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We normally use this page to highlight some of the big ideas our readers will encounter in the magazine. This time, we are making an exception to share some important news: FOREIGN POLICY has a new home. We are thrilled to announce that on October 1, our magazine was purchased by the Washington Post Company from its longtime owner, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

For nearly four decades, the Carnegie Endowment’s generous and unwavering support allowed FOREIGN POLICY to become what it is today—an award-winning publication recognized for the quality of its content and the caliber of its writers. We are also proud that FP enjoys a growing, enthusiastic, and global audience, with editions in nine languages and readers in more than 160 countries.

FP’s success would not have been possible without Carnegie’s recognition that editorial excellence depends on intellectual independence. As editors, we not only enjoyed Carnegie’s material support but, just as important, we were given the freedom to pursue big ideas regardless of any consideration other than their importance, rigor, and originality. In a competitive marketplace of ideas that is international and instantaneous, we know we will only attract and retain readers by presenting the most important ideas about global politics and economics in a way that challenges the common wisdom and stimulates new thinking.

This approach has served us well. It stands at the core of the reasons that led the Washington Post Company to buy FP. At a time in which print publications are challenged by the Internet, our new owner recognizes that quality content matters more than its format. And while most American publications are cutting back on their international coverage, the Washington Post Company sees the opportunities created by a growing market of readers eager to better understand how their communities, jobs, and families will be affected by what happens in other countries and continents.

We don’t plan to make major changes to an editorial approach that is working well—just to give you more of it. FOREIGN POLICY will continue to appear every two months, and ForeignPolicy.com will continue to offer original material on a daily basis. We will also be hard at work on a major relaunch of FP’s Web site for early 2009.

We could not be more excited to join a company that embodies the values of quality journalism: objectivity and independence. And we cannot help but celebrate that our new owners are as dedicated as we are to the mission laid out in the first issue of FOREIGN POLICY by its founders: “Our goal is a journal of foreign policy that is serious but not scholarly, lively but not glib, and critical without being negative.” These words are as valid today as they were in 1970.

We look forward to hearing from you. And thank you for your continued support.

The Editors

P.S.: We are proud to announce that FP won three Folio awards in September. The magazine won gold in the Best Article category for “What America Must Do,” and it received second-place honors in the Best Article and Best Full Issue categories. We are honored to be singled out once again for one of the industry’s most competitive honors.
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50 The Dream Team The next American president will confront a host of potential cataclysms: from a virulent financial crisis to a vicious terrorist enemy, nuclear proliferation to climate change. He’ll need his country’s brightest minds—not his party’s usual suspects. So, we asked 10 of the world’s top thinkers to name the unlikely team that can best guide No. 44 through the turbulent years ahead.

Robert Baer
Christoph Bertram
Robert L. Gallucci
Leslie H. Gelb
Katrina vanden Heuvel
Kishore Mahbubani
Cesare Merlini
Grover Norquist
Gideon Rachman
Shashi Tharoor

Urban legends: Find out which towns top our ranking of the world’s most global cities.

Cover: Illustration by Shout! for FP

Kishore Mahbubani
Cesare Merlini
Grover Norquist
Gideon Rachman
Shashi Tharoor
GLOBALIZATION AT WORK

The Lie We Love International adoption seems like the ideal solution to a heartbreaking imbalance: Poor countries have babies in need of homes, and rich countries have homes in need of babies. Unfortunately, those little bundles of joy may not be orphans at all. By E.J. Graff

THE FP INDEX

The Global Cities Index Cities bear the brunt of the world’s financial meltdowns, crime waves, and climate crises in ways national governments never will. So, when FOREIGN POLICY, A.T. Kearney, and the Chicago Council on Global Affairs teamed up to measure globalization around the world, we focused on the 60 cities that shape our lives the most.

ARGUMENT

Power to the People Why it’s the poor—not the experts—who can best solve the food crisis. By Eric Werker

REVIEWS

IN OTHER WORDS The dangers of ignoring evil By James Traub
  • An Arab intellectual studies an unlikely subject By Robert Silverman • Plus, what they’re reading in Havana.

NET EFFECT Development mafia 2.0 • Rebels with a server • Text for the cure • Bloggers sink the EU • Plus, Wired’s Chris Anderson on the sites that make him so darn smart.

MISSING LINKS

After the Fall What the lessons of 9/11 could teach the world about the financial crisis. By Moisés Naim
A Legacy of Failure

David Frum ("Think Again: Bush’s Legacy," September/October 2008) makes some good points, but most of the arguments in his essay are unproven or only manage to defend George W. Bush by implicitly indicting the U.S. foreign policy and security establishment in general.

On Iraq, Frum writes entirely in the future tense: The United States will have achieved this and Iraq’s neighbors will remain that. It is still too early to tell what will happen if the United States withdraws most of its troops. What we do know is that the invasion of Iraq failed to meet all the grandiose promises held out by advocates, including Frum, from Israeli-Palestinian peace to the democratization of Iran and Syria.

On terrorism, Frum rightly points out that there have been no new attacks on the United States. But the reason may well be that, given moderately successful defensive security measures, such attacks were never going to materialize. Perhaps the 9/11 attacks were in fact an evily brilliant one-off, which did not require or justify the radical recasting of U.S. strategy—let alone the invasion of Iraq.

What we do know is the following: that tens and possibly hundreds of thousands of Iraqis died from civil war and terrorism in the wake of the American invasion; that terrorism and extremism are rising in the vital country of Pakistan; and that the chief planners of 9/11, Osama bin Laden and Aymen al-Zawahiri, are still free to plan attacks.

Furthermore, what is the “alliance” with India really worth, given India’s opposition to U.S. strategy on a range of issues including links with Iran? How valuable is the “alliance” with Europe, given the lack of real European military help in Afghanistan? What have the United States and Europe together been able to do to stop Iran’s nuclear program? What has become of the Bush administration’s strategy toward Russia, given the combination of recklessly encouraging Georgia and failing to defend that country? What has become of the “road map” to Middle East peace? The fact that these questions are not being forcefully asked in the United States is not a defense of the Bush administration. It is, once again, an indictment of the American media and political establishment as a whole.

—ANATOL LIEVEN
Professor, King’s College London
Senior Fellow, New America Foundation
London, England

The foreign-policy course of the Bush administration will long be remembered, but any nostalgia will likely be for opportunities lost rather than taken. Even Frum has a hard time selling the notion of a positive Bush foreign-policy legacy. Frum argues that closer ties to India, a pragmatic relationship with China, and pressure on Iran will pay dividends for years to come. Frum’s metaphor suggests that Bush has “invested” his foreign-policy capital, implying that even though these don’t seem like major gains now, they will be in the future.

In the case of China, it’s hard to argue with the pursuit of a pragmatic relationship. Has this been a big investment or simply a recognition of China’s role as the United States’ second largest creditor? With respect to Iran, the administration invested little diplomatic capital, leaving the tough negotiating to its European colleagues. More important, the policy hasn’t worked.

On India, however, Bush made a big and unnecessary gamble. Like the financial sector that relied on the continuation of the housing bubble, President Bush’s big concessions to India have been predicated on a few hopes—and prayers—that India would reorient its foreign policy toward the United States and provide a strategic counterweight against China. In return, India achieved legitimacy as a nuclear power. And it doesn’t hurt that India, with the trade ban lifted, will now be able to run its nuclear power reactors on foreign uranium, freeing up what had been a limited domestic supply for weapons.

No one really believes there will be nonproliferation dividends from this deal. But the gamble may provoke more runs on the bank.

—SHARON SQUASSONI
Senior Associate
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
Washington, D.C.
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On geopolitical grounds, Frum’s assessments are highly questionable. Although he concedes that the war in Iraq has defined Bush’s presidency, Frum overlooks the critical human toll of the war on Iraq: citizens forced to move from their homes and become refugees in their own country and beyond it. The humanitarian crisis in Iraq is no mere detail. Displaced populations are fertile breeding pools for despair and terrorism. They can trigger conflict for the seizure of land and ethnic cleansing. And they can shape the geopolitical interests of neighboring countries.

Regarding Latin America, Frum makes the cryptic suggestion that Bush has given Hugo Chávez “enough rope to hang himself.” That could not be further from the truth. Aside from reports that the United States actively intervened in 2002 to depose Chávez, the Bush administration has been quite active in supporting the Venezuelan president’s nemesis, Colombian President Álvaro Uribe, in militarizing the drug issue and, in the process, polarizing South American countries along obsolete Cold War lines. Certainly, Washington has been successful in alienating several countries to its south.

Finally, Frum mentions that, because the United States has not suffered a major terrorist attack since 2001, one must infer that Washington’s policies have made Americans safer. Of course, one cannot quarrel with events that have not happened. But one could venture that Osama bin Laden has no reason now to expose himself and expend massive resources when he already accomplished exactly what he wanted: billions of U.S. dollars spent launching wars, the total neglect of American infrastructure, and the loss of business from thousands of tourists who are wary of staying in line for hours dealing with airport personnel. Decay and bankruptcy are what he sought, and fear is what he wanted to instill.

Can anyone doubt that he succeeded?

—Laurá García
Independent Researcher
Washington, D.C.

David Frum replies:
Anatol Lieven and Sharon Squassoni are certainly correct that some of my defense of the Bush foreign-policy record is conditional. Much will depend on future events: whether Iraq continues toward peace and whether the U.S.-India relationship matures into a true partnership. At the same time, many of their criticisms are conditional as well. The assumption that further terrorist attacks could have been prevented with “moderately successful defensive security measures” or that the Indian policy will generate “runs on the bank” are far from guaranteed outcomes, for example.

Much of the harshest criticism of the Bush presidency has already been debunked by events. The tone of this criticism has often been hyperpartisan and overstated far beyond any reasonable interpretation of the facts.

Laura García’s letter is a perfect example of this tendency. There has indeed been a terrible human toll in Iraq. That toll has been the work of the terrorists and insurgents who have made war on their fellow Iraqis with brutal disregard for human life. The suffering of civilians is the work of those who purposefully attacked them, not those who tried with imperfect success to protect them.

A Second Opinion
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SmithKline Beecham who is currently a member of GlaxoSmithKline’s board of directors.

Brand-name pharmaceutical companies stand to benefit substantially from some of Bate’s proposals. For example, he claims humanitarian groups must choose between “expensive, safe drugs that treat fewer patients, or cheaper drugs that might not work.” This false dichotomy excludes the many affordable generic medicines that have undergone rigorous testing at the World Health Organization and other major drug regulatory authorities.

Bate asserts, with no supporting evidence, that “[humanitarian] groups often purchase copy drugs from China and India that have not been tested properly.” But estimates suggest up to 80 percent of the raw materials used by the U.S. drug industry are imported. Half of these also come from China and India, and the U.S. Food and Drug Administration is rarely able to inspect these plants. Expensive brand-name drugs are not categorically safer.

Counterfeit medicines are a subset of a larger drug-quality problem. Relying on brand-name drugs won’t solve it. Bate’s suggestion would enrich Big Pharma while leaving the millions who rely on low-cost, high-quality generic medicines without treatment of any kind.

—Peter Maybarduk
Attorney
Access to Medicines Project
Essential Action
Washington, D.C.

Roger Bate replies:
Peter Maybarduk mischaracterizes my arguments, denies a real problem, and scurrilously implies my arguments are dictated by money.

Even major donors such as the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria buy drugs not approved by stringent agencies like the U.S. FDA or the World Health Organization. Given the inadequacies of testing regimes in most developing countries, where these drugs are produced, substandard drugs pass through the system.

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Martin N. Baily & Jacob F. Kirkegaard
It is generally accepted that Social Security must be reformed, but there is little agreement on how. This book looks at the social pension reforms of twelve other countries, assesses the current US Social Security program, and evaluates how these models inform opportunities for reform. It forges significant advances and boldly confronts the challenge of reconstructing the US Social Security program.
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nongovernmental organizations and initially supported by the Global Fund, was forced to shut down because of low-quality products. However, these same medicines were administered to thousands of HIV/AIDS patients by NGOs and the Thai government. No public apology was ever made for buying these substandard products. Chinese and Indian producers have widely varying standards. The best companies in these countries have drugs approved by the World Health Organization and the FDA. I support these drugs, not just brand names as Maybarduk suggests.

But problems remain with most drugs produced in China and India. U.S. companies do import their ingredients, but unlike American patients, they can assess if the imports are defective. Yes, occasionally they make mistakes, and the nearly 100 Americans who died from Chinese heparin were a tragic and rare example. Imagine the death toll if the FDA had allowed importation of the unsafe final products routinely used in the developing world.

The American Enterprise Institute has hundreds of corporate supporters accounting for only about 20 percent of its budget. None can contract for specific work. The vast majority of funding for my investigations of counterfeit drugs was grants from the Ohrstrom Foundation and Legatum Institute—neither of which creates a conflict of interest. As to the Institute of Economic Affairs, I am an unpaid fellow, and my only mention of GlaxoSmithKline was highly critical of the company. The funding of Maybarduk’s organization doesn’t interest me, but his advocacy of poor medicines for the poor worries me greatly.

Questioning Corruption

Raymond Fisman and Edward Miguel (“How Economics Can Defeat Corruption,” September/October 2008) rightly argue that in fighting corruption “incentives matter” and that the forensic use of economic data can provide valuable insights into corruption schemes. Continuous, creative approaches are always needed to keep up with the ingenuity of the corrupters.
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But, to suggest that “[o]nly then can we take up the much more difficult challenge of determining what to do about it” is to ignore a substantial body of evidence that can and should be put into action now. There is broad consensus among donors, governments, and the private sector that certain approaches are necessary—if not entirely sufficient. These include increased transparency of information, supervision, criminal enforcement, and, yes, rewarding accountability with incentives.

These and other basic pillars of an effective anticorruption agenda that Transparency International has long espoused are now universally agreed upon and codified at the international level, most notably in the U.N. Convention Against Corruption and in the World Bank’s Governance and Anti-Corruption Strategy. Although further study is always welcome, action to implement these basic tenets is long overdue.

—Nancy Zucker Boswell
President
Transparency International—USA
Washington, D.C.

Raymond Fisman and Edward Miguel reply:
We fully agree with Nancy Zucker Boswell that immediate and direct action is required to root out corruption around the world, and that policymakers already have some tools in hand for doing so. We applaud those efforts that are already taking place, including those spearheaded by Transparency International.

However, there is far more we must learn about designing the most effective anticorruption strategies. Beyond the methods we discuss in our article for reforming economic incentives and institutions, future research can also play a role in debunking certain elements of conventional wisdom regarding anticorruption efforts that sound plausible in theory but might not be effective in practice.

The worst enemy of progress against corruption is complacency. So, yes, we should conduct anticorruption actions now, but the rigorous reevaluation of public policy—which can often yield unexpected results and insights—must remain a top priority.

The Pakistan Problem

International observers, including those surveyed in Foreign Policy’s 2008 Terrorism Index (September/October 2008), have concluded that Pakistan will soon become the central front in the fight against terrorism and that their respective governments must play a central role in this fight. But without local knowledge and a deeper understanding of the forces at play, such perceptions are meaningless and highly counterproductive. To make real progress, the world must adopt a sophisticated and nuanced approach to work with Pakistan.

Since 9/11, Islamabad has paid a heavy price for collaborating with Washington. Pakistan’s western tribal regions, a natural buffer of defense, have been eroded. For supporting the United States, Gen. Pervez Musharraf’s regime lost the support of tribal leaders, contributing directly to an upsurge in terrorist attacks from that region. In 2007 alone, Pakistan suffered at least 45 suicide bombings,
more than double the number that took place between 2002 and 2006, and the deaths of a number of political leaders, including Benazir Bhutto. After Iraq and Afghanistan, Pakistan has suffered more fatalities from suicide terrorism than any other country.

To neutralize the threat, Pakistan needs international understanding, participation, and support. Unless its rule of law, judiciary, and law enforcement authorities are strengthened, the Islamists and jihadists will win. To challenge the forces of extremism systematically, the West must also support Pakistan’s economic development and the reform of the country’s education system.

Pakistan faces an unprecedented crisis. But it cannot fight the contemporary wave of terrorism and extremism alone. With the threat from tribal areas spreading to the country’s center, the world’s security is in peril. No country is more important than Pakistan in the fight against terrorism—and it’s time for the international community to back up its concern with action.

—Rohan Gunaratna
Head, The International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research
Professor of Security Studies, The S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Singapore

The Center for American Progress replies:
The experts polled in the Terrorism Index also see a national security disaster unfolding in Pakistan, as militant groups extend their authority beyond Pakistan’s tribal areas, threatening Pakistan, the region, and the world. The September terrorist attack on the Marriott Hotel in Islamabad, in which 53 people were killed and hundreds wounded, is further evidence of Pakistan’s vulnerability to these extremists and the growing strength, cruelty, and audacity of these groups.

Like Rohan Gunaratna, a majority of the index’s experts recommend a change in the U.S. approach toward Pakistan. Moreover, most agree with the assessment that the world must focus on areas such as the rule of law, Pakistan’s economic development, and education. When asked to name the most important step the United
States could take to assist or pressure Pakistan to combat militant groups more effectively, few experts chose increasing military assistance. Most prefer efforts to integrate tribal areas into the rest of Pakistan or increases in development assistance.

What is clear to the national security establishment is that there are no easy answers to Pakistan’s problems. This summer, U.S. President George W. Bush secretly authorized the use of force within Pakistan without the country’s approval. Yet when asked for their assessment of whether the United States should take military action in an identical situation, more than 6 in 10 of the experts answered “unsure” this spring.

Policymakers from Pakistan, the United States, and elsewhere are now running out of time. They must move urgently to create a more effective, comprehensive, and coordinated strategy to address the Pakistani crisis. As Gunaratna rightly indicates, it must be regional, extend beyond a military approach, and target the sources of Pakistan’s instability.

—Caroline Wadhams
National Security Senior Policy Analyst
The Center for American Progress
Washington, D.C.

 Corrections: The In Box article “Poppy Trade” in FOREIGN POLICY’s September/October issue misstated the market prices for wheat and poppy in Afghanistan. It should have read:
“In 2007, a farmer could expect returns of about $320 per acre of wheat and $640 for an acre of poppy. But by this spring, the return on an acre of wheat had risen to $840 per acre, while poppy had fallen to $400 an acre.” FP regrets the error.

FOREIGN POLICY welcomes letters to the editor. Readers should address their comments to fplets@ForeignPolicy.com. Letters should not exceed 300 words and may be edited for length and clarity. Letters sent by e-mail should include a postal address.
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A MESSAGE FROM AMBASSADOR JOHN BRUTON

Head of Delegation
European Commission Delegation to the United States

One of the founding purposes of today’s European Union was to create lasting peace among countries that had fought each other for centuries. Not surprisingly, given that peace and prosperity are still our guiding objectives, we devote considerable energy and resources to maintaining peace beyond our borders.

Through military and civilian missions, the EU and its Member States monitor ceasefires, observe elections, support police and judicial reform, promote human rights and the rule of law, and help rebuild democratic institutions. Since 2003, the EU has carried out more than 20 peacekeeping operations in Europe, Africa and Asia, either autonomously or in conjunction with the UN, NATO, or the African Union.

In this issue of EU Focus, I’m pleased to share with you the many ways in which the EU is working to help others end – and recover from – violent conflict.

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EU Focus
In-depth treatment of important European issues and the transatlantic relationship

This Issue
The EU and Peacekeeping: Promoting Security, Stability, and Democratic Values

Comments
E-mail to Delegation-USA-JBComments@ec.europa.eu

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From its creation, the European Union has engaged in crisis management and conflict prevention. Conceived as a means to end war in Europe through institutional integration and a voluntary pooling of sovereignty, the EU today continues to strive for peace, security, and prosperity across the European continent—and often beyond. Since the mid-1990s, the EU has been developing a credible foreign and security policy designed to contribute meaningfully to peacekeeping through international crisis management operations around the globe.

The European Union and its 27 Member States, together with the United Nations and others involved in peacekeeping, are currently engaged in innovative missions to secure, maintain, and build peace throughout the world. Modern peacekeeping dates back to 1948 and the launch of the first United Nations mission—the UN Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO), which still operates in the Middle East today.

A necessary element in today’s conflict management operations, traditional peacekeeping focuses primarily on monitoring ceasefires. Without establishing and maintaining a safe and secure environment in post-conflict situations, further development is impossible. However, since the end of the Cold War, peacekeeping operations have evolved to incorporate additional non-military elements designed to foster democratic institutions, the rule of law and respect for human rights, a functional police and judiciary, and an electoral process that meets accepted international standards.

Perhaps the best example of the EU’s comprehensive approach to peacekeeping can be found in the Western Balkans. Countries that were mired in devastating conflict in the early 1990s are now at various stages on the road to EU membership. European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP) military operations in both Bosnia and Herzegovina and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia have contributed to a safe, secure environment, supported by police missions that shared expertise and best practices to develop a professional, effective police force.

From the Western Balkans to Africa, from West Asia to Southeast Asia and beyond, the EU’s ESDP missions have helped save lives, protect the vulnerable, and achieve greater stability. Ranging from military actions to police and rule of law operations, EU missions are deployed autonomously or to complement those of the UN, NATO, and the African Union. EU Member States also contribute forces to other international peacekeeping activities.

