

# IRC ALERT

October—November 2005

## FOCUS: United Nations Reforms



In his September 15<sup>th</sup> address to the United Nations, President Bush explained why genuine reform is necessary and why it is in the interests of free people everywhere to push the world body to live up to its ideals. If the *United Nations* is to succeed in important missions such as fighting disease and promoting human rights, the president noted, it "must be strong and efficient, free of corruption and accountable to the people it serves."

The *United Nations* "must stand for integrity, and live by the high standards it sets for others. And meaningful institutional *reforms* must include measures to improve internal oversight, identify cost savings, and ensure that precious resources are used for their intended purpose," Bush said. "And the process of reform begins with members taking our responsibilities seriously. When this great institution's member states choose notorious abusers of human rights to sit on the U.N. Human Rights Commission, they discredit a noble effort and undermine the credibility of the whole organization. If member countries want the *United Nations* to be respected ... and effective, they should begin by making sure it is worthy of respect."

Unfortunately, the document approved in September by the U.N. General Assembly takes only small steps in the direction of reform outlined by Mr. Bush. On the positive side, it would replace the Human Rights Commission, which in recent years has included serial violators of human rights, such as Sudan, Zimbabwe and Libya.

Thanks to the fine work of U.N. Ambassador John Bolton, Washington succeeded in ensuring that language-urging countries to support flawed concepts like the International Criminal Court and the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty were not included in the final document. Mr. Bolton also succeeded in softening language that would have required the *United States* to substantially increase its spending on foreign-aid programs that have dubious records.

But in other areas, the document disregards legitimate U.S. concerns and fails to address some of the most serious problems plaguing the *United Nations*. Negotiators did not include U.S.-backed language strengthening the secretary-general's oversight of finances

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or language calling on states not to transfer weapons to terrorists. They also did not agree to bar rights violators from the new Human Rights Council, and U.S. officials admit it will be very difficult to win support in the General Assembly for creation of a council worthy of the name. On terrorism, the *United States* and Arab governments reached a stalemate: Arab governments were unsuccessful in their attempts to exclude so-called "national liberation movements" that target civilians from being classified as terrorists. But Washington was unable to win a clear condemnation of the deliberate killing of civilians, according to Undersecretary of State Nicholas Burns. Clearly, the *United Nations* has at best a long and difficult road as it moves from vision toward reality.

**Source:** *Washington Times, The (DC)*. September 15, 2005

## **UNITED NATIONS REFORMS — Articles & Documents**

**6-1/FOC**  
**AMERICAN INTERESTS AND UN REFORM**  
By U.S. Institute of Peace  
**Report of the Task Force on the United Nations, 2005, 154 p.**

This report represents the results of the Task Force's efforts. It is worth underscoring that the Task Force focused on the United Nations from the perspective of American interests and America's international responsibilities. This is an important distinction. At the same time, core American interests in security, peace, stability, democracy, and human rights are those shared by many other countries around the world.

**6-2/FOC**  
**FIXING FAILURE**  
By Giovanni Bassu  
***The World Today*, August/September 2005, Vol. 61, No. 8/9, pp. 13-15.**

The High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Changes, which reported to the UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan, in March strengthening the collective security system, recommended the creation of the new UN body, the Peace building Commission.

This is one of the few reform proposals, which has had almost universal approval, and looks set to be implemented. Many issues still need to be addressed, like the lack of an early warning capability, how to improve faltering UN coordination and where the funds would come from.

**6-3/FOC**  
**HOPES FOR A UN REFORM**  
By Celestino Migliori  
***America*, June 20-27, 2005, Vol. 191, No. 21, pp. 9-13.**

The reasons for the reform of the United Nations do not come uniquely or even primarily from the convenience of sharing power across a wider group of countries, but from a real need for participatory ways of exercising political authority, as well as for transparency and accountability at every level of public eye. In other words the need for reforms is found in global governance itself. It is global governance that badly needs reform and reorientation.

**6-4/FOC**  
**PUSHING FOR A FLATTER WORLD**  
***Newsweek*, Sep. 26, 2005, p. 104**

One and a half years ago, Jose Luis Rodriguez Zapatero surprised the world with a landslide election victory just days after the Madrid train bombings. And despite fears that the prime minister's Socialist Party would reverse hard-won economic gains, and frictions with the Vatican over social reforms like legalizing gay marriage, he is still riding high in the polls, with a 55 percent approval rating. Spain itself is experiencing a newfound cultural confidence in everything from food to movies, especially when contrasted with neighbors France and Italy. And the country, with its unique Moorish heritage, is promoting itself as a much-needed bridge to the Islamic world. Zapatero flew to New York last week to attend the United Nations World Summit, where he sat down with NEWSWEEK international editors.

**6-5/FOC**  
**UNREFORMABLE?**  
Anonymous  
***Foreign Policy*, September/October 2005, Vol. 150, No. 3, p. 24**

UN Secretary General Kofi Annan chose Mark Mallock Brown to lead an effort to reform the United Nations. "Foreign Policy" spoke to him to find out whether the world body will ever get its house in order.

6-6/FOC

### UN LEADERS ENDORSE MODEST REFORMS

By Howard LaFranchi

Christian Science Monitor, September 15, 2005, pp 01-s02.

<http://www.csmonitor.com/2005/0915/p01s02-usfp.htm>

Despite widespread skepticism in Washington about the UN, the action plan for reform adopted by the General Assembly offer enough to keep the Bush administration interested in the world's largest international institution, observers say - and to keep the US pressing for further reforms.

6-7/FOC

### THE UNITED NATIONS REFORMS AND HUMAN RIGHTS

By Silvano M. Tomasi

America, September 12, 2005, Vol. 193, No. 6, p.16

The overall reform of the United Nations aims explicitly at making the protection of human rights a key element of international governance, a synergy among persons, people, governments, civil society and international organizations, capable of the environment.

