With this issue of SIPA News we introduce the second installment of our effort to create an informative and entertaining magazine of this publication, once simply our alumni newsletter. In doing so we have incorporated the student magazine, known as Slant, and devoted a special section to student writing. This ensures that our student writers get more exposure and that our readers get more interesting (and eloquent) stories, but it also means that writers and readers alike should understand the ground rules. Within conventional limits of civility, timelines, and grammatical usage, we do not authorize, approve, censor, or otherwise comment on the content of these articles, and we do not accept responsibility for the views expressed there. We inaugurate a column of letters to the editor in this issue as well, however, and hope that some of you will be moved to express any disagreement, puzzlement, or admiration these articles may provoke.

As you will see, this semester got off to a very busy and high profile start, as the University once again hosted a number of world leaders on the occasion of the annual meeting of the UN General Assembly in September. For decades SIPA has been the fortunate beneficiary of our proximity to the United Nations headquarters, and not only because students found academic year internships and faculty served as formal and informal advisers to everyone from the secretary general to the heads of specialized agencies. Each fall we have welcomed visiting heads of state and foreign ministers to the campus, providing an opportunity for them to speak not just to their colleagues at the UN but to students, to their citizens living in the New York area (and there are always many, many of those), and to the American public. This year, the Earth Institute joined us in issuing invitations to the heads of state of several countries in which they have major research projects, while our own Center for International Conflict Resolution organized a day-long conference on Afghanistan, which included not only President Hamid Karzai but many of the international and American policymakers with whom his government routinely interacts. Although all the activity—the motorcades, the Secret Service, the closed streets, the security screening of the audiences, the video feeds for overflow crowds—taxed the resources of Columbists always patient and cordial security staff, the opportunity to see and hear some of the world’s most important figures talk about their hopes for the world was a memorable way to start the academic year.

And it was a memorable year to start: this is the beginning of Columbia’s 250th anniversary, and, as alumni around the world are well aware, the University is celebrating its remarkable history in style. Books and videos, conferences on campus, and alumni club festivities around the world are all planned to mark the occasion. It is a fitting moment for President Lee Bollinger to launch a consideration of the role of Columbia in the new era of globalization in the twenty-first century. We at SIPA are excited by the prospect of these discussions, and you, our readers, will be seeing some of their results in the coming years.
WHY REFORM

THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL?

by Edward C. Luck

Whatever neoconservative columnists and some Washington officials might prefer, there is no evidence of the Security Council’s fading from relevance. Indeed, the actions of the Bush administration suggest the opposite.

T

hese are uncertain times for the UN Security Council. Its preswar debate on the use of force in Iraq was bitter, divisive, and ultimately indecisive. As a result, neither the supporters nor the opponents of the war found much sustenance in the Council’s performance. As in Kosovo four years before, a coalition of countries, including permanent members of the Council, concluded that the inability of a divided Council to decide on the use of force by member states calls for reform; and (3) that its place as the final arbiter of international disputes is meaningless without the Security Council. Moreover, in an era of American economic and military tools of coercion specified or to organize effective and collective enforcement action, whether through economic sanctions or military intervention. Was the centerpiece of the Charter, in other words, to be a political, not institutional, malaise.

The end of the Cold War has left the Security Council with a far smaller range of military options than others, the benefits of Security Council authorization may seem of decreasing value, particularly if one senses that others are seeking to use their numbers in the Council to counterbalance U.S. military superiority with diplomacy maneuvering. The political problems caused by these power asymmetries are exacerbated by asymmetrical perceptions of the urgency of preempting the possible use of weapons of mass destruction by terrorists and of the utility of military means of doing so. Until then the Council provides more effective multilateral alternatives for counterterrorism and for stalling the spread of weapons of mass destruction, it will be in a poor position to reclaim the mantle of leadership in the pursuit of international peace and security. The UN Security Council?

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The end of the Cold War has left the Security Council with a confusing, even paradoxical, set of political legacies. On the one hand, there is a prevalent desire to replace the rigidities of the bipolar system with a more flexible and participatory multipolar one, in which multilateral decision-making processes through instruments like the Security Council play a more central role. On the other hand, the demise of the Soviet Union and a decreasing willingness on the part of America’s European partners to shoulder a substantial military burden have made the world increasingly dependent on the UN to maintain international peace and security. The consent of the Charter, in other words, to be the most relevant of all.

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Isabel Delalez (MIA ‘05, International Finance and Business—France) This is a new day. The UN should succeed in fostering sustainable peace and cooperation between the victors and defeated of World War II! Ironically, the balance of power embed- ded in the design of the Security Council seemed to be an impediment to maintaining international peace and security, developing friendly relations among nations, solving problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and serving as a center for harmonizing the actions of nations. The “peoples” and their human rights have disappeared from the screen, and the governments with their national interests have taken over.

In the Charter, each of these four key objec- tives gets its own principal organ: a Security Council to guarantee the peace, a General Assembly to warm up interstate relations, an Economic and Social Council to ponder develop- ment, and a Secretariat to organize meetings. Where is the corresponding principal organ to reconcile the framers’ emphasis on human rights? This dichotomy inherent in the Charter, ver- youring between the elated language of morality and inclusiveness based on human rights and the legal language of an international treaty meant to pro- tect states’ interests, creates a dilemma for the UN: How can it speak for the “peoples” or to the governments? Who can claim its soul? The millions of people who look up to the organ- ization as the embodiment of a vision that tran- scends national interests, that celebrates our common humanity, and that projects solutions to our common problems based on inclusiveness? Or the numerous governments that see the United Nations as a tool of limited value, convenient at times, often a threat to their sovereignty, or occasionally a timely scapegoat for failed conflict resolution?

The United Nations of the “peoples” has found its voice in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, in the work of voluntarily funded entities such as UNDP (United Nations Development Programme), UNICEF (United Nations Children’s Fund), and IOM (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees), and in the relatively new OIF of the High Commissioner for Human Rights. The United Nations’ ideals shine through in its programs that addresse the needs of people living with HIV/AIDS, children in armed conflicts, victims of violence, or the marginalized. That idealistic voice also can be heard in many of the Secretary General’s reports and speeches, strengthened by the powers of his office under Article 99 of the Charter, which elevates the position beyond that of a CEO: “The Secretary-General may bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security.”

That voice can also be heard in the advocacy and field activities of the many NGOs and civil society institutions that have taken up the chal- lenge of the United Nations’ most lofty creation: the “peoples.”

This dichotomy inherent in the Charter, veer- ing between the elated language of morality and inclusiveness, is central to the ongoing interaction of states, including (but not limited to) an often-schizophrenic realpolitik.

It’s not hard to see why the theme for this semester’s issue is “The Future of the United Nations.” The events of the past year led millions of assorted to question the UN’s credibility, its relevance, and even its prospects for survival—but convinced many others that the organization is more essential now than ever.

What does the “SIPA street” think about the UN’s role after the Iraq war? We put the following questions to a group of students:

By Dirk Salmons

The Battle for the Soul of the United Nations

Jeffrey Maas (MIA ‘04, Policy Analysis—United States) The UN can and should be an effective channel for resolving disputes like the one over Iraq’s alleged WMD (weapons of mass destruction) program? Do you think the U.S. decision to go to war with Iraq without UN authorization will make the organization less effective or relevant in the long term?

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...discredits setup of international organizations—human rights, I can tell you that the countries (and very few of them) are more equal than others. That is a major change. In the long run we have an effective, democratic, and relevant institution to making decisions for the world. That is the UN. It is not the one, it has to be to drastically change its structure to make it effective.

Kalyani Ravishankar (EMPA '04, Economic Policy—United States)

In the recent conflict within the UN, especially within the Security Council over Iraq's alleged WMD program and the recent Balkan crisis, the UN has faced many critiques. It has been criticized for its inability to reach consensus, but cannot force states to reach consensus. Many even call them a "good war" and "human rights" even in the presence of international cooperation and internal strife brought down the United Kingdom, France, and China: the 1991 collapse of the Soviet Union diminished Russia's global power, leading only the United Nations' best prospect is to specialize in supporting the recovery of countries emerging from conflict and in bridging the relief-development gap. If we do this well, it must be seen as impartial and independent, not tied to the priorities of the Security Council. Thus, the United Nations will become a venue for trivial pursuits.

The United Nations' future as a forum for global cooperation and decision-making faces many challenges. Despite its numerous failures and criticisms, the UN remains a vital institution in the world order. Its successes are greater than its failures, and its relevance and effectiveness continue to grow. To maintain its vital role, the UN must continue to be impartial and independent, not tied to the priorities of the Security Council. Thus, the United Nations will become a venue for trivial pursuits.

Nepal Nicanor (PEFM '04 – Nepal)

The very nature of the UN decision-making culture is a frequent channel for anything. In the UN, some countries (and very few of them) are more equal than others. That is a major problem for the UN, and for anybody who wants to adopt the culture of democracy and human rights. Having worked in Africa in raising awareness and strengthening democracy and human rights, I can tell you that the setup of international organizations—UN, World Bank, IMF—did not always work as they were trying to do.