European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP)

Part of the EU’s Common Foreign and Security Policy, ESDP enables the EU to develop the international crisis management capacities required to achieve five key objectives:

- Safeguarding the EU’s common values and fundamental interests;
- Strengthening the security of the EU;
- Preserving peace and international security in accordance with the UN Charter;
- Promoting international cooperation;
- Advancing democracy and the rule of law, including human rights.
The European Union strives for stability, security, and prosperity at home and in its relations abroad. Supporting a sustainable peace is the first step in meeting these objectives, as well as in ensuring that states emerging from conflict can rebuild their democratic institutions and rejoin the community of nations as active, functioning states.

Peacekeeping has evolved from its traditional role of maintaining a safe and secure environment to include elements like election observation missions, support for police and the judiciary in states recovering from the ravages of conflict, promotion of the rule of law, and respect for human rights.

From traditional peacekeeping to police and security sector reform, from border management to judicial training, the EU is helping other countries to end and recover from conflict. The EU employs an innovative mix of military and civilian operations to keep the peace, to manage crises, and to advise, assist, and train local officials who are vital to the functioning of a democratic, rules-based government.

European Security and Defense Policy

During the past decade, the European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP) has developed rapidly to become the Union’s first coherent strategy to identify and respond to EU-wide security concerns.

ESDP affords EU Member States a broad range of options for managing crises as well as an enhanced ability to act rapidly and collectively in the face of security threats. ESDP missions include humanitarian and rescue operations, peacekeeping and peacemaking, and the use of combat forces in crisis management. Since 2003, the EU has carried out more than 20 ESDP operations—including military and police missions, rule of law missions, border management operations, and civilian-military support actions—in Europe, Africa, and Asia.

ESDP on the Ground: how it works.

Military Crisis Management Operations do not depend upon a standing EU army but rather on troops drawn from dedicated national forces. The initial goal was for Member States to be able to cooperatively deploy a force of up to 60,000 within 60 days, and sustain the deployment for up to one year.

To address the current and future need for more rapid deployments, the EU augmented its military capabilities by developing 13 battle groups which will be in service by 2010. Each battle group consists of approximately 1,500 troops that can be deployed within 15 days for up to four months, either as a stand-alone force or as an advance force preparing for a larger multinational peacekeeping effort.

Two battle groups are already permanently on standby for six-month periods, providing the capacity to undertake two concurrent rapid-response operations. Member State contributions to the required troop commitments have been confirmed through the first half of 2011. Future military needs will be coordinated by the EU’s European Defense Agency, which is charged with improving European defense capabilities in the field of crisis management and sustaining the ESDP now and in the future.

Many EU Member States are also members of NATO, and the EU and NATO officials work closely together to ensure proper coordination and mutual reinforcement of military crisis management operations. The 2003 so-called EU-NATO Berlin-Plus Agreement allows the EU access to NATO’s collective assets and capabilities for EU-led operations.

Through Civilian Crisis Management Missions, the EU supports a fragile state through operations targeting police and security management, the rule of law, civilian administration, and monitoring. Such assistance helps the state to recover enough to deliver a secure and safe environment, a reliable, trustworthy police force and judiciary, and a competent government administration.

- Police operations can entail advice, assistance, training, and even substituting for local police forces. EU Member States can provide roughly 6,000 police officers, of whom 25 percent can be deployed in less than 30 days.
- Strengthening the rule of law with a properly functioning judicial and penal system necessarily backs up the work of the police forces. Member States contribute more than 600 officers for these missions.
- A pool of more than 550 European civil administration experts can be deployed for civilian administration missions, at short notice, if necessary.
- Member States have committed more than 500 personnel for monitoring missions, which contribute to conflict prevention and deterrence and enhance EU visibility on the ground.
Ensuring Free and Fair Elections:
EU Election Assistance and Observation Missions

Credible and fair elections are vital to democracy, the rule of law, and respect for human rights—all elements that help keep the peace. Genuine elections are an essential basis for sustainable development and a functioning democracy. Election observers deter fraud and violence and build confidence in the electoral process among political contestants, civil society, and the wider electorate.

Even the United States government, in the wake of the contested 2000 presidential election, requested and received an election observation mission from the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) to ensure that the 2004 elections were free, fair, and conducted according to widely accepted standards. When a democracy as well-established as the U.S. can benefit from election observers, it is no wonder that fledgling democracies increasingly count on impartial observers like the EU to monitor their electoral process.

Like the OSCE, the EU is actively involved in election assistance and observation missions worldwide. Since 2000, more than 60 EU election observation missions (EOMs) and 10 election assistance missions have been deployed to almost every continent, except the OSCE region, where the OSCE’s Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) takes the lead. Both organizations adhere to accepted international standards for elections and the democratic process, and coordinate closely with other groups involved in similar activities.

The EU has deployed election observation missions, often headed by a member of the European Parliament, throughout Africa, the Middle East, Asia, Latin America, and closer to home in the Western Balkans.

Authorization for an EU election observation mission requires an invitation from the host country’s government or election authorities and is predicated upon additional conditions being met in the country holding the election, notably:

- Universal adult suffrage;
- Political parties and individual candidates must be granted their legitimate right to participate in the election;
- Freedom of movement, assembly, and expression must be safeguarded, including public opposition to the incumbent government;
- Candidates must have reasonable access to the media.

When there is no EU EOM, and the European Parliament decides to send an observation mission, the observation team participates independently (or in cooperation with the relevant international organizations), as it did for the parliamentary elections in Kosovo in 2007.

**Election Observation Missions on the Ground**

**Pakistan.** In February 2008, an EU EOM team was present for the national and provincial assembly elections in Pakistan. Led by Michael Gahler, Member of the European Parliament (MEP), the EOM concluded that the elections represented a pluralistic process in which a broad range of views were expressed. The public demonstrated increased public confidence in the polling process, in comparison to previous elections, and the media and civil society provided greater scrutiny of the electoral process.

However, abuse of state resources and bias in the state media favored the former ruling parties. As a result, the overall process fell short of a number of international standards for genuine democratic elections.

**Cambodia.** An EU EOM was present in Cambodia for the July 2008 National Assembly elections. Headed by Martin Callanan, MEP, the mission concluded that the conduct of these elections showed a marked improvement over previous ones, but fell short in a number of key international standards. There was a lack of confidence in the impartiality of election authorities; widespread use of state resources marked the campaign period; media access was difficult for opposition parties; and civic education favored the ruling party.

"Over the last decade Cambodia has taken many important steps toward democracy and in particular in the field of human rights. Nevertheless, it is still a country in a post-conflict situation and more work remains to be done. Therefore, the EU has been and will remain actively engaged in supporting Cambodia in a wide array of areas including education, judicial reform, fighting corruption, and increasing transparency within the government."

—Benita Ferrero-Waldner, EU Commissioner for External Relations and Neighborhood Policy

**Election Assistance** involves technical or material support for the electoral process, including provision of voting material and equipment, help with voter registration, general input to the national electoral body, or advice on establishing a legal framework for the election.

**Election Observation** is the political complement to election assistance and aims to legitimize and enhance public confidence in the electoral process, deter fraud, strengthen respect for human rights, and contribute to the resolution of conflict. Observers scrutinize the ability of political parties to participate freely and be heard during the electoral process, access to the media for candidates, voter education, and overall security as it relates to citizens’ participation in the process.

EU election observation also involves an assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of an electoral process and the presentation of recommendations that help determine appropriate post-election assistance.
EU High Representative for Common Foreign and Security Policy Javier Solana meets with peacekeepers in Chad.

“...The linking of civilian and military elements, at both the conceptual and operational level, is probably our most important contribution to conflict resolution. All are concerned with conflict prevention, resolution, and stabilization.”

Javier Solana, EU High Representative for Common Foreign and Security Policy

ESDP Missions around the World

Military Operations—Ensuring Stability and Security

1. EUFOR Concordia | former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (fYROM) | 2003 | 350 Troops
   - Supported the implementation of the August 2001 Ohrid Framework Agreement ending hostilities between armed ethnic Albanian groups and fYROM security forces.

2. EUFOR Artemis | Democratic Republic of Congo | 2003 | 1,800 Troops
   - Helped the UN Mission in DR Congo (MONUC) stabilize the security conditions and improve the humanitarian situation in Bunia.

3. EUFOR Althea | Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) | Since 2004 | 2,500 Troops
   - Ensures compliance with the 1995 Dayton Peace Accords, provides deterrence against future conflict, and enhances security and public safety.

4. EUFOR DR Congo | 2006 | 2,300 Troops
   - Assisted the UN Mission in DR Congo (MONUC) in securing the region during the historic electoral process in 2006.

Mixed Civilian/Military Operations for Security Sector Reform

   - Established a civilian-military action to support the AU’s enhanced mission to Darfur/Sudan, including provision of equipment and assets, planning and technical assistance, training of African troops and police, and help with tactical and strategic transportation.

Civilian Missions—Police, Rule of Law, Border Management, Monitoring

Police Missions

6. EUPM Bosnia and Herzegovina | Since 2003
   - Aims to establish a sustainable, professional, and multi-ethnic police service in BiH through mentoring, monitoring, and inspection, with a particular focus on police reform and fighting organized crime.

7. EUPM Proxima | former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (fYROM) | 2004–2005
   - Supported fYROM’s development of an efficient and professional police service through monitoring and advising at the central, regional, sub-regional, and police station level.

8. EUPAT | former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (fYROM) | 2006
   - Succeeded Proxima, with a special focus on border police, public peace, order, accountability, and the fight against corruption and organized crime.

Rule of Law Missions

9. EUJUST THEMIS | Georgia | 2004–2005
   - Supported Georgian authorities in addressing urgent challenges in the criminal justice system and...
assisted the government in developing a coordinated approach to the reform process that conformed to international standards.

17 EUJUST LEX | Iraq | Since 2005
Provides professional development opportunities for senior Iraqi officials from the criminal justice system, to foster confidence, mutual respect, and operational cooperation between officials with the Iraqi police, judiciary, and prison system.

18 EULEX Kosovo | Deploying during the second half of 2008
Helps Kosovo achieve a strong independent multi-ethnic justice system and police and customs service, with a particular focus on protection of minority communities and the fight against corruption and organized crime, by monitoring, mentoring, and advising on all areas related to the rule of law.

Border Management Missions

19 EUBAM | Moldova and Ukraine | 2005–2009
Reinforces the capacity of Moldovan and Ukrainian officials to carry out effective border and customs controls and border surveillance.

20 EUBAM RAFAH | Gaza | Since 2005 (temporarily suspended in the wake of the Hamas takeover in the Gaza Strip)
Monitors the operations of the Rafah border crossing point in Gaza and builds confidence between the government of Israel and the Palestinian Authority.

Monitoring Missions

In coordination with Norway, Switzerland, and contributing countries of ASEAN, monitored the implementation of various aspects of the peace agreement reached between the Indonesian government and the Free Aceh Movement.

Q&A with Lieutenant-General Pat Nash, Operational Commander of the EU Force in Chad/CAR

Q. Why is Europe acting and why now? What are the specific EU interests in this area?
A. Stabilization of the Darfur region is an important objective for Europe. Security is a precondition for development, and the military operation will reinforce and complement other EU initiatives, political, economical, and diplomatic, in the region.

Q. What is the goal of the military operation in Chad/CAR?
A. My task is to translate diplomatic policy into military action; the operation is based on UN Security Council Resolution 1778 (2007), and is aimed at contributing to a general improvement in security, creating a safe and secure environment in eastern Chad and in northeastern CAR. This will allow for humanitarian aid to be delivered, and provide for the safety of the UN’s MINURCAT (United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic and Chad) police mission and the return of internally displaced persons. Resolution 1778 was unanimously approved and authorizes "all necessary measures" to achieve the mandated tasks.

—EDSP News, July 2008
Peacekeeping Close to Home: Paving the Way to EU Membership in the Western Balkans

It is no accident that the EU’s earliest peacekeeping activities were in Europe’s own backyard, in the Western Balkans. When war broke out in the former Yugoslavia, the EU—without a formalized intervention capacity—tried unsuccessfully to broker a diplomatic settlement but could only intervene as part of UN peacekeeping efforts and subsequently, under U.S. leadership, as part of a NATO force.

In response to its inability to act as decisively as it had hoped to do, the EU pushed forward with its Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP), and European Security Strategy (ESS), which paved the way for a unified and effective EU presence on the world stage.

Regional conflicts and state failures are among the key threats to global security identified by the ESS. The EU and its Member States have actively helped contain these threats in the Western Balkans, and the EU has offered the countries the prospect of membership contingent upon political and economic reforms, along with their willingness to conform to EU law and policy and to take on the obligations of membership.

The EU’s “gravitational pull” has proved to be the ultimate conflict prevention strategy. Today, the Balkans are an excellent example of the EU’s commitment to maintaining peace—to building a secure, prosperous, and democratic Balkan region as an essential element of a Europe that is whole, free, and at peace.

According to Javier Solana, the EU’s High Representative for Common Foreign and Security Policy, “As the main threat to stability is no longer armed conflict but criminality, the emphasis of our support must be police and not military.”

The 175-member Proxima mission monitored, mentored, and advised the country’s police on fighting organized crime and promoting European policing standards. When Proxima concluded in late 2005, an EU Police Advisory Team (EUPAT) remained for a further six months to bolster the development of an efficient and professional police service.

**Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH)**

The Dayton Peace Agreement successfully ended the Bosnian war after three and a half years of fratricidal ethnic killing. However, as a study by the EU’s Institute for Security Studies notes, the BiH state was left extremely weak and would not have survived without substantial international commitment over the next decade.

Since 2003, the EU has been the primary international peacekeeper/peace builder in BiH, and the potential now exists to turn Bosnia into a sustainable multi-ethnic democracy. The EU’s integrated approach toward Bosnia combines a multi-dimensional ESDP presence on the ground with the “carrot” of progressive European integration.

The EU launched the EUFOR Althea military operation in BiH in December 2004, deploying 7,000 troops to ensure continued compliance with the Dayton peace accords, contribute to a safe and secure environment in BiH, and support the authorities in their fight against organized crime. EUFOR Althea took over from a NATO operation and uses NATO’s assets and capabilities to carry out its mission under a permanent EU-NATO arrangement known as “Berlin Plus.”

While improved security conditions have led to a force reduction to roughly 2,500 troops (backed by “over the horizon” reserves) consisting of personnel from 24 EU Member States and five non-EU countries (Albania, Chile, FYROM, Switzerland, and Turkey), EUFOR Althea is ongoing and will remain as long as necessary.

The EUPM—the EU’s very first ESDP mission—is an ongoing police mission in BiH that employs best European and international practices to establish a sustainable, professional, and multi-ethnic police
service in BiH. Launched in 2003 at the request of the BiH government, EUPM upgrades the skills of officers throughout the country and equips the police force to fight organized crime. It also plays a key role in police reform.

Achievements to date include:

- Transformation of the State Investigation and Protection Agency (SIPA) into an operational police agency with enhanced executive powers to fight organized crime;
- Development of other state-level institutions, particularly the Ministry of Security and the Border Police;
- Local ownership of the police reform process through establishment of the Police Steering Board, co-chaired by EUPM and local authorities;
- Progress in implementing the police reform with the mission playing a key advisory role.

Kosovo

When Kosovo unilaterally declared its independence on February 17, 2008, it remained the prerogative of individual EU Member States to determine their relations with Kosovo, based on national practice and international law. Whether or not an EU country recognizes the newly independent government has little bearing on the dedicated EU drive to help guarantee peace and stability in Kosovo and the wider Western Balkan region.

The EU has been providing significant support to Kosovo since 1999, when the UN Security Council authorized a civilian and military presence there under UN authority. The international community divided up specific responsibilities: the UN (civil administration), the EU (reconstruction), the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (humanitarian aid), and the OSCE (institution building).

Present in Kosovo since June 1999, the UN-mandated, NATO-led KFOR peacekeeping force (currently 15,900 troops) has been crucial in maintaining security in support of wider international efforts to build peace and stability. EU Member States provide more than 75 percent of the KFOR personnel.

Renewed EU efforts in Kosovo build on earlier accomplishments and include three main EU bodies operating in the country. The European Commission Liaison Office, in place since 2004, supports the Stabilization and Association Process, helps drive through reforms that strengthen institutions, develop the economy, and adopt European standards. The EU is the largest donor to Kosovo (nearly €2 billion to date), and in the next three years (2009-2011), EU commitments to Kosovo will exceed an additional €1.2 billion.

The EU special police mission in Sarajevo (EULEX) is the largest civilian mission ever launched under ESDP. Its task is to assist the Kosovo authorities in implementing the rule of law, particularly by helping develop an independent and multi-ethnic justice system and police and customs service, and ensuring that these institutions are free from political interference and adhere to internationally-recognized standards and best practices.

By July 2008, EULEX had deployed 300 people, with full operational capacity anticipated by late fall. Fully deployed, EULEX will consist of roughly 1,900 international police officers, judges, prosecutors, and customs officials, supported by around 1,100 local staff. Initially operating under the auspices of UNMIK, EULEX was established for 28 months, until June 15, 2010. In addition to EU Member State personnel, Norway, Switzerland, Turkey, and the U.S. have indicated that they will contribute to the mission.

The Road to EU Membership for the Western Balkans

Because the future of the Western Balkan nations lies firmly in Europe, the EU has offered the prospect of membership to Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (fYROM), Montenegro, Serbia, and Kosovo.

The Stabilization and Association Process (SAP) is the policy through which the EU provides political, practical, and financial support to potential Member States, subject to countries meeting conditions including democratic and economic reform, respect for human and minority rights, refugee return, regional cooperation, and good neighborly relations.

The SAP includes Stabilization and Association Agreements (SAA)—contractual agreements tailored to and concluded with each country once sufficient reform has been accomplished. All but Kosovo have signed SAAs, and Croatia and fYROM are already official candidate countries.
EU Peacekeeping in the International Context

United Nations

The EU approach to peacekeeping is closely modeled on that of the UN, particularly as it has conformed to the changing nature of conflict that is less about sovereign borders and more about human suffering.

In 1999, former UN Secretary General Kofi Annan posed an important question: “If humanitarian intervention is, indeed, an unacceptable assault on sovereignty, how should we respond to a Rwanda, to a Srebrenica—to gross and systematic violations of human rights that affect every precept of our common humanity?”

An independent report (“Responsibility to Protect”) presented to the UN suggests that sovereign states have a responsibility to protect their own citizens from avoidable catastrophe—from mass murder, rape, and starvation—but when they are unwilling or unable to do so, that responsibility must be borne by the broader community of states.

With its universal mandate and legitimacy, the UN is uniquely placed to advance global solutions to common challenges. Since the end of the Cold War and the ensuing explosion of local crises and conflicts, UN peacekeeping missions have more than doubled in number compared to the organization’s first forty years, and the EU has followed the UN lead.

Over the past five years, the EU has significantly increased its operational contribution to international crisis management. Through autonomous and UN Security Council-mandated ESDP operations in locales such as the Democratic Republic of Congo, Chad/Central African Republic, and the Western Balkans, the EU helps lessen the burden on UN peacekeeping capacities that are stretched close to the limit.

According to the European Security Strategy, “Strengthening the United Nations, equipping it to fulfill its responsibilities and to act effectively, is a European priority.” In addition to its on-the-ground presence through ESDP operations, the EU is one of the most significant donors to UN operations, funding almost 40 percent of the UN budget, 20 percent of UN peacekeeping operations, and approximately half of UN member states’ contributions to the organization’s funds and programs.

EU Relations with Regional Actors: Keeping the Peace

North Atlantic Treaty Organization

NATO and the EU share common strategic interests and frequently partner to prevent and resolve crises and armed conflicts in Europe and beyond. Since the signing of the landmark “NATO-EU Declaration on ESDP” in 2002, which paved the way for the “Berlin Plus” arrangements that form the basis for practical work in crisis management between the two organizations, cooperation has increased dramatically. Twenty-one EU Member States are also members of NATO.

African Union

In 2007, the EU and the African Union (AU) adopted the Joint Africa–EU Strategy and an action plan involving eight partnerships in areas including peace and security, democratic governance, and human rights.

The new intercontinental agreement aims to establish a robust peace and security architecture in Africa; promote good governance and human rights; and create opportunities for shaping global governance in an open and multilateral framework.

Since 2003, the EU has also managed the African Peace Facility (APF), designed to provide the AU and other regional organizations with the resources to mount effective peacemaking and peacekeeping operations. From its start through 2010, the EU is providing more than €550 million in funding for the APF.

On the Web

EU Common Foreign and Security Policy
http://ec.europa.eu/external_relations/cfsp/intro

European Security and Defense Policy
http://www.consilium.europa.eu/esdp

Election Observation
http://ec.europa.eu/external_relations/human_rights/intro

Western Balkans and Enlargement Process
http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement

For further information: http://www.eurunion.org/eufocus
Fashion Forward

When Inditex, the parent company of Spanish retailer Zara, overtook the Gap in sales earlier this year, it won the title of world’s largest clothing retailer. It’s an improbable achievement for Inditex, which has utterly defied retail orthodoxy since the first Zara store opened its doors in northwest Spain in 1975. Its unique business model—which uses little to no advertising, sends clothes from the drawing board to the store rack in mere days, and introduces an astounding 22,000 product lines each year (most retail giants don’t break the low thousands)—has made Zara the envy of the high street.