## UNITED NATIONS REFORMS — Internet Sites

*Please note that the U.S. Embassy assumes no responsibility for the content and availability of the resources listed below. Internet resources were active as of November 29, 2005.*

### CENTER FOR UN REFORM EDUCATION

<http://www.centerforunreform.org/home.asp>

### MANAGEMENT REFORMS

<http://www.un.org/reform/dossier.html>

### MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS

<http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/>

### THE MILLENNIUM SUMMIT AND ITS FOLLOW-UP

<http://www.globalpolicy.org/msummit/millenni/>

### NON-PAPERS ON UN REFORM

[http://www.un.int/mexico/index\\_reform.htm](http://www.un.int/mexico/index_reform.htm)

### REFORM AT THE UN

[www.un.org/reform/](http://www.un.org/reform/)

### REFORMTHEUN.ORG

<http://www.reformtheun.org/>

### UN DEVELOPMENT GROUP

<http://www.undg.org/>

### UNFIP

<http://www.un.org/unfip/>

### UN FISCAL REFORM

<http://www.library.yale.edu/un/un3b9.htm>

## INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

6-8/IS

### A CLASH OF SYSTEMS: An Analytical Framework to Demystify the Radical Islamist Threat

By Andrew Harvey and Others

Parameters, Autumn 2005, Vol. 35, No. 3, pp. 72-86.

In this article, the authors, aim to provide an alternative framework to portray the struggle against Islamist extremism as "a clash of systems, not civilizations." They argue that Samuel Huntington's "clash of civilizations" theory is "the chosen model of radical Islamists, who in turn use it to mobilize support" and that "it is imperative that the wider global war on terror focus on the systemic implications of the struggle, which provides a credible methodology to address and mitigate the root causes

that fuel the ideology of extremist Islamism." They believe that if the U.S. is to prevail in the global war on terrorism, it must not allow the situation to devolve into Huntington's "simplistic, apocalyptic version of a clash of civilizations"; instead, we must understand the implications of our global leadership, and "how to use this position to demonstrate to moderates in the Islamic world why they should join us rather than attempt to beat us."

**6-9/IS**

**GRAND STRATEGIES FOR DEALING WITH OTHER STATES IN THE NEW, NEW WORLD ORDER**

By James F. Miskel

Naval War College Review, Vol. 58, No. 1, Winter 2005, pp. 63-75.

<http://www.nwc.navy.mil/press/Review/2005/Winter/art3-w05.htm>

Miskel, with the Naval War College, analyzes the allocation of American security-related assistance to other states. He concludes that it would be most effective to base this allocation upon the other country's potential contribution to specific efforts in the war on terrorism. Currently, state-to-state assistance programs are allocated on the basis of assumptions about the role a particular nation plays in the global war on terrorism. Countries are categorized as either pivotal, buffer or failing states and aid is allocated accordingly. This approach is inconsistent with the security threat that the U.S. faces in the early twenty-first century.

**6-10/IS**

**POST-NUCLEAR STRATEGY**

By Barry M. Blechman

The National Interest, Summer 2005, No. 80, pp. 86-92.

Co-founder and chairman of the Henry L. Stimson Center in Washington, DC, Blechman recognizes that although "nuclear weapons are overrated" and represent "no magic talisman" to guarantee survival of a regime, they are nonetheless a "great equalizer in international affairs." He acknowledges the continued threat of Russian and Chinese nuclear arsenals, as well as the present and future threat posed by nations like North Korea and Iran and by extremists. These threats require that the U.S. redouble supply-side

restraints such as the Comprehensive Threat Reduction program, strengthen IAEA safeguards, and promote multilateral cooperation. His strongest argument is to reverse the Senate's opposition to the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and wield it against China, North Korea and others who seek to advance their nuclear weapon designs and capabilities.

**6-11/IS**

**RESCUING THE LAW OF WAR: A Way Forward in an Era of Global Terrorism**

By Michael H. Hoffman

Parameters, Summer 2005, Vol. 35, No. 2, pp. 18-35.

Hoffman, an attorney and retired lieutenant colonel in the Army Reserve, believes that uncertainty about the application of the law of war to terrorists is creating a situation in which "terrorists are gaining an astonishing legal edge over US and other armed forces deployed against them" because the US judiciary is "bestowing legal status and privileges on members of terrorist organizations that have no precedent in the 3,500-year recorded history of warfare." He refutes the notion that all armed conflict is regulated by the Geneva Conventions because they cover only international armed conflict or conflict between nations, noting that no treaty covers situations where "privately organized armed forces cross international borders, stalk international sea lanes, or strike at international aviation for their own ideological or political purposes." According to Hoffman, the term "unlawful combatant" refers only to spies, saboteurs, and guerrilla fighters who are operating during wartime and historical precedence precludes civilian court jurisdiction in such cases. History can, however, provide the basis for adapting the customary rules of war to protect society from terrorists and to protect terrorist prisoners from criminal abuse. He believes that the executive branch of government with Congressional oversight is best equipped to devise rules for this challenge.

**6-12/IS**

**TOWARD A REVIVAL OF RELIGION AND RELIGIOUS CLASHES?**

By Tanja Ellingsen

Terrorism & Political Violence, Spring/Summer 2005, Vol. 17, No. 3, pp. 305-319.

The author examines the growth of religious fervor around the world and its influence on military conflicts. Some social scientists believe that, as modernization and globalization progress, there will be a decrease in religiosity around the world and a decrease in conflict; others argue that societies need to see globalization's benefits or they will turn against it because it contributes to the breakdown of local traditions. The author notes that religion is becoming less important in the West than in other parts of the world, notably Africa and the Middle East; however, over fifty percent of the people within the advanced Western democracies still consider or religious issues important to them. Instead of a radical resurgence of religion around the world, the author believes that religion simply continues to play the important role that it always has. The author notes that, although identity conflicts flared up after the Cold War, particularly in Asia and Africa, they have decreased in recent years. Cultural clashes or poverty very likely play an equal part in fueling such conflicts.

#### **6-13/IS\***

#### **VICTORY HAS MANY FRIENDS: U.S. Public Opinion and the Use of Military Force, 1981-2005**

**By Richard C. Eichenberg**

**International Security, Summer 2005, Vol. 30, No. 1, pp. 140-170.**

Although previous studies have examined U.S. public support for the use of military force in particular historical cases, and have even made limited comparisons among cases, a full comparison of a large number of historical episodes in which the United States contemplated, threatened, or actually used military force has been missing. An analysis of U.S. public support for the use of military force in twenty two historical episodes from the early 1980s through the Iraq war and occupation (2003-05) underscores the continuing relevance of Bruce Jentleson's principal policy objectives framework: the objective for which military force is used is an important determinant of the base level of public support. The U.S. public supports restraining aggressive adversaries, but it is leery of involvement in civil war situations. Although the objective of the mission strongly conditions this base level of support, the public is also sensitive to the relative risk of different military actions; to the prospect of civilian or military casualties; to multilateral participation in the

mission; and to the likelihood of success or failure of the mission. These results suggest that support for U. S. military involvement in Iraq is unlikely to increase; indeed, given the ongoing civil strife in Iraq, continuing casualties, and substantial disagreement about the prospects for success, the public's support is likely to remain low or even decline.

