why we thought it would have been better to continue the peaceful disarmament of Iraq through the UN inspections."

Levitte advocated that the dif-

ferences of opinion should be put behind both countries now that the war is over, and the U.S. and France should look positively to the future.

"We have to be together to rebuild Iraq," he said, noting that after the war, France voted in favor of the Security Council resolution to provide assistance in Iraq.

"I'm optimistic about trans-Atlantic relations," Levitte said. "Together we represent the two pillars of world democracies. We share the same values. If we want to spread these values throughout the world, starting with Iraq, we have to do it together."

# SUSTAINABILITY

*continued from page 10*

Scholars and practitioners of sustainability from the private and public sectors attended the conference and discussed how many countries and multinational organizations and corporations have increasingly adopted a holistic approach, looking at the complex interplay of social, economic, and environmental factors involved.

“Sustainable development is all about trying to bring about green growth, which benefits both the natural environment and the humans who depend upon it for clean air, water, healthy foods, and so much more,” Rice president Malcolm Gillis said in the conference’s opening address.

Gillis said Rice is ideally suited to help map out paths for sustainable development because of its established base of interdisciplinary and interinstitutional collaborations—the kinds of cross-disciplinary partnerships that are needed to tackle sustainability issues. Gillis in particular stressed the need to make better use both of market mechanisms and traditional regulatory tools that have been misused in the past.

The center was established last fall through a \$3.5 million endowment from the Shell Oil Company Foundation. Building on the Environmental and Energy Systems Institute’s interdisciplinary program of education, research, and outreach, the

Shell Center will focus on the role of the private sector in implementing a sustainable future as well as on the potential of new technologies to underpin better solutions to clean water, air, and fuel choices.

Gillis spearheaded the development of the center along with chairman of the Committee of Managing Directors of the Royal Dutch/Shell Group, Sir Philip Watts, who also addressed the conference. Watts’ remarks focused on climate change, and more particularly, on Shell’s commitment to reducing greenhouse gas emissions and finding long-term alternatives to fossil fuels.

“There is still great uncertainty about this,” Watts said. “But taking action now will enable us to respond better whichever way our understanding develops. We can’t afford not to take action.”

Gillis and Watts headlined a “who’s who” list of speakers at the conference that included U.S. undersecretary of state for global affairs Paula Dobriansky, former French minister of state for social economy Guy Hascoet and Toyota Motor Corp. senior managing director Hiroyuki Watanabe.

Watts said one of the persistent myths of sustainable development is that business is the problem. In reality, he said, business must be part of the solution.

Shell Center executive director Christian Holmes said one of the primary goals of the new research center is to develop established methods, or best

practices, that industry can follow in order to foster sustainability.

Holmes said the center will address such challenges as the improvement of air quality, sustainable development of major urban areas, the development of new sources of energy, and the provision and treatment of water.

In so doing, Holmes hopes the center will enable Rice students to perceive sustainability as a value and a tool, which can assist them throughout their careers in making decisions that benefit the environment, society, and the economy.

Holmes said the large turnout for the conference was a testament to the importance that industry, particularly Houston’s energy sector, is placing on sustainability. Attendees came from 44 companies and six countries and included Houston philanthropist George Mitchell, a long-time champion of sustainability studies, who recently established the George and Cynthia Mitchell Chair in Sustainable Development as part of the Shell Center.

The conference was sponsored by the Shell Center, the Environmental and Energy Systems Institute, and the Baker Institute, with additional support from the French Embassy, which provided travel support for members of the French delegation who spoke at the event.

# CHINA

*continued from page 11*

researcher at the Fairbanks Center at Harvard, who presented arguments from his new book, *The New Chinese Empire*, at a talk at the Baker Institute April 17.

According to Terrill, ties with Taiwan and Hong Kong will help drive the Mainland toward democracy. “Democracy in Taiwan since the late 1980s, and to a degree in Hong Kong in the 1990s, proved that Chinese civilization is not antithetical to elections and a free press. ‘Well water may not intrude into river water,’ Beijing warns of Hong Kong’s influence on the Mainland. But Taiwan and Hong Kong—through language, family, the press, and entertainment—will continue to affect Mainland people’s thinking. Especially from Taiwan—that influence includes a strong attachment to democracy,” said Terrill.

