

IRC ALERT

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FOCUS: Democracy

"It is the policy of the United States to seek and support the growth of democratic movements and institutions in every nation and culture, with the ultimate goal of ending tyranny in our world... America will not impose our own style of government on the unwilling. Our goal instead is to help others find their own voice, attain their own freedom, and make their own way."

*President George W. Bush
Second Inaugural Address,
January 20, 2005*

People all over the world want to build futures for their families in free and open societies. This aspiration includes the desire to have basic human rights, participate in fair elections, practice one's religion, speak freely on public issues, and be certain that an impartial court system will decide violations of the law.

Promoting freedom and democracy and protecting human rights around the world are central to U.S. foreign policy. The values captured in the Universal Declaration for Human Rights and in other global and regional commitments are consistent with the values upon which the United States was founded centuries ago. The United States supports those persons who long to live in freedom and under democratic governments that protect universally accepted human rights. The United States uses a wide range of tools to advance a freedom agenda, including bilateral diplomacy, multilateral engagement, foreign assistance, reporting and public outreach, and economic sanctions. The United States is committed to working with democratic partners, international and regional organizations, non-governmental organizations, and engaged citizens to support those seeking freedom.

The latest report released by the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor titled "Supporting Human Rights and Democracy: The U.S. Record 2005 - 2006" summarizes U.S. government strategy in every region, and describes what was done to support indigenous reform efforts in 95 countries over the past year.

To further goals of democracy, the United States responded to the growing global demand for greater personal and political freedom by supporting the efforts of those calling for reform. We stood in solidarity with the brave men and women around the world who were persecuted by repressive regimes for exercising their rights. By on-the-ground interaction with government officials, civil society organizations and individuals, and through multilateral engagement on the regional and global levels, we defended international human rights standards and advanced democratic principles.

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So that fellow democracies can better deliver democracy's blessings to their people, we helped them strengthen their institutions of government and sink deeper roots for the rule of law. We encouraged the full participation of all citizens, including women and minorities, in the public life of their countries. To ensure that the will of the people would prevail, we promoted political pluralism and helped to level playing fields so that elections would meet international standards. We called to account democratically elected governments that did not govern democratically. And, as they came under siege in many countries around the world, we championed the vital contributions to democracy of independent media and nongovernmental organizations.

In Fiscal-Year 2005, the United States budgeted \$1.4 billion for human rights and democracy programming. We also fostered democratic reform efforts through well-targeted development assistance, such as the innovative Millennium Challenge Account, which links a country's eligibility for poverty alleviation funding to good governance. At the same time, we continued to bring economic sanctions to bear on systematic human rights violators like the Burmese and Cuban regimes. In concert with the Group of 8 industrialized nations (G-8) and regional governments and NGOs, the United States launched two new institutions to foster indigenous reform in the Broader Middle East and North Africa -- the Foundation for the Future, which supports civil society; and the Fund for the Future, which supports investment. Finally, the United States sought to make international institutions more effective defenders and supporters of human rights and democracy. To that end, in Fiscal-Year 2005 we provided \$10 million to the United Nations Democracy Fund and pressed for the creation of a new, credible Human Rights Council at the United Nations that excludes the worst violators.

In all of these efforts on behalf of human rights and democracy, the United States welcomed the partnership of other governments and we sought the ideas and expertise of NGOs that do the hard work of defending human rights and building democracy citizen by citizen, institution by institution, and country by country each and every day. "

Excerpt from preface of report titled Supporting Human Rights and Democracy: The U.S. Record 2005 – 2006.

**2-1/FOC
BLENDING DEMOCRACY**

By Dov Zakheim

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

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

**2-2/FOC
CAN DEMOCRACY STOP TERRORISM**

By F. Gregory Gause III

Foreign Affairs, September/October 2005, pp. 62-76.

"President Bush has been clear about why he thinks promoting democracy in the Arab world is central to U.S. interests. "Our strategy to keep the peace in the longer term," Bush said in a speech in March 2005, "is to help change the conditions that give rise to extremism and terror, especially in the broader Middle East. Parts of that region have been caught for generations in a cycle of tyranny and despair and radicalism. When a dictatorship controls the political life of a country, responsible opposition cannot develop, and dissent is driven underground and toward the extreme. And to draw attention away from their social and economic failures, dictators place blame on other countries and other races, and stir the hatred that leads to violence. This status quo of despotism and anger cannot be ignored or appeased, kept in a box or bought off."

**2-3/FOC
DEMOCRACY'S CHALLENGE**

By Peter Berkowitz

http://usinfo.state.gov/dd/democracy_dialogues/

democracys_challenge-1.html

As the 21st century unfolds, democracy – a system of government in which the people choose their leaders in regular, free, fair and competitive elections – has emerged as the regime of choice for nations around the world. This does not mean that history has ended, that by some steady and inexorable process all countries will eventually and sooner rather than later embrace democracy, or that contemporary thinkers have at last discovered the one final and true model of good government.

2-4/FOC

DEMOCRACY PROMOTES HUMAN RIGHTS, SECRETARY OF STATE RICE SAYS **US Fed News Service, Mar 9, 2006.**

The duty to defend human rights and to help spread democracy is especially great for the United States and other free nations, Condoleezza Rice said. "That is why we are working with other democracies to develop the institutions that will ensure human rights are respected over the long term," she said. "We must help struggling democracies deliver on the high hopes of their citizens for a better life."

2-5/FOC*

ENGAGING AUTOCRATIC ALLIES TO PROMOTE DEMOCRACY

By David Adesnik and Michael McFaul
Washington Quarterly, Vol. 29, No. 2, Spring 2006, pp. 7-26.

The U.S. should improve its efforts to promote democracy abroad, especially under regime-change conditions and in autocratic allies such as Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Morocco, Algeria and Pakistan, through diplomatic engagement, according to authors Adesnik and McFaul. NGOs lack the ability to confront regimes directly, but the U.S. government can challenge autocratic regimes through what Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice has called transformational diplomacy. Although U.S. diplomats often underestimate their leverage, allowing their preference for stability to blind them to a regime's vulnerabilities, write Adesnik and McFaul, using close ties with a regime to exert pressure can influence the course of political liberalization. The authors look closely at Cold War democratic breakthroughs in the

Philippines, South Korea and Chile, and suggest that U.S. officials should engage autocratic allies while pushing for evolutionary change as a preemptive strategy to avoid revolutionary change.