Last year, Inditex sold $13.9 billion in clothing—15 percent more than in 2006—in nearly 4,000 stores in 70 countries. Zara, which is responsible for two thirds of the company’s revenue, attributes its success largely to its revolution of the retail timeline. Typically, stores like the Gap and J. Crew order most of their styles six months in advance. By contrast, Zara creates more than half its stock in season, when the company can react to current fashion whims. It’s known as fast fashion. “Seeing an item in a disco in Tokyo to putting it in a [Zara] window in Milan takes 15 to 30 days,” says José Luis Nueno, professor of marketing at the IESE Business School in Barcelona. At its fastest, the company can send its designers to a Madonna concert one night, says Nueno, and have the singer’s styles “in the windows earlier than the next concert.” With that kind of turnaround time, Zara won’t make any money, but “it’s a psychological war with the competition,” says Nueno. “It hurts the [competition’s] morale.”

The ability to deliver high fashion at lightning speed stems from the company’s distinctive local supply chain. Whereas most global retailers outsource the bulk of their production to Asia, Zara produces most of its styles close to home—in Morocco, Portugal, Spain, and Turkey—allowing its biggest European stores to receive shipments practically overnight. The company has been able to “adapt the product to market … and [to] the unpredictability of demand,” says Tony Shiret, a retail analyst at Credit Suisse. “They’ve changed the way people buy in Europe.” And with the company setting its sights on expanding its footprint in Asia and the United States, there may be little reason to mind the Gap.

The Globalization of MARTYRDOM

Suicide terrorism has truly gone global. According to data compiled by Assaf Moghadam, a terrorism expert at West Point’s Combating Terrorism Center, not only have the number of suicide attacks around the world reached unprecedented heights in recent years, but the terror tactic has spread to the far corners of the Earth with deadly effect.

Key:

- 0 # of suicide attacks worldwide
- Country afflicted

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*Through August 21
This Is Your Brain on War

Could pills one day replace bullets in an army’s arsenal? It might sound like science fiction, but thanks to new advances in pharmaceuticals and neuroscience, the next generation of conflict may indeed move from the battlefield to the brain. That’s according to a recent report commissioned by the U.S. Defense Intelligence Agency to map the future of cognitive warfare.

Combat in years to come, according to the report, will be dramatically influenced by breakthroughs in neuroscience that can be adapted for defense purposes. These developments might involve improving a soldier’s ability to process information with chemicals that alter brain chemistry or computer hardware that interfaces directly with the brain. “There’s the potential to not only bring someone up to a certain level of function, but actually enhance their function, make them smarter or faster than they would be otherwise,” says Jonathan Moreno, an expert on neuroscience and warfare at the Center for American Progress who worked on the report.

Building a brighter, brainier army certainly isn’t the only goal. The U.S. military is also interested in applications that impair its enemies’ performance. These could range from neural-imaging technologies that tell interrogators when a prisoner is lying to aerosols that destroy an adversary’s will to fight or drugs that alter their moods, even increasing their trust as they are attacked.

And when it comes to laying the groundwork for this future mind warfare, it’s the for-profit pharmaceutical sector that often conducts the necessary research. Aging baby boomers in the United States are driving “a growing market for cognitive enhancers” that can be adapted for military purposes, says Diane Griffin, a professor of microbiology at Johns Hopkins University who also contributed to the report.

Unfortunately, lax rules about human experimentation in other countries could mean that advances abroad might “parallel or even outstrip the... work being done in the West,” according to the study. The authors single out China and Iran as potential foes in this brave new war, with active programs in advanced neuroscience and keen state interests in military applications. On the battlefield, it seems, today’s firepower might not stand a chance against tomorrow’s brainpower.

Epiphanies: Garry Kasparov

I WAS ASKED at the press conference after a tournament I won in 1997 or 1998, ‘What else is left for you in the world of chess?’ And I said that I have a son, who was born in 1996, and I want him to see his father win a big chess tournament. At the end of 2004, I played the Russian national championship. [My son] was already 8, and I won very convincingly. At the closing ceremony, I got my gold medal and put it around his neck. And that was it.

FOR MANY RUSSIANS, millions and millions of them, 1991 was a disaster. Not that they had any illusions about the Soviet Union, but they wanted change, they wanted democracy, they wanted freedom, they wanted better lives, and instead they got a lot of horsesh*t.

I BECAME GRADUALLY NOT EVEN ANGRY, but ashamed at the events in my country. I recognized that I had a very tough choice: fight this regime or leave my country. Because seeing this bunch of criminals destroying the future of my country and doing nothing, I couldn’t bear it.

THE FINAL MOMENT that shaped this decision was the Beslan [school massacre]. After I saw the tragedy at Beslan, I recognized that it was coldblooded murder, premeditated by Putin and his gang. The fact that the Kremlin, with no hesitation, ordered to burn down the school with kids and women—for me, that was the final call.

YOU SHOULD NOT BE MISLED by the nice suits, the jets, the luxury yachts. [Putin and the oligarchs] are different and they will always hate you. The question is whether they will mix this hate with fear or with contempt. So far, the latter.

[THE OPPOSITION IN RUSSIA] has no long-term strategy. We are struggling to survive day to day.

I REMEMBER one of the guards followed me to the roof [of the jail] where I was walking, and he asked me, ‘How is it that a man of great glory like you has ended up in jail?’ And I said, ‘In Russia, people are in jail for two things: for murder or for truth.’

Garry Kasparov, a chess grandmaster, is a democracy activist in Russia.

For More Online Read more of Kasparov’s Epiphanies, like what he thinks could ruin Putin, at ForeignPolicy.com/extras/kasparov.
Development’s Great Depression

If your paycheck fluctuated unpredictably from year to year, you’d probably have a hard time planning for the future. That’s exactly the predicament many countries that receive international aid face. When Bono throws a series of global concerts or a disaster strikes, aid can post a banner year. But when donations dry up due to unmet conditions or a U.S. dollar in free fall, the drop in official development assistance is often devastating to poor countries.

Just how painful are these shocks? A recent study of aid volatility during the past four decades finds that fluctuations in aid have produced income shocks in developing countries just as large as and more frequent than those that developed countries experienced during the two world wars and the Great Depression, when GDP per capita plunged 15 percent or more. In fact, the study found that the unpredictability of aid leads to an overall loss of 15 to 20 percent of the total aid sent, meaning countries would have been just as well off if they had received billions of dollars less each year, as long as the flow of money had remained steady.

Sharp swings in aid often lead to dramatic changes in poor countries’ fiscal spending. In Kenya, official development assistance for the health sector wavered from $91 million in 2000 to $17 million in 2002 to $147 million in 2005 to $111 million in 2006. As a result of these swings, health clinics had to be closed and large numbers of doctors and staff were laid off.

Some rich donors are guiltier than others for the volatility. The United States is the most unpredictable donor, whereas Scandinavian countries are the most consistent. Homi Kharas, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution and author of the study, explains that U.S. aid is most prone to volatility because the funds are discretionary at the executive level. “If [a U.S. administration] decide[s] they like somebody, they can ramp up aid very quickly, and if they decide they don’t like somebody, they cut it off very rapidly,” says Kharas.

One way to reduce volatility is for countries to commit stable amounts of aid over a multiyear time frame—say, $50 million a year for three years. Britain already has multiyear financing in place, and the aid arm of the European Union is considering it. Bringing a little more stability to the world’s most fragile countries seems like the least donors could do.

Heavy burden: Aid shocks cause instability in poor nations.

The FP Quiz

Are you a globalization junkie? Test your knowledge of global trends, economics, and politics with 8 questions about how the world works.

1. What percentage of NBA players were born outside the United States?
   - 8 percent
   - 16 percent
   - 24 percent

2. Which country has the highest proportion of its population on Facebook?
   - Canada
   - Egypt
   - France

3. Which country has the most journalists in jail?
   - China
   - Cuba
   - Iran

4. In which of these countries do academics earn the highest income relative to the national average?
   - China
   - India
   - South Africa

5. Which country, after the United States and Britain, has the most troops in Iraq?
   - Australia
   - Poland
   - South Korea

6. How many people have been put on trial before the International Criminal Court?
   - 0
   - 5
   - 15

7. Which country is the largest owner of U.S. federal government debt?
   - Britain
   - China
   - Japan

8. What is the most expensive street in the world for property?
   - Avenue Princesse Grace, Monaco
   - Severn Road, Hong Kong
   - Fifth Avenue, New York City

For the answers, turn to page 92.
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“All the great things are simple, and many can be expressed in a single word: freedom, justice, honor, duty, mercy, hope.”

—Sir Winston Churchill
No. Whether it is the global shortage of priests, the empty pews in former Catholic strongholds, or the slew of sex abuse scandals, it might seem as though the modern Catholic Church is in decline. In fact, the church is in the midst of the greatest period of growth in its 2,000-year history. The world’s Catholic population grew from 266 million in 1900 to 1.1 billion in 2000, an increase of 314 percent. By comparison, the world population last century grew by 263 percent. The church didn’t just hitch a ride on the baby boom; it successfully attracted new converts.

Yes, Catholicism is getting smaller in Europe, and it would be losing ground in the United States, too, were it not for immigration, especially among Hispanics. A recent Pew Forum study found that fully 10 percent of Americans are ex-Catholics. These declines, however, have been more than offset by growth in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. In sub-Saharan Africa alone, the number of Catholics grew a staggering 6,700 percent in the past century, from 1.9 million to 130 million. The Democratic Republic of the Congo today has the same number of Catholics as Austria and Germany put together. India has more Catholics than Canada and Ireland combined.

What’s happening is not that Catholicism is shrinking, but rather, its demographic center of gravity is shifting. What was once a largely homogenous religion, concentrated in Europe and North America, is now a truly universal faith. In 1900, just 25 percent of Catholics lived in the developing world; today that figure is 66 percent and climbing. In a few decades, the new centers of theological thought will no longer be Paris and Milan, but Nairobi and Manila.

Today, fertility rates are falling across much of the developing world, so it’s unlikely Catholicism can maintain the 20th century’s spectacular gains during the next 100 years. In parts of Latin America, Africa, and Asia, Catholicism is being outpaced by its competitors, especially fast-growing evangelical and Pentecostal churches. Still, the single biggest challenge facing the Catholic Church is not coping with decline, but rather, managing the transition to a multicultural faith.

*The Catholic Church Is Shrinking*

By John L. Allen Jr.

From the outside, the Vatican appears resistant to change and tone-deaf to scandal. But, in truth, the world’s oldest religious institution bears little resemblance to the mysterious church imagined by conspiracy theorists. Today, Catholicism is attracting millions of new and diverse followers who are embracing the church’s traditions of debate and independence as gospel.

John L. Allen Jr. is senior correspondent for the National Catholic Reporter and senior Vatican analyst for CNN.
“Catholicism Is Right Wing”

Only in part. It depends on your definition of “right wing,” and, for that matter, of the church. It’s true that the institutional structures of Catholicism are instinctively conservative. In the 19th century, Pope Gregory XVI actually blocked construction of railroads and gas lighting in the Papal States for fear of where such “unnatural” innovations might lead. It’s also true that on controversial issues such as abortion, same-sex marriage, and embryonic stem cell research, official Catholic positions stand solidly with the cultural right.

Yet the church has always been more than its hierarchy, and grass-roots sentiment is anything but uniform. The United States offers a case in point. American Catholics were historically Democrats, and despite aggressive efforts by conservatives since the Reagan era to court them, there’s still a sizeable liberal Catholic constituency. As proof, most opinion polls taken in the run-up to the 2008 presidential election showed Catholics evenly divided between Barack Obama and John McCain.

Even the official positions of the church would hardly draw a clean bill of health from secular conservatives. The late Pope John Paul II was the leading moral critic of both U.S.-led Gulf wars. Pope Benedict XVI has denounced the “false promise” of American-style free market capitalism and has emerged as an eloquent environmentalist. Meanwhile, the Catholic Church is officially anti-death penalty, anti-arms trade, pro-United Nations, and pro-immigrant—stances anathema to many on the right.

Bishops and theologians insist that, given the full range of Catholic social doctrine, the church isn’t compatible with any secular alliance. John Carr, a veteran staffer for the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops, calls Catholicism “politically homeless.” In the nine U.S. presidential elections between 1972 and 2004, a majority of U.S. Catholics voted for a Republican in five and a Democrat in four. Whether it’s a matter of official teaching or rank-and-file opinion, the Catholic Church is hardly the American Republican Party at prayer.
"The Church Is Filthy Rich"

Not really, though it’s certainly not poor. Anyone who has ever stood in St. Peter’s Square in Rome and watched a prince of the church (the colloquial name for a Catholic cardinal) emerge from a black Mercedes sporting Vatican license plates could understandably find pleas of tough times hard to swallow.

Yet the wealth of the Catholic Church is usually exaggerated. The Vatican, for example, is rumored to be swimming in loot, but its annual budget is less than $400 million. For comparison, consider that Harvard University’s is more than $3 billion. The Vatican’s portfolio of stocks, bonds, and real estate comes to roughly $1 billion. For a slightly whimsical frame of reference, Forbes estimates that Oprah Winfrey, all by herself, is worth $2.5 billion. The great artistic treasures of the Vatican, such as Michelangelo’s Pietà, are literally priceless; they’re listed on Vatican books at a value of 1 euro each because they can never be sold or borrowed against.

Around the world, dioceses and parishes are sometimes large landowners, and the church operates a vast network of schools, hospitals, and social service centers. That infrastructure can generate some impressive-sounding numbers. In 2001, the annual revenue of Catholic programs in the United States came to $102 billion. Yet most of these programs either barely break even or operate in the red, in part because they often serve low-income and minority populations. Outside Europe and the United States, most dioceses and parishes get by on shoestring budgets, to say nothing of missionaries who often live in desperate poverty in remote areas.

Catholics—from the pope on down—routinely suggest that the church should adopt greater “simplicity,” and it’s eminently fair to expect any organization that demands justice for the poor to practice what it preaches. Popular images of bags of cash stockpiled in the church basement, however, are misleading. They simply aren’t there.

"The Church Never Changes"

False. The reality isn’t that the church never changes, but that it never admits to having changed. Catholics who have been around the block know that whenever someone in authority begins a sentence with, “As the church has always taught…,” some long-standing idea or practice is about to be turned on its head.

For example, the church once regarded lending money for interest as the sin of usury, which is not dogma today. Or consider that when popes were also civil rulers, they put criminals to death; visitors to Rome can drop by the Criminology Museum to see a perfectly preserved papal guillotine, a gift from Napoleon. Today, of course, the Catholic Church is a leader in global anti-death penalty campaigns. More recently, Pope Benedict XVI set aside belief in limbo, a special antechamber in the afterlife for unbaptized babies.

Apologists may argue that what changed in such cases were the historical circumstances, not the underlying principles. But in any event, something important gave way. Typically, mounting pressure from below eventually erupts to cause a breakthrough, as happened during the Second Vatican Council in the mid-1960s. In a flash, Mass was celebrated in vernacular languages rather than Latin, Catholicism went from being critical of religious liberty to a champion of human rights, and Protestant “heretics” became “separated brethren.”

That’s not to suggest that everything is up for grabs. A future pope is not going to teach that Jesus didn’t exist, that he wasn’t the divine Son of God, or that the bread and wine used in the Catholic Mass do not really become the body and blood of Christ. The Catholic story is always a blend of continuity and change. The hard part is anticipating what might change—and when.
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The fact of the matter is that teachings on sex and gender are contested even within the church itself. Polls show that solid majorities of Catholics, at least in the United States, disagree with official church positions on matters such as contraception, in vitro fertilization, and whether priests should be allowed to marry. Narrower majorities favor the ordination of women to the priesthood and oppose outright bans on abortion. And while life issues will be a major factor for many American Catholics as they decide on a presidential candidate, social justice issues, such as assistance for struggling families and immigration reform, are often just as important. As with most matters, Catholic opinion is far more diverse—and tolerant—than is often understood.

If the obsession with sex lies anywhere, it’s with popular culture, not the church. During the first year of his papacy, Benedict XVI actually used the word “Africa” four times more often than he did “sex,” yet it was a lone Vatican document barring gays from the priesthood that dominated news headlines. The intersection of sex and religion simply sells well, and it is not quite fair to blame the church for that.

No, you are. Prior to the sexual revolution of the 1960s, most people would have found the idea that Catholicism is prudish to be deeply odd. The old rap on Catholics was that they were far too given to the pleasures of the flesh, especially sex and booze, in contrast with the more abstemious Protestants. As the Catholic poet Hilaire Belloc once wrote, “Wherever the Catholic sun doth shine, there’s always laughter and good red wine.” When critics today blast Catholicism for its “puritanical” positions, one imagines actual Puritans, who despised the Church of Rome and its moral laxity, rolling over in their graves.

Since the 1960s, however, Catholicism has been drawn into one public controversy after another on the so-called pelvic issues—such as gay rights, gender roles, the family, abortion, contraception, artificial insemination, and other hotly debated points of sexual ethics. Catholic teachings that once struck the average person as moderate or even permissive, such as encouraging large families, have come to seem positively antiquated to most observers.

The problem with the Vatican is less its secrecy than its utter singularity. It is unlike any other institution one could encounter, with its own history, language, and rhythms. If you don’t know the difference between Jesuit and Dominican views on grace in the 16th century, for example, or between a surplice and a surplus, you’re often going to find conversations inside the Vatican terribly hard to understand. Or, if you don’t know that the under secretary in most offices is the person who does the real work, it can be tough to follow the bouncing ball of church business. The trick to figuring out the Vatican is mastering its culture. Do that, and the veil of secrecy usually lifts quickly.
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About Your Professor
Professor Timothy Taylor is Managing Editor of the prominent Journal of Economic Perspectives, published by the American Economic Association. He earned his M.Econ. from Stanford University. While teaching at the University of Minnesota, he was named a Distinguished Lecturer by the university’s Department of Economics.

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ordered the archbishop of Milwaukee to halt the renovation of his cathedral because it didn’t approve of the design. The archbishop replied that he was the one paying the contractors, so Rome could mind its own business.

Even within the Vatican, offices operate quite independently of one another. Sometimes Rome’s left hand really does not know, or does not approve of, what its right hand is doing. During the John Paul II years, for example, the pope’s own master of ceremonies often designed papal Masses that ignored changes from the Vatican’s office of liturgical policy. And anyone who has paid close attention to shifting Vatican responses to the sex abuse crisis has likely come away with an impression of internal incoherence rather than tight control from the top.

The reality of the church is probably best expressed by the old quip that Catholicism is “an absolute monarchy tempered by selective disobedience.” Behind the local independence and shifting responses to scandal, there is nearly always an impressive degree of spirited debate. As the church grows more diverse, this tradition of dialogue and deliberation will be even more critical to its future. Popes and practices will change, but the bedrock of the faith will likely remain strong and flexible.


Catholic Bishop Geoffrey Robinson spoke with FOREIGN POLICY about his denunciation of the church after almost 25 years in “Talking Sex and Power in the Catholic Church” (ForeignPolicy.com, August 2008). R. Scott Appleby explains why future popes must reach out to the Islamic world and take a crash course in economics in “Job Description for the Next Pope” (FOREIGN POLICY, January/February 2004).

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More airlines around the world have gone belly up this year than in the aftermath of September 11. Airlines have simply met their match in the high price of oil. Nothing short of a complete overhaul of the industry—fewer carriers, fewer flights, and far higher prices—will keep the world flying. By William Swelbar

Cleared for Takeoff

When it comes to the number of passengers flown each year, U.S. airlines own the skies. But airlines such as China Southern, blessed by the fast-growing Chinese domestic market, and Ryanair, Europe’s top low-cost carrier, are rapidly rising in the ranks.

Struggling to Upgrade

Passengers don’t necessarily translate into profits. Top carriers’ revenues come in at vastly different altitudes. Air France-KLM carries far fewer passengers than Southwest or American, but it still rakes in billions of dollars more each year. That’s because American carriers’ approach—to fly everywhere and often—gives them pricing power nowhere.
Come Fly the Frugal Skies

Low-cost airlines have revolutionized the way the world flies. Nowhere has this transformation been more apparent than in Europe, where low-cost carriers grew to nearly a third of the market last year, offering more than 130,000 flights a month. But these no-frills alternatives are not immune to the oil pressures rocking the industry. In 2007, low-cost U.S. airlines lost an average of $1.20 on each passenger thanks to the high price of oil.

Fueling The Crisis

Flying wasn’t always such a money pit. Less than a decade ago, the major U.S. airlines made more than $2.2 in profit per passenger. But even as labor and maintenance costs have declined or held steady, the price of fuel has left airlines in the red. Fuel now makes up at least 36 percent of global airlines’ expenses, up from 14 percent five years ago.

Fasten Your Seat Belts

Get ready to pay much more to fly this holiday season. Airlines around the world will make even more dramatic cuts in flights in the fourth quarter of 2008 than they did in the months after September 11. Thanks to high fuel costs, 60 million seats will disappear over the same period last year—20 million of them inside the United States—and 275 airports around the world will close altogether. Clearly, it’s going to be a bumpy ride.

