This issue of SIPA News highlights what may be the most important challenge facing public policy schools and policy professionals wherever they work. Serving the public interest now requires knowledge of the latest scientific research on a wide range of problems and an understanding of the available and developing technologies that address or could potentially address them. In the field of environmental policy, for example, policymakers cannot make good decisions without studying the science that models climate change and the technological breakthroughs that are making the exploitation of renewable energy sources less costly. The same is true for decision makers in fields as diverse as economic development, international security, and public health. Moreover, the rapid changes occurring in the technology of communications are having a profound impact on these policy fields and many others, such as human rights.

Over the past decade, SIPA has worked with scientists at The Earth Institute at Columbia, the Department of Ecology, Evolution, and Environmental Biology, and The Fu Foundation School of Engineering and Applied Science to create three new SIPA degree programs: the PhD in Sustainable Development, the MPA program in Environmental Science and Policy, and the newly created MPA in Development Practice. In addition, SIPA’s new MIA and MPA curriculum, introduced this fall, provides students with an opportunity to opt for a “specialization” in Applied Science to complement the training they receive in one of the School’s six concentrations. The Applied Science Specialization allows students to choose a set of three courses in climate science, ecology, environmental science, or health science. Finally, the new Specialization in International Media, Advocacy, and Communications provides students with the information and skills they will need to make maximum use of the new communications technologies that are transforming this field.

Ever since SIPA joined Columbia University’s distinguished community of independent professional schools last July, the School’s faculty and staff have worked to take maximum advantage of our new status. While still affiliated to the University’s Faculty of Arts and Sciences through joint faculty appointments and easy cross-registration for courses, SIPA now makes its own financial and academic decisions subject to University-wide statutes and policies. To make full use of this autonomy, the School has restructured its governance and initiated a strategic planning process. Throughout the 2009–2010 academic year, many of SIPA’s faculty, staff, students, and alumni will participate in developing a flexible road map to guide the School in meeting its three key goals: providing the best possible student-centered professional education, producing policy-relevant research of the highest quality, and serving the public interest through dialogue and outreach to the policy communities and the public.

The new SIPA that emerges in the next few years will be ready for the inspiring new building that we all hope will rise at the gateway to Columbia’s new Manhattanville campus—as funds are raised to make it happen.

Sincerely,
John H. Coatsworth
Dean, Professor of History and International and Public Affairs
FEATURES

p. 2
Video Advocacy for Human Rights: Old Tools, New Challenges
By Marie O’Reilly

p. 6
How the 21st Century Became Green
By Ion Bogdan Vasi

p. 10
The New Data-Driven U.S. Government
By Dan Perez

p. 12
“This Domain Has Been Disabled”: U.S. Online Service Providers and Their Role in Intermediary Censorship
By Lauren D. Klein

p. 15
Blogging in Burma: Cyber-Dissidents Fight for Freedom against the Odds
By Stephen Gray

p. 18
The Original Medical Tourism Destination: Keeping Patients Coming as Health Care Goes Global
By Caroline Stauffer

p. 22
Government 2.0: The Challenges and Possibilities of Transparency
By Tom Glaisyer

p. 24
Drone Attacks in Pakistan: The Unseen Impacts on the Ground
By Rob Grabow

p. 26
Video Sharing from the Grave: A Tale of Murder, Intrigue—and Microblogging in Guatemala
By Rebekah Heacock

p. 29
Science at SIPA: The Course Work of the Future
By Steven Cohen and Nathalie Chalmers

p. 30
Columbia Senate Approves New SIPA Dual Degree in Brazil
By Alex Burnett

p. 31
“Technology for Development”: A Challenge for Workshop Teams
By Eugenia McGill

p. 32
SIPA and The Earth Institute Launch New MPA in Development Practice
By Urania Mylonas

INSIDE SIPA

p. 33
SIPA Welcomes Mayors from New York, London, and Karachi
By Alex Burnett and John Uhl

p. 34
SIPA Students to Benefit from $400 Million Gift from John Kluge
By Alex Burnett

p. 34
SIPA Discount to World Policy Journal

p. 35
Alumni News
By Daniela Coleman

p. 36
Class Notes
Compiled by Mohini Datt

p. 39
Donor List
Video Advocacy for Human Rights: Old Tools, New Challenges

By Marie O’Reilly

Last June, the graphic footage of a young Iranian woman’s dying moments gave the outside world a shocking insight into the tumultuous situation in the city of Tehran. Neda Agha-Soltan was shot in the chest—apparently by a progovernment militiaman—while participating in a protest over the disputed presidential election results. The video shows the 26-year-old collapse to the ground in a growing pool of blood. Her eyes briefly fix on the mobile phone camera that captures her dying moments. Watching the video on a computer, it feels like she is looking right at you.

Neda became a potent symbol of the country’s protest movement, when the onlooker’s video was posted on the Internet and circulated via sites like YouTube, Facebook, and Twitter. The mainstream media soon followed, with broadcasts by major news networks including CNN. President Barack Obama referred to the “searing image” in a press conference a few days later, describing her death as “heartbreaking.”

Yet the video of Neda’s death was not posted on The Hub—a participatory media Web site that shares human rights videos from around the world. Explaining this decision in her blog, Hub content coordinator Priscila Néri posed a question that had largely been absent from the global discussion: “How do we balance the need to ‘spread the word’ of what’s unfolding in Iran with the need to respect Neda’s dignity as she dies, as well as the grief of her family, faced with such tragedy?”
A supporter of Mir Hossein Mousavi hides her face using a poster of the reformist candidate to avoid being photographed during an election rally at the Heidarnia stadium in Tehran, June 9, 2009.
The Hub may confront similar decisions outside Iran. Now that easy-to-use technology enables people around the world to record and share events, video has become an increasingly powerful advocacy tool. But along with this power come difficult questions of ethics, privacy, and safety.

Images flashed around the world have long spoken volumes on behalf of the oppressed. Footage of a lone man stopping an advancing column of tanks in Tiananmen Square focused the world’s attention on China in 1989. Two years later, a bystander’s videotape of Rodney King being brutally beaten by Los Angeles police viscerally communicated human rights abuses within the United States and sparked a global discussion on police brutality and racial discrimination.

Human rights advocates are recognizing the power of video to communicate issues in a way that is direct and easy to understand. In fact, the Rodney King episode inspired the creation of Witness, an organization dedicated to getting video equipment into the hands of human rights activists and training advocacy organizations in the effective use of video to enhance their campaigns.

I first came across Witness in my hunt for a human rights internship in New York three years ago. Based in Brooklyn, the nonprofit’s mission is to help people transform personal stories of abuse into tools for justice, public engagement, and policy change. Founded by musician and activist Peter Gabriel in 1992—before the YouTube age—Witness uses video advocacy to tailor an organization’s campaign to a specific audience, make its message more persuasive, and give that audience a means to act.