2-6/FOC

ISLAM AND LIBERTY

By Ahmed H al-Rahim

Journal of Democracy, January 2006, Vol. 17, No 1, pp. 166-170.

Al-Rahim reviews *The Universal Hunger for Liberty: Why the Clash of Civilizations Is Not Inevitable* by Michael Novak. In this, the most recent of his many books, the Catholic theologian and social thinker Michael Novak sets forth a fundamental challenge to Muslims today: How can they make their religion, Islam, compatible with democracy, universal human rights, and liberty? Implicit in this question is Novak's own recognition that unless Muslims come to terms with democracy, a clash of civilizations may well be inevitable.

2-7/FOC

THE ROOTS OF DEMOCRACY

By Charles Boix

Policy Review, February/March 2006, No. 135, pp. 3-21.

A political science professor at the University of Chicago, Boix contends that democracies succeed in countries where income inequality is low, and where elites' wealth is mobile. Where income inequality is high and wealth is tied to mineral resources and/or agriculture, elites have too much to lose by elections, and so will rule via authoritarian means. Boix also posits two types of transitions to democracy: the first is the long, slow route of economic development; the second, political violence from outside, as in Germany, Italy and Japan after World War II.

2-8/FOC

UNILATERAL POWERS: A Brief Overview

By William G. Howell

Presidential Studies Quarterly, Vol. 35, No. 3, September 2005, pp. 417-439.

While much has been written about how presidents guide their policy agenda through Congress, Howell, a Harvard professor of government, argues that more

needs to be learned about policies pursued by executive orders, proclamations, memoranda, and other unilateral directives. No study of presidential power is complete without an understanding of trade-offs associated with administrative and legislative strategies. Generally, there are more presidential directives when there is congressional gridlock, but presidents are careful to issue presidential orders that legislators and judges will not choose to challenge. This article describes the literature on unilateral powers and poses new questions about unilateral powers of the president.

FOCUS — Documents

2-9/FOC SUPPORTING HUMAN RIGHTS AND DEMOCRACY: The U.S. Record 2005-2006: South Asia

Department of State, April 5, 2006

<http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/shrd/2005/63948.htm>

The United States supported the growing global demand for greater personal and political freedom in 2005, according to the annual Supporting Human Rights and Democracy: The U.S. Record, 2005-2006, released April 5 by the U.S. Department of State. In the report's preface, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice said the report "describes the many ways American foreign policy helped citizens and governments around the globe turn their increasing demands for human rights and democracy into programs of action." U.S. efforts around the world to advance human rights and democracy have resulted in positive change in 95 countries, according to the report, which describes the many ways American foreign policy and foreign assistance helped citizens and governments around world turn their demands for human rights and democracy into programs of action.

2-10/FOC 2005 COUNTRY REPORTS ON HUMAN RIGHTS PRACTICES: Pakistan Department of State

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

The report entitled "Country Reports on Human Rights Practices" is submitted to the Congress by the Department of State in compliance with sections 116 (d) and 502B(b) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (FAA), as amended, and section 504 of the Trade Act of 1974, as amended. The law provides that the Secretary of State shall transmit to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate, by February 25 "a full and complete report regarding the status of internationally recognized human rights, within the meaning of subsection (A) in countries that receive assistance under this part, and (B) in all other foreign countries which are members of the United Nations and which are not otherwise the subject of a human rights report under this Act." We have also included reports on several countries that do not fall into the categories established by these statutes and that thus are not covered by the congressional requirement.

2-11/FOC FOUNDATIONS OF DEMOCRACY An Electronic Journal of the U.S. Department of State, Vol. 10, No. 2, December 2005

<http://usinfo.state.gov/journals/itdhr/1205/ijde/ijde1205.htm>

People all over the world want to build futures for their families in free and open societies. This aspiration includes the desire to have basic human rights, participate in fair elections, practice one's religion, speak freely on public issues, and be certain that an impartial court system will decide violations of the law. In this journal we focus on several key components of genuine democracies and the experiences of various nations in fashioning the form of democracy that suits their cultures, protects minority populations, and helps all citizens fulfill their aspirations.

2-12/FOC CONSTITUTIONALISM AND EMERGING DEMOCRACIES An Electronic Journal of the U.S. Department of State, Vol. 9, No. 1, March 2004

<http://usinfo.state.gov/journals/itdhr/0304/ijde/ijde0304.htm>

This journal attempts to present the reader with

several perspectives on constitutionalism, key components of a successful constitution, and the experiences of various nations throughout history in crafting constitutions uniquely their own. Among the contributing authors are some of America's leading authorities on constitutional law. The journal includes remarks by a sitting justice of the United States Supreme Court.

FOCUS — Internet Sites

America's Accountability/Anti-Corruption Project (AAA)

<http://www.respondanet.com>

Anti-Corruption Gateway for Europe and Eurasia

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

The Center for Institutional Reform and the Informal Sector (IRIS) at the University of Maryland

<http://www.iris.umd.edu/>

CIVNET/CIVITAS

<http://www.civnet.org>

Committee to Protect Journalists

<http://www.cpj.org>

Democracy Dialogues

<http://www.democracy.gov>

Democracy Center for the Study of Democracy (CSD)

<http://www.democ.uci.edu/democ>

Democracy Research Guide

<http://www.ned.org/research/demresources/intro.html>

First Amendment Center

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

Freedom House

<http://www.freedomhouse.org>

GPO Access: Core Documents of U.S. Democracy

<http://www.gpoaccess.gov/coredocs.html>

The International Association for Religious Freedom

<http://www.iarf.net>

International Federation of Journalists (IFJ)

<http://www.ifj.org>

International Freedom of Expression eXchange (IFEX)

<http://www.ifex.org>

International Journalists' Network (IJNet)