William Swelbar is research engineer with MIT’s International Center for Air Transportation, where he manages the Airline Data Project. He blogs at www.swelblog.com.
For more than half a century, the United States ensured that five Big Ideas shaped international politics. Now, as the Big Ideas of the 21st century are formed, just who will corner the new global market of ideology is anyone’s guess. One thing is certain, though: If the United States wants to remain a player, it’s going to have to refine its sales pitch. | By Bruce W. Jentleson and Steven Weber

Although their presidencies had little in common, George H.W. Bush, Bill Clinton, and George W. Bush all spoke about the world from essentially the same starting point. In a time of sole-superpower dominance, most of the world had seemingly come to understand that the utility of military force was on the decline. Free markets were ascendant, creating wealth and contributing to the growing sense that a wave of democratic transition was inevitable. Mobile phones and the Internet were spreading elements of Western culture and behavior to a global population that was ready, even eager, to receive and assimilate them.

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These presidents basically had it right. For most of the second half of the 20th century, five Big Ideas shaped world politics:

1) PEACE IS BETTER THAN WAR.
2) HEGEMONY, AT LEAST THE BENIGN SORT, IS BETTER THAN A BALANCE OF POWER.
3) CAPITALISM IS BETTER THAN SOCIALISM.
4) DEMOCRACY IS BETTER THAN DICTATORSHIP.
5) WESTERN CULTURE IS BETTER THAN ALL THE REST.

On all five counts, the United States was widely seen as paragon and guarantor. American power brought peace through a combination of Cold War containment and deterrence. A United Nations was constructed largely according to American designs. American hegemony brought relative security and laid the foundation for progressively more open trade and capital markets.
American capitalism taught the world how to create unprecedented wealth. American democracy inspired people around the world to change their relationships with political authority. And American culture became a magnet for the world’s youth.

Today, the prevailing consensus in the United States is that these five Big Ideas still hold. A variety of intellectual formulations have sprung up—the end of history, the democratic peace, the indispensable nation, the Rome-like empire—which, despite their differences, share the core belief that these fundamentals have not changed. Even the latest spate of books about the second or post-American world end up in the same place, accepting that the same five assumptions will still form the basis for the present and future world order.

Unfortunately, they will not. The five Big Ideas of the past century are no longer the sound and sturdy guides they once were. The challenge runs far deeper than the bad atmospherics created by the Bush administration. Nor is it the case that our international institutions are simply in need of remodeling or refurbishment to reflect the shift in power and wealth across the globe. Rather, the rules have changed, and the biggest and most basic questions of world politics are open for debate once again.

Of course, peace is still better than war. Unless, as some governments will profess, war is wielded as an instrument of national policy, as was the case with the United States in Iraq, Russia in Georgia, Ethiopia in Somalia, Israel in Lebanon, and others to come. But does peace remain superior if states want to prevent the killing of people in Darfur, end the malign neglect in the aftermath of a natural disaster in Burma, or head off a pandemic incubating within someone else’s borders? With authority more contested and power more diffuse, what are the rules for going to war and keeping the peace?

And who makes them? Hegemony, benign or otherwise, is no longer an option—not for the United States, not for China, not for anyone. A 21st-century version of a 19th-century multipolar world is hardly possible, either. There are too many players at too many tables for counting and balancing poles of power. Although some players still matter more than others, more players matter more deeply than ever before. Nonstate actors—from the Gates Foundation to
Google to Bono—are autonomous global players on the front lines of international affairs. Who holds sway over the decisions made in a world more networked than hierarchical?

Capitalism decisively beat socialism. But it has now split into distinctive and competing forms, with governments owning and directing large parts of the economy in some of the most critical states and sectors. Take finance—a supposed pillar of American strength, now bailed out and backstopped by U.S. government debt. Has the market come to need the state as much as the state needs the market?

Democracy has brought freer societies. But is it as effective in efficiently creating just and peaceful ones? That China, a nondemocratic state, has had the greatest success meeting the basic human needs of its people and pulling them out of poverty in the past 20 years speaks volumes to this point. It is now hardly an acceptance of repression to recognize the simple fact that in many societies political legitimacy is a function of performance, not just process.

And while the most raw and visceral expressions of anti-Americanism may very well subside when the Bush administration leaves office, the “be like us” era (about which some Americans will always wax nostalgic) will never return. Modernization did not bring homogenization; culture and identity are powerful, enduring forces between and within societies.

The foreign-policy community isn’t blind to these questions—at least not when they are asked one at a time. In fact, the notion that each Big Idea is subject to debate has become so mainstream that most supposedly new contributions to the debate are really just attempts to state more eloquently what are by now familiar arguments. But the challenges to the five Big Ideas of the 20th century—when taken together—create a different and much more difficult reality. The United States has not confronted, either intellectually or politically, the profound consequences of that reality. The 21st century will not be an ideological rerun of the past 100 years. The United States must reenter the competition to answer the most fundamental questions about how the 21st-century world should be ordered. Indeed, it has already begun. Welcome to the new age of ideology.

THE MARKETPLACE OF IDEAS

In the United States, it is popular to declare war on a problem. So, for example, American political leaders, whether liberal or conservative, consistently appeal for a “war of ideas” to defeat international terrorism. The metaphor is crisp, actionable, and morally compelling. It’s also wrong. Ideas don’t fight wars, and any policy that follows from that formulation won’t work. Ideas don’t go to combat; they vie for the commitment of individuals in an arena that is less like a battlefield and more like a marketplace. The United States is facing a global competition of ideas, and the rules of engagement are much closer to those set out by Milton Friedman than Carl von Clausewitz.

Who dominates in such a marketplace? To start, markets are places where leaders need followers more than the other way around. Presumptive leaders don’t issue orders; they make offers. Eventually, it is the followers who decide whose leadership they find most attractive at that moment. Market leaders don’t depend heavily on private deals and subterfuge to hold their bargains in place; there’s too much transparency to offer inconsistent options to different constituencies. And market leaders don’t ever relax or lose their edge because they know that their competitors will be relentless.

Put simply: In a marketplace of ideas, we offer and they choose. One does not win a marketplace; one outcompetes for market share. And it doesn’t last unless you make it last.

It’s worth asking why it’s so hard for the United States, a country that understands market competition in so many other respects, to countenance a global competition of ideas. It would appear that, when it comes to international issues, the United States prefers not to acknowledge it competes on an even playing field with others.

It took almost the entire decade of the 1980s for the American economic and business elite to come to grips with what it meant to compete with Japan, in particular when it seemed to play the capitalism and trade game by a different set of rules. For the United States, it was a long and hard learning curve,

The U.S. must reenter the competition to answer the most basic questions about how the world should be ordered.
which along the way included many dysfunctional policies and self-inflicted wounds through import quotas, talk of trade wars, and near panic over purchases by Japanese investors of iconic real estate in New York and California. There was even a small avalanche of books demanding that the Japanese change their business practices, laws, and culture so that the competition would be more “fair”—that is, played according to Washington’s rules.

It took the decade of the 1990s to come to grips with similar kinds of geopolitical competition. Stuck for an embarrassingly long period in a peculiar debate about the dynamics of “unipolarity,” American policymakers fundamentally overestimated U.S. control over international events. More important, they underestimated the capabilities and creativity of those whose interests really were at odds with their own. Lesser, even nonstate, powers might not have been able to confront the United States directly, but they had obvious alternatives: to go nuclear, to go underground, to bypass American power with their own initiatives, to disrupt whatever they could in the U.S.-led plan for the world. Perhaps if the United States recognized the reality of the competitive environment in which we live—and thus understood the creative options others invent as they develop their strategies for competing—it would have been easier, for example, for Washington to have seen the “red lights” flashing around al Qaeda in the summer of 2001.

Everyone competes. Today, they compete around ideas as much as or more than anything else. The notion of a single sustainable model for national success—the American model—does not resonate with the majority of people on this planet. The 300 million Chinese who lifted themselves out of poverty in a single generation have a different narrative, one that emphasizes state control of economic growth at the expense of political freedoms. The Russians subscribe to a narrative of “sovereign democracy,” which says an efficient autocrat can bring economic recovery, stability, basic security, and pride to a nation much more quickly and effectively than any rulebound institution. The hundreds of millions in Africa, Latin America, and parts of Asia who experimented with freedom, democracy, and free enterprise but are poorer, sicker, and more likely to die in violent conflict than they were 30 years ago have their own narratives.

None of these alternatives is simply a retrograde version of liberalism, and none of them depends on naiveté or false consciousness on the part of those who hold them. They are vibrant competitors in a global marketplace.

THE NEW ERA HAS ARRIVED

It would be best for the United States to get serious about how to compete most effectively in the bubbling, energetic, creative, and occasionally infuriating marketplace of ideas that is contemporary global politics. To gain a solid footing, there are three central rules that must be understood:

1) Ideology is now the most important, yet most uncertain and fastest-changing, component of national power.

The new age of ideology remains an age of power. Consider, though, where the score card of power can change most significantly. Military and economic power are crucial, but they are also largely predictable. Even after Iraq and the current financial crisis, the United States’ strengths in both areas will only be somewhat eroded. These are “slow-burn” phenomena. But the ideological components of power can change much more radically. The rate of change is faster for ideology because the barriers to entry are so much lower. The costs of, say, building a navy are tremendous while the costs of disseminating a new set of ideas about how the world works are now trivial.

In this fast-paced and unpredictable setting, the five Big Ideas of American ideology were never immutable. Outside the United States, people no longer believe that the alternative to Washington-led order is chaos. State-led economies that consciously rid themselves of democratic freedom are no longer assumed incapable of producing great wealth. Charismatic autocrats are no longer necessarily believed to be corrupt and dysfunctional. The optimal model for a just society, one that offers dignity to people, is no longer synonymous with

Outside the United States, people no longer believe that the alternative to Washington-led order is chaos.
American democracy. The most fundamental questions of what counts for a legitimate order, progress, human dignity, and meaning are open—and the rest of the world has no fear about experimenting with alternatives.

2) Technology massively multiplies soft power—particularly video technology, and particularly in the hands of nonstate actors.

The new marketplace of ideas is powered by technology. One of the most crucial changes is that governments and other “official” sources of information have lost their role as key brokers of credibility. The Internet radically boosts soft-power capability, while distributing those capabilities more broadly. The power and distinction of a government’s voice is lost in the competing chatter, and in some ways, it becomes the least compelling simply because it’s the least novel.

It’s not just voices that are engaged—or more precisely, not just words competing against words. Images are now competing against images. People are visual creatures, and they tend to respond to videos and pictures on a much less rational and much more visceral level. Al Qaeda’s recruiting videos are set to rap music, and the emotional impact of cellphone photos showing monks being shot by security forces is far more poignant than a government white paper or even a colorless text message. Does anyone not remember the image of the hooded Abu Ghraib prisoner standing on a box with wires connected to his arms? YouTube (and whatever follows it) will soon have greater global influence over narratives about international events (if it doesn’t already) than any government information source could hope to have.

3) Each player represents a single ideology, so “domestic values” and “international values” must be consistent.

The new marketplace of ideas is not bound by borders. In the past, foreign-policymakers typically brushed off concerns that contradictory policies would be seen as hypocritical because pragmatic decision-making warranted this necessary but manageable cost. However, a presumptive leader can no longer claim the legitimacy of one principle or policy for people on one side of a border, while denying the same to others on the other side. Everything is visible to everyone. If Americans want to make their own choices about family planning and contraception, they can’t deny foreign aid to countries that give their citizens the same right. If Moscow says that oil is a global commodity that anyone should be able to purchase openly on global markets, then it can’t undermine the rights of foreign oil companies to invest fairly and transparently in its energy assets.
Consistency in policymaking is now a fundamental necessity, not a luxury. And it’s constant, because the demands of soft power follow the 24/7 news and argument cycle on the Internet. It’s harder to buy time and deceive others about ideology than it is about almost anything else. Militarily weak states have long built Potemkin villages to hoodwink their adversaries about how capable they really are. There are no Potemkin villages for soft power.

PLAYING A NEW GREAT GAME

The 21st-century global marketplace of ideas has its own dynamic. As the Big Ideas of the 20th century seem increasingly inadequate for meeting the challenges and choices that define this new age of ideology, a new set of leaders will compete to rise to the fore. And those successful players will be the states, companies, individuals, and nongovernmental organizations that are capable of articulating and implementing the new Big Ideas necessary for societal survival in the 21st century. The four central areas of competition during at least the next decade will be: mutuality, a just society, a healthy planet, and societal heterogeneity.

First, amid the proliferation of different forms of nationalism and other narrow self-interests, who will commit to the mutuality essential to a global era? The second half of the 20th century left a legacy of unbalanced bargains—often clearly favoring the United States—on issues such as nonproliferation and arms control, intellectual property, agricultural trade, and the right to use military force. Russia seems bent on reclaiming some of the Soviet Union’s position of power. Parts of Africa and Latin America are open to the attractive terms of trade China offers but not simply to trading Western dominance for Chinese. Indian pharmaceutical firms seek asymmetric rights to distribute generic drugs. Leadership will come in rebalancing such bargains. They not only hurt others substantively; they grate symbolically. In a global age, it is more essential than ever to have a credible claim that one uses power more for shared benefits than selfish interests.

Mutuality also requires greater sharing of decision-making responsibilities around global issues. Some changes will be obvious, including the reform of the major international institutions that reflect a post-WWII-era nostalgia. The bargain between the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund that guarantees by default an American president for the bank and a European managing director for the fund will end. The U.N. Security Council will expand. A new operational definition of multilateralism will emerge that enhances the effectiveness of action, while being candid about its limitations. The United States could lead in this direction, but so could many others, without the intellectual and emotional burdens of incumbency.

The second area of competition will be a notion of a just society that balances individual rights and social equity. It must make the provision for basic human needs—food, water, and health—an explicit and direct component of social justice. In countries plagued with mass poverty and endemic injustice, “freedom from” is not enough; it also must be about the “capacity to.” People are looking not just to be protected from government but also to be protected by government. That means that any ideology that overprivileges process—even democratic process—but fails to deliver on basic human needs will lose. Beijing understands this point, and so do some major global megaphilanthropies.

The third area is the health of the planet as a motivating vision that both inspires hope and provides strategic direction. The environmental movement is now a global phenomenon and no longer simply about the environment. It’s equally about security, economics, social stability, natural disasters, and humanitarian crises. It is a long-term goal—the most vital legacy to be left to future generations. It is also increasingly in the here and now, as the effects of global climate change begin to be felt and the critical junctures for policy action grow nearer. There are no more “externalities”; the system no longer has that kind of slack. A healthy planet is the ultimate global public good. Systems of wealth creation that ignore pollution won’t attract and hold followers for long. Brussels understands this point, and, increasingly, so do many large multinational firms.

The final challenge is societal heterogeneity, learning to live together amid differences of individual and other international players have their own strengths and shortcomings, but they will compete with Americans on a level playing field.
group identities that breed fear of “the other.” The migration of peoples has combined with technologies of travel and communications to produce increasingly extreme combinations of nationalities, races, ethnicities, and religions within societies. Yet few communities exist harmoniously with heterogeneity. In some cases—Bosnia, Iraq, Rwanda, Sudan—the tensions reached extremes and the politics of identity have been about “who I am,” “who you are,” and that “I need to kill you before you kill me.” In other instances—think China and Tibet, Muslims in Western Europe, Hindus and Muslims in Kashmir—consistent episodes of violence overlap with systematic discrimination to create a poisonous atmosphere. The United States has its immigration demagoguery and persistent racial inequalities. No major global player has really yet articulated a compelling vision for how to manage this kind of heterogeneity—and that is a huge opportunity for leadership.

Mutuality, a just society, a healthy planet, and societal heterogeneity. They don’t add up to neatly packed “isms.” But that’s not what the people of the world are shopping for. Smart players will beware doctrinal rigidity as well as any tired claims that history moves inevitably toward one conclusion or another, whether it be liberal internationalism, Salafi jihadism, proletarian solidarity, or “sustainability”—because it won’t.

Let’s assume the United States wants to be a real competitor for leadership in this new era. The most important thing for Americans to recognize is that it really is a new game and that the challenge is fundamentally different from containing communism or defeating terrorism. Other international players—countries, global corporations, religious movements, Internet communities—have their own strengths and shortcomings, but they will compete with Americans on a level playing field. The only real certainty is that the new age of ideology will not end in victory and defeat. It might not “end” in any meaningful way at all. “Equilibrium” and “stability,” the intellectual obsessions of so-called status quo powers, are going to be very tenuous states of being, and mostly illusory.

Here’s another certainty: The next decade will probably have its “end of ideology” prophets, just as past ones did. Beware those trying to corner the market with vaguely familiar talking points that brand the coming “new” ideas with a shinier version of the same old American-centered stamp. They will be just as wrong. And, chances are, the new crop of buyers won’t be interested in what they’re selling.

«For links to relevant Web sites, access to the FP Archive, and a comprehensive index of related FOREIGN POLICY articles, go to ForeignPolicy.com.»
The next American president will confront a host of potential cataclysms: from a virulent financial crisis to a vicious terrorist enemy, nuclear proliferation to climate change. He’ll need his country’s brightest minds—not his party’s usual suspects. So, we asked 10 of the world’s top thinkers to name the unlikely team that can best guide No. 44 through the turbulent years ahead.
The No. 1 challenge facing the next president is to prevent a terrorist group from detonating a nuclear weapon in an American city. If he successfully ended the conflict in Iraq, checked Iran, brokered an Israeli-Palestinian peace, cut carbon emissions, stabilized Pakistan, and artfully managed relations with China and Russia—but lost a million citizens in a nuclear attack, the nation would not be grateful.

Strobe Talbott  
**SECRETARY OF STATE**  
Capable of discerning America's interests, the Brookings Institution president and former deputy secretary of state has the gravitas and experience to execute policy and lead the department.

Robert Gates  
**SECRETARY OF DEFENSE**  
Secretary Gates is a keeper: He inspires confidence in all quarters, providing independent advice to the president while respecting the expertise of the professional military.

David Lipton  
**SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY**  
A former under secretary of the Treasury, Lipton has a solid understanding of the global economy, with proven success in both the public and private sectors.

Marc Grossman  
**DIRECTOR OF NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE**  
Grossman is a universally respected diplomat with the integrity, management, and leadership skills to coordinate the complex intelligence community—while never forgetting that the purpose of intelligence is to improve policy.

Jessica T. Mathews  
**NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR**  
The Carnegie Endowment president is a brilliant analyst of the thorniest policy issues, with the temperament and strength to manage the national security bureaucracy for the president.

Susan Rice  
**AMB. TO THE UNITED NATIONS**  
The former assistant secretary of state projects American values with intelligence and passion, while understanding that the United States must inspire others in order to succeed. Plus, her Africa expertise gives her an advantage in dealing with today's most vexing challenges.

**CHRISTOPH BERTRAM**  
Former director of the German Institute for International and Security Affairs

Given the United States' immense domestic problems, the key challenges for the next president will be at home. Abroad, his toughest task will be to adapt U.S. foreign policy to a world in which America must relearn how to exert influence through coalitions and institutions.

James Baker  
**SECRETARY OF STATE**  
Baker, an excellent deal maker and an international realist, so impressively mastered the job under George H.W. Bush that, even today, it is still difficult to think of a better candidate.

Robert Zoellick  
**SECRETARY OF DEFENSE**  
The president of the World Bank has one of the best foreign-policy brains around, is a Washington insider familiar with the diverse international arena, and knows how to run a large organization.

Hillary Clinton  
**SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY**  
Hillary's the one, precisely because the senator is not a Wall Street product but a highly skilled politician with political clout and a sense of the economic needs of ordinary Americans.

James Steinberg  
**DIRECTOR OF NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE**  
The former deputy national security advisor combines first-class analytical heft with tough administrative skills and a deep sense of the value of undoctored intelligence.
The next president’s advisors must finally jettison the idea that U.S. foreign policy should be centered on a “war on terror.” They should concentrate instead on rebuilding alliances and restoring the U.S. economy.

Richard Lugar
Secretary of State
U.S. foreign policy has been far too exciting under Bush. We need someone sober, experienced, and dull: Senator Lugar.

Robert Gates
Secretary of Defense
He’s doing a good job managing two wars and seems to be opposed to a strike on Iran. Why change now?

Warren Buffett
Secretary of the Treasury
With the government nationalizing half the financial sector, let’s see how the Sage of Omaha does as manager of the world’s largest hedge fund.

Richard Holbrooke
Director of National Intelligence
I know he would prefer Foggy Bottom, but I’m sure the former assistant secretary of state could have some fun (and do some good) by bringing his robust management style to the intel world.

James Steinberg
National Security Advisor
Experienced, clever, and committed, Steinberg has the talents needed to steer policy from the White House.

Sarah Palin
U.S. Ambassador to Russia
The governor’s taste for hunting, plain-spoken talk, and foxy boots—not to mention long years of staring at Russia from Alaska—ensure a special relationship with Putin.

Lawrence Korb
Secretary of Defense
An assistant defense secretary under Ronald Reagan and now at the Center for American Progress, Korb has done groundbreaking strategic thinking on issues including a speedy and orderly exit from Iraq, support for troops and veterans, and cutting billions in wasteful Pentagon spending.

James K. Galbraith
Secretary of the Treasury
Like his father, Galbraith understands that finance must...
serve the real economy. He recognizes the ruinous economic effects of our hypermilitarized foreign policy, thinks that world prosperity depends upon rising wages and public investment, and has the wisdom to guide us through the remaking of our global financial architecture.

**James Bamford**  
**Director of National Intelligence**  
An investigative journalist whose 1982 book about the NSA, *The Puzzle Palace*, has been used as a textbook at the National Defense Intelligence College, Bamford values wisdom and history above intelligence factoids. He will challenge convention and abuses and draw the line on covert action. A man of integrity, he’ll always refuse to bend intelligence for political purposes.