Terrill further speculated that the central government and Communist Party will face increasing pressure for political reform from ethnic groups. “An empire, as a political construction from above, is by its nature repressive—an artifice to hold together diverse cultures. Beijing not only faces a cry for political participation in the big Chinese-ethnic cities of the coast, but also in Tibet, Xinjiang, and Inner Mongolia, it experiences opposition from peoples who want freedom as ethnic groups. The new Chinese empire is vulnerable to such double pressure because of

its brittle centralized Leninist rule and the anachronism of multicultural empire in the 21st century,” he said.

## *TCP Researcher Receives Guggenheim Fellowship*

Jianying Zha, a writer and visiting scholar/researcher affiliated with the Transnational China Project, received a Guggenheim Fellowship to do research for a follow-up to her 1995 book, *China Pop: How Soap Operas, Tabloids and Best Sellers Are Transforming a Culture*. Some of that research will be applicable to the TCP’s study of how civil society is marketed in China.

Born and raised in Beijing and recently living in Fort Lauderdale, Fla., Zha returned to China for a year to collect data formally and informally from a variety of sources.

“I’m interested in the emerging new middle class in China,” said Zha, who will conduct interviews, visit Chinese survey groups and study Chinese Internet websites.

In *China Pop*, Zha portrays the impact of popular culture on traditional Chinese society. She wants to explore other topics in her next book. For the TCP, she wants to talk to the trendsetters and visionaries—mainly entrepreneurs, artists, and cultural figures—in China’s emerging consumer culture to identify the themes and values they hope to promote in the future.

Zha, who has a master’s of philosophy in comparative literature

from Columbia University, noted that the work she does for the TCP will be “strictly academic,” but the research for her book will be more “literary journalism.”

Because Guggenheim Fellowships are made freely, with no special conditions attached, they are among the most competitive awards in academia. Guggenheim Fellows are appointed based on both their past achievement and their promise for the future.

The purpose of the fellowship is to provide funds that will allow fellows to work with as much creative freedom as possible, in any manner they deem necessary to their work.

The people Zha meets could serve as characters for her book, and their demographic details could be helpful to the TCP’s search for a more contemporary view of Asian culture.

With a grant from the Henry Luce Foundation, the TCP is analyzing messages conveyed through advertising in China to determine whether the appeals are being targeted toward the new middle class.

## *Scholars and Educators Worldwide Use TCP Online Resources*

The Transnational China Project 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/~tchina>.

The TCP's website has been listed as an invaluable resource for the study of contemporary Chinese culture by the Association for Asian Studies, the Center for Research Libraries at the University of Chicago, the Asia Society, the Internet Guide to Chinese Studies, and the Encyclopedia Britannica online.

Scholars at many American universities and colleges use the website as a curriculum resource, including California State University, Sacramento, Chicago, Colgate, Colorado, East Central, Fullerton, Georgia Institute of Technology, Harvard, Michigan, Northeastern State, Ohio State, Rivier, Salem State, Saint Joseph, San Francisco State, SUNY New Paltz, Texas, Vanderbilt, Wellesley, and Wisconsin.

The project's materials are also cited by researchers and instructors at such foreign universities as Australian National, Billkent (Turkey), Hong Kong, Keele (UK), Leiden, London, Malaysia, Ottawa, Simon Fraser, Autonoma de Barcelona, and Western Sydney.

## MOSCOW

*continued from page 12*

significance of Russia's oil industry, the strategic importance of Russian gas, and the role of the Caspian region as part of Russia's energy strategy.

Top executives from Russian and U.S. oil and gas companies, government officials and independent experts from both countries attended the two-day conference. "The seminar and related events provided an opportunity for Russian and U.S. experts on the Russian energy industry to present their views on the current state of energy development in Russia, both from a commercial and geopolitical perspective," said Stuart Schaffer, of Baker Botts' Global Projects department. "We at Baker Botts are proud to have played a role in bringing these experts together

in Moscow to continue the ongoing discussions of these very important issues."