#### **6-14/IS**

#### **WHEN IS COERCION SUCCESSFUL? AND WHY CAN'T WE AGREE ON IT?**

**By Patrick C. Bratton**

**Naval War College Review, Summer 2005, Vol. 58, No. 3, pp. 99-120.**

The author, a researcher at the National War College, notes that although there is substantial literature on coercion, there is little agreement on what constitutes a successful example of coercion. Different authors have their own definitions of success and apply them to case studies, often with diverging conclusions -- because the literature lacks a clear conceptual framework to analyze coercion. He then describes some of these contrasting definitions, using examples such as the "Great Sir Power Debate." He suggests three measures that would increase the understanding of coercion. First, researchers should agree on a shared definition of coercion; second, the results of coercion should be analyzed in terms of positive and negative outcomes, not successes or failures. Finally, writers should "place coercion in the perspective of the greater foreign policies of states ... and they should not assume that the success of a particular coercive strategy will meet the needs and concerns, and fit the options, of policymakers."

## **DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS**

#### **6-15/DHR**

#### **ASSESSING THE QUALITY OF MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT WEB SITES**

**By James K. Scott**

**State and Local Government Review, Vol. 37, No. 2, 2005, pp. 151-165.**

The author, associate professor at the University of Missouri / Columbia, notes that municipal governments have a reputation for quickly adopting

new technologies to serve their constituents, and have been at the forefront of developing Web sites to provide public services. This study analyzes twenty U. S. municipal government sites by five quality measures: transparency, ease of citizen-to-government transactions, connectivity, personalization, and usability. Scott notes that his study illustrates the challenges local governments face in maintaining a high-quality web site in a competitive and fast-changing online environment. His research suggests possible changes in the role in improving the quality of municipal governments' web sites that could be played by state governments and the federal government, which currently provides little support in local e-government initiatives.

**6-16/DHR**

**AN ASSESSMENT OF TENURE ON THE U.S. SUPREME COURT**

**By Kevin T. McGuire**

**Judicature, July-August 2005, Vol. 89, No. 1, pp. 8-15.**

With an aging Supreme Court, the question of life tenures for Supreme Court justices has been raised. McGuire explores the question of life tenure by looking at the history of the Court as it relates to age. He notes that the ages of appointment and retirement for Supreme Court justices from the nineteenth century to the present has remained relatively unchanged -- in contrast to the growing perception that justices are serving longer terms now than in past decades. McGuire concludes that there is no need to create legislation to force justices out of the Court at a certain age.

**6-17/DHR**

**BLENDING DEMOCRACY**

**By Dov Zakheim**

**National Interest, Fall 2005, No. 81, pp. 40-48.**

The author writes that creating a true democracy in the Middle East is a long-term process and the result will mimic the American idea of what a democracy is. Zakheim provides examples of countries moving towards democracy but this movement will be a lengthy process. Cultural differences between the U. S. and the Middle East countries guarantee that any form of Middle Eastern democracy may not appear as a democracy at all to Westerners. The author

contends that the Middle East needs a version of democracy that does not resemble that of Western countries but will offer people the same basic rights.

**6-18/DHR**

**CAN DEMOCRACY STOP TERRORISM?**

**By F. Gregory Gause III**

**Foreign Affairs, September/October 2005, Vol. 84, No. 5. pp. 62-76.**

The United States is engaged in what President George W. Bush has called a "generational challenge" to instill democracy in the Arab world. The Bush administration and its defenders contend that this push for Arab democracy will not only spread American values but also improve U.S. security. As democracy grows in the Arab world, the thinking goes, the region will stop generating anti-American terrorism. Promoting democracy in the Middle East is therefore not merely consistent with U.S. security goals; it is necessary to achieve them. But this begs a fundamental question: Is it true that the more democratic a country becomes, the less likely it is to produce terrorists and terrorist groups? In other words, is the security rationale for promoting democracy in the Arab world based on a sound premise? Unfortunately, the answer appears to be no. Although what is known about terrorism is admittedly incomplete, the data available do not show a strong relationship between democracy and an absence of or a reduction in terrorism.

**6-19/DHR**

**INSTITUTIONALIZING NEUTRALLY COMPETENT POLICY ANALYSIS: Resources for Promoting Objectivity and Balance in Consolidating Democracies**

**By David L. Weimer**

**The Policy Studies Journal, Vol. 33, No. 2, pp. 131-146.**

Creating institutions that foster the production of objective and balanced policy analysis is a challenging task for all types of regimes. The value of neutral competence often suffers in tradeoffs with the value of responsiveness, especially in the exercise of executive authority. Institutional designers, however, are not without resources for structuring arrangements to promote the production of objective and balanced policy analysis: organizations can be

created with an incentive to achieve "reputations" for neutral competence; organizations can be isolated from being too politically responsive through forms of "independence"; for promoting interaction based on "professional norms" can be created to resolve conflicts about prediction; "participation in international organizations" can be leveraged to counteract domestic biases; and "transparency" can be employed to facilitate balancing of views or to shame severe abuses. This essay sets out the logic underlying design with these sorts of institutional resources, illustrates their use primarily in the U.S. context, and speculates on their application in consolidating democracies.

**6-20/DHR**

**IS IT A HONEYMOON? An Empirical Investigation of the President's First Hundred Days**

**By Casey Byrne Knudsen Dominguez**  
**Congress & The Presidency, Spring 2005, Vol. 32, No. 1, pp. 63-78.**

The author, a researcher at the University of California at Berkeley, notes that conventional wisdom is that a newly-elected President enjoys a "honeymoon" period of several months in which the American public gives its new leader the benefit of the doubt. However, Dominguez notes that little study has been done to see if a new President enjoys a similarly productive initial period with Congress. In this paper, the author analyses a selected pool of legislation on which presidents took official positions, and finds that they did indeed enjoy higher success rates with Congress during the first hundred days of their inaugural year, than in subsequent periods. However, not all presidents enjoyed equal deference during the "honeymoon" period; presidents presiding over a divided government, such as the current President Bush, had a greater advantage.