The United Nations' dream have to bail out the rest of the international community, which stands by. The 1992-94 peacekeeping operation in Mozambique, for example, had an annual budget for some $300 million. But the 1994 elections alone cost $58 million (paid by the EU), and voluntary donations were not covered by the mandatory peacekeeping account but by voluntary contributions. In addition, some argue that the United Nations has not been able to prevent the spread of terrorism, which is a major concern. That is a major problem for the UN, and for anybody who wants to adopt the culture of democracy and human rights. Having worked in Africa in raising awareness and strengthening democracy and human rights, I can tell you that the setup of international organizations—UN, World Bank, IMF—did not always work as they were trying to do.

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On the side of dreams are the school’s twenty permanent faculty (not all of them full-time) and its thirty-five graduate students from all over the world, the latter quite comparable to SIPA’s own student population. Faculty, students, and staff are transported daily from their homes in San José and nearby towns and villages, reaching the rural campus thanks to the university’s fleet of buses. The students then pass the day studying how to promote peace, human rights, sustainable development, and ecological improvement, and how to prevent and resolve conflicts. The university now offers six master’s programs in these fields and is planning to create similar programs in Africa and Central Asia. The faculty members include former international civil servants as well as academics. English is the teaching language. The campus is well connected to the Internet, making up for the school’s still embryonic library. Rather than through any major expansion of its resident student population, UPeace plans to expand using distance-learning technologies.

Most students and faculty come because they believe in the importance of the UN’s role in the modern world. They bring to their classes great enthusiasm, eagerness to learn, and the hope of finding a career that will enable them to contribute significantly to positive social change. The Center for Global Education at George Mason University in Virginia has an institutional partnership with UPeace, enabling George Mason and other undergraduate students to spend a semester abroad in Costa Rica and focus on international peace studies.

Funding is among the most basic day-to-day realities challenging the university and its administrators. In addition to travel and living costs, students pay a yearly tuition of $18,000. A few full scholarships are available exclusively to students from developing countries. Although it was set up by the UN, the university receives no funding and little in-kind support from its mother institution. Thus, in the past year, Martin Lees, the rector, has spent more time off campus than on, in order to raise the funds needed to keep the university solvent. He is recent success means that the university is financially secure for the next three years.

Another major challenge to the university is faculty recruitment. Although faculty members are clearly very committed to the institution, one has the sense that most are either at the beginning of their careers or in the twilight of their careers. The resident faculty teach the core courses in each field. In the case of the human rights program, this means four courses: a general course in international law; one on the United Nations and other international organizations; an introduction to human rights, humanitarian law, and refugee law; and a course on international criminal law. These count for 12 credits.

To supplement the core courses, the university invites scholars from other parts of the world to offer short courses, typically two weeks in length. Columbia faculty members Peter Danchin (SIPA) and Joseph Human (SSAS), for example, have both taught these specialized short courses, one on the modern challenges to the international human rights system and the other on religion and human rights. The human rights program is linked with a number of human rights programs in European, African, and Asian universities that also supply visiting professors to teach other subjects. The students like the sense of being in contact with issues across the world through these visiting faculty. To encourage in-depth study and provide the opportunity to examine the interface between different courses, as well as to ensure the 10 additional credits needed for their degree, students are required to prepare a final thesis.

On the level of day-to-day reality, I had the feeling that the university is still a forgotten stepchild of the UN, although Secretary-General Kofi Annan strongly supports the university, agreeing to become its honorary president and visiting the campus last year. To me, a visitor, the weakness of this relationship seemed like the saddest aspect of the university, an example of its strength and its vulnerability. UPeace offers the UN its own think tank, an offshoot of the UN’s Specialized Agencies, where scholars young and old can meet and interact, and where scholars because they are most able to adapt to the university’s location. They have yet to form a community of intellectuals with something to say to the UN and the world.

The university can and must function in a more effective way. Peace, the university’s primary field of scholarly concern, is of major importance to the UN and the world. Peace research and teaching are being carried out elsewhere in the world, but UPeace offers the UN its own think tank. The University for Peace is a vast system with thousands of employees working on the issues that make up the curriculum at UPeace. Surely it would be possible and beneficial for the UN (United Nations Development Programme, UNICEF, UNIFLAP, Children’s Fund), and many other UN agencies, especially the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, to send, or even require, one of their experts to teach for six months each year at UPeace in Costa Rica. These experts could not only teach the young students but, as in a sabbatical, could revitalize their own intellectual tools by teaching, reading, and writing far from the daily pressures of their professional lives. In turn, UPeace students ought to be offered at least a three-month internship with UN agencies after graduation. Even if they were not employed later on by the UN, they would become natural ambassadors for the UN in their professional lives. Without such interactions with the UN, I fear that the university will lack the appeal necessary for long-term fund-raising and stability. With closer linkages, though, the university could provide the UN with modest but sustained scholarly and youthful inputs.

J. Paul Martin is executive director of the Center for the Study of Human Rights at Columbia University.
**WORLD LEADERS AT COLUMBIA**

During the United Nations General Assembly this past September, an unprecedented number of world leaders visited Columbia University and spoke at SIPA.

President Hamid Karzai (center) with (from left) Sen. George Mitchell, Dean Lisa Anderson, Columbia University President John Agyekum Kufuor following a speech to a Columbia audience.

Dean Anderson presents the “Distinguished Service Award” to Former Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs Antonio Zenga.

President Bollinger and Earth Institute Director Jeffrey Sachs flank Ghanaian President Bollinger and Earth Institute of Latin American Studies Director Andrea Bartoli.

Afghan President Hamid Karzai (center) with (from left) Sen. George Mitchell, Dean Lisa Anderson, Columbia University President John Agyekum Kufuor following his speech in Low Library.

President Bollinger and Dean Anderson (center) pose with a delegation of Southeastern European leaders who met for a forum at Columbia.

President Bollinger greets Russian President Vladimir Putin before Putin’s speech to a Columbia audience.

President Karzai Gives Keynote Address at Afghanistan Conference

By Rachel Martin

The world came to SIPA this fall and so did its security guards and its security guards’ security guards. For more than a week, there were special metal detectors in the hallways, large well-dressed men with cropped hair and earphones, lurking in corners, and the occasional bomb-sniffing hound making his way around the fishbowl. Although security is tight whenever high-ranking leaders visit the school, there was no doubt that most of the security precautions this year were for one man—the interim president of Afghanistan, Hamed Karzai. President Karzai was the keynote speaker at the conference, “Reconstructing Afghanistan: Challenges and Opportunities” (see sidebar), hosted by Senator George Mitchell, Senior Fellow, Center on International Cooperation, New York University.

Dr. M. Ismail Haqqi, a senior government official, told the audience that Afghanistan’s problem of security, education, health care, and the opium business, among other things, was “undeveloped.” He also noted that the road to development and democracy in Afghanistan would require patience, vigilance, and international support.

President Karzai was quick to point out the positive growth in Afghanistan, like the new currency system and the agricultural surpluses. However, when he was asked to address more controversial topics like journalistic freedoms and women’s rights, he reiterated that the road to development and democracy in Afghanistan would require patience, vigilance, and international support.

“Afghanistan will need many years to recover from all its ills. Afghanistan has begun a good start in the economic recovery, although it will take many years in order to be able to stand on its own feet, to feed itself, to defend itself, to educate itself, and until we reach that time, we will need the assistance of the world community—from governments to universities.”

Hamed Karzai was elected by the Loya Jirga, or Grand National Council of Afghanistan, to lead the transitional government in Afghanistan immediately after the fall of the Taliban. Karzai is now on the campaign trail, trying to bolster support to win the elections scheduled to take place in Afghanistan in June 2004. At the same time, he’s trying to raise more money and manpower from the international community to address Afghanistan’s most serious problems: security, education, health care, shutting down the opium business, and building up sustainable trade exports.

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Ukrainian independence was not the climax of its history. It was not a goal in itself, but an instrument to fulfill the aspirations of its country—the highest calling to which any politician may aspire. He therefore accepted the award not only in his own name, but in that of independent Ukraine, before offering an analysis of the challenges facing that state following the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991.

"Ukrainian independence was not the climax of its history. It was not an end goal in itself, but a means to an end that was to be realized in the future for the country’s material and moral well-being."

Zlenko’s analysis of the situation in Ukraine today is based on a comprehensive understanding of the political, social, and economic challenges facing the country. He acknowledges the progress made since independence, but also highlights the obstacles that remain, such as corruption, poverty, and regional disparities.

Zlenko believes that the Ukrainian people have a strong sense of identity, but that they also have a strong desire for freedom and democracy. He emphasizes the importance of education, which is seen as a key to building a better future for the country.

Zlenko’s acceptance of the SIPA Award is a recognition of his efforts to promote Ukraine’s interests on the international stage. He highlights the importance of maintaining close ties with Europe, especially through the Association Agreement with the EU, which he believes is essential for Ukraine’s economic and political development.