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

International Foundation for Election Systems

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

League of Women Voters

<http://www.lwv.org//AM/Template.cfm?Section=Home>

National Constitution Center

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

Rule of Law Links (U.S. Department of State)

http://usinfo.state.gov/dhr/democracy/rule_of_law/rulelaw_legal.html

National Endowment for Democracy

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

Transparency International

<http://www.transparency.org>

University of Minnesota: Freedom of Religion or Belief

<http://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/edumat/studyguides/religion.html>

USAID: Democracy and Government

http://www.usaid.gov/our_work/democracy_and_governanc

USINFO. Democracy

<http://usinfo.state.gov/dhr/democracy.html>

Virtual Democracy Center

<http://democracy.state.gov/>

World Movement for Democracy

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

World Press Freedom Committee

<http://www.wpfc.org>

INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

2-13/IS

CORRUPTION IN A THIRD WORLD COUNTRY: Why Nigerians Cannot Handle Garbage

By Herbert H. Werlin

World Affairs, Vol. 168, No. 2, Fall 2005, pp. 79-85.

The author takes issue with the U.N. Millennium Project's advocacy for doubling foreign aid for the world's poorest countries. Using a case study of the challenges facing local authorities in the former Nigerian capital of Lagos, Werlin argues that unless donors pressure countries to address endemic corruption, no amount of foreign aid will improve things. According to Werlin, many reform projects in "politically ill" countries suffer from "political inelasticity" (donor's ineffective management of incentives and disincentives) in the face of "secondary corruption" (corrupt actors in an operating environment where they face little or no possibility of punishment). Werlin proposes more effective foreign aid through the introduction of performance-based mechanisms and competitive processes designed to make aid more "motivational" and less "charitable."

2-14/IS

THE EXERCISE OF NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY: The Bush Administration's Approach to Combating Weapons of Mass Destruction Proliferation

By Jofi Joseph

**The Nonproliferation Review, July 2005, Vol. 12,
No. 2, pp. 373-387.**

Skeptics of the Bush administration have castigated the latter's strong aversion to formal international agreements in responding to the threat of the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD),

citing unilateral actions as the default alternative. Yet this critique misses the growing emergence of a conscious framework guiding the administration's actions: an emphasis on the exercise of national sovereignty and the corollary principle of sovereign responsibility. Rejecting the paradigm of arms control as the answer to WMD proliferation, the current administration instead advocates a toolkit of alternative mechanisms based on the full exercise by individual nation states of their domestic authorities and rights under international law, acting in their capacities as responsible citizens of the global community. This paper will examine that philosophical approach and its concrete application through the following policies: the Proliferation Security Initiative; enforcement of national laws and regulations as exemplified by United Nations Security Council Resolution 1540 and the U.S. proposals for consideration by Biological Weapons Convention signatories; and preemptive warfare to disarm the WMD programs of a threatening state.

2-15/IS

EUROPE'S MUSLIM POLITICAL ELITE:

Walking a Tightrope

By Jytte Klausen

**World Policy Journal, Vol. 22, No. 3, Fall 2005,
pp. 62-68.**

The author, professor of comparative politics at Brandeis University, describes the difficulties faced by moderate Muslims in Europe, noting that only after many years of Muslim immigration have European governments been compelled to accept Islam as a European religion. After conducting interviews with three hundred Muslim political and civic leaders in Britain, Denmark, France, Germany, the Netherlands, and Sweden, Klausen writes that most of them are not native-born descendants of earlier migrants, but arrived as young adults to study at Europe's universities, or as political refugees. She notes that Muslims in Europe do not subscribe to the notion that the religious tend to be politically conservative. Klausen believes that easing naturalization requirements would increase immigrant participation in mainstream political organizations. On the issue of integration into European society, Klausen notes that the consensus among those she interviewed was that ties to Islamic countries had to be cut and ways found to educate

imams at European universities, as well as normalizing the legal situation of Islamic centers.

2-16/IS

THE FUTURE OF AFGHANISTAN

By Ali Jalali

Parameters, Vol. 36, No. 1, Spring 2006, pp. 4-19.

The author, professor at the National Defense University and former Afghan interior minister, analyzes the challenges and opportunities facing Afghanistan, focusing on ways to foster the long-term development of governance, security, and economic growth. Listing recent major accomplishments under the 2001 Bonn Accords, he points out that the country is again at a crossroads, with one road leading to peace and prosperity and the other to "the loss of all that has been achieved." He concludes that Afghanistan can become a success story in the region, but only with international security and economic assistance for at least ten more years, and proposes a compact between the international community and the Afghan government to institutionalize an "overarching strategic plan" that would identify and prioritize programs and the resources needed to accomplish them.

2-17/IS*

GREAT EXPECTATIONS

By Paul Pillar

Harvard International Review, Vol. 27, No. 4, Winter 2006, pp. 16-21.

The author, former Deputy Chief of the CIA's Counterterrorist Center and Visiting Professor at the Security Studies Program at Georgetown University, notes that in a poll conducted in June 2005, 65 percent of US citizens said that reforming the intelligence services is the best way to strengthen US security significantly. The author suggests that the public is using the intelligence community as a scapegoat, and that more often than not the intelligence reports are not promoting decisions that Capitol Hill and the administration are making, citing the Iraq War as an example. Pillar believes that the real problem with the intelligence community is the "politicized intelligence," the "cherry-picking" of intelligence reports or the pressure for analysts to devote disproportionate time to politically important topics and derive explanations that policymakers want

to hear. Pillar believes that the solution lies in the hands of the American people, stating that changes can only occur when the public realizes that there are limits to the intelligence community; "intelligence is a service, not a savior."

2-18/IS

INDIA AND PAKISTAN'S UNSTABLE PEACE: Why Nuclear South Asia is Not Like Cold War Europe

By S. Paul Kapur

International Security, Vol. 30, No. 2, Fall 2005, pp. 127-152.