**Bill Clinton**  
**Secretary of State**  
There is no more popular American in the world than the former president, and no one else with comparable energy, knowledge, experience, and credibility to undo the negative stereotypes that have grown out of Washington’s conduct after 9/11.

**Richard Lugar**  
**Secretary of Defense**  
Although Lugar’s reputation is as a foreign-policy statesman rather than a defense expert, the Defense Department must be better attuned to international political realities. And the world would benefit from enlightened leadership of its most powerful military establishment.

**Michael Bloomberg**  
**Secretary of the Treasury**  
The mayor of New York has extraordinary credentials as a corporate leader, government administrator, financial expert, and visionary. Perhaps he can do for a shaken Wall Street what he has done for the company that bears his name.

**Andrew Bacevich**  
**National Security Advisor**  
An Army officer for more than 20 years, Bacevich was considered one of the U.S. military’s leading intellectuals. He is also a transpartisan truth teller who understands the limits of U.S. military and economic power.

**Al Gore and Van Jones** ★**Bonus Pick**  
**Energy Security Council Co-Chairs**  
Because global warming is going to be catastrophic, we need to end our dependence on fossil fuels while simultaneously creating well-paid, green-collar jobs. No other nation has the power to get others to the table, and nobody can do it better than the former vice president and the founder of the advocacy group Green for All.

**Jane Harman**  
**Director of National Intelligence**  
The California congresswoman demonstrates a firm grasp of both the usefulness of an effective national intelligence apparatus and the need for it to be properly accountable. She enjoys the respect of both the intelligence community and the political establishment.

**Wesley Clark**  
**National Security Advisor**  
A thinking-man’s soldier with field experience and an Oxford degree, General Clark would bring a rare mix of credentials to the job. But he needs a strong deputy in Susan Rice, who understands Africa and other important but neglected areas and issues that Clark knows little about.

**Indra Nooyi** ★**Bonus Pick**  
**U.S. Trade Representative**  
A business leader who heads a multinational corporation, an immigrant knowledgeable about conditions in the developing world, and a feisty woman with advanced diplomatic skills, the PepsiCo chair could transform the negotiations for a new “development round” of global trade talks.

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**Shashi Tharoor**  
Former U.N. under secretary general for communications and public information

The next president’s challenge is to restore America’s standing in the eyes of the world. He must reinvent the United States as a country that listens, engages with others, and, as its founders hoped, shows “a decent respect to the opinions of mankind.”
America’s destiny is increasingly tied to that of others, yet the gap between the United States and the ever shrinking world has never been greater. The main challenge of the next president is to bridge this gap and explain to Americans why their country must provide global leadership.

Strobe Talbott  
Secretary of State  
His new book, *The Great Experiment*, explains eloquently how America can regain the trust of the world. And who better than the author, with his diplomatic skills and unflappable temperament, to accomplish this task?

Sam Nunn  
Secretary of Defense  
The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty is legally alive but spiritually dead. Former Senator Nunn knows that American leadership by example is the only thing that will push the nuclear genie back into its bottle.

Mohamed El-Erian  
Secretary of the Treasury  
Having excelled at the International Monetary Fund, at the Harvard endowment, and in private finance, El-Erian has an intuitive feel for the interdependence of today’s global markets and how the United States can gain international support to get its economy in order.

Brent Scowcroft  
Director of National Intelligence  
The U.S. intelligence community has been politicized and demoralized. George H.W. Bush’s national security advisor has the bipartisan stature and the credibility to help it rebuild its confidence.

Fareed Zakaria  
National Security Advisor  
In *The Post-American World*, Zakaria describes the complex world the United States must navigate and why a return to pragmatic realism is the answer. *Newsweek International*'s editor is a great communicator, in public and in private, and he can persuade the Washington establishment to change its outdated worldview.

Anne-Marie Slaughter  
Ambassador to the United Nations  
The world’s richest country would benefit as much as anyone from better global governance. The Woodrow Wilson School’s dean appreciates that a revitalized United Nations can best serve America’s national interests by delivering this international public good.

Cesare Merlini  
Executive vice president at the Council for the United States and Italy  
The next occupant of the Oval Office will need a team that can restore the American people’s confidence in their economic system and fend off protectionist impulses at home. Above all, he needs advisors who understand that strengthening the rule of law, rather than spreading democracy, should be the guiding principle of U.S. foreign policy.

Robert Zoellick  
Secretary of State  
Given the turmoil in the global economy, having a secretary of state who combines top-level competence on both foreign policy and economics seems like a smart move.

Chuck Hagel  
Secretary of Defense  
Widely respected in Washington and in foreign capitals, the Nebraska senator would ensure sufficient consensus across the aisle as it becomes increasingly apparent that a dramatic reexamination of America’s military deployments is needed.

For More Online  
Whom do you think the next president should hire?  
Pick your dream team at:  
ForeignPolicy.com/extras/dreamteam.
Indra Nooyi  
**SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY**  
The PepsiCo chair is not only a woman (a first for the Treasury), but she also comes from the manufacturing sector rather than the toxic atmosphere of Wall Street.

Richard Holbrooke  
**DIRECTOR OF NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE**  
Seen from abroad, rich diplomatic experience would be a welcome addition to the basic requirements of interagency management skills and an objective approach to intelligence.

Robert Baer  
**Author and former CIA case officer assigned to the Middle East**

The next administration is tasked with ending two wars in which we still cannot define victory, let alone the enemy. Among my old CIA colleagues, I cannot get a consensus on whether Osama bin Laden is dead or alive. How do you beat an enemy who may already be dead? And then there is Iran, which is either the real enemy in the Middle East or, potentially, a reluctant ally. Figuring out which will be the new president’s greatest strategic puzzle.

Sam Nunn  
**SECRETARY OF STATE**  
During the next four years, we can count on one or more major crises and some tough negotiations with Russia. Nunn, who understands how the breakup of the Soviet Union left a deep well of Russian resentment, can detect where Moscow’s red lines really are.

Robert Gates  
**SECRETARY OF DEFENSE**  
Gates has already gone a long way toward cleaning up the mess left by Donald Rumsfeld and Paul Wolfowitz. And, however you want to cut it, the so-called surge succeeded under his watch. More importantly, Gates is on record saying that a war with Iran would be “disastrous.” He knows what can and cannot be accomplished militarily in the next four years.

Strobe Talbott  
**NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR**  
The incoming president must figure out how globalization went so wrong on Wall Street. I’d ask Buffett. He sniffed out the derivatives disaster long before anyone else. And because people trust him, he can guide America out of this crisis of confidence.

John Abizaid  
**DIRECTOR OF NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE**  
General Abizaid understands that intelligence is an organized search for a windfall; sometimes it is very good, and sometimes there is none at all. Plus, having a general atop the intelligence community will keep the Pentagon happy.

Buckminster Fuller  
**NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR**  
Fuller is long dead, but the White House needs a visionary of his caliber to think our way out of oil dependence on unstable dictatorships like Saudi Arabia and Venezuela. We need a Manhattan Project for solar power, windmills, and even nuclear energy. We also need someone who can look objectively at our options on global warming before it’s too late.

T. Boone Pickens  
**SECRETARY OF ENERGY**  
It will take an oil man to convince Americans that it’s time to move on. Either we’re out of oil, or it will kill the planet and we’re out of luck. Pickens has a plan for both.
The United States is the freest, most dynamic, most competitive, and wealthiest economy in the world. To keep it that way, the next president must expand free trade, cut U.S. corporate taxes, and avoid expensive social welfare commitments, such as running other countries for them. Not every fight in the schoolyard is America’s fight.

David Norquist
Director of National Intelligence
He’s my brother and he’s good. He did defense intelligence budgets for the Pentagon, and he is now the chief financial officer for the Department of Homeland Security.

Dov Zakheim
National Security Advisor
The president’s closest foreign-policy advisor needs common sense and experience. The former Defense comptroller has both, and he knows where to look for extra zeros in the budget.

Robert Zoellick
U.S. Trade Representative
It would be unusual for the World Bank president to return to his old job. But he left too soon, and it’s time to make progress on all of these stalled trade agreements.

Robert Gates
Secretary of Defense
Simply put, he needs more time to fix things. Four more years!

Steve Forbes
Secretary of the Treasury
He is a committed free trader and has a record of fighting for lower marginal tax rates—just the area where we have fallen behind many of our competitors.

Jamie Gorelick
Director of National Intelligence
This high-powered lawyer and former 9/11 Commission member knows the intel business well, having served at the highest levels of the Justice and Defense departments. She’ll be very smart and very tough.

Dennis Ross
National Security Advisor
With his strategic outlook and broad experience working for both parties as the chief Middle East peace negotiator, Ross would be seen as an honest broker inside and outside government.

Susan Rice
Ambassador to the United Nations
Tightly wound, Rice has the fire to drive U.S. policy in Turtle Bay’s diplomatic maze.
Globalization is confronting governments with an increasingly competitive fiscal environment. Investors now have many choices among competing country tax climates. *Global Tax Revolution* shows that countries ignore this reality at their peril.

—Vernon L. Smith, Nobel Laureate in Economics

This compelling analysis of today’s rapidly growing and interdependent global economy provides a sharp look at the key trends that are shaping the future of free trade and international commerce. Sally explores the spread of protectionist reactions to globalization, the swiftly rising market power of China and Asia, and in the end paints a hopeful but realistic picture of the forces that are shaping the international economy in the 21st century.

—Dr. Douglas A. Irwin, Dartmouth University

In the world’s increasingly integrated economy, nations are battling to attract investment and skilled workers by overhauling their tax codes to create a more attractive business environment—a process known as tax competition. The authors challenge the U.S. government to be a leader in tax reform and to re-tool the federal tax system to meet the challenges of the global marketplace.

*Global Tax Revolution* shows that countries ignore this reality at their peril.

—Vernon L. Smith, Nobel Laureate in Economics
THE LIE WE LOVE

Foreign adoption seems like the perfect solution to a heartbreaking imbalance: Poor countries have babies in need of homes, and rich countries have homes in need of babies. Unfortunately, those little orphaned bundles of joy may not be orphans at all. | By E.J. Graff

We all know the story of international adoption: Millions of infants and toddlers have been abandoned or orphaned—placed on the side of a road or on the doorstep of a church, or left parentless due to AIDS, destitution, or war. These little ones find themselves forgotten, living in crowded orphanages or ending up on the streets, facing an uncertain future of misery and neglect. But, if they are lucky, adoring new moms and dads from faraway lands whisk them away for a chance at a better life.

Unfortunately, this story is largely fiction.

Westerners have been sold the myth of a world orphan crisis. We are told that millions of children are waiting for their “forever families” to rescue them from lives of abandonment and abuse. But many of the infants and toddlers being adopted by Western parents today are not orphans at all. Yes, hundreds of thousands of children around the world do need loving homes. But more often than not, the neediest children are sick, disabled, traumatized, or older than 5. They are not the healthy babies that, quite understandably, most Westerners hope to

E.J. Graff is associate director and senior researcher at Brandeis University’s Schuster Institute for Investigative Journalism.
adopt. There are simply not enough healthy, adoptable infants to meet Western demand—and there’s too much Western money in search of children. As a result, many international adoption agencies work not to find homes for needy children but to find children for Western homes.

Since the mid-1990s, the number of international adoptions each year has nearly doubled, from 22,200 in 1995 to just under 40,000 in 2006. At its peak, in 2004, more than 45,000 children from developing countries were adopted by foreigners.

Many international adoption agencies work not to find homes for needy children but to find children for Western homes.

Americans bring home more of these children than any other nationality—more than half the global total in recent years.

Where do these babies come from? As international adoptions have flourished, so has evidence that babies in many countries are being systematically bought, coerced, and stolen away from their birth families. Nearly half the 40 countries listed by the U.S. State Department as the top sources for international adoption over the past 15 years—places such as Belarus, Brazil, Ethiopia, Honduras, Peru, and Romania—have at least temporarily halted adoptions or been prevented from sending children to the United States because of serious concerns about corruption and kidnapping. And yet when a country is closed due to corruption, many adoption agencies simply transfer their clients’ hopes to the next “hot” country. That country abruptly experiences a spike in infants and toddlers adopted overseas—until it too is forced to shut its doors.

Along the way, the international adoption industry has become a market often driven by its customers. Prospective adoptive parents in the United States will pay adoption agencies between $15,000 and $35,000 (excluding travel, visa costs, and other miscellaneous expenses) for the chance to bring home a little one. Special needs or older children can be adopted at a discount. Agencies claim the costs pay for the agency’s fee, the cost of foreign salaries and operations, staff travel, and orphanage donations. But experts say the fees are so disproportionately large for the child’s home country that they encourage corruption.

To complicate matters further, while international adoption has become an industry driven by money, it is also charged with strong emotions. Many adoption agencies and adoptive parents passionately insist that crooked practices are not systemic, but tragic, isolated cases. Arrest the bad guys, they say, but let the “good” adoptions continue. However, remove cash from the adoption chain, and, outside of China, the number of healthy babies needing Western homes all but disappears. Nigel Cantwell, a Geneva-based consultant on child protection policy, has seen the dangerous influence of money on adoptions in Eastern Europe and Central Asia, where he has helped reform corrupt adoption systems. In these regions, healthy children age 3 and younger can easily be adopted in their own countries, he says. I asked him how many healthy babies in those regions would be available for international adoption if money never exchanged hands. “I would hazard a guess at zero,” he replied.

THE MYTH OF SUPPLY

International adoption wasn’t always a demand-driven industry. Half a century ago, it was primarily a humanitarian effort for children orphaned by conflict. In 1955, news spread that Bertha and Henry Holt, an evangelical couple from Oregon, had adopted eight Korean War orphans, and families across the United States expressed interest in following their example. Since then, international adoption has become increasingly popular in Australia, Canada, Europe, and the United States. Americans adopted more than 20,000 foreign children in 2006 alone, up from just 8,987 in 1995. Half a dozen European countries regularly bring home more foreign-born children per capita than does the United States. Today, Canada, France, Italy, Spain, and the United States account for 4 out of every 5 international adoptions.

Changes in Western demography explain much of the growth. Thanks to contraception, abortion, and delayed marriages, the number of unplanned births in most developed countries has declined in recent decades. Some women who delay having children...
discover they’ve outwaited their fertility; others have difficulty conceiving from the beginning. Still others adopt for religious reasons, explaining that they’ve been called to care for children in need. In the United States, a motive beyond demography is the notion that international adoption is somehow “safer”—more predictable and more likely to end in success—than many domestic adoptions, where there’s an outsized fear of a birth mother’s last-minute change of heart. Add an ocean of distance, and the idea that needy children abound in poor countries, and that risk seems to disappear.

But international adoptions are no less risky; they’re simply less regulated. Just as companies outsource industry to countries with lax labor laws and low wages, adoptions have moved to states with few laws about the process. Poor, illiterate birthparents in the developing world simply have fewer protections than their counterparts in the United States, especially in countries where human trafficking and corruption are rampant. And too often, these imbalances are overlooked on the adopting end. After all, one country after another has continued to supply what adoptive parents want most.

In reality, there are very few young, healthy orphans available for adoption around the world. Orphans are rarely healthy babies; healthy babies are rarely orphaned. “It’s not really true,” says Alexandra Yuster, a senior advisor on child protection with UNICEF, “that there are large numbers of infants with no homes who either will be in institutions or who need intercountry adoption.”

That assertion runs counter to the story line that has long been marketed to Americans and other Westerners, who have been trained by images of destitution in developing countries and the seemingly endless flow of daughters from China to believe that millions of orphaned babies around the world desperately need homes. UNICEF itself is partly responsible for this erroneous assumption. The organization’s statistics on orphans and institutionalized children are widely quoted to justify the need for international adoption. In 2006, UNICEF reported an estimated 132 million orphans in sub-Saharan Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Caribbean. But the organization’s definition of “orphan” includes children who have lost just one parent, either to desertion or death. Just 10 percent of the total—13 million children—have lost both parents, and most of these live with extended family. They are also older: By UNICEF’s own estimate, 95 percent of orphans are older than 5. In other words, UNICEF’s “millions of orphans” are not healthy babies doomed
to institutional misery unless Westerners adopt and save them. Rather, they are mostly older children living with extended families who need financial support. The exception is China, where the country’s three-decades-old one-child policy, now being loosened, has created an unprecedented number of girls available for adoption. But even this flow of daughters is finite; China has far more hopeful foreigners looking to adopt a child than it has orphans it is willing to send overseas. In 2005, foreign parents adopted nearly 14,500 Chinese children. That was far fewer than the number of Westerners who wanted to adopt; adoption agencies report many more clients waiting in line. And taking those children home has gotten harder; in 2007, China’s central adoption authority sharply reduced the number of children sent abroad, possibly because of the country’s growing sex imbalance, declining poverty, and scandals involving child trafficking for foreign adoption. Prospective foreign parents today are strictly judged by their age, marital history, family size, income, health, and even weight. That means that if you are single, gay, fat, old, less than well off, too often divorced, too recently married, taking antidepressants, or already have four children, China will turn you away. Even those allowed a spot in line are being told they might wait three to four years before they bring home a child. That has led many prospective parents to shop around for a country that puts fewer barriers between them and their children—as if every country were China, but with fewer onerous regulations.

One such country has been Guatemala, which in 2006 and 2007 was the No. 2 exporter of children to the United States. Between 1997 and 2006, the number of Guatemalan children adopted by Americans more than quadrupled, to more than 4,500 annually. Incredibly, in 2006, American parents adopted one of every 110 Guatemalan children born. In 2007, nearly 9 out of 10 children adopted were less than a year old; almost half were younger than 6 months old. “Guatemala is a perfect case study of how international adoption has become a demand-driven business,” says Kelley McCreery Bunkers, a former consultant with UNICEF Guatemala. The country’s adoption process was “an industry developed to meet the needs of adoptive families in developed countries, specifically the United States.”

Because the vast majority of the country’s institutionalized children are not healthy, adoptable babies, almost none has been adopted abroad. In the fall of 2007, a survey conducted by the Guatemalan government, UNICEF, and the international child welfare and adoption agency Holt International Children’s Services found approximately 5,600 children and adolescents in Guatemalan institutions. More than 4,600 of these children were age 4 or older. Fewer than 400 were under a year old. And yet in 2006, more than 270 Guatemalan babies, all younger than 12 months, were being sent to the United States each month. These adopted children were simply not coming from the country’s institutions. Last year, 98 percent of U.S. adoptions from Guatemala were “relinquishments”: Babies who had never seen the inside of an institution were signed over directly to a private attorney who approved the international adoption—for a very considerable fee—without any review by a judge or social service agency.

So, where had some of these adopted babies come from? Consider the case of Ana Escobar, a young Guatemalan woman who in March 2007 reported to police that armed men had locked her in a closet in her family’s shoe store and stolen her infant. After a 14-month search, Escobar found her daughter in pre-adoption foster care, just weeks before the girl was to be adopted by a couple from Indiana. DNA testing showed the toddler to be Escobar’s child. In a similar case from 2006, Raquel Par, another Guatemalan woman, reported being drugged while waiting for a bus in Guatemala City, waking to find her year-old baby missing. Three
months later, Par learned her daughter had been adopted by an American couple.

On Jan. 1, 2008, Guatemala closed its doors to American adoptions so that the government could reform the broken process. Britain, Canada, France, Germany, the Netherlands, and Spain all stopped accepting adoptions from the country several years earlier, citing trafficking concerns. But more than 2,280 American adoptions from the country are still being processed, albeit with additional safeguards. Stolen babies have already been found in that queue; Guatemalan authorities expect more.

Guatemala’s example is extreme; it is widely considered to have the world’s most notorious record of corruption in foreign adoption. But the same troubling trends have emerged, on smaller scales, in more than a dozen other countries, including Albania, Cambodia, Ethiopia, Liberia, Peru, and Vietnam. The pattern suggests that the supply of adoptable babies rises to meet foreign demand—and disappears when Western cash is no longer available. For instance, in December 2001, the U.S. immigration service stopped processing adoption visas from Cambodia, citing clear evidence that children were being acquired illicitly, often against their parents’ wishes. That year, Westerners adopted more than 700 Cambodian children; of the 400 adopted by Americans, more than half were less than 12 months old. But in 2005, a study of Cambodia’s orphanage population, commissioned by the U.S. Agency for International Development, found only a total of 132 children who were less than a year old—fewer babies than Westerners had been adopting every three months a few years before.

Even countries with large populations, such as India, rarely have healthy infants and toddlers who need foreign parents. India’s large and growing middle class, at home and in the diaspora, faces fertility issues like those of their developed-world counterparts. They too are looking for healthy babies to adopt; some experts think that these millions of middle-class families could easily absorb all available babies. The country’s pervasive poverty does leave many children fending for themselves on the street. But “kids are not on the street alone at the age of 2,” Cantwell, the child protection consultant, says. “They are 5 or 6, and they aren’t going to be adopted.” That’s partly because most of these children still have family ties and therefore are not legally available for adoption, and partly because they would have difficulty adjusting to a middle-class European or North American home. Many of these children are deeply marked by abuse, crime, and poverty, and few prospective parents are prepared to adopt them.

Surely, though, prospective parents can at least feel secure that their child is truly an orphan in need of a home if they receive all the appropriate legal papers? Unfortunately, no.