Zlenko stresses the need for Ukraine to continue to work towards the goal of European integration, which he sees as a way to promote stability and prosperity in the region. He also emphasizes the importance of human rights and democracy, which he believes are essential for the well-being of the Ukrainian people.

Zlenko’s acceptance speech is a powerful call to action, urging the Ukrainian people to work together to overcome the challenges that face their country. He believes that through hard work and perseverance, Ukraine can achieve a brighter future.

"The SIPA Award is a recognition of the progress made since independence, but also highlights the obstacles that remain, such as corruption, poverty, and regional disparities."

By Marisa Robertson-Textor

The "Distinguished Statesman Award" has not been given out very often by SIPA, and only once before to a Ukrainian statesman, namely, President Leonid Kuchma. On September 25, Dean Anderson presented the award to former Mr. Zlenko’s "personal contribution to a Ukrainian statesman, namely, "is the highest honor that SIPA and only once before to a Ukrainian statesman, namely, President Leonid Kuchma." The "Distinguished Statesman Award" has not been given out very often by SIPA, and only once before to a Ukrainian statesman, namely, President Leonid Kuchma. On September 25, Dean Anderson presented the award to former Mr. Zlenko’s "personal contribution to a Ukrainian statesman, namely, "is the highest honor that SIPA and only once before to a Ukrainian statesman, namely, President Leonid Kuchma." The "Distinguished Statesman Award" has not been given out very often by SIPA, and only once before to a Ukrainian statesman, namely, President Leonid Kuchma. On September 25, Dean Anderson presented the award to former Mr. Zlenko’s "personal contribution to a Ukrainian statesman, namely, "is the highest honor that SIPA and only once before to a Ukrainian statesman, namely, President Leonid Kuchma."
President of Ghana Discusses National Economy
By Hamdiya Ismaila

As a Ghanaian, I was honored to hear President John Agyekum Kufuor speak on “Current Reforms in Ghana” at Columbia. He was in the country to attend the opening session of the UN General Assembly and spoke in the Low Rotunda on September 25.

He started by discussing some critical issues in West African stability, in particular the ongoing war in Liberia and the political and economic progress since he took office in January 2001. He reiterated optimism that the country could achieve mid-term stability by the next century.

The president outlined some of the problems encountered by his new administration: deteriorating terms of trade, the falling price of the country’s main export commodities (cocoa and gold), and the rise in oil prices, the country’s main import commodity. He said these two developments left Ghana in a critical situation, not only in terms of external resources but also with respect to the country’s international reserves in a major crisis.

On the domestic front, inflation rose to 42 percent, while the borrowing rate in banks hovered around 50 percent. The excessive borrowing of the government in the domestic market, coupled with all the above, also worsened the standard of living. He said his administration’s first decision was to join the World Bank’s Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) initiative in order to finance the government to gain a foothold.

His government is focusing on five priority areas (1) rehabilitation of the infrastructure (ICT policy); (2) modernization of agriculture based on improved rural development (to diversify agriculture and add value through processing); (3) enhancement of the provision of social services such as education and health delivery (education and health policies and AIDS prevention); (4) promotion of good governance (public sector reforms, decentralization, and civil society participation); and (5) promotion of the private sector as an engine of economic growth (establishment of a special ministry for private sector development, entrepreneurial skill training, access to credit and markets).

President Kufuor indicated that he wanted to address the issues more vigorously than any of his predecessors. He focused on the need to widen their horizons beyond the highly politicized Cold War legacies of the first two decades. The United States had been particular to my country, said the president. He acknowledged that Iranians were certainly relieved by this step. The president suggested that the United States was once again retreatning from Afghanistan too soon, leaving the important task of reconstruction unfinished.

The foreign minister was joined at the podium by Gary Sirk, executive director of SIPA’s Middle East Institute, who asked the first question following Kharrazi’s speech. Sick professor cited that the U.S. pursuit of the war was unjust and had helped cause the current postwar disorder.

In President Bollinger’s words, it was a “momentous encounter.” Certainly it was a dramatic one. On September 25, under the hawk-eyed gaze of rooftop snipers, select members of the Columbia community, including many SIPA faculty and students, filed slowly into Low Rotunda to hear President Vladimir Putin of Russia. Putin, who asked the president whether he considered freedom of speech and press in Russia to be in fact broader and well, that the United States had not historically possessed freedom of the press, and that perhaps they should not today. He illustrated this claim by describing the behavior of journalists during the Nord-Ost crisis of October 2002, when a band of Chechen freedom fighters took the audience of a Moscow theater hostage for several days. Putin accused some journalists of threatening the security services against the armed insurrection. He also claimed that the Russian press is not free, adding that efforts to make it so are being hindered by some officials who benefit from a semi-controlled press.

Putin said that freedom of speech, as initially enshrined in the Russian constitution, is an absolute right and that the state has no right to interfere with it. The president emphasized that these principles are enshrined in the constitution and that any government that interferes with them would be sanctioned. He also pointed out that the Russian press is not free, adding that efforts to make it so are being hindered by some officials who benefit from a semi-controlled press.

He argued that the pursuit of freedom is an absolute right and that the state has no right to interfere with it. The president emphasized that these principles are enshrined in the constitution and that any government that interferes with them would be sanctioned. He also pointed out that the Russian press is not free, adding that efforts to make it so are being hindered by some officials who benefit from a semi-controlled press.

Ghana’s foreign policy of good neighborhood has contributed to what peace these countries know.

In response to Barnard Political Science Professor Carol Capone, MIA ’01, the president addressed the question of free speech in Russia. He argued that the pursuit of freedom is an absolute right and that the state has no right to interfere with it. The president emphasized that these principles are enshrined in the constitution and that any government that interferes with them would be sanctioned. He also pointed out that the Russian press is not free, adding that efforts to make it so are being hindered by some officials who benefit from a semi-controlled press.

The Ghanaian foreign policy of good neighborhood has contributed to what peace these countries know.

In his address to the Columbia audience, Kufuor made it clear that he considered freedom of the press to be a vital ingredient to a healthy democracy. He argued that the pursuit of freedom is an absolute right and that the state has no right to interfere with it. The president emphasized that these principles are enshrined in the constitution and that any government that interferes with them would be sanctioned. He also pointed out that the Russian press is not free, adding that efforts to make it so are being hindered by some officials who benefit from a semi-controlled press.

In his address to the Columbia audience, Kufuor made it clear that he considered freedom of the press to be a vital ingredient to a healthy democracy. He argued that the pursuit of freedom is an absolute right and that the state has no right to interfere with it. The president emphasized that these principles are enshrined in the constitution and that any government that interferes with them would be sanctioned. He also pointed out that the Russian press is not free, adding that efforts to make it so are being hindered by some officials who benefit from a semi-controlled press.

The Ghanaian foreign policy of good neighborhood has contributed to what peace these countries know.

If you are interested in providing a response to this question or if you would like to discuss this further, please feel free to contact me at my email address.
I’m careening through tight curves and heavy traffic on a poorly paved street in Rio de Janeiro on a motorcycle at such a fast clip, I’m worried I’ll be returning to America in a body bag instead of a coach-class airline seat. The “motor-taxi” driver doesn’t have an extra helmet. As we make a steady ascent through the broken asphalt, winding through hairpin turns, we swerve mere inches from cars and dart so close to the lumbering buses, I choke on their dry, acrid exhaust fumes. By Celeste Tarricone
When we finally make it to the top of the moun- tainous neighborhood, and I catch my breath, the breathtaking ride becomes worth it. Below is a gor- geous vista of the vanilla-colored beaches, churn- ing ocean, and jagged, mist-encrusted mountains that edge the landscape of Rio, earning it the title of Brazil’s Cidade Maravilhosa, or Marvelous City. I snap pictures and marvel at the clash of urban and natural beauty.

Then the lovely images vanish from my mind as I turn around and face a sprawling mass of dilapi- dated buildings spilling down the other side of the peak, with trails of garbage snaking through them. Luis, our tour guide, instructs our small group to stop taking pictures because we’re fifty paces from a drug dealer, who eyes us warily as he fingers the crackling walkie-talkie slung around his neck.

The fabulous view isn’t the centerpiece of this tourist jaunt. We’re on a favela tour, a trip through one of Rio’s slums, where the main attraction is poverty.

Favelas, as they’re called in Portuguese, began cropping up on the outskirts of Rio about half a century ago, as migrants from Brazil’s poor interi- or region moved northeast. Flooded the city in search of work and a better life. Unable to afford to live in the city’s established neighborhoods, they literally leveled from the hills, building precarious houses from a hodge-podge of construction materials in the uninhabited mountains that rimmed the resi- dential areas.

Because of their location, favela residents have some of the best views in the city—better than the beaches, bars, nightclubs, and beautiful views.

“They’re part of Brazilian society, and you don’t get to see that if you go just to the top of the Christ statue and the Sugar Loaf Mountain,” he said, referring to two of the city’s most popular tourist attractions.