Scholars attribute conventional violence in a nuclear South Asia to a phenomenon known as the "stability/instability paradox." According to this paradox, the risk of nuclear war makes it unlikely that conventional conflict will escalate to the nuclear level, thereby making conventional conflict more likely. Although this phenomenon encouraged U.S.-Soviet violence during the Cold War, it does not explain the dynamics of the ongoing conflict between India and Pakistan. Recent violence has seen Pakistan or its proxies launching limited attacks on Indian territory, and India refusing to retaliate in kind. The stability/instability paradox would not predict such behavior. A low probability of conventional war escalating to the nuclear level would reduce the ability of Pakistan's nuclear weapons to deter an Indian conventional attack. Because Pakistan is conventionally weaker than India, this would discourage Pakistani aggression and encourage robust Indian conventional retaliation against Pakistani provocations. Pakistani boldness and Indian restraint have actually resulted from instability in the strategic environment. A full-scale Indo-Pakistani conventional conflict would create a significant risk of nuclear escalation. This danger enables Pakistan to launch limited attacks on India while deterring all out Indian conventional retaliation and attracting international attention to the two countries' dispute over Kashmir. Unlike in Cold War Europe, in contemporary South Asia nuclear danger facilitates, rather than impedes, conventional conflict.

**2-19/IS
POWER, MORALITY AND FOREIGN
POLICY**

By Owen Harries

Orbis, Vol. 49, No. 4, Fall 2005, pp. 599-612.

Despite the vast amounts of rhetoric one hears in the United States on the role of morality in international politics, the nation lacks a coherent position on the appropriate application of morality to foreign policy. History reflects two prominent and contrasting views on the subject. The first is that morality is irrelevant to national foreign policy; the second applies common principles of individual morality--compassion, generosity, forgiveness, benevolence, and tolerance--to interactions between states. Though elements of each are evident in the Bush administration's foreign policy, the limits on them restrict the efficacy of either. As the application of morality to foreign policy becomes both more necessary and more difficult, prudence and decency--more than self-righteousness or power--should provide the primary inspiration for American foreign policy.

2-20/IS*

**UNCOMMON GROUND: Indivisible Territory
and the Politics of Legitimacy**

By Stacie E. Goddard

International Organization, Vol. 60, No. 1, Winter 2006, pp. 35-68.

In Jerusalem, Ireland, Kosovo, and Kashmir, indivisible territory underlies much of international conflict. The author notes that whether or not territory appears indivisible depends on how actors legitimate their claims to territory during negotiations. She asserts that although actors choose their legitimations strategically, in order to gain a political advantage at the bargaining table, such strategies can have unintended structural consequences. Legitimations can either build ties between coalitions and allow each side to recognize the legitimacy of each other's claims, or else lock actors into bargaining positions where they are unable to recognize the legitimacy of their opponent's demands. The authors believe that when the latter happens, actors come to negotiations with incompatible claims, constructing the territory as indivisible. Goddard applies this legitimization theory to Ulster, arguing this territory's indivisibility was not inevitable, but a product of

actors' legitimation strategies as they battled for support over the issue of Ireland's right to self-rule.

DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS

2-21/DHR

**AFTER THE BUSH DOCTRINE: The Fight for
Republican Foreign Policy**

By Joshua Kurlantzick

New Republic, Vol. 234, No. 5, February 13, 2006.

The author notes that the Republican Party overwhelmingly supported the foreign policy goals of the Bush Administration for the four years following the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks, but perceived problems with the conduct of the war on terror and the Iraq war have caused a split in the party on foreign policy matters. The Bush doctrine, which Kurlantzick describes as relying on unilateral power, preemptive force and a high priority on promoting market-oriented democracies to counter terrorism, remained strong until "failure to find weapons of mass destruction and the rise of a seemingly unexpected insurgency sapped much of its power." Kurlantzick describes the three foreign policy camps and the key players from both the executive and legislative branches who hold these varying views. Despite the growth of these new schools of thought within the Republican Party, the Bush doctrine still has support, Kurlantzick says, but in light of the 2008 presidential elections, "selling the continuation of the Bush Doctrine to a republican base scarred by Iraq and moving toward nationalism might seem a tall order."

2-22/DHR

**DECISION-MAKING TRENDS OF THE
REHNQUIST COURT ERA: Civil Rights and
Civil Liberties**

**By Christopher E. Smith and Thomas R. Hensley
Judicature, Vol. 89, No. 3, November/December
2005, pp. 161-169.**

In this article outlining the legacy of late Supreme Court Chief Justice William Rehnquist, the authors compare the decision-making trends of the Rehnquist court to that of the Burger and Warren courts. The authors argue that despite Rehnquist's conservative orientation, an empirical study of Supreme Court rulings on civil rights and civil liberties demonstrates

that during his tenure as chief justice, the court upheld several major liberal tenets. For example, although the court appears to be more conservative on issues such as the scope of warrant requirements in criminal cases, the court never actually overruled the Fourth Amendment protections from previous, more liberal courts. According to the authors, "The Rehnquist court did not overturn [certain] major liberal precedents...[and] the Rehnquist Court justices recognized Fourth Amendment limitations on warrantless searches especially in regard to a person's private dwelling." The authors use tables and graphs to provide a snapshot of the Warren, Burger and Rehnquist courts' rulings on major issues, as well as an analysis on individual Rehnquist court justices' voting patterns.

2-23/DHR

DEMOCRACY IN THE ROUGH

By Phebe Marr

Current History, Vol. 105, No. 687, January 2006, pp. 27-33.

The author describes the various players in Iraq's new democratic process, and discusses the January 2005 elections, which established a transitional assembly and produced two winners, the United Iraqi Alliance, a coalition of predominantly Shiite parties, and a more cohesive Kurdish party. The election highlighted regional, ethnic and sectarian patterns of voting, which was underscored when Iraqis voted in October on the draft constitution. The December 2005 election for a permanent assembly saw strong participation by the Sunni population, which was largely absent in the January election. The difficult process of forming a government lies ahead for the Iraqis, and it will determine the direction of the country. Marr surmises that the desire for power and control will win out over ideological orientation. Iraq has shifted to the politics of cultural identity; compromises will be difficult and will take time and may also require diplomatic pressure from outside.

2-24/DHR

DEVOUT DEMOCRACIES

By Reuel Marc Gerecht

Weekly Standard, Vol. 11, No. 16, January 2-9, 2006, pp. 29-32.