When I began transcribing the text of videotapes in the Witness archive—ordinarily a mundane intern’s chore—a whole new dimension of human rights advocacy unfolded before my eyes. In “A Duty to Protect,” a video on the use of child soldiers in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), I found a young girl called Mafille, recruited at the age of 13, talking about her experiences. “They taught me to salute, to crawl on the ground,” she recounts. “They taught me to load and fire a weapon.” The video then reveals that her duties were not limited to combat. “Before that, I did not know men,” she says quietly, her eyes cast downward. “My first experience was being taken by force. Either the commanders or the bodyguards took us by force...and raped us.”

“A Duty to Protect” aimed to end impunity in the DRC. With this goal in mind, it was shown to members of the International Criminal Court in The Hague.
Hague and ultimately contributed to the arrest and trial of Thomas Lubanga Dyilo. The alleged leader of the Union of Congolese Patriots was recently charged with enlisting and conscripting children under the age of 15 between 2002 and 2003.

So for Violeta Krasnič (MIA '04), a program coordinator at Witness, the key question is: "how do you make sure that what you have on tape really makes a difference?" She explains that although a video posted on the Internet may result in immediate global reaction, this is very rare. Online distribution may not always be the most effective means of engaging people and mobilizing them to take action.

Despite the complications, Witness has embraced the new and irresistible trend that is interlinking so-called "citizen media" with human rights advocacy by creating The Hub. Here, the organization adds context to what would otherwise be short, isolated video clips and provides links to related materials and resources for taking action.

But as the video of Neda illustrates, the proliferation of videos on the Internet also poses challenges to human rights organizations. It is not only an individual’s dignity that is threatened by the online distribution of such footage; there are also further questions surrounding the safety of the victim and those around her.

If Neda had lived, would she have been "re-victimized"? Reports from Iran in the days following her death indicated that her family had been forced out of their home by government authorities and prevented from mourning their daughter.

Human rights advocates are aware of the importance of full disclosure when creating an advocacy video: "With all the people in our videos we secure informed consent, which clearly explains the purpose of the interview, the purpose of the campaign, and discusses the implications of their participation," says Krasnič.

However, videos of rights violations are also recorded as they happen and distributed by a variety of actors and in a limited time frame.

"What has changed now in terms of citizen media is that you have different creators who are not necessarily human rights advocates," said Sam Gregory, Witness program director. "You have different modes of distribution; you have different assumptions about security and ethics."

Human rights advocates now have to think about tapping into these citizen-generated resources in a way that contextualizes the material and fosters advocacy. "The challenge is that because you’re not involved in the creation process, you don’t have access to information about safety, security, and consent," says Gregory.

Apart from the safety of those in front of the camera, the security of those distributing footage online must also be considered. Following Myanmar’s 2007 Saffron Revolution, for example, the military leadership arrested democracy advocates, protesters, and even bloggers for filming, distributing, or appearing in videos of the protests and "creating public alarm."

In the recent Iranian case, Mehdi Jalali (MIA '10), an Iranian journalist, explains that people started changing their names on Facebook in order to protect themselves. "Neda Green" proved to be a popular alternative—the color green was the other unifying symbol of the protest movement.

While Jalali acknowledges that Neda’s family may be in some danger now, people accept that for any change to occur, there must be some cost. In the end, he believes that the cost has not been very high this time around: "People have now learned from the [Iranian] Revolution 30 years ago. Our generation—we learned that we need to lower our costs and not victimize ourselves. We should use technology in a smart way. And people did that."

New technologies and distribution methods undoubtedly hold huge potential for those suffering from human rights abuses. As Jalali puts it, “The difference is, we are now living in an interconnected world, in this era of globalization. So suppressive governments, they can’t do it like they used to do it before.”

But if Internet users ignore questions of ethics and safety when posting videos, this new use of an old tool could end up causing some of the suffering it seeks to prevent.

Marie O’Reilly, MIA ‘11, is from Ireland. She is concentrating in Economic and Political Development and specializing in International Media and Communications.
How the 21st Century
A clean energy revolution is under way around the world. The global share of electricity generation from "new renewables"—wind, photovoltaics, and geothermal—is currently less than 2 percent. But the seeds of change are already planted in some countries and regions. Wind power generation has a significant share in total electricity generation in Denmark (around 20 percent), Spain (around 11 percent) and Germany (around 7 percent). Geothermal sources account for approximately one-fifth of all electricity in El Salvador, the Philippines, Kenya, and Iceland. Solar energy accounts for almost 1 percent of total electricity generation in Germany and Spain. And while renewables—including large hydro-power—account for about 7 percent of the electricity produced in the United States, in some states—California, for example—almost 12 percent of all electricity comes from renewable resources such as wind, solar, geothermal, biomass, and small hydroelectric facilities.

Became Green

By Ion Bogdan Vasi
In the area of renewable energy, the feed-in tariff—a “pricing law” under which producers of renewable energy are paid a set rate for electricity—is perhaps the most significant development of the last few decades.

One of the factors that will usher in a clean energy revolution during the 21st century is technological innovation. Consider how the wind energy industry has been transformed in just a few decades. Innovations like carbon-fiber blades and variable-speed gearboxes contributed to dramatic increases in wind turbine reliability and power output. For example, in the 1980s wind turbines were less reliable than diesel generators. By the mid-1990s they had become a more reliable source of power than diesel generators, and by the beginning of the 21st century they were considered as reliable as combined gas turbines. As wind turbines become more reliable, their size and power outputs have grown. Between 1981 and 2000, the average size of the rotor diameter has increased from 10 meters to 71 meters and the average rated capacity has grown from 25 kW (kilowatts) to 1650 kW. Today, a number of companies are producing 5 MW (megawatt) wind turbines with blade diameters larger than the wingspan of a “Jumbo Jet” Boeing 747.

Major technological innovation in onshore wind turbine technology has contributed to significant decreases in costs: the cost per kilowatt-hour of wind-generated electricity has fallen from more than 30 cents in the early 1980s to less than 5 cents in 2005. Indeed, today, the price of electricity obtained from wind at high wind speed sites and good power grid access has become competitive with the price of electricity from conventional sources.

Offshore wind turbine technology has also begun to develop, particularly after a few North European countries started a research and development cooperation program in 2007 called the Joint Declaration on Cooperation in the Field of Research on Offshore Wind Energy Deployment. In 2008, Sway, a Norwegian company, developed an innovative deep-water system capable of supporting 5 MW wind turbines. The first prototype will have a tower of almost 200 meters, most of it under water. Transformers, switchgear, and other electric equipment will be placed in the tower. Heavy ballast will be located at the bottom of the tower and the turbine will be anchored to the seabed with a tension leg, which will be attached to the tower through a subsea yaw mechanism, enabling the wind turbine to revolve with the wind. Taken together, these innovations will make possible the placement of wind farms in ocean depths between 80 and 400 meters. And in 2009, Siemens and StatoilHydro installed a similar multimegawatt floating turbine called Hywind in southwestern Norway, designed for installation in water depths between 120 and 700 meters.