The response was far greater than Armstrong, or most people working in tourism in Rio, would have predicted. Rotor’s city tourism authority, says favela tours are among the most popular tourist activities and one of the fastest growing tourism sectors, although the agency does not keep exact data on favela tours’ development.

Now, a bevy of tour guides besides Armstrong take small groups a day on roughly two- hour trips that feature what are basically ordinary sights, such as houses, local restaurants, butcher shops, and a few bars—devoid of tourists, and hence of the noise and commotion that usually accompany tours.

The current reality is, most of the tour guides don’t put money back into the community. Armstrong, whose tours include both Rocinha and a smaller favela named Vila Lagoas, has started a community cen- ter for children in the latter, funded by money he makes from the tours, and is developing a project in the former. Other tour guides may pay individual home- or business owners a sort of honorarium to allow visitors to enter their domains as part of the “going native” experience, but they contribute lit- tle else to the neighborhood.

The participants, mostly liberal, well-inten- tioned tourists who feel sickened by these favelas, seem to enjoy the idea of crossing socioeconomic lines, and a desire to assure guilt. The reaction of so many of them was, “We’re not so bad.” And, “Isn’t it amazing the way poor people can survive? Most of them don’t get to see that if you go just to the top of the Christ statue and the Sugar Loaf Mountain,” he said, referring to two of the city’s most popular tourist attractions.

The tour guide Luis with two boys who have just gotten out of school for the day. Right: Aerial view of Rocinha Favela, a large slum on the hills behind Copacabana, in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.
We’re sitting in on an important meeting. Afghan journalists from all the major media outlets are here: the reporters for the State broadcaster, Radio Television Afghanistan, along with the local stringers for international news outlets like the BBC and Voice of America and for the local newspaper—about 20 local Jalalabad reporters altogether. They are all young men, dressed in the traditional garb of the provinces: long pajama-type shirts over loose pants. Even though mandatory facial hair was eliminated from Afghan society along with the Taliban, nearly all the men have beards, as is typical outside Kabul. The reporters squeeze in next to one another on the worn velvet couches that line the perimeter of the hot and sticky administrative office. I take a seat with my Afghan colleague in the corner and self-consciously adjust the scarf covering my head. We all sip our tea, wipe the sweat from our foreheads, and wait for the meeting to begin.
Afghan radio personalities Jamila Restin (left) and Farida Helleh read the news on the “Good Morning Afghanistan” program in Kabul. The hour-long radio show, a mixture of news, interviews, and feature packages, differs from traditional programs that focus on government propaganda and Islamic teachings.

The reporters have been gathered here at the Bureau of Information in the eastern city of Jalalabad to discuss a recent editorial in a Kabul newspaper, which accused reporters in the provinces of breaching journalistic ethics. The editorial claimed that journalists in Jalalabad and Kandahar take bribes from government officials and maintain inappropriate personal relationships with senior military officers, compromising the news they write and broadcast.

After discussing the article and its implications for half an hour or so, the self-proclaimed leader of the group offers a draft letter, challenging the government to come up with concrete examples of journalistic corruption. The group agrees to send the response, and each man signs his name as they pass the handwritten letter around the room. The young men are visibly upset by the accusations; they were on about how their reputations are being undermined and their honor as journalists is being debased.

Although he admits that it is much easier to proclaim rights than it is to guarantee them, he says, “I will take a stronger central government to ensure that freedom of the press is adequately protected. People can go and threaten journalists: ‘You’re a government position, people, outside the government. But considering the condition of Afghanistan and the years of anarchy there, the violations so far of the freedom of the press have been negligible. If you ask me if I am happy with the free press today and with the protection of the free press today – yes, I am happy. I am not for helping pave the way for the country’s first independent daily radio news program, produced solely by local journalists, as well as the first private commercial radio station, which hit the airwaves last spring. Although he admits there have been some problems with warlords in the province, journalist Mubarez says his freedom of speech is central to the country’s new draft constitution. “The freedom of press is the guarantee of the right of the people,” he says. “This freedom will guarantee the right of all the people of Afghanistan for all the sons and daughters of Afghanistan.”

On a recent visit to Columbia, President Hamid Karzai echoed much of the same rhetoric. “We have the right of the people,” he says. “This right has been victimized for challenging such constituents on the press. A report released by Human Rights Watch in June 2003 cites numerous instances in which journalists around the country have been harassed, arrested, and threatened with death by politicians, police officers, and army officials.

Many of these problems are illustrated vividly in Jalalabad, where journalists like Kholstid Halieb struggle with the notion of balanced, accurate, and authentic journalism, and with the political and economic realities that constrain it. Halieb has been a reporter and news editor for the state radio station in Jalalabad for more than 20 years. Sitting on a white plastic lawn chair in his office, he’s surrounded by the top of two warm cans of Coca-Cola before handing one each to Barry and me. We have just returned from the reporters’ meeting across town, and we are anxious to ask this seasoned Afghan journalist what he thinks about the country’s fragile free press.

“We are trapped,” he says with sad, knowing eyes. “I know what a free press looks like, and Afghanistan is a long way away from that.” He recounts the story of a military commander who showed up at his newsroom, demanding that the station rebroadcast what they had just aired that morning. “Would a commander order the station to rebroadcast something three times over the course of the day? When the editor refused, the commander threatened the entire news staff and even told jokes. !" Haleb, the managing director of Jalalabad Radio and Television, struggled with the notion of balanced, accurate, and authentic journalism, and with the political and economic realities that constrain it. But considering the condition of Afghanistan and the years of anarchy there, the violations so far of the freedom of the press have been negligible. If you ask me if I am happy with the free press today and with the protection of the free press today – yes, I am happy. I am not free press today and with the protection of the free press today – yes, I am happy. I am not

The day is coming to a close for the 60-year-old reporter. It’s almost eight o’clock: time for him to begin the three-hour drive home to his village where his wife, children, and grandchildren wait for him to eat dinner. Before he leaves, he asks us if we have any other questions. Barry and I are supposed to conduct a training session the next day for his reporters, and we’re feeling apprehensive. After our conversations with Halieb and other reporters earlier in the day about ethics and the constraints on Afghan journalists, we’re both beginning to feel a quiet wave of worry wash over us—a quality neither of us wants to admit. We ask Haleb if he thinks it’s worth while to talk about things like balance and bias. Should we stick to less controversial topics, like how to handle a microphone or how to use sound effects? Haleb leans forward in the white plastic chair, removes his black-tinted glasses, and smiles. “A little two years ago, even talking about the idea of a free press could land you in a Taliban jail,” he says. “Things are slowly changing here, and we must push that change forward. It is never good to be kept in the dark, to be kept blind. We must always learn more, and then when the window opens and the opportuni ties come— we will be ready.”
The Chechen Dilemma

By Marisa Robertson-Textor

It was ten years ago this June that I first set foot on Russian soil. Over the past decade, I have sung in a Siberian karaoke bar to a standing ovation, shepherded a former U.S. senator around the Kremlin, and taught English to the mentally ill. With each new experience, I sought to steep myself a little further in the culture of what would eventually become my second homeland.

But until this past summer there was one crucial aspect of life in post-Soviet Russia that I avoided like the plague: the ongoing military conflict in Chechnya.

In the early days, this was easy enough to do. From the moment Chechnya declared its independence from the newly founded Russian Federation in 1991, the conflict has cast a pall over the entire country. That said, at first it was just one of many political, social, and economic upheavals wrought by the collapse of the Soviet Union. With few exceptions, those not directly affected by the conflict were able to ignore it. As casualties mounted, this became more difficult. And yet while Chechnya has been an integral part of the new Russian Zeitgeist, over a decade later it remains one of the least-analyzed issues of the post-Soviet transition.

The dilemma Chechnya represents—to its own population, the Russian Federation, and the international community—is not a simple one. It is not simple, first of all, because Russia—a former empire encompassing 89 provinces, 11 time zones, and scores of minority languages and ethnic groups—is a far from simple place. In Russia, as anyone who has ever spent an evening sitting around a kitchen table there will tell you, every statement can be refuted; every argument has a counterargument. Depending on whom you talk to, the source of the conflict in Chechnya is Islamic fundamentalism, Russian imperialism, Chechen militarism, or ancient ethnic hatreds. In fact, it is a combination of all of the above. Until one actually takes the plunge, working to resolve the Chechen conflict seems so complex—and hopeless—that the best response seems to be none at all.

The roots of the current military conflict run deep. In 1859, following decades of fighting, the region...
known today as Chechnya was annexed to Tsarist Russia. Following the October Revolution of 1917, Bolsheviks gained and lost the territory several times before eventually securing it as part of the new Soviet state. Following the German invasion of Southern Russia in 1943, the entire Chechen population, together with a handful of other ethnic groups designated as “enemies of the people,” was deported to Central Asia as part of Stalin’s campaign to discourage Nazi collaboration. It is estimated that half the Chechen population perished during the deportation. Chechens only began to be repatriated to the North Caucasus in 1956.