The author, a fellow at the American Enterprise

Institute, writes that Afghanistan and Iraq are the Muslim world's most important democratic laboratories, and will have a great deal of impact on the Middle East as they wrestle with difficult questions of religion and governance. Americans can take pride in what the U.S. has done to improve life in Afghanistan, says Gerecht; although the country is poor, the economy is reviving, and an aesthetic sense is reappearing in architecture and public surroundings. In the Afghan parliament, representatives of different ethnic groups are conducting public affairs without violence, a major achievement. As in Afghanistan, we should not expect an Iraqi political system to be secular, Gerecht writes; the U.S. erred in supporting Muslim progressives and secular liberals in Iraq, all of whom fared poorly in the recent elections. What is important to recognize, notes Gerecht, is that political changes are now being made by the electorates of both countries. However, he fears that the recent increase in suicide bombings in Afghanistan threatens to distance Western forces and aid workers, who are indispensable to civil order and governance, from the local population.

2-25/DHR

THE DYNAMICS OF POLITICAL CORRUPTION: Re-Examining the Influence of Democracy

By Charles Blake and Christopher Martin

Democratization, Vol. 13, No. 1, February 2006, pp. 1-14.

Political scientists Blake and Martin use the Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) to study democracy's influence on the probability of corruption. The authors argue that there is little to support the prevailing wisdom that democratic regimes hold governing officials more accountable than autocratic ones. They demonstrate that economic and cultural variables are a more predictable check on corruption than the role of democracy. However, the authors make a strong case that it is the consolidation of a "vital democratic process over time that has a robust, negative relationship with corruption." They note that democratic governments in Portugal and Spain have made significant progress in reducing perceived corruption. Other countries undergoing democratization and economic liberalization in recent

years, such as Chile, the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland, show that democracies, sooner or later, are more likely to develop the institutions and norms that tend to limit corruption. Building an enduring democracy alone is not a panacea for controlling corruption, they note, citing Italy as a case in point.

2-26/DHR

NEWS CONSUMPTION AND THE NEW ELECTRONIC MEDIA

By Douglas Ahlers

The Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics, Vol. 11, No. 1, Winter 2006, pp. 29-52.

Recently, the print and television news media have begun to question the future of their industries. From newspaper executives at the *New York Times* who have asked whether there will be a print version of their paper in ten years, to television news executives who openly speculate on whether there will be network nightly news, the stated cause for alarm is the competitive threat of the Internet. This article looks at the hypothesized shift of news consumption from the traditional media to the online news media. The author also examined the advertising markets for the traditional news media and for the online media and found that online advertising is an imperfect substitute for advertisers.

2-27/DHR

POLL POSITIONS

By Frank Newport

American Legion, Vol. 160, No. 3, March 2006, pp. 16-20.

This article summarizes the origin of polling and the usefulness of public opinion polls, especially in the context of political process. The author explains the methodology of polling, from the rationale behind random sampling to the legitimacy and validity of extrapolated results. Polling has become an integral part of the political process in the U.S., providing an essential means for voters to tell elected officials to pay more attention to public opinion, not special interests, and a way for politicians to maintain a dialogue with the public. Newport asserts that "paying attention to the collected wisdom of the people has a higher probability of guiding our society in the right direction in the long term" and the best way to measure that is with scientific polls.

2-28/DHR

THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY

By Irving Louis Horowitz

National Interest, No. 83, Spring 2006, pp. 114-120.

Horowitz laments that even though America has "a zeal for spreading democracy," there is no consensus when it comes to defining the term "democracy". He looks at several views, starting with that of Robert A. Dahl of Yale University, who believes in taking democracy to universal level through legislation and education, rather than limiting to a nationalist stand. James Gibson of Washington University sees achieving democracy in increments, in a slowly developing process. There were others who saw democracy as "distributive justice," and emphasized a socialist approach to establishing foundation for democracy. According to Horowitz, none of these are perfect, however, success lies in balancing the ideals with reality.

ECONOMIC SECURITY

2-29/ES

AGAINST MORE AID: Why Development Assistance Should Not Be Tripled

By Marco Verweij and Dipak Gyawali

Harvard International Review, Vol. 27, No. 4, Winter 2006, pp. 26-30.

The authors address two main arguments against large-scale development. First, many low-income countries are hobbled by corrupt governance and uncompetitive markets which only benefit the rich. Second, donor agencies tend to favor development projects that are overly expensive and not sustainable. These criticisms come from all sides, they write, but now large-scale financial assistance for poor countries has suddenly resurfaced on political agendas. The authors say these plans should be abandoned as they suffer from the same weaknesses as the much-maligned aid efforts of the 1990s. When bureaucracies are obliged to spend massive amounts of money, they do just that, without regard to any economic, social, or environmental consequences. Foreign aid spending has increased over the past

decade, they note, but the lack of good governance in recipient countries makes the aid ineffective. Small amounts of well-targeted development aid to accountable governments will be effective, they say. Despite the poor governance in much of Africa that renders most forms of development assistance ineffective, targeted donor campaigns against HIV/AIDS and other diseases have enjoyed perhaps the most success and show the importance of well-targeted aid. Rather than large-scale aid, the authors recommend economic reforms, such as opening up the markets of rich countries, ousting corrupt leaders, abolishing heavy debt burdens and improving interactions between the state and markets and civil societies.

2-30/ES

AID AND GROWTH: The Policy Challenge

By Raghuram Rajan

Finance and Development, Vol. 42, No. 4, December 2005, pp. 53-55.

<http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/fandd/2005/12/straight.htm>

Rajan, Director of the International Monetary Fund's research department, notes there is general agreement among economists that there is little evidence of a robust unconditional effect of aid on growth. He emphasizes that aid effectiveness studies need to distinguish between causality and correlation when interpreting country studies. Despite extensive country studies, no one has found a "magic bullet" for growth, he writes, but there are clearly some things that seem important such as good governance, sensible macroeconomic management, laws and policies that support a positive business environment, and an economy open to international trade. Rajan recommends rich countries should make policies that meet these requirements an essential condition for aid, but cautions against micromanaging or being too prescriptive.