Consider also the improvements in solar photovoltaic (PV) technology. Technological breakthroughs led to the development of metamorphic semiconductors, which employed three layers of semiconductors, each tuned to capture a slice of the solar spectrum. Some companies like Spectrolab—a subsidiary of The Boeing Company—have new metamorphic materials and photovoltaic systems that use lenses and mirrors to concentrate the sun’s rays onto small, high-efficiency solar cells, making possible the conversion of almost 41 percent of incoming light into electricity at 240-fold solar concentration. Those efficiencies, combined with the vast reduction in materials made possible by 1,000-fold concentrators, will rapidly reduce the cost of solar power.

While solar technology initially consisted entirely of bulk silicon-based PV cells, new technologies such as thin-film PV cells and organic PV cells are currently accounting for more than 17 percent of the total PV market. Because thin cells are made by directly depositing photoactive material onto a thin substrate, they require less material than conventional PV cells and offer increasing efficiencies. The development of new thin-film PV cell types such as amorphous silicon (a-Si), cadmium telluride (CdTe), and copper indium gallium diselenide (CIGS) contributes to significant price decreases and gradual improvements in efficiency. For example, in 2007 the National Renewable Energy Laboratory (NREL) demonstrated a CIGS PV cell with approximately 20 percent efficiency—a major improvement for thin-film PV.

Another factor that contributes to the clean energy revolution is policy innovation. In the area of renewable energy, the feed-in tariff—a “pricing law” under which producers of renewable energy are paid a set rate for electricity—is perhaps the most significant development of the last few decades. Wind energy and other renewable energy projects are often constructed and maintained not by utilities but by independent developers. The only possibility for independent developers to sell their power is to have access to the utilities’ distribution grid and to obtain contracts to sell electricity to the utility or to a third party by wheeling through the utility grid. The biggest obstacle for wind power developers is to have a reliable long-term revenue stream, because financial institutions often consider renewable energy projects to be risky. Creating reliable markets for independent power by mandating that utilities purchase all independent power at their avoided cost—a calculation based on the marginal generation unit whose costs the utility could avoid by purchasing renewable energy—has been the cornerstone of every successful renewable energy strategy. However, depending on the assumptions used, avoided cost calculations can vary significantly. Consequently, many wind energy projects are competitive only if they...
are protected by feed-in tariffs that calculate sufficiently high avoided costs.

The feed-in tariff is considered the single most important precondition for the rapid growth of renewable energy projects, and more than 30 other countries had adopted this policy by the beginning of 2008. Germany’s feed-in tariffs are seen by many energy experts as the world’s most effective policies for the development of renewable energy technologies. The German feed-in tariffs involve fixed payments that are guaranteed for as long as 20 years but are lowered every year to encourage more efficient production of renewable energy. Germany’s first feed-in tariff was the Electricity Feed Act (StEEG), adopted in 1990; the second was the Act on Granting Priority to Renewable Energy Sources (EEG), adopted in 2000 and revised in 2004. The German REFIT policies are estimated to account for more than 70 percent of the electricity produced from renewable energy in 2005 and to result in a reduction of more than 52 million tons of carbon dioxide by 2010. These impressive results have been achieved at a relatively modest cost: in 2005 the extra costs due to the feed-in tariffs shared by all consumers was 0.0056 per kWh (kilowatt hour), or 3 percent of average German household electricity costs.

These are just a few of the technological and policy innovations that will result in the greening of this century. Major obstacles, of course, exist: many countries, in particular the United States and China, burn a lot of coal to produce electricity and have major coal reserves. For example, it is estimated that Americans consume more than 2 million tons of coal per day—about 20 pounds for each person—and, assuming a steady rate of use, could continue to do this for more than 200 years. Without cleaner coal solutions the transition to clean energy will take much longer. But it is no longer a question of whether the 21st century will become green; it is only a question of whether the transformation will happen fast enough to prevent catastrophic global climate change. We can hope, but we can also do our part.

Ion Bogdan Vasi is an assistant professor of international and public affairs and of sociology at Columbia University’s School of International and Public Affairs.
THE NEW DATA-DRIVEN U.S. GOVERNMENT

By Dan Perez
On his first day in office, U.S. President Barack Obama released an ambitious policy memorandum outlining how technology would transform the United States government. “My administration is committed to creating an unprecedented level of openness in government,” he wrote in the memo. “Transparency promotes accountability and provides information for citizens about what their government is doing.”

Obama’s administration quickly revamped the WhiteHouse.gov Web site complete with YouTube videos, Facebook Groups, and blog contributions by senior policymakers. The president appointed Vivek Kundra as the first federal chief information officer (CIO) to direct the new U.S. technology agenda. Soon after, Obama’s vision materialized with the launch of Data.gov. The site serves as a repository of U.S. government information with the bold goal of “democratizing” public data. The obstacles encountered during Data.gov’s development, however, demonstrate the difficulty of mixing technology and public policy in order to improve government transparency.

Data.gov went live in May 2009 with a video introduction by CIO Kundra. The site contains data sets including patent applications, toxic air reports, and Medicare expenditures released by agencies across the U.S. federal government. Though some data is likely not of interest to the general public, the site creates a single destination, free of charge, to access compiled information.

Kundra’s goal for Data.gov is not merely to aggregate data but to democratize it. “Democratizing data enables comparative analysis of the services the government provides and the investments it makes, leading to a better government,” Kundra said in a June 2009 interview with Wired Magazine. He also voiced concerns about the nature of government information, arguing that the default setting of U.S. policy should not be secret and closed.

Data.gov developers faced an enormous challenge: creating a site that would be useful for the experienced data analyst as well as for the average computer user. This required converting thousands of data sets, including complex geospatial and statistical ones, into a common format. To do this, Kundra and other designers worked closely with IT specialists from involved government agencies to convert their data into Extensible Markup Language (XML), a language compatible with most office software, such as Excel. They also laboriously collected metadata or “data about data,” including source, date range, and descriptions.

These simple but laborious tasks created friction during Data.gov’s development and highlighted the challenges of a technology-centric policy agenda. Many agencies could not dedicate sufficient personnel to converting data sets and building metadata. Others had constructed their data using old information systems, preventing their conversion to XML without extensive investments in infrastructure. Many chose not to post data sets, worrying about Congressional scrutiny, security breaches, or loss of public trust. As Kundra feared, the default setting for many agencies remained closed.

Despite these obstacles, Data.gov launched in May 2009 and garnered mostly positive reviews. Still, others criticized the site for launching with only 50 data sets. “It’s hard not to compare other sources of government data and feel disappointed,” Marshall Kirkpatrick wrote on the tech Web site ReadWriteWeb. “The privately built USGovXML.com contains far more data and was built by one independent developer over a period of four months.”

Data.gov developers, however, received praise for their forward thinking. With streamlined processes, the site rapidly grew and currently hosts tens of thousands of data sets. Additionally, the site inspired Sunlight Foundation, a nonprofit working to make information about government more accessible online, to create “Apps for America 2: The Data.gov Challenge.” The purpose of the challenge is to demonstrate that when government makes data available, it makes itself more accountable and creates more trust in its actions,” Sunlight’s co-founder Ellen Miller said.