Just prior to the dissolution of the Soviet Union in December 1991, Chechnya declared its independence under the leadership of Soviet military hero Dzhokhar Dudayev. In December 1994, then-President Boris Yeltsin ordered a military intervention into the region to reestablish control over what had quickly become a de facto independent state. Despite a cease-fire in July 1995, fighting between the Russian Federation and the Chechen Republic of Ichkeria continued until the signing of a peace treaty in August 1996.

The Chechen conflict has reached a stage of sanctions that form the basis of the Chechnya Justice Project’s work. One explanation for this phenomenon is fatigue, simple and perfect: after almost a decade of warfare, those Russians not directly implicated simply lack the energy to care about a conflict that wastes and wastes but never seems to end. This attitude was brought home to me over the course of the summer. With a few notable exceptions, my Moscow friends listened patiently to stories about my work but remained unmoved by the ongoing abuses against Chechen civilians and unconvinced that such abuses required legal redress.

Simple and logical as this plan sounds, many experts on the conflict are skeptical as to whether the Russian government possesses the political will to implement it. Aaron Rhodes, executive director of the Foundation for Human Rights, considers the constitutional referendum held in Chechnya this past spring—which President Putin referred to in his September 25 speech as a “great success”—as “one of the most corrupt, illegal, Patronymic village-type frauds that has taken place in the entire post-Soviet period.”

Russia on Chechnya,” says Maureen Greenwood, UN Special Rapporteur on Extrajudicial, Summary, and Arbitrary Executions. “Yet it is not clear how much of this will be seen as credible, given the general climate of violence and intimidation in the region and the withdrawal of all visible competitors in the area. Unfortunately, this pattern looks to continue. On October 5, Chechnya held republican presidential elections, with the Kremlin’s candidate, Akhmad Kadyrov, sweeping an estimated 80 percent of the vote—a figure many experts find less than credible, given the general climate of violence and intimidation in the region and the withdrawal of all visible competitors in the area. Dismal as the current outlook is, it remains my sincere hope that the Chechen and Russian civilian populations—especially with international leaders, institutions, and activists—may yet exert pressure on the Russian authorities to bring the current cycle of violence to a halt. During his September 25 speech at Columbia University, President Vladimir Putin referred obliquely to the Chechen conflict as a “serious domestic political problem.” In the president’s words, normal life in the region is in the process of being restored. Once a proper government infrastructure is in place, Putin said, the region will enjoy a measure of autonomy from the federal government.

Indeed, the Conflict in Chechnya is Islamic fundamentalism, Russian imperialism, Chechen militiamen, or ancient ethnic hatreds. In fact, it is a combination of all of the above.

To call the Chechnya Justice Project a growth industry is no exaggeration. It began in the summer of 2001, after a series of appeals to the European Court of Human Rights. The Chechnya Justice Project—a joint Dutch-Russian organization staffed largely by Russian citizens—was born.

During the period of January 2000–November 2002 alone, the Office of the Special Representative of the President of the Russian Federation on Human Rights and Freedoms in the Chechen Republic received 1,568 appeals regarding kidnappings and another 1,018 appeals regarding other crimes. The overwhelming majority of these appeals cited the Russian federal forces as the perpetrators.

One of the more curious aspects of the conflict is its widespread ignorance within Russia of the atrocities that form the basis of the Chechnya Justice Project's work. One explanation for this phenomenon is fatigue, simple and perfect: after almost a decade of warfare, those Russians not directly implicated simply lack the energy to care about a conflict that wastes and wastes but never seems to end. This attitude was brought home to me over the course of the summer. With a few notable exceptions, my Moscow friends listened patiently to stories about my work but remained unmoved by the ongoing abuses against Chechen civilians and unconvinced that such abuses required legal redress.

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THE AMAZON SCHOOL:

PROMOTING HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE ENVIRONMENT

By Ama Marston

The man in the feathered headdress seems slightly out of place standing before the group of students in an institutional-looking classroom. The bright yellow and red macaw feathers draw attention to his dark angular features and identify him as a Shuar leader. He has journeyed, like the other participants, from deep in the jungle to participate in the Amazon School, a three-month program designed to teach community leaders from the Amazon Basin about human rights and environmental issues. This training is one of the few human rights based approaches to examining the destruction caused by extractive industries, particularly transnational oil companies.

“The dream of the school is to form an extended community of indigenous people and the environmental movement in the North and the South that together can promote change,” says Paulina Garzon, co-founder of the Amazon School and of the Center for Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (CDES).

Huaorani Indians protest in front of the Superior Court in the Amazonian town of Lago Agrio at the start of a landmark trial, where indigenous called peoples are seeking to force ChevronTexaco to clean up the environmental contamination left behind from Texaco’s oil drilling operations in the Ecuadorean Amazon.
The school was founded, following decades of environmental abuse by Texaco, the leading oil company in Ecuador, to address the increasing violation of indigenous and peasant communities' basic rights both in Ecuador and throughout the Amazon Basin. "Texaco has inadvertently been the number one recruiter for the pro-human rights and anti-oil movement in the Amazon region," says Kenny Bruno, cofounder of the school and program director for EarthRights International, the U.S.-based NGO that is responsible for the school, along with CDES. "Those who have seen the abusive practices of the company are so appalled that they have been driven to make sure it doesn't happen again."

Between 1972 and 1990, Texaco had free rein to open new territory in the Ecuadorian Amazon, invading indigenous communities' lands. During this time, the company discharged 4.3 million gallons of toxic waste daily into the environment. People from the jungle arrived in trucks, boats, and even high levels of carcinogens in the water supplies as a result, causing elevated rates of cancer and other illnesses in the 30,000 people living closest to Texaco's operations. The complaints against the company, which have now been conglom- erated into an international court case, are indicative of the impact of the oil industry in the Amazon and embody much of what the students at the school are either confronting in their own communities or are dreadfully working to avoid.

This year's class is the largest and most diverse since the school began in 2000, representing nine different indigenous groups from five coun-
tries in the Amazon Basin—Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Venezuela, and Colombia. The students have come on foot, in canoes, or bush-planes, sometimes taking buses and planes to reach the school, which is on the outskirts of the Ecuadorian capital of Quito. Although they share the Amazon Basin as a common home, the students have unique cultural identities, different languages, and varying levels of leadership experience. Diversity provides the students with opportunities to learn from one another and create a network of support within the Amazon. "We came to learn from the other students," says Arturo Rotarbaria, director of the Association of the U'wa (Asouwa) in Colombia. "I hope we will find solidarity and be able to work together, because the problems in Colombia are the same as here in Ecuador and much of Latin America."

While each student has his or her own experience to share, Arturo's presence is particularly important because of the U'wa community's vic- tory against the California-based oil company, O.C. (Oxy). According to Rotarbaria, the extremity of the situation quickly drew interna-
tional attention. By May 2002, the project became such a public relations nightmare that Oxy was forced to withdraw. This victory has been an important one not only for the U'wa communities, but also for the entire indigenous movement in the Amazon, par-
ticularly for groups currently in the earlier stages of resistance to the multinational corporations.

For the past five years a consortium of Chevron/Texaco (USA) and CCG (Argentina) has attempted to begin oil exploration in block 23, a concession granted by the Ecuadorian gov-
ernment, which is mostly comprised of the com-

munity of Sarayacu's ancestral land. Despite the community's rejection of the project, the compan-
y has made repeated attempts to bribe leaders in an effort to divide the community. Women have played a particularly important role in the resist-
ance, organizing the community and confronting the armed forces with peaceful protests. Nonetheless, company and government repres-

A MARATHON A DAY: AN IRANIAN’S QUEST BECOMES SOURCE OF GLOBAL INSPIRATION

By Ladane Nasseri

“New York. My dream!” gasps Reza Baluchi, overwhelmed by emotion, to one of his numerous supporters on the cell phone. “I made it! I made it!” he says, his voice shaking as he starts sobbing.

It’s September 11, 2003, and the last day of a seven-year running and cycling endeavor in the name of peace that has taken the 31-year-old Iranian-born Baluchi across a record 49,700 miles through 55 countries.

The sight of this small man with wiry arms, sturdy thighs, and a face drowned in tears is a moment for all the world to witness. He spent four-and-a-half years running around the globe in an attempt to deliver a message to the world: Peace is possible. He has been recognized as one of the greatest examples of personal triumph and willpower, and he has brought hope to people around the world.

The story of Reza Baluchi’s journey is as heartwarming as it is inspiring. Born in 1972 in a small agricultural village in the north of Iran, Baluchi took up running to alleviate boredom. “There was not much to do back then,” he says. “I would pedal and pedal, sometimes up to 180 miles a day.”

Baluchi’s expedition across Europe, Asia, Australia, Latin America, and finally North America was fraught with difficulties. He suffered from hunger on many occasions, slept on bike roadsides, and washed in rivers. He caught malaria in Zimbabwe, was hit by a car in South Africa, and had a severe intestinal disease in the Amazon basin. The boat he was on to Panama almost capsized. He cried many times, out of disappointment, pain, and fear of not being able to make it farther.