**6-21/DHR**

**AN ISLAMIC APPROACH TO PEACE AND NONVIOLENCE: A Turkish Experience**

**By Zei Saritoprak**  
**The Muslim World, July 2005, Vol. 95, No. 3, pp. 413- 428.**

Saritoprak discusses the Islamic approach to peace and nonviolence through an examination of the

Turkish experience. Among others, he explores the Qur'an and the Hadith perspective on peace and nonviolence. He further deals with Turkish Islamic figures who promoted peace and nonviolence through their teachings and activities, such as Suleyman Hilmi Tunahan, Mehmet Zahit Kotku, and especially Bediuzzaman Said Nursi and Fethullah Gulen.

**6-22/DHR**

**THERE ARE NO ALTERNATIVES TO THE "WESTERN" MODEL OF DEMOCRACY**

**By Gerard Alexander**  
**World Affairs, Summer/Fall 2005, Vol. 12, No. 1, pp. 155-163.**

The author argues that there are no truly democratic alternatives to the "Western" model of democracy. Several core features of western democracies are the mechanisms that make officeholders accountable to citizens. There is a tradition of thinking that only elections are necessary to achieve accountability. However, elections labeled "democratic" have included ones dominated by a hegemonic ruling party such as the PRI in Mexico. Many governments that hold elections but do not practice other mechanisms for accomplishing accountability are often called "alternatives to Western democracy." However, these governments often end up being authoritarian. In order for elections to actually be free and fair, there must be basic rights such as the freedom of expression and the freedom to access alternative forms of information. These criteria make up the core features of Western democracies. They imply the necessary presence of free political parties, civil liberties, and an independent media. In order to deliver accountability, a large number of core features are indispensable and they are all currently found in "Western" democracies. The mechanisms that support democracies in the West are the same as the mechanisms that ensure governments will represent popular opinion in any country.

**6-23/DHR**

**OH BEHAVE! CONGRESS'S RECENT EFFORTS TO PUNISH FEDERAL JUDGES FLOUT THE CONSTITUTION; IT SAYS SO IN THE GOOD BEHAVIOR CLAUSE**

**By Todd David Peterson**  
**Legal Affairs, November/December 2005, pp. 16-18.**

Peterson raises the question of how and under what circumstances federal judges may be removed. The Good Behavior Clause in the Constitution guarantees judges the right to keep their positions based on just that, “good behavior.” The framers saw the Constitution as the mechanism to guarantee an independent judiciary, in which federal judges would be removable only by impeachment (requiring a Senate trial). In the wake of increasing friction between the judiciary and Congress, Peterson notes that it may be “too late in the game” to argue that the behavior clause allows for other forms of removal (however, judges have been removed for bribery, tax evasion, and other crimes). While Congress has launched some “comical” efforts to reign in judges, such as a bill seeking to overturn judicial review, an effort to insert a Congressional Inspector General into the judiciary and to conduct investigations of judges has begun. Peterson finds this “problematic” and warns that judges should not have to start looking over their shoulders as they make decisions. Good behavior, he says, takes place when judges are allowed to act independently.

## ECONOMIC SECURITY

6-24/ES

### AID AND GROWTH

By Steven Radelet and others

Finance & Development, Vol. 42, No. 3,  
September 2005.

<http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/fandd/2005/09/radelet.htm>

The authors, all with the Center for Global Development, review the prevailing views on aid effectiveness and argue that these views all suffer from inaccuracies perpetrated by treating all aid as if it is the same. They divide aid into three categories -- humanitarian aid, aid that might indirectly affect growth in the long-term, and aid designed to provide a more immediate and direct affect on growth -- and analyze each category separately to arrive at a more nuanced view on aid effectiveness.

6-25/ES

### ANTI-DUMPING: The Third Rail of Trade Policy

By N. Gregory Mankiw and Phillip L. Swagel

Foreign Affairs, July-August 2005, Vol. 84, no. 4,  
pp. 107-119.

The authors note that few politicians are willing to address the negative impact that U.S. antidumping law has on both competitors and consumers. They add that antidumping tariffs also restrict trade and allow domestic firms to block competition from abroad. U. S. exporters are further hampered by antidumping actions in the rest of the world. Antidumping policies have become a point of contention in international trade negotiations, and threaten to undermine the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the overall expansion of free trade. The authors argue that antidumping policy should be addressed at the Doha Development Agenda talks. They believe that outright repeal of antidumping laws would be the best policy for the U.S. -- but this is not feasible since the Trade Act of 2002, which granted trade promotion authority to the president, requires at least 180 days advance notice before signing a trade agreement that affects U. S. antidumping law or other trade remedies. The authors believe that a better solution might be through the increased use of temporary “safeguard tariffs” but these have received a hostile reaction from WTO.

6-26/ES

### DEMOGRAPHICS AND SECURITY: The Contrasting Cases of Pakistan and Bangladesh

By C. Christine Fairs and Others

Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies, Summer 2005, Vol. 28, No. 4, pp. 53-76.

Bangladesh and Pakistan continue to share many characteristics, though they diverge greatly regarding their security environments. Pakistan’s main security issue stem from active border disputes with Afghanistan and India, a nuclear arms rivalry with India and hostile relations with Iraq. In comparison Bangladesh distrusts and occasionally disputes with India, but Dhaka has never had strategic ambitions towards its neighbors. This paper argues that many observed dissimilarities between these two countries stem from geographic differences, some which can be attributed to the two countries’ diverse human

development policies.