Following the seminar, experts agreed that further discussion is needed in the following areas:

- the optimization of competition in the Russian and Caspian oil and gas pipeline industry
- the merits of Russian export routes to China, Japan, and the West
- the appropriate role of the Russian and U.S. governments in the regional oil sector

Baker Institute honorary chair James A. Baker, III, was the keynote speaker at a dinner hosted by the Baker Institute.

A report of the proceedings will be posted on the Baker Institute's website, <http://www.bakerinstitute.org>.

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# LECTURES

*continued from page 13*

women survivors of war, civil strife, and other conflicts with the tools and resources to move from crisis and poverty into a civil society that promotes and protects peace, stability, and self-sufficiency. Salbi was honored for her humanitarian efforts as founder and president of this organization by President Bill Clinton and First Lady Hillary Clinton during a White House ceremony in 1995.

Amina Wadud, associate professor in the Department of Philosophy and Religious Studies at Virginia Commonwealth University, spoke on “Text, Gender, and Reform in Islam” March 31.

Wadud discussed various aspects of gender activism in Islam. Multiple Muslim women’s networks exist in different countries, she explained, some government-sponsored, some private, some strictly Muslim, and some associated with non-Muslim national and international organizations. These large and growing networks are building toward a movement of gender empowerment and reform that entails consciousness-raising, seeks to redefine the role of religious authority, and works toward increased levels of education, rights of girls and women, and policy reforms.

In particular, Wadud described how women’s appropriation of Islamic primary sources, such as the Qur’an, sunnah, and shar’i’ah, undertakes a more inclusive gender interpretation, enhancing the legitimacy of women’s aspira-

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.....

tions to authority within the Islamic religious and intellectual tradition and implementing reform for women and the lives of all Muslims.

A large part of Wadud’s presentation was devoted to the interpretation of the Qur’an. Using a number of examples, she demonstrated textual reinterpretations and their application to law and ahadith or sunnah.

The third lecture in the series was delivered April 21 by Al-Hibri, professor of law at the University of Richmond’s T.C. Williams School of Law, on “The Qur’anic Worldview: A Womanist Perspective.”

The bulk of Al-Hibri’s lecture was taken up with a discussion of the status of the interpretation of the Qur’an. For the most part, the teaching and exposition of the Qur’an have been in the hands of male scholars, she said.

Their perspective has deeply shaped the hermeneutical tradition and public consciousness of the Qur’an. However, she pointed out that historically, women played key roles in the foundational and subsequent periods of Islam.

Careful not to criticize the Holy Book itself, but aspects of its interpretation, Al-Hibri engaged in a detailed exposition of various Qur’anic textual samples. At times offering quite technical, philological reasoning, she demonstrated in case after case that the conventional readings had been constructed, contrary to the literal reading, from a distinctly male viewpoint. She also cited a series of Qur’anic passages that placed women into unambiguously central positions.

Al-Hibri pleaded for a gender-inclusive reappropriation of Holy Scripture. Participation of women in the exposition of the Qur’an will enhance the general applicability of the sacred text, and thereby promote the authority of the Qur’an, quite apart from raising the status of Muslim women in Islamic societies.

The lecture series enjoyed considerable popularity, with more than 100 people in attendance at each event. Co-sponsorship of the three lectures was provided by the President’s Office, the Provost’s Office, the Dean of Humanities, the Program of the Study of Women and Gender, the Department of History, the Department of Religious Studies, the Feminist Reading Group, and the Arab-American Educational Foundation.

# WAR CRIMES

*continued from page 14*

atic attacks against civilian populations); serious war crimes; and crimes of aggression, which was the centerpiece of the Nuremberg trials.

Fowler said defining “aggression” in a way that is internationally acceptable will be difficult and so will defining the role of the UN Security Council. “Under the terms of the UN charter, the Security Council has authority to maintain international peace and security, and that would include determining whether an act of war is an act of aggression,” Fowler said.

He elaborated on the U.S. opposition to the court. According to the UN treaty that established the court, the International Criminal Court should be used if national courts are not willing or able to take on a case. “That relationship is very respective of state sovereignty, because it gives domestic courts the opportunity to act first,” Fowler said. “From the U.S. perspective, the problem is that it’s the I.C.C. that would make the decision.”