Sometimes the problems he encountered were less personal in nature but equally critical to his journey. “I would just not be given the visa,” says Baluchi. “What can you do with an Iranian passport? So I had to change plans and cycle all the way back. I would cry and cry but I would pedal and pedal, sometimes up to 180 miles a day.”

Baluchi believes that his nationality also hindered his chances by preventing him from being sponsored. “If I had been European, I would have been sponsored; I would have made it in a year,” he says. “I would pedal and pedal, sometimes up to 180 miles a day.”

Baluchi’s story could have been just about immigration, but his global journey, thanks to his faith and infinite willpower, embraced an extraordinary social and political dimension. His optimistic outlook on the world and contagious idealism softened the hidden grievances of people he met on his route. He is universal message of peace powerful and has brought hope to people around the world.

Support from the people in Arizona also contributed to his release. Following an article about him in the Arizona Republic, a support group, the Arizona Alliance for Peaceful Justice, launched the “Free Reza” campaign. Friends and supporters addressed countless letters to immigration officials appealing on behalf of Baluchi. Immigration Judge LaMonte Freercks conceded and granted Baluchi political asylum, even handing him a box of chocolate as a token of his support.

Free to resume his mission, Baluchi announced that he would go to California and, this time, run across the nation toward New York. “Running is more difficult,” he believes, “and my message of peace will be that much stronger.”

Baluchi’s story could have been just about immigration, but his global journey, thanks to his faith and infinite willpower, embraced an extraordinary social and political dimension. His optimistic outlook on the world and contagious idealism softened the hidden grievances of people he met on his route. He is universal message of peace powerful and has brought hope to people around the world.
Mary Robinson Delivers Silver Lecture

by Katja Salsbäck

Mary Robinson, the former president of Ireland who one year ago completed her term as U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights, conveyed a clear and forceful message at SIPA: an ethical globalization is only possible if we focus on economic and social rights.

In her speech, entitled “Ethical Globalization: cal globalization and human rights for all,” Robinson said that she would like to see more commitment and concern blend with jokes and self-deprecating humor.

In her speech, entitled “Ethical Globalization: Connecting Human Rights, Human Development, and Human Security,” she told the audience that globalization today did not adequately address the concerns of people in poor countries.

Robinson said that she would like to see more integrated policies at the national and international level, and that an economically connected world must also be connected by values. “Human rights can be the rules of the road for an ethical world,” said Robinson.

She reminded the audience that the founders of the U.N. had envisioned an indivisible body of rights. “Human rights means all human rights—economic, social, cultural as well as civil and political,” Robinson said emphatically.

She criticized the United States for neglecting economic and social rights. “In this country, people have to realize that among the most important rights are the rights to nutrition and water,” she said.

Although Robinson today shares concerns about the emergence of global actors, such as multinational companies, which are difficult to hold responsible for human rights violations, she remains convinced that human rights are invaluable tools in promoting global justice. “On the international level, human rights are still a valid political agenda,” she said.

Katja Salsbäck, M.A. ’04, is concentrating in International Relations and Communications.

Ambassador Richard Holbrooke Gives First Donald and Vera Blinken Annual Lecture

by Volker Berghahn

O n April 30, 2003, the Institute for the Study of Europe (ISE) held its first Donald and Vera Blinken Annual Lecture, endowed by the co-chair of the ISE’s International Advisory board and his wife. The speaker was Ambassador Richard Holbrooke, who was introduced by Fritz Stern, University professor emeritus at Columbia and former special adviser to the speaker while he was U.S. ambassador to Germany in the 1970s. Ambassador Holbrooke spoke about recent developments in the European-American relationship. He began his remarks by focusing on the dramatic change that had occurred in this relationship between the time of the Al Qaeda attacks on New York and Washington on September 11, 2001, and the spring of 2003.

Inquiring into the reasons for this change, he argued that there had been various problems before “9/11” that had been exacerbated by the blunt style of diplomacy of the incoming Bush administration. He mentioned as examples the outright rejection of two important international treaties relating to climate change, on the one hand, and to the International Criminal Court in The Hague, on the other. The attacks on New York and Washington, he continued, provided fresh opportunities to foster transatlantic relations when the Europeans, in a strong show of support, offered to join the effort to destroy the Taliban regime as well as Al Qaeda and to reconstruct Afghanistan. But the U.S. administration, instead of following the cooperative policy pursued during the Bonn process, was determined to go it alone. Only belatedly did the White House and the Pentagon recognize its “colossal” error and begin to involve other nations to stabilize the country.

Then, Holbrooke continued, came the decision to wage war on Iraq, which, in light of the horrendous crimes committed by Saddam Hussein, he supported in principle. But again he was critical of the way America’s allies had been treated in the time preceding the invasion. To be sure, the Europeans also had to bear their share of the blame for the “train wreck” that resulted.

Still, he felt that the main responsibility for the crisis had to be borne by Washington. Thus, President Bush should never have pushed for a second resolution of the U.N. Security Council. It was this insistence that proved so divisive to European-American relations and, no less importantly, seriously weakened the United Nations.

Referring to Robert Kagan’s recent book, Of Paradigms and Pawns: America and Europe in the New World Order, Holbrooke ended by denying that Americans and Europeans lived on different planets. Not Mars and Venus. The enemy was not Europe, but Al Qaeda and — he added — major humanitarian crises such as the HIV/AIDS epidemic. None of these crises could be solved by the United States alone but required close trans-Atlantic cooperation. The task for Washington was therefore to show leadership that would bring other nations in rather than divide them. The United States could not run the world on its own and hope to recreate the international system unilaterally. If the maxim of cooperation and skillful diplomacy had been observed, many of the problems that had arisen over the previous months could have been avoided.

Following his remarks, Holbrooke answered a number of questions from the large audience on a wide variety of questions from the large audience on the relations of the United States with Russia, France, and Germany and ended with comments on the Cyprus question, in which he has long taken a special interest.

Volker Berghahn is Director of the Institute for the Study of Europe at Columbia University, where he is also a professor of history.
Picker Center News: The Southeast Asia Fellows Program

by Susan Grove and Katrin Wilde

Meeting the Southeast Asia fellows last year left me impressed by their dedication, the depth of their understanding of issues, their experience, and by their light-hearted openness to questions. Speaking with them about education, homelessness, and poverty was an invigorating experience, an encounter that revealed new angles of development problems and infused my studies with energy. The stimuli they provided deepened my interest in the region and led me to intern in the Laos PDR this summer. While I was there, a single phone call kicked off a gathering of five past and future fellows, whose exchange provided a glimpse of the significance that this program of networking and training in development management held for them and the strength of the bond they shared.

The Southeast Asia Fellows program was designed to train development professionals in Southeast Asia, including national staff members of NGOs, international organizations, and other groups concerned with participatory sustainable development in the region. The program, sponsored jointly by the School of International and Public Affairs, School for International Training (SIT), and the Global Partnership—a consortium of some of the world’s leading development training centers—selects fellows annually from Columbia, Laos, Myanmar, Thailand, Vietnam, and China’s Yunnan Province.

Directed by Associate Dean Robin Levin and presented under the auspices of the Picker Center, the program brings fellows to SIPA in October, following an orientation in the Philippines and a four-week training session at Columbia, New York.

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The result of our time here reflects extra depth of their understanding of issues, and I think this is useful also for our society.” A project assistant working on health and nutrition education in rural areas in Myanmar evaluated the program by writing, “I now have wider thinking about project management and a better understanding of how to develop a project proposal to make it attractive to donors.” In addition to classes, the fellows had meetings at UN offices (UNICEF, UNFEM), and local NGOs, such as the Fund for Reconciliation and Development and Human Rights Watch, that are working on human rights and development in Southeast Asia. These experiences gave the fellows the opportunity to make contacts and build a network both within the group around the region, and a wide range of actors of global civil society. On the last day, one of the fellows, a credit officer working on income-generation with poor women in Vietnam, remarked, “The biggest thing I gained here was a good network.” Before leaving to return home, the fellows were already thinking about how they might apply what they learned during the course of the program in their professional lives. A program officer building NGO capacity in Cambodia remarked, “I now have concrete ideas to develop a capacity-building assessment for my partners. NGOs I can teach and share many things I learned with them, such as monitoring and evaluation.” A Burmese refugee working to provide health and education to displaced persons wrote, “I want to make a plan for healthy development programs.” According to the UN High Refugees, such initiatives are badly needed. Last year’s widely cited Arab Development Report, prepared on behalf of the UN by a team of prominent intellectuals from the region, argued that flawed educational systems posed a major obstacle to human development—and a newly released sequel says the situation is getting worse.