**6-27/ES**

### **EIGHT QUESTIONS ABOUT CORRUPTION**

**By Jakob Svensson**

**Journal of Economic Perspectives, Summer 2005, Vol. 19, No. 3, pp. 19-42.**

According to the author, the most devastating forms of corruption include the diversion and outright theft of funds for public programs and the damage caused by firms and by individuals that pay bribes to avoid health and safety regulations intended to benefit the public. Corruption is also widespread in public procurement and service delivery programs. The author discusses what he considers to be the most frequently asked questions about public corruption. What is it and what countries are the most corrupt? What are the common characteristics of such countries and what is the magnitude of the corruption? Will higher wages for bureaucrats reduce corruption or will this come about through competition? Finally, why have there been so few successful attempts recently to fight corruption? The answers are often not clear-cut and there are still many issues about corruption that we know little about. Also, most anticorruption programs rely on legal and financial institutions (judiciary, police, auditors) to enforce and strengthen accountability in the public sector but in many poor countries, the legal and financial institutions are often corrupt themselves.

**6-28/ES**

### **ENERGY INDEPENDENCE**

**By Philip J Deutch**

**Foreign Policy, November/December 2005, No. 151, pp. 20-25.**

When people call for energy independence, they usually mean ending reliance on imported oil. However, the trend lines clearly indicate that Americans are becoming more energy dependent, not less so. In 1973, the US imported 35% of its oil; by 2003, that proportion had jumped to 55%. In 2004, the US consumed an average of 20.4 million barrels of oil per day, more than half of which was imported. Oil is a global commodity, the price of which is based on worldwide supply and demand. Events influencing supply and demand in one country affect prices in another. There is no point in pretending that the US

can cease using coal. Limiting coal also poses a dilemma for those who favor energy independence. Energy independence may be hopeless in the next 20 years, but there is no doubt that emerging technologies will eventually bear the brunt of the energy burden.

**6-29/ES**

### **MAKING DEVELOPMENT WORK**

**By Robert W Hahn and Paul C. Tetlock**

**Policy Review, August-September, 2005, No. 132, pp. 27-39.**

The economies of developing countries can be substantially improved if aid is associated with recipient countries' policies that support performance, say the authors. Yet care should be given to avoid examples of inverse incentives to spending aid wisely -- when countries that perform well find they can lose out on future needed aid. Donors must continue to try to determine how to best use aid by sharing more effectively information on the costs and benefits of individual aid-funded projects, especially before a project begins, the authors say. This is the concept of "information markets," allowing aid agencies, recipient governments and other informed parties to trade contracts that will yield aid payments based on expected measurable outcomes of projects. They use the example of a child vaccination project, in which benefits are paid according to how many children the information market estimates will be actually vaccinated in a certain country. Information markets can also help aid providers with project financing, and thereby encourage competition, the authors say.

**6-30/ES**

### **A MARKET FOR IDEAS: A Survey Of Patents and Technology**

**By Kenneth Cukier**

**Economist, Vol. 377, No. 8449, October 22, 2005, special insert**

[http://www.economist.com/printedition/displaystory.cfm?story\\_id=5014990](http://www.economist.com/printedition/displaystory.cfm?story_id=5014990)

Intellectual property protection can be good for the technology industry as well as for consumers if handled carefully, says Cukier. Finding the right balance between protection and sharing will test the technology industry, policy makers and the public in

years to come, he adds. Offering an historical perspective, the author says that ideas and innovation have become the world's most important resource, replacing land, energy and raw materials. Ideas, he says, are to the information age what the physical environment was to the industrial one: the raw materials of economic progress. Generating intellectual property is also less capital-intensive because it relies mainly on people rather than bricks and machinery. Cukier says that sharing intellectual property can be more profitable than keeping it to oneself because sharing can ensure the ideas are taken all the way through to the market. Further, he says, China and India have both learned to challenge Western tech firms through innovation, not just cheap labor, although the United States and Japan still lead the world in terms of numbers of annual patents granted.

**6-31/ES**

**THE 35 MOST TUMULTUOUS YEARS IN MONETARY HISTORY: Shocks, The Transfer Problem, And Financial Trauma**

**By Robert Z. Aliber**

**IMF Staff Papers, Vol. 52, Special Issue, 2005, pp. 142-159.**

The author, an emeritus professor at the University of Chicago, discusses what he considers to be the most tumultuous period in international monetary history. He includes in this period the unprecedented failures of nearly one hundred national banking systems; the enormous swings in market exchange rates and their extensive deviations from real exchange rates; the large variability in the flows of national saving across national boundaries; and four major asset price bubbles (Japan; Sweden and two Nordic neighbors; Thailand, Malaysia, and several other countries in Southeast Asia; and the United States). The author says these events were inter-related and based on changes in the cross-border flow of funds, changes in the foreign exchange values of national currencies, changes in the prices of financial securities and real estate in countries that experience inflows of foreign funds, and prolonged economic booms. He questions whether these financial troubles were larger than in previous periods, or whether the impact was due to differences in the institutional structures -- especially the absence of parities for national currencies.

**6-32/ES**

**THE NINE PRINCIPLES OF RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT**

**By Andrew S. Natsios**

**Parameters, Autumn 2005, Vol. 35, No. 3, pp. 4-20.**

Natsios, Administrator for the U.S. Agency for International Development, says the U.S. foreign assistance community is in the midst of the most fundamental shift in policy since the Marshall Plan at the end of World War II. The Bush administration has made development work a national security priority; further, the dynamics of today's asymmetrical warfare, in which military success increasingly depends on successful economic development, require much greater collaboration between the military and development communities, he states. Natsios reviews the Nine Principles of Reconstruction and Development -- ownership, capacity-building, sustainability, selectivity, assessment, results, partnership, flexibility, and accountability -- which are inspired by the military's Nine Principles of War. Foremost among the principles is ownership, writes Natsios, because reconstruction/development is simply not effective if local populations do not feel a sense of ownership toward donor programs.

**6-33/ES**

**THE STATESMAN**

**By James Traub**

**New York Times Magazine, September 18, 2005, pp. 80-89 +**

Rock celebrity Bono, the world's foremost activist for aid to Africa, has gone global with his campaign against poverty and disease, using his celebrity to elicit support from heads of state and other prominent figures. He has publicized his cause at top-level economic meetings, such as the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland and the G-8 Summit, where he tried to get commitments for debt relief for African countries to "put mankind back on earth." The cause of ending extreme poverty in Africa appeals to Bono's sense of advocacy; he demands that aid be conditioned not only on need but on demonstrated capacity to use that aid effectively. Bono has worked with the Bush administration, which asked his support for the president's development agenda. This collaboration brought

about his appearances through four African countries with then-Treasury Secretary Paul O'Neill in May 2002. However, Bono has been disappointed with the Bush administration's response to his requests. Consequently, he has focused on working with Great Britain, Germany and France. Bono's latest action is the creation of the One Campaign by 2008 to demand more action on Africa than he has received thus far.