2-31/ES

BANK HEIST

By Bruce Rich

The Environmental Forum, Vol. 22, No. 5, September/October 2005, pp. 28-35.

Rich, director of International Program at Environmental Defense, says corruption -- both in

international development lending and embedded in the international economy itself -- threatens hopes for poverty alleviation and sustainable development. According to Congressional testimony, crooked contractors and bureaucracies in borrowing nations have stolen over \$100 billion from the World Bank over the past five decades; and, ongoing theft from lending from multilateral development banks may total 20-30 percent, he reports. It's not just corrupt Third World elites, either, he says -- western international banks facilitate corrupt and illegal financial capital flight from poor nations at an estimated \$500-\$600 billion a year. The current anti-corruption efforts may punish a token few, he asserts, but they don't even begin to resolve this interdependent culture of corruption in the international economy.

2-32/ES

CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES:

Working Toward Clean, Abundant, Reliable, and Affordable Energy

By James Fischer and Janine Finnell,

Resource, Vol. 13, No. 1, January/February 2006, pp. 9-10.

The authors say worldwide energy use could grow by more than fifty percent -- with U.S. energy use expected to increase by a third -- in the next two decades. Increased global demand presents challenges to find new ways to increase energy efficiency, decrease carbon dioxide emissions, and replace aging electric grids that are growing increasingly vulnerable to power outages, they write. Technological advances are creating opportunities to transform energy consumption and production through such things as fuel cells, renewable energies, new lighting options, and distributed power networks, they explain. Energy policies can help accelerate these technologies by encouraging research and development, providing market-based incentives and educating consumers, the authors notes.

2-33/ES

FINANCING HOPE: Improving Microfinance

By Noah Hertz-Bunzl

Harvard International Review, Vol. 27, No. 4, Winter 2006, pp. 32-34.

Hertz-Bunzl says microfinance has enjoyed a recent

boom throughout Africa, but poor loan management and lack of critical innovation have limited its reach. Microfinance needs to improve in order to reach its potential to alleviate poverty, he states. For example, microfinance banks must operate in a sustainable manner, which means aligning interest rates with repayment rates to ensure they remain in the black -- and driving both of those rates in the right direction by insisting on collateral and following through by collecting from loan defaulters. Additionally, increased availability and use of banking services, such as credit, money transfers and checking accounts, is essential to encourage savings and increase productivity, he writes. The cash-only, subsistence economy of much of rural Africa is a major obstacle in the fight against poverty, says Hertz-Bunzl, but banks can help by implementing innovative ideas such as integrating village institutions into their operations.

2-34/ES

HOME-GROWN GROWTH: Problems and Solutions to Economic Growth

By Dani Rodrik

Harvard International Review, vol. 27, no. 4, Winter 2006, pp. 74-77.

Rodrik, a professor of international political economy at Harvard University, discusses development problems. He addresses questions such as human rights vs. economic development; the role of trade liberalization in spurring economic growth; the failure of the Washington Consensus; the role of foreign aid in poverty alleviation; and the need for democracy and strong institutions for sustainable successful economies. A lot of development has to do with accountability, giving people a sense of ownership, a stake and a voice in the community -- and that is what democracy is all about, he writes.

2-35/ES

THE IMPACT OF TERRORISM ON FINANCIAL MARKETS

By E. Barry Johnston and Oana Nedelescu

Journal of Financial Crime, Vol. 13, No. 1, 2006, pp. 7-25.

The authors, both with the International Monetary Fund, analyze lessons for effective policy and regulatory responses to protect financial systems in the face of terrorist attacks, using the events in New

York on Sept. 11, 2001, and in Madrid on March 11, 2004, as examples. In the subsequent regulatory responses to protect the financial systems from abuse by terrorists, the authors found diversified, liquid, and sound financial markets that were quite efficient in absorbing the shocks of these terrorist attacks. They noted well-organized crisis management responses were key to the market's ability to continue to function in an effective way. At the international level, a coordinated effort was made to bolster the global payments system, strengthen confidence, and shore up financial markets. Monetary authority from major economies such as Canada, the Euro area, Japan, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom, directly injected large amounts of liquidity and made immediate interest rate cuts in response to the Federal Reserve's actions. Within a short period of time after the New York attacks, a majority of countries stepped up the fight against terrorism in an effort to maintain peace and security and to fight terrorism financing.

2-36/ES

MAKING A WORLD OF DIFFERENCE THROUGH DEVELOPMENT ALLIANCES

By Dan Runde

Public Manager, Vol. 34, No. 4, Winter 2005/2006, pp. 38-41.

Runde, Director of the Office of Global Development Alliances at USAID, says in the last thirty years, U.S. aid has undergone an important shift: more than 80 percent of resources flowing from the U.S. to the developing world now come from sources other than official development assistance (ODA). USAID created the Office of Global Development Alliances (GDA) to manage private-public partnerships designed to ensure coordinated, effective use of aid, regardless of source, he explains. Since its inception in 1999, reports Runde, GDA has increased public-private alliances from seven to 290 -- leveraging more than \$1.1 billion of USAID funds with \$3.7 billion in outside partner contributions, much of this in cash and in-kind goods and services from private companies. He says GDA's success comes with lessons learned, such as: the importance of showcasing success stories; the need to invest in staff training; adaptability is essential to innovation; and, metrics must be established and used to document effectiveness.

2-37/ES

USAID REVISITED

By Raj Kumar

Georgetown Journal of International Affairs, Vol. 7, No. 1, Winter 2006, pp. 51-57.

Kumar, President of the Development Executive Group, says that given the current volume of U.S. foreign aid and its growing importance to national security, two basic things need to happen: unify all aid programs within USAID, and make the USAID administrator a cabinet-level position. As currently configured, he notes, U.S. aid programs suffer from "project proliferation" (many agencies funding many small projects across too many recipient countries), which results in aid fragmentation and reduces both efficiency and effectiveness. Kumar says the USAID administrator needs a seat at the policy table to ensure a strong development voice in foreign policy. Additionally, he explains, Congress needs to stop micromanaging special aid projects through earmarks and allow the experts who manage overall development efforts the flexibility to spend funds where they can best meet policy goals.