SIPA’s enrollment of Middle Eastern students has never been as large as it might be, in Anderson’s estimation, and she is concerned that post-9/11 visa restrictions will discourage applications. But both SIPA and other Columbia schools have plenty of graduates in the Middle East. According to the SIPA administration, for instance, there’s a sense that the [Bush] administration has swung the pendulum very, very far” in its dealings with the Middle East. For the moment, most people in the Arab world have no trouble distinguishing between the current administration and U.S. society as a whole, but “it’s an open question how well that distinction will hold up” within the region was obviously the invasion of Iraq, “says Anderson, who describes the dominant Arab response to the war as an “absolute astonishment, frustration, shock.”

Anderson stresses that most of her Arab friends and colleagues in Western-educated professionals, few of whom share the more radical sentiments sometimes associated with the region. Even so, she says, “there’s a sense that the [Bush] administration has swung the pendulum very, very far” in its dealings with the Middle East. For the moment, most people in the Arab world have no trouble distinguishing between the current administration and U.S. society as a whole. It’s an open question, however, whether that distinction will hold up. “I think that distinction may be crucial to one of the projects Anderson pursued this summer. SIPA hopes to develop joint-degree programs with three English-speaking American-style universities in the region: American University in Cairo (AUC), American University in Beirut (AUB), and Lebanon-American University (LAU). Faculty and administrators at all three schools were intrigued by the prospect of developing public policy curricula at least partly modeled on the SIPA program—something already accomplished at the London School of Economics and Sciences Po, both of which offer dual degrees with SIPA. “It’s an open question how well that distinction will hold up” within the region was obviously the invasion of Iraq, “says Anderson, who describes the dominant Arab response to the war as an “absolute astonishment, frustration, shock.”

Dean Lisa Anderson with Yalman Onaran, MIA ’93, Journalism ’92, president of the Columbia University Alumni Association of Turkey.

Dean’s Trip Builds SIPA Ties to Middle Eastern Schools

by Jeff Rigby

SIPA Dean Lisa Anderson made a monthlong tour of four Middle Eastern countries this summer, which combined alumni outreach and development goals with an effort to spread the SIPA model to some of the region’s top universities. The dean believes Columbia’s approach to training professionals in international public policy might help shape similar academic programs in the Middle East.

According to the UN High Refugees, such initiatives are badly needed. Last year’s widely cited Arab Development Report, prepared on behalf of the U.N. by a team of prominent intellectuals from the region, argued that flawed educational systems posed a major obstacle to human development—and a newly released sequel says the situation is getting worse.

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Faculty Profile: Andrea Bubula
by Jaffer Machano

Andrea Bubula is a lecturer in economics at SIPA. He is also the author and editor of numerous academic research papers in his field. He works centers primarily on the applied econometrics of international monetary affairs. In conjunction with Ihsan Oktar-Robe of the IMF, Bubula wrote a research publication that classifies exchange rate regimes since 1990 from all over the world. The study, titled “The Evolution of Exchange Rate Regimes Since 1990: Evidence from de Facto Policies,” focuses mainly on the difference between theory and practice of the regimes. He is currently working on extending this study to measure the links between exchange rate regimes and the likelihood of a currency crisis. Despite his expertise, Bubula has not always led an academical life. In fact, given his unique background, one may be surprised that he even chose a career in economics and academia. While a college student, Bubula also worked as a police officer and pentathlon athlete. Similar to a triathlon in its demands, a pentathlon requires athletes to compete in horseback riding, swimming, shooting, running, and fencing. Bubula made the Italian national team. After eight years of serious competition, he was disappointed to learn that he was not going to make the team for the Olympics. Disillusioned, he left the sport and began his Ph.D. studies in economics at Columbia. Bubula has always enjoyed the study of economics. He says that it is “fun,” and he “enjoys continually learning about how people make private decisions and make policy decisions.” Not only does his charismatic, joyful personality make it easy to believe him, but also student reviews consistently attest to his love of learning and teaching. As a matter of fact, one of the outstanding characteristics of Professor Bubula is how much students enjoy his class, “Economic Analyses for International Affairs.”

An "Economic Analyses for International Affairs" is a required course for both International Economic Policy (IEP) and International Finance and Business (IFB) students. It is well known that one of the high lights of SIPA’s MIA program is that students come away with excellent economic skills. However, many students enter this two-year program with very little background in economics. With so little time to cover so much, Bubula has established an extremely effective and popular online discussion board. Students find that this discussion board helps them compensate for their limited background and meet the rigorous demands of the program. Bubula spends a great deal of time on the discussion board answering each student’s questions in detail. This makes him a favorite topic of discussion during “happy hours.”

Being such a popular professor is a demanding job. Coupled with his research interests, the quantity of work does take a toll on him. Though he learned to manage his time as being a police officer, a student at the same time, he acknowledges that the life of an academic is much more demanding. Teaching four classes a week and answering students’ questions through the bulletin board forces him to work long into the night.

According to Bubula, one of the main challenges SIPA students face is to take a while to see “the big picture” of their education at Columbia. His advice for students is to “sing in unison.” While the first year seems somewhat disjointed, the second semester, when they start to use and apply the skills they are learning. In the mean time, adviser Dean Patrick Bohan comments commissioned by the secretary-general. “The project aims to establish a Global Commission on International Migration to which will bring former ministers together to discuss globally beneficial processes for harmonization.”

Another important project, Doyle’s undertaken is the formation of a Global Colloquium of U. N. Peacekeeping. This project will consider the changing role of academic institutions in the global environment and how students are being prepared for leadership and service—a dialogue from which SIPA students are sure to benefit immensely.”

The SIPA faculty has the responsibility to show that SIPA is a professional school, associate Dean Patrick Bohan says. “SIPA is an important area of study for leadership and service, it’s designed to impress. By Saara Stewart

As we are the Office of Career Services (OCS), I think it imperative we project a certain image as we try to attract the students of this school and the degree programs,” says OCS Director Mag Hanahan.

This “social” relocation effort is an attempt to show recruiters that SIPA is a professional school, adds Associate Dean Patrick Bohan.

Its former layout—an awkward amalgam of rooms on the fourteenth floor—just wasn’t “functional,” said Hanahan. Whenever a recruiter visited the school, she and her staff had to scramble to find an appropriate interview space. The new fourth-floor office, located on the east side of the atrium, has its own reception area and conference room.

“This is something we would have liked to have done years ago,” says Bohan, adding that the project was postponed for lack of funding. Fortunately, SIPA isn’t footing the entire bill. Partial funding was made available as a result of another relocation effort, says Bohan, that of the new Environmental Science and Policy program.

OCS’s move is just one in a handful of recent renovation projects at SIPA. The roster of changes includes a refurbished geographic presentation room, an awfully cluttered chair in the fourth-floor lobby and a group study area in Lehman Library. Room 409, formerly a seminar room, has been transformed into a computer lab.

So what do SIPA students think of the changes?

While most call the OCS arrangement “a big improvement,” the sixth-floor lounge gets mixed reviews.

Some students miss the relaxed informality of the old student facilities. “There was something very communal about the sixth-floor lounge,” says Cheyne Munk, MIA ’04. “Now it’s neither here nor there.”

Nabajoo Mbejulo, MIA ’04, says she uses the lounge for “socialization and coffee purchasing purposes but doesn’t stay long. “The area’s set-up is not all that convenient” of the new sixth-floor arrangement,” says Bohan, adding that the project was postponed for lack of funding.

But other students welcome the change. Minka Robertson-Tekor, MIA ’04, praises the “open plan” and “convenience” of the new sixth-floor arrangement. “It’s easier to sneak food over to the computer,” she adds.

Saara Stewart, MIA ’05, is concentrating in International Media and Communications.
The Real Iraq Mystery

In 1983, when I took Robert Jervis's course on national security policy, I and many other SIPA students found Jervis to be a brilliant and unconventional thinker on difficult topics relating to war and peace. I was disappointed, therefore, to find that Jervis in his short article, "The Credibility of U.S. Threats against Iraq" (SIPA News, June 2003), seemed wedded to conventional ways of perceiving the then-impending war on Iraq.

Jervis asks the question, "Why did Iraq dis- arm in the face of credible U.S. threats and dis- proportionate U.S. power?" But Jervis then accepts at face value claims that Iraq had not in fact disarmed—the position of the Bush adminis- tration. But the evidence back in March—and certainly the evidence available since the U.S.-British victory—indicates that as far as weapons of mass destruction go, Saddam had in fact sub- stantially disarmed. In addition, Iraq was weak, hemmed in by sanctions and inspections. In effect, containment was working very well.

The question must also be asked, "If Saddam had WMDs, why didn't he use them when U.S. forces approached Baghdad?" Was he saving them for a more serious occasion?