**6-33/ES**

### **TIME TO STOP FOOLING OURSELVES**

#### **ABOUT FOREIGN AID: A Practitioner's View**

**By Thomas Dichter**

**CATO Institute: Foreign Policy Briefing, No. 86, September 12, 2005.**

[http://www.cato.org/pub\\_display.php?pub\\_id=4653](http://www.cato.org/pub_display.php?pub_id=4653)

Dichter, an international development professional, says rich nations should reject calls for increasing aid because the ineffectiveness of aid has little to do with a lack of resources and much to do with the self-perpetuating cycles of corruption in developing countries and growth of the aid industry. Foreign aid's dismal record for curing poverty does not negate its humanitarian value, he emphasizes, nor does it mean that world poverty is doomed to continue. He notes that poverty reduction has occurred in some places, irrespective of the amount of aid it received. Lasting poverty reduction takes time and is a function of economic growth, not aid -- and sustained economic growth is linked to the rule of law, good governance, and leadership that is relatively un-self-interested, Dichter writes.

## **GLOBAL ISSUES AND COMMUNICATION**

**6-34/GIC**

### **ARE ANTIBIOTICS KILLING US?**

**By Jessica Snyder Sachs**

**Discover, November 2005, Vol. 26, No. 11, pp. 36-41.**

<http://www.discover.com/issues/nov-05/features/are-antibiotics-killing/>

Hundreds of species of bacteria occur throughout the human body, and their functions are not fully understood. Antibiotic drugs used to kill infection-

causing bacteria can kill benign or helpful bacteria, too. Overuse of antibiotics leads to drug-resistant strains of the target species, and scientists have demonstrated that bacteria can exchange genes across species, thus spreading drug resistance. Severe, often deadly infections can occur when resistant bacteria normally found in the digestive system are introduced into other parts of the body via wounds or surgery. Researchers are trying to learn the role of bacteria in chronic disease development, particularly when a species is found in tissue far from where it usually occurs, such as the presence in arteries of oral bacteria commonly found in plaque deposits, or a variety of chlamydia in brain cells of Alzheimer's patients. With more bacterial species becoming drug-resistant, scientists, if not medical practitioners, are becoming alarmed over the widespread use of antibiotics and they wonder if we are learning too late that such use, especially in long-term treatment for chronic disease, may cause greater harm than good. The author is a science and health journalist and former editor of Science Digest.

**6-35/GIC**

### **THE BIG POTENTIAL OF SMALL FARMS**

**By Paul Polak**

**Scientific American, September/October 2005, Vol. 293, No. 3, pp. 84-91.**

The author asserts that large-scale water development projects and the Green Revolution to increase grain production have had limited success in raising small farmers out of poverty. Drawing on his more than two decades of experience as founder and president of International Development Enterprises, a U.S.-based nonprofit organization working with small farmers, Polak describes ways such farmers can use low-cost technology to increase their productivity. From treadle pumps to access groundwater to drip irrigation systems to conserve water, Polak illustrates the results from applying these techniques in Zimbabwe, Nepal, India and Bangladesh. He suggests that wider application of these and similar techniques would have substantive impact on the world's effort to cut poverty in half by 2015, as well as increase the food supply in anticipation of population growth of three billion by 2050.

6-36/GIC

## THE CLIMAX OF HUMANITY

By George Musser

Scientific American, September 2005, Vol. 293, No. 3, pp. 44-47.

The author, staff writer of the magazine, notes that the current era is unprecedented in human history. Three simultaneous transitions are taking place — demographic, economic and environmental — that will cause humanity to pass through a “bottleneck” of maximum stress on natural resources and human ingenuity, and will “pose problems that humans have little experience with.” In this introductory article of a special series, CROSSROADS FOR PLANET EARTH, in the September issue of Scientific American, the author highlights an eight-point “action plan for the twenty-first century”: understand the changes that are taking place; achieve Millennium Development Goals; preserve crucial habitats; move away from fossil fuels; provide cheap irrigation to poor farmers; improve health systems; prepare for slower growth; and set priorities in a more rational way.

6-37/GIC

## DRUGS GET SMART

By Michael Arndt and Kerry Capell

Business Week, September 5, 2005, pp. 76-85.

The authors argue that new medications to cure human diseases are about to become more efficient. The issue is that genetic variations among individuals make today's prescription medications effective only for some of the people who take them. In the future, however, new technologies will help drug companies tailor innovative medications to the genome of the individual; this will become possible due to research currently taking place that is decoding human DNA, and how it varies from person to person. Some theorists believe, for example, that there are different varieties of such commonplace conditions as heart disease that need to be medicated differently depending on the patient's biochemistry. “Personalized medicine” is already beginning, as with the anti-cancer drug Herceptin, prescribed for patients with a particular genetic variation. Tests are already on the way to tell how easily individual patients metabolize medications, in order to make it easier to choose the right type and

dose; and to pinpoint how aggressive a cancer is likely to be, so treatment can be foreseen. The downside: soon so much will be known about an individual's genetic makeup that people might be discriminated against on the basis of theoretical genetic vulnerability.

6-38/GIC

## HUMAN POPULATION GROWS UP

By Joel E. Cohen

Scientific American, September 2005, Vol. 293, No. 3, pp. 48-55.

Cohen, Professor of Populations at Rockefeller and Columbia universities, writes that the global human population will grow to about 9 billion people by the middle of this century, and will undergo unprecedented changes in the balance between young and old, and rich and poor. He notes that virtually all of the growth will occur in urban areas of developing countries. Falling fertility rates and increased longevity will expand the proportion of elderly people. Migrants from countries with traditionally high fertility rates who go to developed regions where fertility rates are lower, such as Europe or North America, often adopt the low-fertility patterns of those countries. Cohen notes that the growing urban populations in the developing world will put more farmland out of production, because most cities grew up in prime agricultural regions. This article is one of a special series, CROSSROADS FOR PLANET EARTH, in the September issue of Scientific American.