Others praised the site’s efforts to change the government’s mindset from one of secrecy to one of sharing. After Data.gov’s release, New York Times blogger Saul Hansell wrote, “there is a difference between someone accumulating a list of data already published and the White House putting its weight behind an initiative to unlock government information in standard formats.”

It would seem that Data.gov has started to slowly change the U.S. government’s default transparency setting to one that is more open. This summer, the White House launched the Federal IT Dashboard to track federal expenditure on IT projects. The Dashboard helped officials at the Department of Veterans Affairs to identify and suspend 45 underperforming IT projects, including one that was 17 months behind schedule.

Still, officials must be mindful of the consequences encountered by initiatives like Data.gov. Comments about the president’s citizenship or extraterrestrials are regularly posted on White House forums and blogs. A White House proposal this summer that revisited the installation of user-tracking tools on government Web sites created a debate over privacy versus improved government services. “It is not easy for the Obama administration to take a federal bureaucracy that was basically designed in the 20th century and expect them to be up to the state-of-the-art capabilities,” blogger Andrew Rasiej said in an interview with Federal Computer Week.

The efforts of Kundra and other officials in implementing Obama’s vision raise important questions about technology’s role in public policy. Does the opening of government information really improve public policy, or does it raise troubling questions over government secrecy and public information? Can these projects improve the functioning of U.S. government agencies, or will they be expensive projects that will accomplish far less than expected? The answers are unknown, but President Obama so far has remained a firm believer in technology’s ability to transform the U.S. government. “Openness,” President Obama wrote in his transparency memorandum, “will strengthen our democracy and promote efficiency and effectiveness in government.”

Dan Perez, MPA ’10, is currently completing a dual MPA at SIPA and the London School of Economics and Political Science. He interned at the Office of Management and Budget in the Executive Office of the President during the summer of 2009. Any views expressed here are solely his and do not necessarily reflect the position of the Office of Management and Budget or the Executive Office of the President of the United States.
“THIS DOMAIN HAS
For no apparent reason and without warning, a Web site operated by a Zimbabwean NGO was shut down in February 2009. The Zimbabwe government didn’t pull the plug on the Kubatana operation, which hosts blogs for local NGOs that often oppose President Robert Mugabe. Rather, BlueHost, an American company that hosted the NGO’s Web site, suspended its account.

BlueHost officials told the Kubatana staff that a recent internal review revealed that Kubatana was a Zimbabwean organization. BlueHost’s regulations prohibit it from doing business with Zimbabwe, one of several countries that are subject to U.S. trade sanctions.

Brenda Burrell, one of the founders of Kubatana, was astonished. Not only did this action not coincide with BlueHost’s original Terms of Service, but the Treasury Department sanctions only target a specific list of actors within Zimbabwe. Kubatana is not on that list.

“I honestly don’t know what motivated their action,” Burrell wrote in an e-mail. “Ironically, we had signed up as an affiliate and were advertising [BlueHost’s] services on our Web site.”

Kubatana is one of many NGOs struggling to make its voice heard in countries with repressive regimes. In order to communicate and organize, these groups have become highly dependent on social media platforms hosted in the United States. While some activists point fingers at repressive governments for blocking free press via Internet censorship, the power to control information actually rests, increasingly, in the hands of American companies such as Google, LinkedIn, Facebook, and BlueHost.

As a result, Internet policy experts and human rights advocates say a new form of “intermediary censorship” has emerged. In these cases, online service providers (OSPs) that host social networking services and Web sites shut down services in sanctioned countries because they are not sure if they are in compliance with export control regulations. What is troubling, experts say, is that the people using social networks in rogue countries are often fighting against governments the United States seeks to punish with trade sanctions. They are the last people the Treasury and Commerce Departments want U.S. companies to deny services to.

Ethan Zuckerman, a research fellow at Harvard University’s Berkman Center for Internet & Society, has been vocal about this contradictory policy. He remains unconvinced by BlueHost’s account of why they pulled the plug on Kubatana in February.

“I find it very hard to believe that BlueHost spontaneously decided to review Kubatana’s account—I suspect that someone frustrated by content on Kubatana blogs contacted BlueHost, leading to an account review where BlueHost decided to terminate hosting based on their reading of a trade sanctions provision,” Zuckerman wrote on his blog My Heart’s in Accra (http://www.ethanzuckerman.com/blog/).

The sanctions in question fall under two categories. On the one hand, the Commerce Department has blanket bans of particularly sensitive encryption technology to China, Cuba, North Korea, Iran, Sudan, and Syria. On the other, the Treasury Department has a much broader list of states subject to some trade restrictions, which target particular actors in places like Zimbabwe.

“The purpose of a specific list, of course, is to avoid implicating entire populations in what amounts to geopolitical squabbling,” Evgeny Morozov wrote in an April 2009 Newsweek article on this topic.

Morozov explains that the Treasury export regulations permit sites such as Facebook or Twitter to offer Syria or Zimbabwe as a location option, allowing users to access their services. Amazon.com, which sells books and other products by mail, and
GoDaddy.com, which offers domain names, must prohibit use in sanctioned countries altogether.

In addition to Kubatana’s account, BlueHost has also pulled down sites promoting the Belarusian American Association as well as several Persian blogs, citing similar reasons about export compliance. While BlueHost received a significant amount of negative press over these decisions, it is certainly not the only DSP involved in this practice.

The Global Network Initiative (GNI), a multi-stakeholder organization that has partnerships with Yahoo! Microsoft, Google, human rights advocates, and academics, began compiling a list of similar takedowns from a variety of Web companies in 2009. It would seem that the Treasury Department’s recent increase of fines for noncompliance has led companies to review carefully their operations overseas and often results in changing their terms of service to ensure they do not transact with sanctioned nations.

In March, LinkedIn blocked access to users who identified Syria as their location. After civil society groups confronted LinkedIn, and the incidents were identified Syria as their location. After civil society act with sanctioned nations.

operations oversees and often results in changing compliance has led companies to review carefully their operations overseas and often results in changing

warning is not a new problem. What worries human rights advocates about the growing accounts of “intermediary censorship” and blanket service shutdowns in sanctioned countries is the apathy of certain American companies and coinciding worries about the companies’ potential liability with the Treasury Department. There is a certain willingness to overlook the complex situation and decide to lose the customer for sake of the bottom line, free press advocates note.

“I don’t think that BlueHost is somehow opposed to civil society in Zimbabwe,” Zuckerman wrote on his blog. “I think they’re lazy, and decided that actually responding to Kubatana’s explanations wasn’t worth their time...I think they concluded—perhaps correctly—that denying Zimbabwean activists a platform for speech wouldn’t adversely affect their business.”