I would encourage Professor Jervis to turn his probing mind to what I believe is the truly puz- zling question: Why did the Bush administration feel impelled to attack Iraq? Was the main moti- 

Some possible explanations are that the sanc- 

But I don't think that anyone fully under- 

I agree with Mr. Guldin that Saddam's behavior is puzzling, and I am distressed that so few people have noted this because it has impor- 

In the June 2003 article "SIPA's Picker Center Teams up with the New York Fire Department," we did not properly credit the Institute for Not-for-Profit Management (INM) at the Columbia Business School for its role in the management training program with the New York Fire Department. The program is a full collaboration between the INM and the Picker Center at SIPA.
SIPA's New Director of Development: Yun Won Cho
By Jiffer Bourguignon

While some SIPA students fret over postgraduation options, Yun Won Cho, SIPA's new director of development, radiates confidence. "I am very enthusiastic about SIPA's future," she says. "I want to let the world know what a fantastic institution SIPA is," adds Cho. "To do that, we will need to raise the reputation of the school hand in hand with raising money. This in turn will benefit all SIPA students and alumni. A SIPA degree might be worth more in the future than it is already worth now."

Cho, who assumed her new position on August 1, brings a great deal of fundraising expertise to her new role. Previously the director of major gifts at the Asian Society, Cho plans to draw on her varied fundraising experience in her new role at SIPA. By identifying best practices, she hopes to raise the bar for SIPA's development efforts.

"Our fundraising efforts will take on different forms—annual funds, campaigns for major initiatives, and events. We will be working very closely with the SIPA Advisory Board in order to reach out to a broad range of donors. I also look closely with the SIPA Advisory Board in order to initiate, and events. I will be working very closely with the SIPA Advisory Board in order to initiate, and events. I will be working very closely with the SIPA Advisory Board in order to initiate, and events. I will be working very closely with the SIPA Advisory Board in order to initiate, and events. I will be working very closely with the SIPA Advisory Board in order to initiate, and events. I will be working very closely with the SIPA Advisory Board in order to initiate, and events. I will be working very closely with the SIPA Advisory Board in order to initiate, and events. I will be working very closely with the SIPA Advisory Board in order to initiate, and events. I will be working very closely with the SIPA Advisory Board in order to initiate, and events. I will be working very closely with the SIPA Advisory Board in order to initiate, and events. I will be working very closely with the SIPA Advisory Board in order to initiate, and events. I will be working very closely with the SIPA Advisory Board in order to initiate, and events. I will be working very closely with the SIPA Advisory Board in order to initiate, and events. I will be working very closely with the SIPA Advisory Board in order to initiate, and events. I will be working very closely with the SIPA Advisory Board in order to initiate, and events. I will be working very closely with the SIPA Advisory Board in order to initiate, and events. I will be working very closely with the SIPA Advisory Board in order to initiate, and events. I will be working very closely with the SIPA Advisory Board in order to initiate, and events. I will be working very closely with the SIPA Advisory Board in order to initiate, and events. I will be working very closely with the SIPA Advisory Board in order to initiate, and events. I will be working very closely with the SIPA Advisory Board in order to initiate, and events. I will be working very closely with the SIPA Advisory Board in order to initiate, and events. I will be working very closely with the SIPA Advisory Board in order to initiate, and events. I will be working very closely with the SIPA Advisory Board in order to initiate, and events. I will be working very closely with the SIPA Advisory Board in order to initiate, and events. I will be working very closely with the SIPA Advisory Board in order to initiate, and events. I will be working very closely with the SIPA Advisory Board in order to initiate, and events. I will be working very closely with the SIPA Advisory Board in order to initiate, and events. I will be working very closely with the SIPA Advisory Board in order to initiate, and events. I will be working very closely with the SIPA Advisory Board in order to initiate, and events. I will be working very closely with the SIPA Advisory Board in order to initiate, and events. I will be working very closely with the SIPA Advisory Board in order to initi..."
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<td>Alan &amp; Peggy Tishman Foundation, Inc.</td>
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<td>Padraic Joseph Sweeney, MIA '89</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Julie Ratner</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Maidad Rabina, MIA '73</td>
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<td>Pilates Center of New York</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Peter J. Pettibone</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Richard B. Palmer, MIA '55</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mary Agnes O'Donnell, MIA '95</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thomas F. O'Connor Jr., MIA '76</td>
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<tr>
<td>$1,000–2,499</td>
<td>Edward N. De Lia, MIA '87</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Philip A. Dabice, MIA '77</td>
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<td>Ruth C. Curtis, MIA '77</td>
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<td>Mary Louise Dickey Lindsay</td>
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<tr>
<td>$2,500–4,999</td>
<td>David Edward Byers, MIA '98</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>John H. Lichtblau</td>
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<td>Francis X. Lieman, Jr.</td>
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<td>Mary Dicky Lindsey</td>
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<tr>
<td>$5,000–9,999</td>
<td>William Patrick C. regimen, MIA '01</td>
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<td>Robert K. Reiskin, MIA '87</td>
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<td>$10,000–19,999</td>
<td>Robert Leonard, MIA '10</td>
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<td>Lonnie H. Stroh, MIA '00</td>
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<td>$20,000–39,999</td>
<td>Linda H. Blackmore, MIA '03</td>
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<td>$40,000–74,999</td>
<td>R. Lorimer, MIA '67</td>
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<td>$75,000–149,999</td>
<td>Christopher John Thomas, MIA '90</td>
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<td>$150,000–299,999</td>
<td>John P. Elston</td>
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<td>$300,000–599,999</td>
<td>Robert B. Ryan, MIA '96</td>
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<tr>
<td>$600,000–999,999</td>
<td>Robert H. M. Rich, MIA '97</td>
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<tr>
<td>$1,000,000–1,999,999</td>
<td>Robert L. S. Stringfellow, MIA '97</td>
</tr>
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</table>
Mayor Ernest N. Morial served on the staff of the city's first government, he was the vice president for institutional development in 1997 and returned to the Oval Office in December 2001 by President Bush at the White House. He held for more than two years as chargé d'affaires, a position he held for more than two years as chargé d'affaires, a position he held for more than two years as chargé d'affaires, a position he held for more than two years as chargé d'affaires, a position he held for more than two years as chargé d'affaires, a position he held for more than two years as chargé d'affaires, a position he held for more than two years as chargé d'affaires, a position he held for more than two years as chargé d'affaires, a position he held for more than two years as chargé d'affaires, a position he held for more than two years as chargé d'affaires, a position he held for more than two years as chargé d'affaires, a position he held for more than two years as chargé d'affaires, a position he held for more than two years as chargé d'affaires, a position he held for more than two years as chargé d'affaires, a position he held for more than two years as chargé d'affaires, a position he held for more than two years as chargé d'affaires, a position he held for more than two years as chargé d'affaires, a position he held for more than two years as chargé d'affaires, a position he held for more than two years as chargé d'affaires, a position he held for more than two years as chargé d'affaires, a position he held for more than two years as chargé d'affaires, a position he held for more than two years as chargé d'affaires, a position he held for more than two years as chargé d'affaires.
1998

Kory C. Cobhan, MIA
kory26@wells.gov
Kory is currently working with U.S. AID’s Office of Transition Initiatives in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, where she has been based for nearly two years.

Rebecca M. Kurth, MPA
mr3474@yahoo.com
Rebecca currently works for Ambac Financial Group, where she specializes in underwriting non-profit healthcare deals. She and Robert K. Kurth were married in June and recently bought a condominium in Manhattan’s financial district.

Yaya Mousa, MPA
ymousa@inf.net
Yaya, who lives in Potomac, Maryland, recently began working for the International Monetary Fund in Washington, D.C.

1999

Karina Padalino, MIA
Karina.padalino@ubc.com
Karina is a financial advisor with UBS Wealth Management. She has volunteered as a career/internship counselor for SIPA students and alumni. Her son, Rick, who recently celebrated his bar mitzvah, is an eighth grade student at a yeshiva in N. Manhattan.

2002

Giana Ivanova, MIA
stevion@tdhun.com
Giana married Ragupram Srinam (Columbia Business School ’03) in July.

Nori Katagiri, MIA
yaponorry@hotmail.com
Nori recently moved to Philadelphia, where she will be entering a doctoral program at the University of Pennsylvania. She expects to spend the next four or five years studying international relations, with a focus on security and military affairs in Japan and elsewhere in East Asia. After graduating from SIPA, Nori spent a year in Washington, where she worked for various think tanks, including the Heritage Foundation and the Brookings Institution.

2003

Ana Escrigoma, MIA
mast22@columbia.edu
Ana is spending ten months in Tunis for advanced Arabic training. In preparation for a two-year tour of duty in Damascus with the State Department.

Isadora G. Isasmann, MIA
hg@columbia.edu
Isadora is part of the summer in San Diego and is now working with the 8th New Jersey office of M. K. timing & Company. She lives on the Upper West Side.

Jingdong Hua, EM PA
jhu695@columbia.edu
Jingdong and his family recently relocated from New York City to Manila, where he is assistant treasurer and head of risk management for the Asian Development Bank.

Raissa Smorol, MPA
mms251@columbia.edu
Raissa recently joined Nonprofit Innovations Inc., a consulting firm specializing in start-up nonprofits, as a project manager. She lives in Minneapolis Heights.