**NURSERY CRIMES**

In many countries, it can be astonishingly easy to fabricate a history for a young child, and in the process, manufacture an orphan. The birth mothers are often poor, young, unmarried, divorced, or otherwise lacking family protection. The children may be born into a locally despised minority group that is afforded few rights. And for enough money, someone will separate these little ones from their vulnerable families, turning them into “paper orphans” for lucrative export.

Some manufactured orphans are indeed found in what Westerners call “orphanages.” But these establishments often serve less as homes to parentless children and more as boarding schools for poor youngsters. Many children are there only temporarily, seeking food, shelter, and education while their parents, because of poverty or illness, cannot care for them. Many families visit their children, or even bring them home on weekends, until they can return home permanently. In 2005, when the Hannah B. Williams Orphanage in
Monrovia, Liberia, was closed because of shocking living conditions, 89 of the 102 “orphans” there returned to their families. In Vietnam, “rural families in particular will put their babies into these orphanages that are really extended day-care centers during the harvest season,” says a U.S. Embassy spokeswoman in Hanoi. In some cases, unscrupulous orphanage directors, local officials, or other operators persuade illiterate birth families to sign documents that relinquish those children, who are then sent abroad for adoption, never to be seen again by their bereft families.

Other children are located through similarly nefarious means. Western adoption agencies often contract with in-country facilitators—sometimes orphanage directors, sometimes freelancers—and pay per-child fees for each healthy baby adopted. These facilitators, in turn, subcontract with child finders, often for sums in vast excess of local wages. These paydays give individuals a significant financial incentive to find adoptable babies at almost any cost. In Guatemala, where the GDP per capita is $4,700 a year, child finders often earned $6,000 to $8,000 for each healthy, adoptable infant. In many cases, child finders simply paid poor families for infants. A May 2007 report on adoption trafficking by the Hague Conference on Private International Law reported poor Guatemalan families being paid between $300 and several thousand dollars per child.

Sometimes, medical professionals serve as child finders to obtain infants. In Vietnam, for instance, a finder’s fee for a single child can easily dwarf a nurse’s $50-a-month salary. Some nurses and doctors coerce birth mothers into giving up their children by offering them a choice: pay outrageously inflated hospital bills or relinquish their newborns. Illiterate new mothers are made to sign documents they can’t read. In August 2008, the U.S. State Department released a warning that birth certificates issued by Tu Du Hospital in Ho Chi Minh City—which in 2007 had reported 200 births a day, and an average of three abandoned babies per 100 births—were “unreliable.” Most of the hospital’s “abandoned” babies were sent to the city’s Tam Binh orphanage, from which many Westerners have adopted. (Tu Du Hospital is where Angelina Jolie’s Vietnamese-born son was reportedly abandoned one month after his birth; he was at Tam Binh when she adopted him.) According to Linh Song, executive director of Ethica, an American nonprofit devoted to promoting ethical adoption, a provincial hospital’s chief obstetrician told her in 2007 “that he provided 10 ethnic minority infants to [an] orphanage [for adoption] in return for an incubator.”
To smooth the adoption process, officials in the children’s home countries may be bribed to create false identity documents. Consular officials for the adopting countries generally accept whatever documents they receive. But if a local U.S. embassy has seen a series of worrisome referrals—say, a sudden spike in healthy infants coming from the same few orphanages, or a single province sending an unusually high number of babies with suspiciously similar paperwork—officials may investigate. But generally, they do not want to obstruct adoptions of genuinely needy children or get in the way of people longing for a child. However, many frequently doubt that the adoptions crossing their desks are completely aboveboard.

“I believe in intercountry adoption very strongly,” says Katherine Monahan, a U.S. State Department official who has overseen scores of U.S. adoptions from around the world. “[But] I worry that there were many children that could have stayed with their families if we could have provided them with even a little economic assistance.” One U.S. official told me that when embassy staff in a country that sent more than 1,000 children overseas last year were asked which adoption visas they felt uneasy about, they replied: almost all of them.

Most of the Westerners involved with foreign adoption agencies—like business people importing foreign sneakers—can plausibly deny knowledge of unethical or unseemly practices overseas. They don’t have to know. Willful ignorance allowed Lauryn Galindo, a former hula dancer from the United States, to collect more than $9 million in adoption fees over several years for Cambodian infants and toddlers. Between 1997 and 2001, Americans adopted 1,230 children from Cambodia; Galindo said she was involved in 800 of the adoptions. (Galindo reportedly delivered Angelina Jolie’s Cambodian child to her movie set in Africa.) But in a two-year probe beginning in 2002, U.S. investigators alleged that Galindo paid Cambodian child finders to purchase, defraud, coerce, or steal children from their families, and conspired to create false identity documents for the children. Galindo later served federal prison time on charges of visa fraud and money laundering, but not trafficking. “You can get away with buying babies around the world as a United States citizen,” says Richard Cross, a senior special agent with U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement who investigated Galindo. “It’s not a crime.”

ROCKING THE CRADLE
Buying a child abroad is something most prospective parents want no part of. So, how can it be prevented? As international adoption has grown in the past decade, the ad hoc approach of closing some corrupt countries to adoption and shifting parents’ hopes (and money) to the next destination has failed. The agencies that profit from adoption appear to willfully ignore how their own payments and fees are causing both the corruption and the closures.

Some countries that send children overseas for adoption have kept the process lawful and transparent from nearly the beginning and their model is instructive. Thailand, for instance, has a central government authority that counsels birth mothers and offers some families social and economic support so that poverty is never a reason to give up a child. Other countries, such as Paraguay and Romania, reformed their processes after sharp surges in shady adoptions in the 1990s. But those reforms were essentially to stop international adoptions almost entirely. In 1994, Paraguay sent 483 children to the United States; last year, the country sent none.

When embassy staff in a country that last year sent more than 1,000 children overseas were asked which adoption visas they felt uneasy about, they replied: almost all of them.

For a more comprehensive solution, the best hope may be the Hague Convention on Intercountry Adoption, an international agreement designed to prevent child trafficking for adoption. On April 1, 2008, the United States formally entered the agreement, which has 75 other signatories. In states that send children overseas and are party to the convention, such as Albania, Bulgaria, Colombia, and the Philippines, Hague-compatible reforms have included a central government authority overseeing child welfare, efforts to place needy children with extended families and local communities first, and limits on the number of foreign adoption agencies authorized to work in the country. The result, according to experts, has been a
sharp decline in baby buying, fraud, coercion, and kidnapping for adoption.

In adopting countries, the convention requires a central authority—in the United States’ case, the State Department—to oversee international adoption. The State Department empowers two nonprofit organizations to certify adoption agencies; if shady practices, fraud, financial improprieties, or links with trafficking come to light, accreditation can be revoked. Already, the rules appear to be having some effect: Several U.S. agencies long dogged by rumors of bad practices have been denied accreditation; some have shut their doors. But no international treaty is perfect, and the Hague Convention is no exception. Many of the countries sending their children to the West, including Ethiopia, Russia, South Korea, Ukraine, and Vietnam, have yet to join the agreement.

Perhaps most important, more effective regulations would strictly limit the amount of money that changes hands. Per-child fees could be outlawed. Payments could be capped to cover only legitimate costs such as medical care, food, and clothing for the children. And crucially, fees must be kept proportionate with the local economies. “Unless you control the money, you won’t control the corruption,” says Thomas DiFilipo, president of the Joint Council on International Children’s Services, which represents more than 200 international adoption organizations. “If we have the greatest laws and the greatest regulations but are still sending $20,000 anywhere—well, you can bypass any system with enough cash.”

Improved regulations will protect not only the children being adopted and their birth families, but also the consumers: hopeful parents. Adopting a child—like giving birth—is an emotional experience; it can be made wrenching by the abhorrent realization that a child believed to be an orphan simply isn’t. One American who adopted a little girl from Cambodia in 2002 wept as she spoke at an adoption ethics conference in October 2007 about such a discovery. “I was told she was an orphan,” she said. “One year after she came home, and she could speak English well enough, she told me about her mommy and daddy and her brothers and her sisters.”

Unless we recognize that behind the altruistic veneer, international adoption has become an industry—one that is often highly lucrative and sometimes corrupt—many more adoption stories will have unhappy endings. Unless adoption agencies are held to account, more young children will be wrongfully taken from their families. And unless those desperate to become parents demand reform, they will continue—wittingly or not—to pay for wrongdoing. “Credulous Westerners eager to believe that they are saving children are easily fooled into accepting laundered children,” writes David Smolin, a law professor and advocate for international adoption reform. “For there is no fool like the one who wants to be fooled.”

For more resources and reporting on corruption in the international adoption trade, visit the Web site of the Schuster Institute for Investigative Journalism at Brandeis University. Ethica, a nonprofit advocacy organization for ethical adoption worldwide, publishes news about adoption reform and country fact sheets on its site. The Adoption Agency Research Group on Yahoo! is a useful Internet bulletin board with resources that allow prospective parents to compare different agencies.


Sara Corbett investigates adoption practices in Cambodia, where improprieties led to a temporary moratorium, in “Where Do Babies Come From?” (New York Times Magazine, June 16, 2002). “The Diaper Diaspora” (FOREIGN POLICY, January/February 2007) charts the rise of international adoption and breaks down the costs that prospective parents can expect.

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Cities bear the brunt of the world’s financial meltdowns, crime waves, and climate crises in ways national governments never will. So, when Foreign Policy, A.T. Kearney, and The Chicago Council on Global Affairs teamed up to measure globalization around the world, we focused on the 60 cities that shape our lives the most.
National governments may shape the broad outlines of globalization, but where does it really play out? Where are globalization’s successes and failures most acute? Where else but the places where most of humanity now chooses to live and work—cities. The world’s biggest, most interconnected cities help set global agendas, weather transnational dangers, and serve as the hubs of global integration. They are the engines of growth for their countries and the gateways to the resources of their regions. In many ways, the story of globalization is the story of urbanization.

But what makes a “global city”? The term itself conjures a command center for the cognoscenti. It means power, sophistication, wealth, and influence. To call a global city your own suggests that the ideas and values of your metropolis shape the world. And, to a large extent, that’s true. The cities that host the biggest capital markets, elite universities, most diverse and well-educated populations, wealthiest multinationals, and most powerful international organizations are connected to the rest of the world like nowhere else. But, more than anything, the cities that rise to the top of the list are
those that continue to forge global links despite intensely complex economic environments. They are the ones making urbanization work to their advantage by providing the vast opportunities of global integration to their people; measuring cities’ international presence captures the most accurate picture of the way the world works.

So, Foreign Policy teamed up with A.T. Kearney and The Chicago Council on Global Affairs to create the Global Cities Index, a uniquely comprehensive ranking of the ways in which cities are integrating with the rest of the world. In constructing this index of the world’s most global cities, we have collected and analyzed a broad array of data, as well as tapped the brainpower of such renowned cities experts as Saskia Sassen, Witold Rybczynski, Janet Abu-Lughod, and Peter Taylor.

Specifically, the Global Cities Index ranks cities’ metro areas according to 24 metrics across five dimensions. The first is business activity: including the value of its capital markets, the number of Fortune Global 500 firms headquartered there, and the volume of the goods that pass through the city. The second dimension measures human capital, or how well the city acts as a magnet for diverse groups of people and talent. This includes the size of a city’s immigrant population, the number of international schools, and the percentage of residents with university degrees. The third dimension is information exchange—how well news and information is dispersed about and to the rest of the world. The number of international news bureaus, the amount of international news in the leading local papers, and the number of broadband subscribers round out that dimension.

The final two areas of analysis are unusual for most rankings of globalized cities or states. The fourth is cultural experience, or the level of diverse attractions for international residents and travelers. That includes everything from how many major sporting events a city hosts to the number of performing arts venues it boasts. The final dimension—political engagement—measures the degree to which a city influences global policymaking and dialogue. How? By examining the number of embassies and consulates, major think tanks, international organizations, sister city relationships, and political conferences a city hosts. We learned long ago that

For More Online
See which cities outperformed their home countries at ForeignPolicy.com/extras/cities.
globalization is much more than the simple lowering of market barriers and economic walls. And because the Global Cities Index pulls in these measures of cultural, social, and policy indicators, it offers a more complete picture of a city’s global standing—not simply economic or financial ties.

The 60 cities included in this first Global Cities Index run the gamut of the modern urban experience. There’s thriving, wealthy London, with its firmly entrenched global networks built on the city’s history as capital of an empire. But there are also Chongqing, Dhaka, and Lagos, cities whose recent surges tell us a great deal about the direction globalization is heading and whose experiences offer lessons to other aspiring global cities. The cities we highlight are world leaders in important areas such as finance, policymaking, and culture. A few are megacities in the developing world whose demand for resources means they must nurture close ties with their neighbors and provide services to large numbers of immigrants. Some are gateways to their region. Others host important international institutions. In other words, they represent a broad cross section of the world’s centers of commerce, culture, and communication.

THE WINNER’S CIRCLE

So, which city topped them all? If anything, the results prove there is no such thing as a perfect global city; no city dominated all dimensions of the index. However, a few came close. New York emerged as the No. 1 global city this year, followed by London, Paris, and Tokyo. The Big Apple beat out other global powerhouses largely on the back of its financial markets, through the networks of its multinationals, and by the strength of its diverse creative class. Overall runner-up London won the cultural dimension by a mile, with Paris and New York trailing far behind. Perhaps surprisingly for a city known more for museums than modems, third-ranked Paris led the world in the information exchange category. No. 4 Tokyo ranked highly thanks to its strong showing in business. And, though it finished 11th overall, Washington easily beat out New York, Brussels, and Paris as the leader in global policy.

Although the winners may be the usual suspects, they have plenty of new competition on their heels. Buoyed by their strong financial links, Hong Kong and Singapore finished at fifth and seventh, respectively. Chicago’s strong human-capital performance sent it into the eighth spot. What’s more, several strong performers are emerging from formerly closed societies: Beijing (No. 12), Moscow (19), Shanghai (20), and Dubai (27). The new, sometimes abbreviated, often state-led, paths to global dominance these cities are treading threaten the old formulas that London, New York, and Los Angeles (No. 6) followed to reach their high spots.

As diverse as they are, the most successful global cities have several things in common: As New York proves, global cities are those that excel across multiple dimensions. Even Shanghai’s staggering, decades-long double-digit annual economic growth alone can’t make it global. The city also must determine how to use that wealth to influence policy, attract the brightest young minds, and accurately portray the rest of the world to its citizens. Global cities continuously adapt to changing circumstances. London may be the city hardest hit by the global credit crunch, but chances are that it will leverage its abundant global financial ties to bounce back. Singapore, San Francisco (15), and Mexico City (25) will no doubt be taking notes.

As the world readjusts to the fits and starts of a volatile global economy, as well as other transnational problems such as climate change, human trafficking, and fuel shortages, the Global Cities Index will track the way cities maneuver as their populations grow and the world shrinks. Although we can’t predict next year’s winner, the odds are good that New York will have to fight to stay on top.

How to Be a Global City

There is no single correct path a city should tread to become global. But how should cities that want to boost their international profile go about it? They could follow any of the tried-and-true models that came before them. Just look at the various ways some of this year’s 60 global cities manage to use urbanization and globalization to their advantage.

Open Cities
What they look like: Large cities with a free press, open markets, easy access to information and technology, low barriers to foreign trade and investment, and loads of cultural opportunities. They often rely on a heavy service industry and are outward looking, rather than focused on domestic affairs.
Who they are: New York (#1), London (#2), Paris (#3)

Lifestyle Centers
What they look like: Laid-back cities that enjoy a high quality of life and focus on having fun. They attract worldly people and offer cultural experiences to spare.
Who they are: Los Angeles (#6), Toronto (#10)

Regional Gateways
What they look like: Efficient economic powerhouses with favorable incentives for businesses and easy access to the natural resources of their region. They attract smart, well-trained people from around the world, and they often must reinvent themselves to remain competitive.
Who they are: Hong Kong (#5), Singapore (#7), Chicago (#8)

Policy Hubs
What they look like: Cities with outsized influence on national and international policy debates. Their think tanks, international organizations, and political institutions shape policies that affect all people, and they tend to be full of diplomats and journalists from somewhere else.
Who they are: Washington (#11), Seoul (#9), Beijing (#12)

Platform Cities
What they look like: Large hubs in typically small countries that attract huge amounts of investment through their strategic locations and international connections. Firms don’t set up shop in these cities to invest in the local economy; they move there so they can reach important foreign financial markets without dealing with the region’s political headaches.
Who they are: Amsterdam (#23), Dubai (#27), Copenhagen (#36)

National Leaders
What they look like: Large cities that shape the collective identity of their countries. They usually have homogenous populations, and their new urban policies tend to evoke a shared history. They do well in international business, but not because they’re necessarily globally connected; in these places, foreign firms can find something no other city offers.
Who they are: Tokyo (#4), Seoul (#9), Beijing (#12)

THE BEST CITIES TO DO BUSINESS

1. New York
2. Tokyo
3. Paris
4. London
5. Hong Kong
6. Singapore
7. Seoul
8. Shanghai
9. Beijing
10. Amsterdam
11. Frankfurt
12. Chicago
13. Vienna
14. Madrid
15. Los Angeles
16. São Paulo
17. Bangkok
18. Brussels
19. Taipei
20. Sydney

RANKINGS BASED ON CITIES THAT ARE HQ OF FORTUNE GLOBAL 500 FIRMS, CITIES WHERE THE TOP 40 GLOBAL SERVICE FIRMS HAVE OFFICES, THE STRENGTH OF THEIR CAPITAL MARKETS, THE VOLUME OF THEIR FLOW OF GOODS, AND THE NUMBER OF GLOBAL PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATION CONFERENCES HELD IN THE CITIES.
The Mayors of the Moment

No city globalizes on its own. But with shrewd investments and smart urban planning, a mayor can help turn a regional player into a global powerhouse. Here’s how three of the world’s top mayors are climbing the ladder:

**Klaus Wowereit MAYOR OF BERLIN (#17)**
The concept of the global city isn’t lost on Klaus Wowereit. Since taking office in 2001, the popular, 55-year-old mayor of Berlin has tied his fate to rebranding the city as a glamorous, artistic model of urban renewal. And Berlin’s reputation has thrived as a vibrant, tolerant, creative metropolis under his watch. Wowereit cites the construction of a gigantic international airport, the successful 2006 World Cup, and a cultural festival called “Asia-Pacific Weeks” as landmark accomplishments. His critics claim that he focuses more on the city’s image than its crumbling infrastructure or budget shortfalls. “We are poor but sexy,” admits Wowereit. A fun fantasy it may be, but Berliners will probably only be willing to play the starving artist for so long.

**Syed Mustafa Kamal MAYOR OF KARACHI (#57)**
The new mayor of Karachi is an unlikely poster child for innovative urban planning. The 36-year-old Syed Mustafa Kamal governs a city that’s more often in the news for religious violence than cosmopolitan ways. But the hard-charging Kamal is looking to change all that. He’s courting foreign investment, encouraging international ties, and boosting the city’s tourism. Kamal isn’t shy about his goals: He has said he wants to turn Karachi into the “next Dubai.” His Green Karachi project aims to plant thousands of trees in the city. No stranger to Karachi’s bare-knuckled politics, Kamal isn’t letting anything stand in the way of his grand plans: He has threatened to arrest anyone who tries to cut down the new saplings.

**Wang Hongju MAYOR OF CHONGQING (#59)**
Think Michael Bloomberg has his hands full? Wang Hongju is mayor of the fastest-growing city on the planet, one whose metropolitan area is already bursting at 32 million—more than the population of Iraq. But Wang isn’t letting China’s urban revolution happen under his feet. He has been known to collect advice from citizens (for cash rewards), from mayors of sister cities such as Toronto, and even from the works of Thomas Friedman. Wang has sought heavy foreign investment, which his administration says has topped a whopping $3 billion in the past five years. In 2005, he claimed his antipoverty programs had helped 3 million Chongqing residents rise out of poverty in the previous eight years. Wang rarely shies from reporters’ questions, even about hot-button topics such as Tibet or SARS. His approach, a stark departure from Communist Chinese officials of old, has made the 63-year-old Wang the face of a new breed of Chinese mayors.

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**THE BEST CITIES TO GET SOME CULTURE**

1. London
2. Paris
3. New York
4. Toronto
5. Los Angeles
6. Moscow
7. Tokyo
8. Berlin
9. Mexico City
10. Seoul
11. Vienna
12. Amsterdam
13. Frankfurt
14. Washington
15. Rome
16. Stockholm
17. Tel Aviv
18. Munich
19. Beijing
20. Chicago

Rankings based on major sporting events in cities, international travelers, culinary offerings, museums, and performing arts.
The Biggest Boomtowns

This year, for the first time, more people live in cities than in rural areas. And, increasingly, those cities are gigantic. The United Nations counts 19 megacities—or those with more than 10 million people—throughout the world. In 2025, it expects to see eight more join their ranks: Chennai, Guangzhou, Jakarta, Kinshasa, Lagos, Lahore, Paris, and Shenzhen.

In this year’s Global Cities Index, cities in rich countries overwhelmingly outperform their counterparts in poorer countries in cultivating global ties. Three of the top 15 cities are megacities from developed countries; six of the bottom 15 are megacities from the poor world.