Also of concern to the U.S. are the preconditions for when the court can exercise its jurisdiction. The UN Security Council can direct the court to exercise its jurisdiction, but the court can also act without any direction from the council when crimes under its jurisdiction are committed by nationals of parties to the treaty or on the territory of par-

ties to the treaty.

“This makes the U.S. very uncomfortable,” Fowler said, “because it means whenever U.S. troops are on the territory of a country that ratified the treaty, they can be subjected to the I.C.C. without approval by the U.S.”

Fowler posed questions reflecting competing values: responsibility for the world’s problems versus political action. If the U.S., as the world’s main superpower, takes action to solve a problem somewhere in the world, could it be subjected to an international institution over which it has no control? Is it better to have an international institution try war criminals?

Panelist James Morrow, professor of political science and senior research scientist at the University of Michigan’s Center for Political Studies, said law works best when it regulates but does not judge the political environment.

He favors a more limited vision of an international legal system inspired by the Nuremberg trials. “International law is most effective when it regulates the process of how nations and states interact with one another,” he said.

“In war, militaries are better at policing war crimes against their own,” Morrow said. “Working through the military to police its own soldiers has proven to be more effective, but even the best disciplined armies commit atrocities.”

Law prevents a vicious circle of

retaliation, where atrocities by one side are met by atrocities by the other. “The battlefield deteriorates to the point when anything is allowable,” Morrow said. Rule of law has the best chance of working when combined with democracy.

Morrow said the essential problem is how to get rid of dictatorships in a way that allows the spread of the rule of law in an internal sense, which has proven to be the best way to handle the matter. Dictators who worry about the possibility of retribution often hold their population hostage. “It is important to get the monsters out of positions of power,” he said.

Morrow proposed “a more modest version” of moving to a different form of political control of atrocities and mass killing. “That is, I believe, the best road to make sure this never happens again,” he said.

Holocaust Museum Houston, the Baker Institute, and Rice University’s Center for the Study of International Conflict and Cooperation worked together to bring the panel of distinguished specialists to Houston for this program. Robert Stein, dean of the School of Social Sciences at Rice, served as moderator for the panel.

## FORUM

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Zingeris also discussed means for creating understanding among the different cultures that exist within Lithuania.

Early in the semester, a panel discussion called "Iraq, the Day After: U.S. Postconflict Policy in Iraq," led by former ambassadors Edward Djerejian and Frank Wisner, addressed a report sponsored by the Council on Foreign Relations and the Baker Institute. The report, titled "Guiding Principles for U.S. Postconflict Policy in Iraq," was the first comprehensive effort to outline guiding principles and priorities in the postwar environment. The event gave students insight into the complex task the U.S. faces when the war is over.

"Challenges in Creating a Sound National Energy Policy" was a discussion about U.S. energy policy with former undersecretary of energy Ernest J. Moniz. Moniz also served from 1995 to 1997 as associate director for science in the Office of Science and Technology Policy in the Executive Office of the President.

"Policy Briefing: Latin America, An Economic and Political Overview" featured James M. Derham, deputy assistant secretary of state for western hemisphere affairs, who discussed the major economic and political issues in Latin America, with an emphasis on Venezuela, Mexico, and Brazil.

"Social Factors Affecting Health: The Sociology of Health

and Public Policy" was a lunch lecture given by Alvin Tarlov, director of the Texas Institute for Society and Health and senior fellow in health policy at the Baker Institute. The discussion was centered around the challenges facing the public health community as the social factors that affect health become more apparent.

Michael Mandelbaum, the Christian A. Herter Professor of American Foreign Policy at the School of Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins University and a senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations, discussed his new book, *The Ideas that Conquered the World: Peace, Democracy, and Free Markets*.

In a unique opportunity, Rice students were invited to attend an intimate discussion and coffee titled "Insight on Iraq: Students' Questions Answered" with Baker Institute director Edward P. Djerejian, former U.S. ambassador to Syria and Israel.

"The American South, Religion, and Public Policy" was a panel discussion concerning the influence the American South and religion have on United States foreign and domestic policy. The panel featured three of the nation's foremost scholars of Southern politics, Southern history, and religion.