There are also conflicting messages coming from the federal government about how to handle these services in rogue countries. Some policy advisors, such as Alec Ross, senior advisor on innovation to Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton, encourage opportunities to use Web 2.0 applications such as blogs, Twitter, and text messages as methods for aiding the civil society of governments the United States rarely engages. For example, Jared Cohen, a member of the State Department policy planning staff, is credited with encouraging Twitter not to shut down for maintenance during the Iranian uprising this summer, so dissidents could continue microblogging as a way to communicate with the world. Nonetheless, these initiatives will fall flat if Ross and Cohen’s team does not coordinate its efforts with the Commerce and Treasury Department’s export control compliance.

Zuckerman argues that the government must help online service providers understand U.S. trade regulations so that it is as simple as possible for them to be in compliance. The more difficult it is to evaluate whether an individual should be denied services, the more likely companies such as BlueHost or Facebook will simply deny access to all users from a sanctioned country rather than risk legal complications.

Online hosting companies must also take some
ties of this 21st-century problem will continue to emerge as more people from around the globe come online.

In the meantime, Kubatana’s site is live again. The staff, however, decided to operate under Rimuhosting, which is based in New Zealand and exempt from U.S. Treasury Department sanctions. Rimuhosting’s managing director told them he remains committed to serving the civic organization, despite the blog’s potentially controversial content.

“We decided not to use another United States–based Web host for fear of a repeat of this incident,” Burrell wrote in an e-mail.

Lauren D. Klein, MIA ’10, co-editor of SIPA News, is concentrating in International Media and Communications. She spent the summer as a research assistant at the Berkman Center for Internet & Society.
Cyber-Dissidents Fight for Freedom against the Odds

BY STEPHEN GRAY

At a café in Yangon, activist Shin San describes his role in Myanmar’s 2007 Saffron Revolution in hushed tones and with furtive glances. Openly expressing political opinions can and regularly does result in imprisonment, exile, or death in this Southeast Asian country, which is also known as Burma. Shin San avoided punishment for mobilizing activists and participating in street protests, but many of his fellow activists have since been imprisoned or fled abroad. Ashin U Gambira, leader of the “All Burma Monks’ Alliance” that spearheaded the revolution, is serving 68 years.
While movements promoting democratic transformation, justice, and freedom have ultimately failed to achieve their goals throughout nearly 50 years of military rule in Myanmar, the expansion of Internet services offers a glimmer of hope. According to the International Telecommunication Union, a United Nations agency, only 1.5 out of every 100 people in Myanmar used the Internet in 2008. After traveling through the country this summer, I am convinced that these numbers are rising—rapidly. The Internet offers the Burmese a means to learn the truth about Myanmar and a soapbox from which they can plead their case to the outside world. Isolation and strict control of information have afforded the Burmese a degree of privacy that has limited exposure to outside information, justice, and freedom have ultimately failed to achieve their goals throughout nearly 50 years of military rule in Myanmar. The odds have much tied to the changes in Asian life over the past two decades," says Khin Omar, exiled activist and one of the leading voices against Burma’s military regime. While witnessing the economic progress of neighboring countries is unlikely to spell an end to the regime, the Burmese are now more aware of what they are missing out on.

**The Information Revolution Comes to Burma**

Nowhere is this awakening more evident than in the Internet cafés of Yangon, where hordes of young Burmese can be found chatting on MSN, checking their Gmail accounts, and surfing the Web. That the Burmese use the Internet in cafés rather than at home is not surprising—personal broadband connection with Burma’s main Internet service provider costs more than six times the average per capita income. What is surprising is just how many Internet cafés there are. Three hundred and fifty-five of the country’s 464 officially registered Internet cafés are located in Yangon, and when unregistered Internet cafés are taken into account, local estimates suggest that there are actually more than 700.

Dissidents inside and outside the country are now able to communicate and organize with less fear of being apprehended, giving hope that in the future political activists will be better prepared, organized, and effective.

Despite the government’s attempts to block reports from escaping the country during the Saffron Revolution, citizen journalists blogged extensively about the protests, leaked footage to video sharing Web sites, and provided the only accounts of the violent military crackdown after foreign journalists were expelled from the country. Though many of these blogs have since been shut down, the bloggers’ identities were difficult to trace and new blogs were soon established.

The Web has also opened the door to inbound information. “The Internet is one of the few places where Burmese can receive independent news and views,” mizzima.com editor Soe Myint wrote in an e-mail. Mizzima was founded by Burmese political exiles in New Delhi in 1998 and now employs a staff of 50. While the Burmese have been able to listen to independent radio news like the Democratic Voice of Burma for some time, the Internet allows for more sources and perspectives on domestic events.

Unlike government newspapers, overseas Web sites including Mizzima and Irrawaddy document incidents of forced labor, child labor, mass rape, opium trafficking, and ethnic cleansing in the country. Soe Myint argues that the more Burmese are aware of their government’s crimes and failures, the more likely they will be to rise up and demand change.

**The Battle for Cyberspace**

The government knows that free information flow threatens its control over society. And increasing international awareness puts pressure on multinational corporations and states that engage the regime through commerce or political allegiance. But whereas traditional media were relatively easy to control—there have been no independent newspapers for decades, foreign journalists are denied visas, and even song lyrics must pass a censorship board—the government has found Internet traffic more difficult to censor.

In 2005, the OpenNet Initiative described Burma as “one of the world’s most restrictive regimes of Internet control,” due to the high cost of Internet access and the government’s comprehensive censorship measures. But with the advent
of proxy Web sites that allow Internet users to “get around” the block, the government’s censorship measures have become less effective. I was able to access a range of restricted Web sites to write this article while in Yangon.

Burma’s thought police counterpunched by stepping up monitoring and censorship measures and imposing harsh penalties for cyber dissent. In an April report, the Committee for the Protection of Journalists (CPJ) rated Burma as the worst country in the world in which to be a blogger. While cyber dissent from within Burma is undoubtedly risky, it would be virtually impossible to publicly dissent in Burma without it. It’s dangerous, surely, but it’s certainly a lot safer than preaching an anti-government message in the street. “Bloggers are definitely under fire,” writes Soe Myint, “but they nonetheless represent the seedlings of an emerging independent media in Burma.”

Four days after the CPJ report was released, the Burmese government announced that new Internet cafés would open around the country. Though such commitments must be taken with a grain of salt, Burmese cyber-dissidents are encouraged to see that the government is under pressure to increase Internet access.

Support for Burmese dissidents is also coming from abroad. In September, U.S. Senators Sam Brownback (R-Kan.) and Arlen Specter (D-Pa.) secured $30 million of the Senate’s State Department appropriations bill to support digital tools that will allow citizens of oppressive states worldwide to bypass their government’s censorship measures.

Hope Is Online
In August, a state-run trial placed pro-democracy leader Aung San Suu Kyi back under house arrest—where she has been for two decades. The verdict was greeted by an eerie quiet on the streets of Yangon. The penalty for speaking out is such that not a single voice was raised in protest outside. But in the relative safety of the Internet cafés, the Web was ablaze. Thousands of Burmese rushed to news Web sites, chatted online, and blogged for the benefit of those in Yangon and the outside world. Within hours a thousand Burmese opinions were online. In an instant the will of the Burmese people—whispered and written in Yangon—echoed in Bangkok, Tokyo, and New York. The battle for Burmese freedom has shifted from the streets to cyberspace. Here the Burmese are free to speak and the Tatmadaw’s bullets can’t hurt them. Here the war is not yet won, but the call for freedom has never been louder.