Urbanization can help cities that have already become wealthy climb higher, while anchoring down those that have the unlucky fate of being located in a poor state. Part of the problem is a vicious, reinforcing cycle: The challenges any large city faces—how to deal with sanitation, education, infrastructure, crime, and taxes—are much easier to solve with cash in the bank and well-trained officials at the helm.

However, a few of these developing-country megacities are breaking out of that cycle and figuring out how to make urbanization translate into globalization, while several others teeter on the edge:

**Beijing (#12)** Long in Shanghai’s global shadow, Beijing’s successful Olympic spectacle earned it much international respect. In this year’s index, the city scores as the highest-ranking megacity from a poor country. But Beijing isn’t stopping to take a breath: Among other projects, it has announced a new bullet train to Shanghai, which, when completed in 2013, will be the fastest in the world.

**Buenos Aires (#33)** A cultural hub of the Americas, Buenos Aires is intent on showcasing elegant design in planning the city’s future. It invests $25 million each year to promote industrial design, urban planning, and the arts. The city has seen a construction boom since the dark days of Argentina’s debt default, and it continues to draw prominent engineering and software firms. One problem city planners will need to solve as its wealthier population booms? Traffic.

**Mexico City (#25)** Deadly drug violence has plagued the city in recent months, prompting an anticrime rally of 150,000 people in August. Its landfills are overflowing. And now, engineers are trying to avert an even worse threat: Low-lying slums, the old historic district, and the city’s subways could be flooded with raw sewage from its crumbling drainage system.

**Dhaka (#56)** With massive traffic jams and sewage-filled rivers, Dhaka could arguably be a test case of a megacity gone wrong. Local papers recently reported that coordination between city planners was so poor that newly constructed roads had to be torn up because they forgot to run the water, sewer, and gas lines first. The good news for Dhaka: There’s likely nowhere to go but up.
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Chinapolis

It's the most rapidly urbanizing country on the planet. More than 170 mass-transit systems are slated for construction by 2025. And by 2030, the country could count more than 1 billion people among its city dwellers. So, when we talk about urbanization and the ways in which cities are growing, China can’t be ignored. The statistics are staggering: While the United States has nine cities with a million or more people, China has nearly 100. Five are featured in the index (as well as Hong Kong), with Beijing topping its Chinese neighbors, at 12th place, and Chongqing rounding out the bottom, at 59th. Their mixed performances prove that even cities that develop thanks to the heavy-handed dictates of a central government can follow their own unique paths.

Beijing (#12)
Population: 11.1 million
Population in 2025: 14.5 million
Claim to Fame: China’s cultural, educational, and political capital. Host of the 2008 Summer Olympics and now home to the world’s largest airport.
Major Industries: Government, tourism, chemicals, electronics, textiles
GDP per capita: $9,237
No. of Days to Start a Business: 37
Roadblocks to Growth: Pollution, dust storms, avoiding a post-Olympic slowdown, overcrowding.

Shanghai (#20)
Population: 15 million
Population in 2025: 19.4 million
Claim to Fame: The country’s economic capital
Major Industries: Banking, finance, fashion, electronics, shipbuilding
GDP per capita: $9,584
No. of Days to Start a Business: 35
Roadblocks to Development: Danger of a bursting economic bubble, replenishing energy supplies, a slowdown in the global economy, traffic.

Guangzhou (#52)
Population: 8.4 million
Population in 2025: 11.8 million
Claim to Fame: The largest and wealthiest city in the south. An important seaport and connection to the rest of the world.
Major Industries: Automobiles, petrochemicals, electronics, telecom, shipbuilding
GDP per capita: $9,970
No. of Days to Start a Business: 28
Roadblocks to Development: Crime, traffic, wide gaps between the rich and the poor, clashes between migrants and locals.

Shenzhen (#54)
Population: 7.2 million
Population in 2025: 10.2 million
Claim to Fame: Shenzhen has seen the most rapid growth among all China’s cities. At some points in the past 30 years, it grew at 40 percent a year.
Major Industries: IT, software, construction, food processing, medical supplies
GDP per capita: $11,445
No. of Days to Start a Business: Around 30
Roadblocks to Development: Traffic, high rates of HIV/AIDS, labor unrest.

Chongqing (#59)
Population: 6.4 million
Claim to Fame: Often called the “Chinese Chicago,” the city is an industrial center and gateway to China’s western regions.
Major Industries: Mining, automobiles, textiles, chemicals, manufacturing
GDP per capita: $5,500
No. of Days to Start a Business: 39
Roadblocks to Development: Air pollution, potential of landslides, drought.

THE BEST CITIES TO BE A DIPLOMAT

1. Washington
2. New York
3. Brussels
4. Paris
5. London
6. Tokyo
7. Beijing
8. Istanbul
9. Vienna
10. Cairo
11. Mexico City
12. Buenos Aires
13. Bangkok
14. Berlin
15. Taipei
16. Singapore
17. Los Angeles
18. Shanghai
19. Seoul
20. Chicago

RANKINGS BASED ON A CITY’S NUMBER OF EMBASSIES, CONSULATES, AND TRADE MISSIONS; THINK TANKS; PARTNER CITIES; LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS WITH INTERNATIONAL REACH; HEADQUARTERS OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS; AND POLITICAL CONFERENCES HELD IN THE CITY.
A Clean Break

Every week, a million more people move to cities around the world. It’s a constant, quiet migration that amounts to adding the entire population of Dublin to the planet’s urban landscape every few days. It’s easy to assume that the waste, pollution, and population booms that this rapid urbanization breeds inevitably lead to dirty cities. New Delhi’s sewage-filled rivers and Moscow’s gag-inducing air attest to that. Wealthier lifestyles mean more waste, and more people mean dirtier cities, right?

Not necessarily. Using the 2007 Mercer Consulting ranking of health and sanitation around the world, we found that the most global cities aren’t the dirtiest cities. In fact, some of the biggest, most integrated cities are some of the cleanest urban areas on the planet. Washington (11), Stockholm (24), Zurich (26), and Boston (29) rank in the cleanest top 20 of 215 cities, for example.

The problem for today’s developing giants like Lagos (53), Ho Chi Minh City (55), and Bangalore (58) is a matter of scale. Their populations are so much bigger, and their resources are scarcer, that they don’t have the luxury of decades to solve their sanitation problems. All of which means it may be harder for the next generation of cities to clean up its act.

Dirty Cities vs. Globalization Score

For seven years, the FOREIGN POLICY/A.T. Kearney Globalization Index measured global integration among states. Explore previous years’ findings, discover hidden success stories, and see why Singapore surged when South Korea sank, at FOREIGNPOLICY.com. There, you can also find complete charts and methodology for the Global Cities Index. In The Endless City (New York: Phaidon Press, 2008), Richard Burdett and Deyan Sudjic examine the various urban challenges of six global cities, including index topper New York. In “Beyond City Limits” (FOREIGN POLICY, January/February 2008), Burdett explains the vastly different ways in which urbanization is playing out around the world.


For links to relevant Web sites, access to the FP Archive, and a comprehensive index of related FOREIGN POLICY articles, go to FOREIGNPOLICY.com.
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Power to the People

Why it’s the poor—not the experts—who can best solve the food crisis.

By Eric Werker

Every nongovernmental organization has a mission statement. For example, CARE, one of the world’s largest and best-funded NGOs, explains its mission as serving “individuals and families in the poorest communities in the world. Drawing strength from our global diversity, resources and experience, we promote innovative solutions and are advocates for global responsibility.” Indeed, CARE has teams of experts with years of experience in more than 70 countries, and its efforts to tackle the “underlying causes of poverty” are impressive. Implicit in its mission statement, like those of most NGOs, is the notion that CARE is exceptionally knowledgeable about how to meet the needs of the world’s poor. But does it know best?

Take one of the most confounding global problems today: the skyrocketing cost of food. Prices for staple crops such as rice and wheat have more than doubled since 2006, putting an enormous strain on the 1.2 billion people living on a dollar a day or less. In 2004, a typical poor farmer in Udaipur, India, was already spending more than half his daily dollar of income on food—and that was before grain prices went through the roof.

NGOs and relief agencies are on the front lines of this global crisis, distributing food and other forms of assistance to the hardest-hit victims. But food handouts may be the last thing that poor countries need right now. In many of the worst-stricken places, agriculture is the top employer. High food prices are offering a rare opportunity for farmers in these countries to make a tidy profit. Dumping imported food on the market will cut into many farmers’ incomes and thus might do more harm than good. Low-wage work programs could help people avoid hunger, but they might also take farmers away from their fields just when farming is becoming lucrative.

Priorities, moreover, vary from person to person and from place to place. A West African farmer might choose to forgo next season’s seeds and fertilizer to put food on the table today. A garbage collector in Jakarta might sacrifice trips to the doctor to keep from going hungry. Mexican parents might keep their kids home from school as the cost of education gets priced out of the family budget. Aid agencies can’t always predict what the poor value most.

The first step in truly addressing the food crisis, therefore, is abandoning the idea that the donor knows best. Instead of more advice or another bag of rice, the poor should be given relief vouchers. The basic premise is simple: Give poor people a choice about what type of assistance they receive. Vouchers, backed by major donor countries, could be distributed to needy recipients in the areas hardest hit by the food crisis. The recipients could then redeem the vouchers in exchange for approved goods (such as food or...
fertilizer) or services (such as healthcare or job training). Relief vouchers would allow families to meet their most pressing needs without harming the very markets that can bring about permanent solutions. At the same time, they would give firms and NGOs an incentive to provide a wider array of services.

Relief vouchers could also save NGOs millions of dollars that victims never see. Figuring out what people need is har enough during a natural disaster, when a helicopter flyover can reveal the physical damage. But the effects of the food crisis are much harder to diagnose. Each NGO must conduct household surveys, hire experts, meet with local government officials and foreign donors, and then write grant applications and raise funds before it can ever help its first victim. Meanwhile, monitoring these efforts eats up precious resources. With vouchers, agencies would simply follow the invisible hand of the market—in this case, the market for relief.

Relief vouchers would solve another problem: accountability. Most NGOs today answer only to the donors who fund their operations, not to their actual clients—the poor. Most major donors do their utmost to make sure their money is spent as promised. But even donors whose hearts are in the right place cannot anticipate the exact needs of so many different communities. With no mechanism for the poor to communicate their priorities, nonprofits and their donors are only accountable to themselves. A system of relief vouchers would change that.

Such a radical shift in accountability will have major ramifications. The development world is littered with projects that keep getting funded long after they are no longer useful. Under a voucher system, if an NGO delivered a product that no one needed, or failed to deliver what it promised, beneficiaries would stop coming to it for relief. This is why nonprofits working for vouchers wouldn’t have to waste funds on expensive evaluations. After all, Pepsi does not have to prove whether its soda makes its customers better off. Products that people aren’t willing to buy typically don’t survive long. It is time to expose the nonprofit sector to the same market feedback.

If that scares some NGOs, it shouldn’t. Too often, they must cater to the whims of donors when they would prefer to serve those in need. Without financial support, they would never be able to conduct their important work. But if a significant share of NGOs’ financing came through voucher redemption, they would be able to focus their attention on the poor without worrying as much about pleasing large foundations and government agencies, which often have their own agendas.

Vouchers, of course, aren’t a silver bullet. Corruption and fraud will be a concern. Moreover, some needs are best delivered at the community level, such as clean water, or at the national level, such as public-health campaigns. And in countries with well-developed national safety nets, such as South Africa, there may be no need to bypass functioning institutions by introducing vouchers. In some cases, relief vouchers would be impractical. Aid workers are fortunate if they can even reach those in need in a failed state like Somalia or a dictatorship like Burma.

Voucher schemes have already shown promise. Catholic Relief Services pioneered their use in 2000 by setting up “seed fairs” for farmers. In Ethiopia in 2004, the organization successfully introduced livestock vouchers for sheep, goats, and even veterinary services. The Red Cross distributed vouchers to vulnerable families in the West Bank in 2002 and 2003; the program was only discontinued for political reasons. Governments have long used other types of vouchers on larger scales: for schools, in many developing countries, and in the form of food stamps in the United States. Vouchers, in short, can work—and it’s time to extend their logic to a much wider array of problems. It’s time to give the poor the power of choice.
IN OTHER WORDS
[ REVIEWS OF THE WORLD’S MOST NOTEWORTHY BOOKS ]

A Fight to Protect
By James Traub

The Thin Blue Line: How Humanitarianism Went to War
By Conor Foley

On June 28, 1992, French President François Mitterrand and Bernard Kouchner, the minister of state for humanitarian affairs, arrived by helicopter in the war-ravaged capital of Yugoslavia. It was a daring and dangerous bid to break the chokehold that Bosnian Serb militias were applying to Sarajevo’s Muslim population. And it worked: Mitterrand reached a deal with Radovan Karadzic, the Bosnian Serb leader, to reopen the airport and to permit relief agencies to serve the city’s besieged citizens. The U.N. Security Council swiftly approved the dispatch of peacekeepers as a humanitarian protection force, and crucial supplies began flowing into the capital.

The helicopter ride was a high water mark for Mitterrand, for the adventurous Kouchner, and for the idea, still quite new at the time, of a politically engaged, rather than rigorously neutral, humanitarianism. But in retrospect, it’s also clear that the humanitarian corridor to Sarajevo sent the United Nations, and those it hoped to protect, down a disastrous path. Peacekeepers stood by helplessly while Serbian gunners in the hills mowed down Bosnian civilians. The peacekeepers became, quite literally, hostage to their own mission: Serbian leader Slobodan Milosevic was able to ward off a NATO attack by threatening to capture or kill the lightly armed blue helmets. And the Balkan calamity plunged toward the Götterdämmerung of Srebrenica.

Humanitarianism engagé sounds tremendously noble, not to mention very exciting, until you try it in practice. Conor Foley is a veteran of what he would say are too many such misbegotten missions. He has worked for the United Nations and for human rights and humanitarian organizations in Kosovo, Afghanistan, and post-tsunami Indonesia, among other places. The experiences left him quite chastened about the limits of foreign intervention, whether in the form of military action, nation-building, or emergency assistance—and quite critical of humanitarian heroes like Kouchner. In his provocative new book, The Thin Blue Line, Foley writes, “The broader lesson from a range of international interventions in recent years is that it will always be difficult to impose governance and assistance mechanisms from the outside.”

Like the journalist David Rieff, author of A Bed for the Night, and the scholar Alex de Waal, Foley has come to view the history of humanitarian intervention as one long episode of hypocrisy and failure. Thus while “liberal interventionists” argue that the international community failed the people of Bosnia by offering a humanitarian response to what was, in fact, a military challenge, and has done so once again in Darfur, Foley advances the opposite argument. He claims, first, that humanitarian actors have made themselves the handmaiden—and the pretext—of military interventions; second, that by doing so, humanitarianism has sacrificed its precious neutral stance; and finally, that the sacrifice has been largely for naught, since external attempts to impose good governance or halt atrocities are likely to fail.

In his catalog of humanitarian interventions, Foley passes over those by non-Western states, such as the United States, and focuses on those by nations like France and Britain. But the book is a grand narrative, and an appealing one: a challenge to those who think that humanitarianism is a noble cause but one that needs reform. Foley’s book is a must-read for all those who hope that a world of competing nations and peoples can ever live together peacefully, and a must-read for all those who have asked—and continue to ask—how such a world can even begin to be envisioned.

as India in what is now Bangladesh in 1971, or Vietnam’s in Cambodia in 1979, perhaps because they don’t implicate humanitarian actors or a specifically Western view of human rights (or perhaps because they more or less succeeded). Humanitarian intervention, for him, is a creature of Western activism, largely channeled through the United Nations, in the years immediately following the end of the Cold War. Thus he begins his history with the colossal and unprecedented U.S.-led mission to protect the humanitarian effort in Somalia.

Foley observes that agencies like CARE and Oxfam America, whose aid was being stolen and whose workers were being killed, pressed for a military force. These were the blithe and palmy days of interventionism—the new U.N. force was just then assembling in Bosnia—and few could have imagined the consequences of such a commitment. U.S. Army Rangers wound up chasing a murderous warlord through the streets of Mogadishu; the “Black Hawk Down” nightmare, in which the corpses of American soldiers were dragged through the dust, brought those consequences home to Americans all too brutally. Foley views the Somali intervention as an unmitigated debacle, not only for the country but for his own profession. In Somalia, he asserts, humanitarianism began to surrender to the logic of armed intervention.

Foley thinks that the appetite for intervention far exceeds the need. He contends that “there is no evidence” that the massacres of Kosovar civilians by Serbian forces in 1998 and early 1999 “were part of a systematic campaign of ‘ethnic cleansing.’” It was the NATO bombardment itself, he asserts, that caused the Serbs to drive great numbers of Kosovars from their homes and that resulted in the overwhelming portion of the deaths suffered during this period. He’s certainly right about the figures and the chronology, but even so peace-loving a figure as Kofi Annan believed that Milosevic planned a massive campaign of expulsion and favored a military response. And none of the Kosovars I met a few years later wished that NATO had held off.

Moreover, what is one to do when peaceful means really are unavailing? Humanitarian groups called loudly for intervention in Rwanda; and in that case, with Somalia fresh in memory, no one listened. Foley presumably wishes that the interventionists had succeeded, for he tells the familiar story of the United Nations’ failure to heed the desperate calls from
Roméo Dallaire, the Canadian general who headed the small peacekeeping force there. But Foley doesn’t actually say that an intervention would have been justified—nor that “Rwanda never again” is a rallying cry worth raising.

Despite claims from the “anti-imperialist” left—which Foley does not countenance—states do not lightly send soldiers into battle to halt atrocities across the globe. Humanitarian interventions are waged in countries so far gone that all alternatives look bad and almost all consequences ugly. And yet we must choose. Foley’s suggestion that humanitarian organizations in Somalia should have sought to “re-empower traditional community leaders through dialogue,” rather than beat the drums for military action, does not sound all that persuasive. And even that feckless engagement saved several hundred thousand lives. Foley also argues that both Kosovo and Bosnia remain ethnically riven and enfeebled states. That’s true; but it’s also true that the Balkans are no longer a war zone and that Serbia is a democracy, if a tenuous one. Is it that very bad an outcome?

In later chapters of The Thin Blue Line, Foley wrestles with the difficult question of how, or whether, humanitarian aid can be used to force political change. He offers hard wisdom distilled from years of experience. Humanitarians, he argues, should worry less about conformity to the supposedly universal principles and inalienable rights that preoccupy Westerners than they should about “building trust” among donors, the general public, and beneficiaries. And the best way to gain the trust of host countries, he notes, is to show respect for their sovereignty and their domestic capacity. Foley would not have us help less, but he would have us impose less. One of the few encouraging stories he tells concerns Mozambique, which weaned itself from dependence on foreign aid and inscribed in its disaster-preparedness report a determination to stop “running to international donors without first exhausting national capacities.”

But we should ask ourselves whether international relations are now plagued by too little respect for sovereignty, or too much. Certainly if you were to ask the leaders of the Group of 77 at the United Nations or regional bodies such as the African Union (AU),

In 2005, the world’s heads of state, gathered at the U.N. General Assembly, adopted the doctrine of “the responsibility to protect,” which stipulates that states have an obligation to protect their citizens from crimes against humanity and other mass atrocities, and that, should they be unable or unwilling to do so, other states incur that obligation. That responsibility, in the most extreme cases, includes military action. R2P, as the norm has come to be known, formalizes the principle, which lies at the heart of humanitarian intervention, that the right of people to be free from the worst forms of mistreatment supersedes the right of states to be free from external intervention. It is scarcely possible in the aftermath of Rwanda to argue otherwise, and so no one does directly. But the principle is under attack from the absolutists of sovereignty, a group that includes not just Iran and Venezuela but India and Egypt. And the war in Iraq has made it all too easy for the absolutists to claim that the United States and other Western countries will cite the moral imperative of R2P to intervene when and where they wish. Perhaps that’s a real danger, but what seems far likelier is that Iraq has poisoned the logic of humanitarian intervention for years to come. Anti-interventionists like Foley may take comfort in that thought; others, however, will rightly view it as a tragedy.
Whenever I visit the Middle East, curiosity leads me into bookstores so I might gain some insight into the opinions and interests of local readers. Among my recent discoveries on the region’s bookshelves is the existence of Judaica sections, just like in the United States or Europe, but with one major, distinguishing difference. As one might expect, store shelves in Muslim countries are heavy with translations of well-known anti-Semitic tracts, like the notorious screed “Protocols of the Elders of Zion.”

Imagine my pleasant surprise then, during a recent stay in Riyadh, to discover a book by a prominent Saudi writer that aims to inform Arab readers about Jewish culture and promote tolerance and understanding. The Jewish Component in Western Civilization, by the pro-Western literary columnist and university professor Saad al-Bazei, was easy to find. During my stay in Riyadh, the international Arabic daily al-Hayat reviewed it on page one, announcing a new book on the positive cultural contributions of “enlightened” Jews. I suspected that it was a slow news day in the Arab world and that this publicity was intended to boost the reputation of Bazei (who writes a regular column for a sister publication of al-Hayat). Surely a book of this sort would not pass Saudi censorship, much...
less be distributed in Riyadh. I was wrong. There it was, at my local Riyadh bookshop, next to the Arabic translation of Bob Woodward’s latest chronicle of the war in Iraq.