6-39/GIC

## THE TV OF TOMORROW

By Thomas Goetz and Others

Wired, September 2005, pp. 102-117.

The authors of this series of articles predict a world where TV becomes synonymous with the Internet and there are millions of sources of video entertainment. Downloading TV clips from Web logs and video sites, Americans are already watching parts of their favorite shows on their computers, rather than on TV. Enthusiasts even download entire shows and trade them with friends online. The distinction between the traditional networks, cable channels, and Web video sources will fade, the authors assert. There are already several Internet startups with names like Akimbo, Brightcove, and Dave TV

that potentially offer unlimited TV programming in the form of Internet video downloads for a fee. The Internet company Yahoo is positioning itself to deliver large amounts of video quickly. Major U.S. telephone companies are planning to offer high-quality video feeds through fiber optic cable. The next challenge: intelligent indexing systems that allow viewers to search quickly through giant video archives for whatever they want. One of the beneficiaries: sports, to be available on everything from large screens to computers to cell phone screens, all places, all times.

## U.S. SOCIETY AND VALUES

6-40/SV

### **CHIEF JUSTICE JOHN MARSHALL: A Man With an Easy, Natural Dignity, and a Mind of Imperial Powers**

By Charles F. Hobson

Colonial Williamsburg, Autumn 2005, Vol. 27, No. 4, pp. 68-72.

Hobson, editor of the Marshall Papers and author of *The Great Chief Justice: John Marshall And The Rule Of Law* (1996), profiles the fourth chief justice of the United States on the 250th anniversary of the year of his birth. The youngest and longest-serving chief justice, Marshall had been a soldier, state legislator, lawyer, diplomat, member of Congress, and secretary of state before taking office. It was as chief justice, however, that he was able to use all of his experience "to make the precedents that would lay the foundation of American constitutional jurisprudence." These included establishing the Constitution as a law that overrode ordinary legislative acts when the two conflicted, separating law and politics to create an independent judiciary, and developing the mystique that remains the basis of the court's extraordinary powers to this day.

6-41/SV

### **LINCOLN'S GREAT DEPRESSION**

By Joshua Wolf Shenk

Atlantic Monthly, October 2005, Vol. 296, No. 3, pp. 52-68.

Abraham Lincoln's melancholy demeanor was familiar

to everyone who knew him; he suffered throughout his life from what would now be called clinical depression, experiencing several major depressive attacks in his twenties and thirties, and frequently talking about suicide. Much new insight has been gained in recent years on Lincoln's life by researchers studying previously-ignored reminiscences of people who knew him. Despite his foreboding outlook on life, he was becoming an increasingly successful lawyer and politician. The author notes that if Lincoln were alive today, he would be considered as having a "character flaw", but in the nineteenth century, gloom was associated with genius -- a "fearful gift" with the capacity for depth and wisdom. Shenk notes that Lincoln's lifelong struggle to come to grips with his depression provided him with vital skills in confronting adversity, and with insight and conviction that made him a spellbinding public speaker. The greatness that Lincoln achieved in abolishing slavery and guiding the country through the chaos of the Civil War was not by overcoming his depression. Shenk writes that Lincoln's story is "not of transformation but integration ... his melancholy was all the more fuel for the fire of his great work."

6-42/SV

### **IS THERE LIFE AFTER RANKINGS?**

By Colin Diver

Atlantic Monthly, November 2005, Vol. 296, No. 4, pp. 136-139.

Diver, president of Reed College, discusses his experience after opting out of the U.S. News & World Report ranking surveys. Believing that the ranking system undermines the diversity that characterizes institutions of higher education, Reed joined the five percent of colleges and universities that no longer participate in the U.S. News questionnaire. In Reed's opinion, the rankings reinforce the view that education is instrumental only in achieving extrinsic goals such as prestige or wealth, rather than intrinsic rewards, and creates strong incentives to inflate scores by manipulating data or distorting institutional behavior. Not only has the college survived, but it has thrived since shunning the rankings system, while having the freedom "to pursue its own educational philosophy, not that of some newsmagazine," Diver states. "Trying to rank institutions of higher education is a little like trying to rank religions or philosophies. The entire enterprise is flawed, not only

in detail, but in conception." Still, there are many guides published each year, such as the six that are compared in an accompanying chart. This article is one of a series of five in this issue of Atlantic Monthly on college admissions.

## DOCUMENT ALERT

6-43/DOC

### **APPLYING ISLAMIC PRINCIPLES IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY: Nigeria, Iran and Indonesia**

By David Smock

United States Institute of Peace, October 2005.

This report describes three projects that illustrate how Muslim scholars in three countries are addressing critical contemporary issues from an Islamic perspective. In Nigeria, more than 300 Muslim scholars and clerics engaged in a critical examination of Shari'ah as it is being adopted and modified in Nigeria's northern states. In Iran, Iranian scholars, clerics, and others convened to address the relationship between Islam and democracy in that country. In Indonesia, a team of scholars has written a manual based on Islamic sources for religious schools on the topics of peace/violence, democracy, rule of law, conflict resolution, human rights, and pluralism. The debates among scholars and clerics in these three countries, as in other Muslim countries, on issues such as Shari'ah and Ijtihad (scriptural interpretation) are spirited. Resistance to reform and liberalism is particularly strong in Iran, but also in Nigeria. Those adhering to literal interpretations of the texts challenge those adopting a more rational/interpretive approach. "Text proof" versus "rational proof" approaches divide the ulama in Iran and Nigeria into traditionalist and rationalist camps, with the majority leaning toward the former.

6-44/DOC

### **ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS AFFECTING THE SPREAD OF BIRD FLU**

By Josh Rothstein

Foundation for Environmental Security & Sustainability, September 2005.

[http://www.fess-global.org/issuebriefs/environmental\\_factors\\_affecting\\_the\\_](http://www.fess-global.org/issuebriefs/environmental_factors_affecting_the_)

[spread\\_of\\_bird\\_flu.pdf](#)

The report notes that the mobility of today's global economy and society makes prevention of avian influenza in every country an international concern. Moreover, addressing environmental links to the spread of avian influenza may provide essential information to delay, minimize, or even prevent a costly pandemic. The author identifies several environmental links that should be researched, including: Deforestation and other methods of habitat destruction affecting the routes of migratory birds; Farming environments that facilitate the spread of bird flu to other animals or humans; The human utilization of water sources that contact infected birds or animals; Market environments that facilitate the spread of avian influenza to other animals and humans. The author contends that international cooperation in addressing these issues is essential. He concludes that once a pandemic begins, nations likely will devote their resources to the protection of their own population. Therefore, it is necessary to immediately commence international programs to identify environmental links contributing to the spread of avian influenza, and develop effective and appropriate countermeasures.