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After passing fountains, a Starbucks, and an Internet center in the lobby, visitors to Bumrungrad International Hospital in Bangkok may feel as though they are checking into a luxury hotel rather than a hospital. But Bumrungrad is known internationally for its Cardiac, G-I, Orthopedic, and Urology departments, as well as for cosmetic surgery and comprehensive medical checkups.

The medical tourism industry in Thailand alone grows at 14 percent annually, and countries in Asia, Latin America, Africa, and Eastern Europe also attract foreign patients. As developing countries acquire technology and scientific knowledge that equal or surpass that of hospitals in the developed world, the number of patients crossing borders is growing. In Asia, medical tourists seek treatments like stem cell therapy and organ transplants that, for reasons of ethics, technology, and economics, may not even be available at home.
Gregory Kellstrom, from the United States, visited the Wooridul Spine Hospital in Seoul, South Korea, in October 2008. South Korea has joined Thailand, Singapore, India, and other Asian nations in the lucrative business of medical tourism.
Development

The "medical tourism moniker" started in Thailand, said Susan Cartier Poland, legal research associate at the National Reference Center for Bioethics Literature at Georgetown University. Thailand first marketed to expatriate Thais living overseas, encouraging them to come home for medical care, according to Harriet Hutson Gray, who co-authored the article "Medical Tourism: Crossing Borders to Access Health Care" with Cartier Poland.

Kenneth Mays, senior director of Hospital Marketing and Business Development, said the most common nationalities treated at Bumrungrad International Hospital are Thai, Japanese, Emirati, and American. The number of Americans treated at Bumrungrad increased from 2000 through 2006. While the number has leveled off, Mays still sees 50,000 patients from the United States per year.

Bumrungrad serves expatriates living and working in the Thai capital as well as locals who can afford the care. Foreigners, however, travel to Thailand for medical care for a number of reasons, Mays said.

"Some nationalities seek better medical quality than they can get in their home countries," he noted in an e-mail. "Others want faster access or lower costs. Most of them say the service in Thailand is warmer, more caring."

There is increasing competition for foreign patients among private hospitals in Bangkok. Yanhee Hospital, for instance, boasts a one-to-two patient-nurse ratio.

Doctors practicing in countries that ration health care, including the United Kingdom and Canada, can be put in a difficult position when patients travel overseas and urgently need follow-up care upon return, causing them to choose between denying that urgent care or refusing treatment to other patients, she said.

When abroad, patients often have no legal recourse if something goes wrong. There is simply no such thing as an international malpractice suit.

Challenges and Controversy

From the outset, traveling abroad for health care has been a controversial concept. Patients often face problems upon returning from an overseas operation and may have trouble getting prescriptions from one country filled in another.

"Once you go over for a medical procedure, you are quoted an outrageously small amount and the hospital stay is not much," Cartier Poland said. "When you come back you don't know what to do about follow-up. You don't have a doctor. You don't have anything."

Operations that may not be approved or available elsewhere are inherently more controversial than the ubiquitous private Thai clinics performing cosmetic surgery. India, China, and the Philippines, Loike said, are in the business of arranging organ transplants for foreigners.

"People will go anywhere to buy an organ," Cartier Poland said. In Pakistan and the Philippines, people sell kidneys to pay off debts. In China, the process is not market based, and organs are thought to be taken from executed prisoners.

Some maintain that looking for care overseas—
including organ transplants, heart repairs, and fertility treatments—is a measure of last resort. “People seeking these treatments seem to have desperation before them,” Houston Gray said.

Others see traveling to Asia as a smart way of taking advantage of lower costs and advances in science.

Since 2005, the Beijing-based stem cell therapy company Beike Biotechnology has treated 7,000 patients in China for diseases including spinal cord injury, blindness, cardiomyopathy, and neurological conditions like acute and chronic stroke, cerebral palsy, multiple sclerosis, and ataxia. Twenty percent of the patients are foreign medical tourists from more than 35 different countries. Of the foreign patients, 50 percent are American and Canadian and 35 percent are European, according to Narin Apichairuk, president of Beike operations in Thailand.

Apichairuk said the stem cell therapy company is rapidly expanding its operations into Thailand and other major Asian Pacific centers, including Malaysia, the Philippines, and Singapore.

“With the burgeoning medical tourism industry, these areas have the full support of local governments, world-class hospitals seeking state-of-the-art treatment technologies, and patient pools seeking therapies to address chronic, life-altering diseases and health conditions,” he said by e-mail.

Loike is concerned about hospitals maintaining safety and ethical standards as they move into more dicey medical tourism operations.

“When they are copying the West it’s OK for medical tourism, but when you start getting into gene therapy, stem cells, transplants … there is no control,” he said. “Some hospitals are providing stem cell therapy that has not been shown to be effective.”

In allowing stem cell clinics to open, Apichairuk, on the other hand, believes Asia jumped on cutting edge scientific knowledge that could save lives, while the West lagged behind.

“Political systems in the West created confusion and controversy concerning embryonic and fetal stem cell sources that effectively shut down stem cell research,” he said. A majority of people from both the West and in Asia, he believes, “would feel that adult stems cells derived from bone marrow, umbilical cord, adipost (fat), and/or blood do not cross any ethical boundaries.”

There is also the question of how promoting medical tourism affects the host country’s population.

In October, Jason Overdorf wrote a blistering piece for The Global Post on India, a country that some say has the potential to surpass Thailand as Asia’s top medical tourism destination. Overdorf claims the jet-setting patients who take advantage of low-cost knee and hip replacements in India’s private hospitals have drawn attention away from the fact that millions of Indians receive no health care at all and points out that the Delhi High Court recently slammed the famous Apollo hospital chain in a law suit for failing to live up to its commitment to provide free treatment for the poor in exchange for concessionary land rates.

The Future
While predicting future advances in science, policy, and economic circumstance is impossible, the concept of going abroad for health care seems to be here to stay.

The Deloitte Center for Health Solutions forecast an annual growth rate for medical tourism of 35 percent internationally, starting in 2010.

Thailand’s Department of Export Promotion expects 2 million visitors to arrive for medical treatments in 2010. Foreign patients generated an estimated $6 billion for Thailand in 2008.

Though medical tourism remains largely unregulated, and ethical and policy concerns will continue to emerge as the industry grows, some steps are being taken to apply universal standards to the industry.

The nonprofit Joint Commission International has dispatched teams of health professionals to accredit hospitals around the world since 1999. Bumrungrad Hospital was the first Asian hospital to be accredited in 2002, and the Bangkok Hospital chain received this mark of approval in 2009.