*The Jewish Component in Western Civilization* is a serious work of research, analyzing major Jewish writers from the 17th century to the present, from Baruch Spinoza and Moses Mendelssohn to Jacques Derrida and Harold Bloom. The basic thesis is that there is a distinctive Jewish voice in each of the figures, including both secularized Jews and converts such as Heinrich Heine and Benjamin Disraeli, reflecting their struggles for identity in a Christian-dominated culture. Al-Bazei offers several insights from a non-Western perspective. For instance, the commonly accepted definition of “Bible” in the West is the Christian version of both the Old and New Testaments, but it excludes the Jewish version of only the earlier texts. Muslims view their holy book as distinct from both the Christian Gospels and the Jewish Torah, he notes, allowing, in theory, the independence of each revelation from those of the other two. In general, his assessment of a unique and important Jewish contribution to Western culture would strike most Westerners as unremarkable.

But this book is remarkable, for several reasons. Here is a work in Arabic, by a Saudi author, suffused with understanding for the Jews and their predicament as a minority in Christian Europe. Does this commentary on the Holocaust, for instance, sound like words you’d expect from a Saudi intellectual? “The 1930s brought a terrifying end to the Jews’ dream of Jewish-Christian coexistence in Europe, and Nazism wasn’t alone in fashioning it. There was also Stalinism and fascism, and a collective silence about what was happening. But Nazism was in the vanguard of committing the genocide called ‘the Holocaust’ or ‘al-Shoah.’... After the Holocaust, the Jew was forced to return to being Jewish, even if he could not return completely.” In most places, this acknowledgment of the existence of the Holocaust would be indisputable. But, then, Bazei’s book appeared shortly after nearby Iran hosted an official conference whose premise was denying the Holocaust.

The book addresses the need for more balance toward Jews in the Arab media and on the shelves of Arab bookstores. Bazei sums up the need for balance as follows: “If the process of analyzing and evaluating Jewish contributions requires us to make judgments,
then these judgments should not always be against the Jews. Sometimes we should be pro-Jewish. It is not possible, for example, to evaluate the works of a thinker like Sigmund Freud or a poet like Heine without an amount of sympathy, understanding, and, indeed, admiration.”

Bazei underscores in his introduction that respect for Jewish contributions to culture shouldn’t be confused with support for Israel or its policies. It’s a necessary caveat for his readers. He is attempting something they haven’t encountered before in Arabic: an objective study of the Jews. In today’s Middle East, everything is mobilized in support of one side of the Arab-Israeli conflict, even Bazei’s field of literary criticism (for which we have Edward Said to thank). To his credit, Bazei doesn’t gloss over Zionism but briefly mentions it as an important political and ideological movement in modern Jewish thought, placing it in the context of other 19th-century European strains of nationalism.

With all this talk of tolerance and reasonable discussion, one could easily get the impression that Bazei’s book signifies some kind of sea change in views toward Jews among the Arab reading public. Here, it’s worth remembering that few people will read the book (print runs of Arabic books are usually limited to several thousand copies), though many more have seen or heard its positive press coverage. However, the book does lead to two important conclusions, and hints at a third.

First, there is more than one truth in the Middle East. Public discourse in Saudi Arabia offers a surprising diversity, while the American narrative about the country tends toward a stereotype: that Saudi politics and society are governed by extreme Muslim fundamentalists in league with the Saudi royal family. The stereotype has some truth. But it is a monochromatic view that misses the interesting color. For example, this stereotype often glosses over the growing influence of Saudi Arabia’s Western-educated elite.

Second, al-Bazei himself represents this influence. A 55-year-old graduate of Purdue University, he belongs to the first wave of Saudi men (and a few women) who began traveling to Britain and the United States for college and graduate studies after the 1973 oil boom. These Western-educated graduates now number in the tens of thousands and run the government ministries, the state oil company, the largest banks, the major universities, and other institutions. They are the most influential pro-American bloc in the Arab world, and they tend to share the political values of openness and tolerance they associate with the United States dating back to the 1970s and ’80s. At the same time, this generation lives in a conservative, patriar-
chal country. Reconciling these conflicting influences is a source of continuing tension in Saudi society, and Bazei’s objective study of Jews places him at the forefront of the liberalizing trend.

The book hints at a third conclusion: tacit support for such projects from the Saudi government. The Saudi royal family governs through multiple alliances, among them a conservative clergy and a more liberal professional class, each enjoying royal patronage. In order to be published, this book would have had to pass a government censorship bureau that is controlled by the clergy. In this context, the dedication of Bazei’s book to his deceased parents tells the Saudi reader something more. His mother was from the powerful al-Sudairy clan, and he is related through her to the crown prince and other senior royals (who also own the newspaper that publicized his book). In addition, Bazei’s book should be seen in the Saudi context as providing intellectual backing for King Abdullah’s recent initiative to convene an interfaith dialogue that includes Jewish religious leaders.

To Westerners working in the Middle East, Bazei’s tolerant and broad-minded views are very much in line with those that we often hear in private conversations with Arabs in the region. But Bazei has been courageous by going public, in print. Westerners should welcome and encourage such efforts, and thereby help make the goal of promoting understanding successful. Otherwise, this important Saudi test balloon could serve as nothing more than a regional curiosity.
As the Castro regime’s grip weakens, could Cuba’s cultural establishment finally have some room to breathe again? FP asked prominent Cuban blogger and cultural critic Yoani Sánchez for her take.

**FOREIGN POLICY:** Has the political transition between Fidel and Raúl Castro influenced Cuba’s literary scene or political debates?

**Yoani Sánchez:** The greatest influence that this political succession has had was an electronic debate among Cuban intellectuals in January and February 2007. For a couple of weeks, numerous writers, poets, and musicians held an exchange of e-mails with criticisms of the cultural policy of the Castros’ revolution. That would not have been possible with Fidel in power just months before.

**FP:** Who are the most successful authors in Cuba today? Is their writing at all political?

**YS:** Leonardo Padura and Pedro Juan Gutiérrez are perhaps the most successful writers, both on the foreign market as well as within the country. Both write critically about our reality, but neither does political literature per se. Their texts paint a different Cuba than official discourse would have us believe, and that is one of the reasons they are embraced by the Cuban public.

**FP:** How do important aspects of Cuban culture, such as food and sports, influence the literary culture?

**YS:** The topic of African religions has influenced Cuban literature the most in recent times. It’s hard to find a novel that does not deal, even tangentially, with what for some is folklore and for others is spiritual life.

On the subject of culinary arts, what you see is a concern with simply getting enough to eat. The economic crisis has made many typical Cuban dishes disappear, and the memory of those lost flavors is a constant in literary expression.

**FP:** With the restrictions on travel, do you notice a greater demand for books about other places?

**YS:** Reading is a form of travel. Given the limitations that we Cubans face in traveling outside our country, discovering another reality through the pages of a book is a good inducement. Hence, many of us know Paris by heart even though we have never set foot in that city. The same is true of Berlin, Rome, and even Tokyo. Thanks to literature, we manage to travel to a bunch of places without the immigration officials being able to say a word.

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Interview: Alex Ely, a student of government at the College of William and Mary.
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The Institute on Culture, Religion & World Affairs (CURA) conducts an annual summer program, organized and directed by Professor Peter L. Berger and co-sponsored with the School of Theology at Boston University, under the guidance of Dean John Berthrong and with the generous support of the Henry Luce Foundation’s Henry R. Luce Initiative on Religion and International Affairs.

The program is an intensive, two-week seminar on special topics in religion and world affairs. This year’s topic is “Religion and U.S. Foreign Policy,” and will run from June 14 to 26, 2009. It is designed for professional residents of the United States and international scholars whose work engages them with religion in its political, economic, and cultural manifestations. Those particularly encour-
aged to apply are members of the media, staff at non-governmental agencies, clergy, government agencies and departments, public policy institutes, and academics in higher education, as well as advanced graduate students.

The program is taught by a combination of faculty from Boston University and other universities around the world, as well as by active and retired members of the government and public policy communities. Details on the 2009 summer program are posted on the CURA website, www.bu.edu/cura.

CURA will provide housing and meals for all participants. Travel fellowships will be available on a competitive basis.

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**NET EFFECT**

**[ HOW TECHNOLOGY SHAPES THE WORLD ]**

**Development 2.0**

They’ve been called the “development mafia”—shadowy experts in obscure disciplines such as drip irrigation and capacity building. But until recently, the tens of thousands of freelance consultants, NGO workers, and aid agency employees who make up the international development world were more of a scattered horde than a cohesive community. That might be about to change.

Earlier this year, Raj Kumar, president and cofounder of the Washington-based Development Executive Group, launched a social networking tool designed to connect development professionals and the firms that require their expertise. The site, devex.com, was inspired by Web 2.0 companies such as Facebook and LinkedIn. But whereas Facebook junkies list their favorite bands and upload photographs of friends, Devex’s nearly 90,000 global users boast about their project management skills and their latest professional certifications.

Site members can, depending on their level of access, post projects, form networks based on common interests, browse and monitor upcoming bids, find job opportunities, and get in touch with experts on the ground. Looking for an English-speaking agricultural specialist in Colombia with at least five years of experience? Devex gives you a choice of 28.

At the heart of the site, though, is its massive projects database, which currently lists more than 47,000 projects on everything from rural sanitation in Bangladesh to policing in the Palestinian territories—searchable by region, country, donor, project type, or status. By aggregating this information in one place, Kumar says, Devex gives everyone a chance to find out about opportunities, not just the well-connected (though executive members do get “early intelligence” reports about upcoming projects).

Kumar’s goal is to make a profit, but he also hopes the site will help more foreign aid reach those in need. “Efficiency isn’t sexy,” he admits. “But with $200 billion in foreign aid each year, a few percentage points of efficiency gains is like adding another Gates Foundation to the world.”

**Caught in the Net:**

**The European Union**

After Ireland shocked Europe by voting “no” to the Lisbon Treaty referendum in June, an offended and befuddled European Commission wondered, “Why do they hate us?” According to an EU investigation leaked to London’s Telegraph newspaper, bloggers are partly to blame. Blogging, the report claims, is an “anti-establishment” activity. The EU investigation tracked sites between March and May of this year, carefully documenting the uptick in anti-EU messages. “A number of viral emails, videos, songs etc. were created by the No campaign which were creative, often humorous, and had a lot of ‘cut through.’” Alas, says the report, the pro-Brussels campaign was overwhelmed by the Internet, a “fragmented battle ground dominated by Euroscepticism.”

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**Rebels with a Server**

Contacting elusive rebel factions was once something for reporters to boast about at the hotel bar. Not anymore. Rebel press offices have gone digital—building Web sites, e-mail lists, and even online chat rooms. Want to know what Darfur rebels are thinking? Check the latest communiqués on the Justice and Equality Movement’s home page. The photo gallery of Chad’s Union of Forces for Change and Democracy depicts sunglasses-clad rebel leaders brandishing their AK-47s—but please respect the copyright notice at the bottom of the page.

Today’s rebel groups use the Internet to broadcast their grievances the world over, and sometimes even move markets. The Nigerian Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND), for instance, adroitly manipulates oil prices through colorful e-mail blasts. Many of these illicit press offices far outpace their government rivals. MEND responds within hours to e-mailed queries. But the commission charged with developing the Niger region? Good luck finding contact info on its Web site.

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**Endangered species: High-priced foreign experts are in big trouble.**

**For More Online**

Explore the Web sites of rebel groups at: ForeignPolicy.com/extras/rebels.
Text for the Cure

Perhaps the hardest part of fighting contagious diseases is simply getting patients to take their meds. For tuberculosis, which kills nearly 1.6 million people a year, the drug regimen lasts at least six months and often carries unpleasant side effects. Patients who skip doses risk developing drug-resistant TB, which is costly to treat and prone to dangerous outbreaks. A team of students at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), however, has devised a novel solution: bribe patients with cellphone minutes.

The students’ big idea, which has been put to the test in Nicaragua, rests on a new technology called paper microfluidics. Rather than visiting a clinic every day or receiving constant reminders at home, patients are given a device that spits out a small strip of paper, coated with chemicals, every 24 hours. As with a home pregnancy test, patients urinate on the strip, which detects drug compliance. Instead of a plus or minus sign, the system reveals a numerical code that the patients then send via text message to a central server. (To ward off potential cheaters, there is a new code every day.) Those whose codes register a high enough compliance rate each month earn free cellphone minutes, a powerful incentive that’s inexpensive to implement. For Jose Gomez-Marquez, program director of MIT’s Innovations in International Health initiative, the project’s genius is its combination of psychology and economics. “We knew that it couldn’t just be a technological approach to the problem,” he says. “It had to be a combination of behavior modification with the aid of technology.” So far, trial runs of the project in Nicaragua have been a hit—so much so that TB patients outside the study are asking to take part, too.

Until the special strips of paper can be mass-produced, the scope of the project remains limited. But Miguel Orozco, a Nicaraguan health researcher who is assisting the program, envisions the venture catching on. “They can do [the treatment] from their homes,” Orozco says. “You have people living with tuberculosis happy to have their own mobility and independence.”

Next up for the MIT team is attempting to export the program elsewhere. They are already laying the groundwork for bringing the technology to Ethiopia and have launched a clinical trial in Pakistan. Urdu’s complex alphabet is proving to be a logistical challenge, but free cellphone minutes? It’s an idea that needs little translation. —Patrick Fitzgerald


An investor, columnist, and entrepreneur who is plugged into the California start-up scene, Kedrosky’s Infectious Greed blog is my expert guide to the financial crisis. Unlike many finance writers, Kedrosky avoids confusing jargon and keeps the tone light—even as the news gets increasingly heavy.

Complete with a shaved head, Seth Godin is the guru of modern marketing. With his Delphic insights on advertising, business, and human psychology, this prolific blogger and author is my daily dose of deep thought.

Techdirt is not your ordinary news Web site. It’s more like a swarm of smart problem-solvers who analyze “cases” on demand—everything from how to find cheap gas on your cellphone to how to make Twitter useful. It’s also a great blog if you’re interested in online privacy, digital rights management, and doing business in the information age.

Deep defense knowledge, a fiercely independent (but fair and nonpartisan) voice, and real reporting: That’s Danger Room, the Wired.com military technology blog. Led by Noah Shachtman, one of the best defense writers working today, this would be at the top of my reading list even if it weren’t from my sister company.

Blake Hounshell is Web editor of ForeignPolicy.com. Elizabeth Dickinson is assistant editor at Foreign Policy. Patrick Fitzgerald is a freelance journalist in California.
1) **B. 16 percent.** In the 2007–08 basketball season, about 1 in 6 NBA players was born outside the United States, up from 7 percent just 10 years ago. But in a borderless world of sport, that figure is hardly the highest. In Major League Baseball, nearly 30 percent of players were born outside the United States in recent seasons. Meanwhile, in English football’s Premier League, more than 50 percent of players were born outside Britain.

2) **A. Canada.** Facebook is one of the world’s fastest-growing social networking sites, with more than 100 million members worldwide. It is perhaps most popular in Canada, where 29 percent of the population maintains a member profile, according to a September tally. The United States is No. 13 in the ranking, with 10.5 percent, but more Americans are on the network than any other nationality—32 million, nearly equal to Canada’s entire population.

3) **A. China.** According to the Committee to Protect Journalists, China had more journalists in jail in 2007 than any other country—its ninth consecutive year atop the list, with 29 reporters and editors behind bars. Last year, 18 of those jailed in China were online journalists, with one arrest made possible through information provided by Yahoo!. Of the 23 other countries with jailed journalists, Cuba came in second, with 24 imprisoned reporters, and Eritrea placed third, with 14 jailed members of the media.

4) **B. India.** It pays to be a professor in India. An Indian academic can expect to make nearly 9 times the country’s per capita GDP, according to a recent Boston College study of academic salaries in 16 countries and territories. By comparison, faculty salaries in countries such as Germany, Japan, and the United States are just 1.5 to 2 times the national average. Nevertheless, given academia’s globalized marketplace, developing countries may need to be even more generous to avoid brain drain to richer countries.

5) **B. Poland.** When Georgia withdrew nearly 2,000 troops from Iraq in August, Poland’s 800 troops became the third-largest contingent there, operating alongside about 140,000 U.S. soldiers and 4,000 British troops. South Korea is No. 4 with approximately 500 soldiers stationed in theater. Meanwhile, Iraq has 200,000 of its own troops and 300,000 provincial police officers.

6) **A. O.** Since its establishment 10 years ago, the International Criminal Court has issued 12 arrest warrants for people accused of genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity. But as of September 2008, no one has ever been put on trial. Thomas Lubanga, a Congolese warlord, was to have gone on trial June 23 for recruiting child soldiers. But on June 13, the court decided to halt proceedings, ruling that the prosecution had failed to disclose exculpatory evidence.

7) **C. Japan.** As of July 2008, foreign countries owned $2.68 trillion in U.S. federal debt, just over a quarter of the U.S. government’s $9.5 trillion in total arrears. Japan holds the most, with $593 billion in U.S. Treasury securities—essentially IOUs from the U.S. federal government. China is next in line, with $519 billion in securities. U.S. debt has boomed since September 2000, increasing 73 percent—more than $4 trillion—and the amount of that debt held by foreign governments has nearly tripled.

8) **A. Avenue Princesse Grace, Monaco.** On the palm-lined street named after Grace Kelly, apartments can sell for nearly $18,000 per square foot, according to a recent survey by Wealth Bulletin. Runner-up Severn Road in Hong Kong comes in comparatively cheap at $11,200 per square foot, while New York’s third-ranked Fifth Avenue is a downright bargain at $7,500 per square foot.
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For more information: Visit the Merrill Center at www.saismerrillcenter.org or call 202-663-5772.
Another lesson of 9/11 is that the United States will need all the help it can get from other countries to manage the crisis. Although both 9/11 and the crash of the subprime mortgage market took place on American soil, their international ramifications are enormous. And though American taxpayers will bear the burden of both the bailout and its fallout, the assistance of regulatory authorities from Britain to China will be indispensable. In fact, a lesson from 9/11 is that coordination at technical levels may be more important than the rhetorical statements of heads of state. After 9/11, while the U.S. Congress was replacing its cafeteria French fries with “free-fries” and bashing France for its opposition to the war in Iraq, the intelligence agencies of the two countries were collaborating closely and effectively. The same was true of other intelligence services in countries whose leaders were making fiery speeches denouncing U.S. unilateralism. Technical collaboration of government bureaucrats—sustained over long periods and outside the media glare—will be as important to navigating this financial crisis successfully as presidential summits. The way that central bank managers in Beijing and Moscow coordinate actions with their counterparts in Washington and Frankfurt will be an important determinant of how we get out of this crisis.

A bureaucratic monster driven by the same panicked impulses that followed 9/11 may result from this crisis.

...to conclude that American-style capitalism is now dead. “The idea of an all-powerful market without any rules and any political intervention is mad,” said French President Nicolas Sarkozy, adding that “Self-regulation is finished. Laissez faire is finished.” Henry Paulson, the U.S. Treasury Secretary, agreed: “Raw capitalism is a dead end.” Certainly, the crash revealed the need for more effective financial oversight and regulations. But their adoption will not mark the end of capitalism. Millions of Chinese, Indians, Brazilians, and others will continue to be more active participants in the global economy than ever before. And companies from Seattle to Taipei to Lyon will continue to innovate and invest, buy and sell.

Inevitably, the financial crisis will be seen as yet another sign that America in decline: “The U.S. will lose its status as the superpower of the world financial system. . . . The world will never be the same again,” the German finance minister told his parliament in late September. Almost the exact same words were uttered after 9/11. But though the world certainly changed, it did so in far fewer ways than the commentators had predicted. Yes, this financial crisis will deeply transform the global economy and will have deeper and longer-lasting consequences than 9/11. But it neither marks the end of capitalism nor the beginning of America’s demise.

Moisés Naím is editor in chief of Foreign Policy.
After the Fall

What the lessons of 9/11 could teach the world about the financial crisis.

By Moisés Naím

The global financial meltdown is as surprising and unprecedented as the 9/11 attacks. Beyond that, the two calamities are very different; the financial crash will undoubtedly have broader consequences, hurting more people in more countries. Yet, 9/11 and its aftermath continue to offer a case study in some pitfalls to avoid when catastrophe hits.

Perhaps the most important lesson from 9/11 is that the U.S. reaction to the attacks had more profound consequences than the attacks themselves. Shocks such as 9/11 are bound to spark—indeed require—substantial governmental reactions, but the consequences of those reactions linger well beyond the initial event. This lesson will apply to the current crash: The laws, institutions, constraints, and incentives engendered by the bailout will mold our lives long after the effects of the subprime mortgage crisis have dissipated. The danger is that disproportionate or ill-conceived governmental responses may only exacerbate problems.

Consider the unintended fallout from the invasion of Iraq: an emboldened Iran, the Taliban’s resurgence, and the diminished ability of the United States to lead in times of global crisis. Moreover, as in Iraq, where the thorniest problems surfaced after a successful military takeover, post-bailout management will be critical. Iraq’s nightmare was amplified by mistakes made in the strategy, staffing, execution, and control of the post-invasion efforts. Similarly, the financial rescue could be fatally undermined by mistakes in the disbursement of funds or even in the staffing of the agencies in charge of implementing the bailout. One of the legacies of 9/11, for example, is the Department of Homeland Security, a bureaucratic behemoth that has become a textbook example of a failed reorganization doomed by vague congressional directives adopted in haste. A similar bureaucratic monster, driven by the same panicked impulses, may emerge as a result of this financial crisis.
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