GLOBAL ISSUES AND COMMUNICATION

2-38/GIC

ANOTHER WAY TO STOP TERRORISM

By Greg Mortenson

Parade, March 5, 2006, pp. 4-5.

In 1993, the author fell ill on a mountain-climbing expedition on K2, and was nursed back to health by villagers in remote northern Pakistan; deeply grateful, he then devoted more than a decade to building schools in some of the most anti-American regions of Pakistan and Afghanistan. He recently revisited the area after the devastating earthquake that struck Pakistan in the fall of 2005. Though all the schools his organization built survived, thousands of other buildings collapsed, killing tens of thousands. He praises the efforts of the U.S. military in bringing aid, but notes that much more needs to be done, as "our own security depends on it." In a sidebar, adapted from his recent book on his work in Pakistan, *THREE CUPS OF TEA*, Mortenson writes that "we Americans think you have to accomplish everything

quickly ... I had much more to learn from the people I work with than I could ever hope to teach to them."

2-39/GIC*

BE WORRIED. BE VERY WORRIED. EARTH AT THE TIPPING POINT

By Jeffrey Kluger and Others

Time, April 3, 2006, pp. 28//62

In this cover-story special series of articles on global warming and climate change, *TIME* writers and photographers paint the most alarming picture to date of the changes taking place around the world. The authors note that "the debate is over -- global warming is upon us with a vengeance", writing that climatic disruptions are now feeding off one another; scientists, who have been warning about this for decades, now fear that we may have reached a point of no return. The authors explain how the planet has tipped into this crisis so quickly, and what can and is being done to mitigate the effects of global climate change.

2-40/GIC

THE NEXT 30 YEARS

By Joel Garreau and Others

The Wilson Quarterly, Vol. 33, No. 1, Winter 2006, pp. 32-43.

Ten thinkers give their predictions for the next 30 years. Among others, Paglia foresees no resolution over the next 30 years of the stalemate in American culture between religious conservatives and secular humanists. "We are growing up as a global society, and it is time to accept our responsibilities as individuals and nations. If we are to reap the benefits of peace, we will need to invest time and energy to make it happen. The next 30 years may represent a watershed in human affairs, forcing us to come to terms with what we are, where we have come from, and, most important, where we want to go."

2-41/GIC

THE OUTLOOK ON OIL

By Jim Motavalli

E Magazine, Vol. 17, No. 1, January/February 2006, pp. 26-38.

The author notes that the age of cheap oil is over; global demand is soaring, and oil producers are

struggling to keep up. World demand for oil is likely to grow 50 percent by 2025, yet Motavalli notes that some experts believe that global oil production may reach a peak in the near future and begin to decline, due to depletion. A debate is raging on whether the world has already reached an "oil peak" and that development of new oil sources will not keep pace with world energy requirements. Some are concerned that Saudi Arabia has already "peaked", and that projections that rely heavily on future Saudi oil production are unrealistic. While there is still plenty of oil, much of the remaining reserves are in hard-to-reach reservoirs, or are difficult to refine. A number of books and websites have recently emerged to dissect peak oil scenarios. While the timing of the oil peak is still disputed, most analysts agree that too little oil is chasing too much demand and that U.S. dependence on cheap oil has dire consequences for every aspect of the U.S. economy. Finding the political will to address future energy challenges is not likely given the influence of the oil companies in Washington. The article contains four sidebars -- on the future of biodiesels (limited); the development of oil sands in Alberta, Canada; the role of energy conservation; and alternatives such as hydrogen, ethanol and electric vehicles.

2-42/GIC

USING INFORMATION MARKETS TO IMPROVE PUBLIC DECISION MAKING

By Robert W Hahn and Paul C Tetlock
Harvard Journal of Law and Public Policy, Fall 2005, Vol. 29, No. 1, pp. 213-289.

A fundamental problem with cost-benefit analysis of new policies is that it is conducted before they are implemented. When conducting ex ante analysis, it is difficult to predict the future values of key variables that could be affected by a policy. Here, Hann and Tetlock present a new framework for addressing such uncertainty; this framework has the potential to substantially improve public decision making. They argue that decision makers can be more confident in analytical results if these are based more directly on market data.

2-43/SV

THE FRESHMAN

By Chip Brown

New York Times Magazine, February 26, 2006

In 2001, under the sponsorship of a veteran journalist for whom he had worked as a guide and interpreter in Afghanistan, Sayed Rahmatullah Hashemi, then 23 years old, came to the U.S. as a "roving ambassador" for the Taliban, giving speeches around the country to a decidedly mixed reception. In the fall of 2005, with little more than a rudimentary elementary-school-level education in Afghanistan and Pakistan, Rahmatullah was accepted into Yale University in a nondegree program for special students, a culmination of the long-lasting friendship he developed with American reporter Mike Hoover. The author chronicles the extraordinary odyssey of Rahmatullah, born in Afghanistan on the eve of the Soviet invasion. He endured the violence and chaos of the Russian occupation, exile in Pakistan, and the bloody 1990s internecine conflict in Afghanistan; he joined the Taliban, but eventually became disillusioned with them, repulsed by their extreme policies.

2-44/SV

HAS FUTURISM FAILED?

By David Rejeski and Robert L Olson

The Wilson Quarterly, Vol. 30, No. 1, Winter 2006, pp. 14- 21.

Rejeski and Olson discuss futurism. The effort to think systematically about the future began a little more than a half-century ago, and the results so far have not been impressive. Today's futurists hope that more sophisticated methods will allow them to provide a better picture of what tomorrow will bring.

2-45/SV

HOW TO THINK ABOUT TERRORISM

By Richard K Betts

The Wilson Quarterly, Vol. 30, No. 1, Winter 2006, pp. 44-49.

In the aftermath of Sept 11, many Americans have embraced the belief, or at least the hope, that acts of

terror can be prevented in the future. More advanced technologies, better-trained people, and better-organized bureaucracies, it is thought, will shield Americans from danger by revealing the future more clearly than America's intelligence agencies were able to do before the Al Qaeda attacks. Here, Betts suggests steps to anticipate future terrorist attacks.