Hospitals promoting medical tourism see insurance coverage going global, according to Loike, and are taking steps to comply with the ethical and safety standards of various insurance companies.

Mays said Bumrungrad has contracts with a few U.S. insurers, including Companion Global Healthcare. “Many others are talking to us,” he said. “But this is taking longer to develop.”

On November 7, 2009, the day after the U.S. House of Representatives passed health care legislation, the New York Times’ Prescription blog wrote that policies that cover offshore treatment may be especially attractive to large U.S. employers because they could lower the cost of coverage.

Two thousand insurers, hospital representatives, and travel agents from around the world discussed the future of the global industry at the second annual medical tourism conference in Los Angeles in October.

While Lonely Planet, Rough Guide, and Frommer’s have combed over Thailand’s beaches and dive resorts, a new guidebook has taken on its hospitals, health travel agents, and recovery services. Healthy Travel Media released Patients Beyond Borders: Thailand Edition on October 26, 2009.

Caroline Stauffer, MIA ‘10, co-editor of SIPA News, is concentrating in International Media and Communications. She spent the summer of 2009 working with the Associated Press in Bangkok but managed to avoid the city’s hospitals.

“Once you go over for a medical procedure, you are quoted an outrageously small amount and the hospital stay is not much. When you come back you don’t know what to do about follow-up. You don’t have a doctor. You don’t have anything.” —SUSAN CARTIER POLAND
On September 26, 2006, President George W. Bush signed into law the Federal Funding Accountability and Transparency Act, otherwise known as the Coburn-Obama bill. It was an early effort of two new senators to bring transparency to government spending and provide open access to all government contracts.

Fast forward to 2009: The White House has an Open Government Initiative, groups of volunteers are competing to build the best software to shed light on the newly available data, and at the September 2009 Gov 2.0 conference in Washington, D.C., John Podesta, former chief of staff to President Bill Clinton, argues that emerging communications technology is a “tool of empowerment” for citizens in societies where political expression is constrained. At the same conference, Carl Malamud, an early Internet pioneer, somewhat breathlessly proclaims, “we are now witnessing a third wave of change—an Internet wave—where the underpinnings and machinery of government are used not only by bureaucrats and civil servants, but by the people.” Understanding the challenges and opportunities for governments, policymakers outside government, and those traditionally involved in providing oversight, is a significant task that has only just begun.

Two appointees of the Obama administration, Vivek Kundra, chief information officer of the federal government, and Beth Noveck, deputy chief technology officer for Open Government, are leading the information transformation in the U.S. government today. Transparency initiatives independent of specific policy objectives are becoming more common. Examples include Data.gov, a portal that provides raw feeds of machine-readable data; IT.usaspending.gov, a portal into the federal departments’ technology expenditures; and the recently re-launched Recovery.gov, which seeks to provide transparency on the stimulus bill expenditures.

Similar innovation is also occurring at the state and city level. For example, in San Francisco, Datasf.org provides a number of electronic data-sets that have been used in applications as varied as mapping crime statistics by block, and by iPhone applications such as MomMaps, which identifies kid friendly locations, as well as others that help with route planning on mass transit.
In New York, the CIO of the New York Senate, Andrew Hoppin and his team launched a Web site, Open.nysenate.gov/legislation, in November 2009 to complement a number of other sites that seek to bring transparency to the New York Senate. All of these initiatives are occurring alongside projects funded by organizations such as the Sunlight Foundation, which recently sponsored contests for software developers that generated applications like DataMasher.org, govpulse.us, and ThisWeKnow.org.

In the U.S. State Department, Senior Advisor for Innovation Alec Ross, a well-regarded government outsider, is charged with maximizing the potential of technology in service of America’s diplomatic and development goals. The work of a small band of collaborators, including Jared Cohen of the policy planning staff, the State Department’s internal think tank, has enabled ordinary citizens to read highlights from President Obama’s speech in Cairo in text messages to mobile phones in Urdu, Persian, and Arabic, as well as in English. Ross’s team has also organized an Electronic Town Hall for Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton and continues to engage with the Alliance of Youth Movements, an organization that connects government and youth activists with technology and media companies.

Internationally, citizen engagement online has made headlines with activists in Iran and Moldova using Twitter and other social networking technology as tools to challenge their governments. In places as distant as Britain and Chile, new tools and technologies are being deployed. Felipe Heusser, a graduate student at the London School of Economics and Political Science, has recently launched a Web site, VotaInteligente.cl, which seeks to use the Web in Chile to promote civic participation through accountability and transparency. In the United Kingdom, mysociety.org, led by Tom Steinberg, formerly a policy analyst in the UK Prime Minster’s Strategy Unit, has developed tools as disparate as TheyWorkforyou.com, a site that aggregates information on UK members of parliament; Fixmystreet.com, a site permitting citizens to identify potholes that need to be filled; and the wildly successful Petitions.number10.gov.uk, which has collected more than 8 million signatures through its various petitions.

These changes are often characterized as presaging a new utopia in transparency and accountability, but in practice, digital data and digital tools present as much of a challenge as an opportunity. No one in the United States can ignore the impact digital media has had on newspapers, the traditional institutions of government oversight. Their investigative staffs have been cut back and the oversight they provide is less extensive; and though the economics of their industry may recover with the economic cycle, it is unlikely they will ever deploy the same level of resources they once did.

In the United States, those tasked with communicating directly with the public are exploring ways to use these new channels for government. A White House Office of Public Engagement has been charged with “bringing new voices to the table, and ensuring everyone can participate and inform the work of the president.” At the Federal Communications Commission, a new chairman, Julius Genchowski, is developing policies and a plan to accelerate broadband deployment. However, even with this attention to accessing the machinery of government, inequalities in digital literacy will continue to privilege the highly educated, young, and connected.

Professor Lawrence Lessig of Harvard Law School has criticized the “naked transparency” movement, arguing that data alone won’t generate better governance. One could ask how many people are going to contrast and compare (or “mash-up,” as the new terminology goes) Wyoming’s Toxics Release Inventory with Medicare Cost Reports and find something that an in-house government employee hasn’t. Moreover, the likelihood, even in an age of Wikipedia, is that few have those skills. New policies will be needed for transparent data to play the role in the democratic process that some envision.

Though the passion and energy of government transparency activists is considerable, one must be skeptical, with expectations tempered. Asking questions of President Obama over the Web, sending SMSs to the president when he visits Africa, or editing documents drafted as inputs to traditional policymaking processes have the same redolence of novelty that fax-centric advocacy in the early 1990s and “click here” to send a message to your congressperson had in 1999, courtesy of MoveOn.org. Hard work is required to prepare the bureaucracies of 21st-century government for these changes. This work requires thousands of people inside government to change the way they deal with information in order to handle the potentially large, disparate inputs of data. It is unclear how such ostensibly open processes coexist with policy-making processes that have traditionally permitted trading favors behind closed doors.