6-45/DOC

### **INTERNATIONAL RELIGIOUS FREEDOM REPORT 2005: Pakistan**

Department of State, November 2005.

<http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/irf/2005/>

This report is submitted to the Congress by the Department of State in compliance with Section 102 (b) of the International Religious Freedom Act (IRFA) of 1998. This annual report, mandated by the International Religious Freedom Act of 1998, is the product of a year-round effort by hundreds of Foreign Service and Civil Service officers in the Department of State and U.S. missions abroad. The 2005 Report covers the period from July 1, 2004, to June 30, 2005. The purpose of this report is to document the actions of governments—those that repress religious expression, persecute innocent believers, or tolerate violence against religious minorities, as well as those that respect, protect, and promote religious freedom. For each country, the report details the legal situation, cultural context, and relevant policies, and describes efforts taken by the U.

S. Government to oppose religious persecution and promote religious freedom. The sad truth which this report exposes is that many millions of religious believers continue to suffer for the belief or practice of their faith, and many governments refuse to recognize or protect this right. That so many endure beatings, torture, imprisonment, and even death is a testament to the resilience of faith. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice poignantly stated earlier this year, "We on the right side of freedom's divide have an obligation to help those unlucky enough to have been born on the wrong side of that divide."

#### **6-46/DOC**

### **LIVING WITH GLOBAL WARMING**

**By Indur M Goklany**

**National Center for Policy Analysis, September 2005**

<http://www.ncpa.org/pub/st/st278/st278.pdf>

Should we try to prevent global warming? Or should we use our resources to adapt to the consequences of warming? An argument for the former is that climate change will exacerbate existing problems--specifically, malaria, hunger, water shortage, coastal flooding and threats to biodiversity. This is a particular concern for developing countries, many of which are beset by these problems but lack the economic and human resources needed to obtain and implement technologies that would finesse or cope with them. This paper analyzes costs and benefits of two different approaches. One approach--mitigation--would limit carbon dioxide (CO<sub>2</sub>) in the atmosphere largely by reducing emissions due to human activities. The Kyoto Protocol is an example of this approach. The second approach--adaptation--would reduce society's vulnerability to, or help cope with, the consequences of global climate change due to higher CO<sub>2</sub> emissions.

#### **6-47/DOC**

### **PAKISTAN AND ISRAEL: An Emerging**

**Détente**

**Center for Strategic and International Studies, October 2005.**

A series of high-level Pakistani overtures to Israel in September 2005 underscored a sudden spotlight on a relationship that was practically nonexistent until then. The Pakistani move was timed to follow Israel's

withdrawal from Gaza, but it was built on years of cautious low-level contacts. Pakistan is hoping that the bold gestures will impress its critics in Washington, and further strengthen its relationship with the U.S.

#### **6-48/DOC**

### **THE PROMISE OF BIOTECHNOLOGY: An Electronic Journal**

**Department of State, October 2005.**

New technologies, whether they are in medicine, industry, or agriculture, often initially generate public skepticism. Nowhere is this currently more evident than in biotechnology, where issues of health and environment are hotly debated. This issue of Economic Perspectives explores some of the most promising applications of biotechnology, from microorganisms engineered to produce hydrogen gas from organic waste and bacteria engineered to break down environmental pollutants, to crops that add vitamins to what we eat and novel drugs for treating human diseases such as Alzheimer's and diabetes.

#### **6-49/DOC**

### **PROSPECTS FOR REGIONAL FREE TRADE IN ASIA**

**By Gary Clyde Hufbauer and Yee Wong**

**Institute for International Economics, October 2005.**

<http://www.iie.com/publications/wp/wp05-12.pdf>

This paper, written for and presented at the June 2005 RAND-China Reform Forum conference, surveys the prevalence of free trade agreements (FTAs) in Asian countries. The authors report that, Asian countries, frustrated with lackluster momentum in the WTO Doha Round and the APEC forum, have pursued numerous FTAs at the bilateral and regional levels. By 2005, Asian countries (excluding China) had ratified 14 FTAs, had negotiated (but not yet implemented) seven, and are actively negotiating 23. China has completed three FTAs and is initiating 17 others. The authors conclude that a regional Asian economic bloc led by China seems distant, as many Asian countries are pursuing FTAs with countries outside the region. They write: "On present evidence, the FTA process embraced with some enthusiasm in Asia, Europe, and the Western Hemisphere more closely resembles fingers reaching idiosyncratically

around the globe rather than politico-economic blocs centered respectively on Beijing, Brussels, and Washington.

**6-50/DOC**

**U.S. RESPONSE TO PAKISTAN'S  
EARTHQUAKE DISASTER**

**Department of State, 2005.**

[http://usinfo.state.gov/sa/south\\_asia/earthquake.html](http://usinfo.state.gov/sa/south_asia/earthquake.html)

The United States has raised its commitment to relief and reconstruction efforts following the October 8 Pakistan earthquake, announcing \$180 million in aid to Pakistan for earthquake assistance, according to a fact sheet issued November 9 by the State Department. The U.S. package includes commitments of \$100 million for humanitarian relief and reconstruction, and \$80 million to support Defense Department relief operations. According to the fact sheet, more than 1,200 American personnel are in Pakistan to assist with relief efforts and 162 U.S. military and civilian cargo airlifts have delivered over 1,900 tons of medical supplies, food, shelter material, blankets and rescue equipment to Pakistan. U.S. helicopters have flown 2,425 missions delivering more than 4,000 tons of relief supplies to the disaster area and transporting more than 16,000 people, including over 4,300 people needing medical attention. The United States will remain active in relief and reconstruction efforts through aid programs, unique military capabilities, and private sector efforts. The Internet site where donations can be made to this fund is <http://www.southasiaearthquakerelief.org>