2-46/SV

PHILANTHROPY IN ACTION: Managing the Workload

By Lee Draper

Foundation News & Commentary, Vol. 47, No. 1, January/February 2006, pp. 12-19.

<http://www.foundationnews.org/CME/article.cfm?ID=3518>

The author, president of Draper Consulting Group, offers a number of tips for grantmakers (as well as for everybody else) who are doing more work with smaller staffs. Based on interviews with leading professionals, this article addresses meeting increased demands, maintaining high standards, seeking technological solutions, balancing work with life outside the office, and focusing on priorities. Sidebars provide strategies for handling major time wasters, e-mail, self-care, and workload. "If [a task] is not relevant and essential to carry out the mission, eliminate it," Draper concludes.

2-47/SV

WOMEN OF INFLUENCE: A Conversation With Cokie Roberts

By Bruce Cole and Cokie Roberts

Humanities, Vol. 27, No. 1, January/February 2006, pp. 6++

<http://www.neh.gov/news/humanities/2006-01/contents.html>

Cole, chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities, talked with news analyst Cokie Roberts about her recent book, *FOUNDING MOTHERS*, and the importance of women in U.S. political history. Comparing the recent advances of women in politics with the role women played in the early days of the Republic, Roberts also discussed the difficulties of locating the original letters and manuscripts that formed the basis of the book. In a related article, "A Life in Letters: The Story of John and Abigail

Adams," Maggie Riechers writes about the influence of Abigail Adams on her husband, President John Adams, throughout their fifty-year marriage.

DOCUMENT ALERT

2-48/DOC

CHALLENGES OF GLOBALIZATION

Department of State, Volume 11, Number 1, February 2006.

<http://usinfo.state.gov/journals/itgic/0206/ijge/ijge0206.htm>

The World Bank defines globalization as "the growing integration of economies and societies around the world." Wikipedia, the Internet encyclopedia, describes globalization as "the changes in societies and the world economy that result from dramatically increased international trade and cultural exchange." The British magazine *The Economist* recently likened globalization to a line from a John Lennon song, "Imagine there's no countries. It isn't hard to do." Clearly, globalization means different things to different people. This issue deals these and other aspects of globalization.

2-49/DOC

THE DIVERSITY OF MUSLIMS IN THE UNITED STATES: Views as Americans

By Qamur-ul-Huda

United States Institute of Peace, February 2006

<http://www.usip.org/pubs/specialreports/sr159.pdf>

With the war against terrorism and an increased attention on the Muslim world, this report analyzes ways Muslims in the United States understand their roles as Americans in combating terrorism and their unique contributions toward conflict prevention and peacemaking. The assimilation and integration of American Muslims has effectively enabled the flourishing of dozens of national and regional organizations to work in areas of civil rights, human rights, interfaith dialogue, education, charity, public diplomacy, political activism, and other religious and secular activities. Despite the post 9/11 scrutiny of the Muslim community, American Muslim groups have devised sophisticated grassroots campaigns on

counter-terrorism and anti-extremist ideology.

2-50/DOC

THE JUDICIARY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

By Kenneth W. Dam

The Brookings Institution, March 2006.

<http://www.brookings.edu/views/papers/200603dam.pdf>

The author contends that no degree of substantive law improvement – even world "best practice" substantive law -- will bring the Rule of Law to a country without effective enforcement. A sound judiciary is key to enforcement. While some technical laws can be enforced by administrative means, a Rule of Law, in the primary economic sense of protecting property and enforcing contracts, requires a judiciary to resolve disputes between private parties. Moreover, protection against the state is made easier where the judiciary can resolve a controversy raised by a private party against the state, based on constitutional provisions or parliamentary legislation. Several studies show some of the positive benefits of strong effective judiciaries, which include: The degree of judicial independence is correlated with economic growth; Better performing courts have been shown to lead to more developed credit markets; A stronger judiciary is associated with more rapid growth of small firms as well as with larger firms in the economy; Within individual countries, the relative competence of provincial and state courts affects comparative economic competitiveness.

2-51/DOC

**MEDIA EMERGING: Electronic Journal
Department of State, Volume 11, Number 2,
March 2006.**

<http://usinfo.state.gov/journals/itgic/0306/ijge/ijge0306.htm>

Innovation in information technology breeds a generation of new, upstart media, and citizens gain the means to disseminate their own ideas and opinions. Experts describe how the trends change the media marketplace with special features on blogging, Internet law enforcement, and an interview with a newspaperman at the forefront of the citizen journalism movement.

2-52/DOC

PREVENTING CATASTROPHIC NUCLEAR TERRORISM

By Charles D. Ferguson

Council On Foreign Relations (CFR), March 2006.

<http://www.cfr.org/content/publications/attachments/NucTerrCSR.pdf>

According to CFR President Richard N. Haass, this report makes clear what is needed to reduce the possibility of nuclear terrorism. It identifies where efforts have fallen short in securing and eliminating nuclear weapons and weapons-usable nuclear materials, and it offers realistic recommendations to plug these gaps in the U.S. and international response. In particular, the report argues that the United States should pursue unilateral initiatives such as a clear declaration of retaliation against regimes aiding nuclear terrorists, multilateral initiatives that include increasing funding to the International Atomic Energy Agency, and bilateral initiatives and dialogue, particularly with Pakistan and Russia. The report, Haass concludes, "is a clear primer on a critical subject and a set of practical proposals that policymakers would be wise to consider carefully."

2-53/DOC

WHO ARE IRAQ'S NEW LEADERS? WHAT DO THEY WANT?

By Phebe Marr

United States Institute of Peace (USIP), March 2006.

<http://www.usip.org/pubs/specialreports/sr160.pdf>

USIP's ongoing examination of Iraq's emerging leadership finds a revolutionary change in the forces shaping the new leaders and their political orientation since the end of the Ba'th regime. This report by Iraq expert Phebe Marr examines the backgrounds of the new leaders and their views on the future of Iraq, via interviews and their published works. The author looks at three groups of leaders to see what they may reveal about change and continuity in the new Iraq.