"U.S.–Nicaraguan Relations and Life as an Ambassador" was a breakfast gathering at which former U.S. Ambassador to Nicaragua Oliver Pastrano Garza discussed his experience in the foreign service and the current

state of relations between the U.S. and Nicaragua.

With the events that unfolded in Iraq over the course of the spring semester, BISF understood that student interest was very high. On the premise that respectful and thoughtful discussion and debate are essential parts of being at a university, to close out the year, BISF organized a three-part series titled "Conversation on Iraq: Conflict, Costs, and Consequences," about the American engagement in Iraq. The series featured a student-moderated panel of scholars, a discussion with Ambassador Djerejian, and a student panel featuring campus leaders. The events were put together to answer students' questions about the war in Iraq and to initiate a campuswide dialogue.

These events were received with an overwhelming response by the Rice community. In addition to the BISF-sponsored events mentioned above, BISF also co-sponsored several events with the Baker Institute as well as other organizations on campus. The members of BISF look forward to another successful academic year this fall.

# WORLD

*continued from page 15*

unresolved status of Taiwan. If such a war breaks out, it could involve two nuclear powers: The People's Republic of China and the United States, he said.

In his book, Mandelbaum divides the 21st-century world into two categories: the core—the wealthy, powerful countries of Western Europe, North America, and Japan—and the periphery—all the other countries, which used to be known as the “Third World” during the Cold War.

Today the world's core enjoys “unprecedented peace,” while the periphery is “less orderly, less peaceful” than it was during the Cold War, Mandelbaum said. His theory for explaining this is that the rich countries are no longer as interested in the poor countries as they were during the Cold War, when the great powers viewed the world as a chess war and guarded their pawns carefully, which helped promote stabilization in the periphery.

This “disconnection” between the core and the periphery is characteristic of the 21st century, with one “towering exception”—the Middle East, Mandelbaum said. Western economies could be severely damaged if access to the world's largest deposits of oil in the Middle East is cut off. And some of the regimes in the Middle East seek weapons of mass destruction to pursue interests that are radically different from those of the U.S. and other

Western countries.

The solution to the problems in the Middle East and much of the rest of the world's periphery, Mandelbaum said, is to implant peace, democracy, and free markets in the countries where they do not exist or are weakly rooted.

He cited the liberal theory of history proposing that democracies tend to conduct peaceful foreign policies, adding that the democracy must consist not only of elections, which are easy to stage, but also constitutional-



*“The forces that brought down communism are still operating.”*



ism—the rule of law and protection of the rights of minorities.

He also cited the liberal theory asserting that market economies tend to become political democracies. “The most important development in the world at the outset of the 21st century is the virtually universal embrace of free markets,” Mandelbaum said. “The free market has become the most popular and widely legitimate institution in all of human history,” he added.

Building effective free markets is “the most important public business” in much of the world, especially in Russia and China, Mandelbaum noted. “The

United States is certainly the most important country in the world today because it bears the greatest responsibility for fostering and sustaining the conditions in which peace, democracy, and free markets can flourish,” he said, but added that the countries that lack these three great ideas must want and build the free markets, democracies, and peace themselves.

Mandelbaum's lecture was arranged by the Baker Institute Student Forum and the Council on Foreign Relations.

## *Baker Institute Report*

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# COMING EVENTS

*September 16*—Mediating the Middle East: Constructed or Real Realities

*October 1*—Address by Helmut Kohl, former chancellor of Germany

*October 8*—The Urban Institute—Returning Home Project

*October 17*—10th Anniversary Gala

*October 18*—Media and Public Policy, with Peter Jennings, Jim Lehrer, and James A. Baker, III

*November 1–2*—Science and Public Policy

*November 7*—Noted Israeli Poet Amos Oz

*November 11*—Address by Dr. Amartya Sen, Nobel laureate in economics

*November 14*—IEA World Energy Outlook 2003\*

*November 14–17*—Americas Project\*\*

\* For members of the Energy Forum

\*\* Invitations to select programs will be issued.

Please contact the Baker Institute for more information, 713-348-4843.



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