Higher education institutions have an opportunity to play a role in fostering digital literacy in ways that the recently published Knight Commission Report, Informing Communities: Sustaining Democracy in a Digital Age, argues are important as media moves online. Understanding, the opportunities people have to analyze the streams of digital information now available and preparing graduates to address this new interplay between transparency, openness, privacy, and technology is a considerable challenge. In January 2001, many believed it was improbable to build an encyclopedia on voluntary contributions from the general public: today, Wikipedia harnesses the labors of more than 140,000 different people in any 30-day period.

Will the small numbers of people involved in open government expand as Wikipedia did? In countries with repressive regimes, will the new tools serve more as surveillance tools or organizing tools for social movements? How do we need to rethink privacy policies in light of these electronic flows of data? Will the future SIPA graduate be as likely to do a joint degree with Computer Science as with Public Health? Will there be a need to supplement statistics with an explanation of semantic Web markup language that is being deployed to improve the Web? These are among the questions for SIPA graduates of the next decade, as they explore this new context of digital transparency in government.

Tom Glaisyer graduated in 2006 from SIPA with an MIA. He is currently a Knight Media Policy Fellow at the New America Foundation in Washington, D.C., and completing a doctorate at the Columbia Graduate School of Journalism in Communications, considering the digital society, and the institutions, policies, and practices that surround it. He can be contacted at teg2102@columbia.edu.
Sarah, a Pashtun friend from Peshawar, Pakistan, was driving home from Islamabad last fall with her parents when they noticed an amorphous, reflective object in the sky.

“It looked like a massive spaceship,” Sarah said of the 27-foot-long unmanned, predator drone. “It was scary.”

Two of her cousins who lived in Waziristan, a region close to the Afghan border, experienced more than a sighting. A slew of drone missiles struck their ancestral land earlier that month, leaving them homeless.
Armed, unmanned predator drones, a U.S. military advancement rarely used 10 years ago, have become an important, but controversial tool for clandestinely striking ground targets in Pakistan. While the U.S. government campaigns for stability in the region, the policy of pursuing and killing suspected terrorists with drones may further alienate the Pakistani population and simultaneously undermine the most important fight, that for Pakistani hearts and minds. The case of armed drones in Pakistan is a reminder that as military technology advances, political leaders, security analysts, and academics must vigilantly assess the foreign policy implications of using these tools.

On the one hand, drones appear to have served American interests well. They have identified and killed al-Qaeda and Taliban insurgents without directly risking American lives. However, drone missions have also had their share of blunders, specifically in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas of Pakistan. Of the 60 predator drone attacks between January 2006 and April 2009 in the region, only 10, or about 17 percent, hit their targets, killing 14 al-Qaeda leaders and several hundred operatives, according to The News International, a Pakistani daily paper. In the process, however, the attacks also killed 687 Pakistani civilians. In the words of News International reporter Amir Mir, the drones have become a bête noire among the Pakistani people. This net effect complicates an already delicate political and religious divisions.

Emphasizing that the collateral damage from drone attacks was immense, Sarah says stories like hers and her cousins’ abound throughout Pakistan. In addition to the civilian deaths since 2006, drones have displaced thousands in and around the Afghan border, according to reports from the United Kingdom’s Times. According to Sarath, the attacks have terrorized many more, strengthening local distrust and hostility toward the United States.

The armed aerial drones most commonly used in Pakistan—the Predator B and the Reaper—are converted spy planes operated remotely from military bases by members of the military or clandestine agencies. These military tools cost between $4.5 and 6 million, respectively, and came into wider use after September 11, 2001. Assistant Professor Austin Long, who teaches security policy at SIPA and worked as a consultant on a MIT study of technology and urban operations in covert-surgency, says the drones function much like traditional fighter planes, striking high-value targets, yet cost much less than manned planes, don’t risk pilots’ lives, and are preferred to manned planes by the Pakistani government.

The progression from spy planes to armed aerial vehicles was logical. In fact, had drones been armed sooner, Osama Bin Laden, whose picture was captured by an unarmed drone, might well have been killed years ago, as Steve Coll suggests in his book Ghost Wars: The Secret History of the CIA, Afghanistan, and Bin Laden, from the Soviet Invasion to September 10, 2001.

One of the central arguments for drone deployment is financial. Since drones are less expensive than soldiers per unit of output, “the U.S. way of war is to substitute capital for labor,” Long said. While not a perfect substitute for pilots or soldiers, in many instances aerial drones represent a less expensive means of realizing the same military ends. The cost to deploy a soldier to war for one year is $1 million, according to a WBUR public radio report from October 29, 2009, citing statistics released by the White House. This figure does not include training costs, health care and potential death benefits, which could reach more than $1 million. Thus, for the cost of training, and deploying 225 soldiers for two years, the United States could buy 100 predator drones and provide greater military capacity.

Following widely publicized strikes that killed high-ranking insurgents including Osama al Kini, Sheikh Ahmed Salim Sweden, and, more recently, the leader of the Taliban in Pakistan, Baitullah Mehsud, supporters of drone operations gained momentum for their position. They argued that drone attacks are also a far more popular and far less expensive option than the alternative, which, if the situation in Pakistan became critical, could include U.S. troops engaging directly.

In addition to the threat posed by the Taliban and al-Qaeda in the western part of the country, Pakistan is also addressing tensions with decades-old rival India in the east. Since many Pakistani troops are committed to defensive positions along the Indian border, the United States might regard Pakistan as too preoccupied on the Indian front to adequately handle the growing internal threat posed by militants on the western front. In fact, when the Taliban made aggressive pushes toward Lahore and Islamabad, drones were valuable, on-call assets to the Pakistani military in counterattacking and slowing the assault. And because drone attacks don’t risk American lives, there is no compelling U.S. political pressure—yet—to abandon the raids.

With fewer U.S. lives on the line, the American public is less likely to hold the politicians’ and decision makers’ feet to the accountability fire, and the Pakistani population could find itself increasingly in the fray. The more advanced the technology becomes, the more drones may seem like a magic solution. But if their use increases, while disregarding commensurate public alienation, drones could have unforeseen and unwelcome consequences in an increasingly unstable nuclear state. In Pakistan, the drones’ upside becomes itself a risk: distance and insulation from human damage in Pakistan can lead to imprudent decisions and remove decision makers as well as the U.S. public from realities on the ground.

As drone technology evolves, the role of the tools will become increasingly interchangeable with that of a soldier. Long says that while advanced unmanned vehicles or humanoid drones with the ability to conquer and occupy land—a prerequisite for a primarily drone-based military—are not in the foreseeable future, the increasing ability to replace soldiers with drones makes this prospect progressively less abstract.

“Military officers quietly acknowledge that new prototypes will soon make human fighter pilots obsolete,” P. W. Singer a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution, wrote in War for War: The Robotics Revolution and Conflict in the 21st Century.

While the prospect of a primarily drone-based military remains more fiction than science today, the relationship between advanced military technology and corresponding public policy decisions, as illustrated by drones in Pakistan, will become increasingly important.

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VIDEO SHARING FROM THE GRAVE:

A TALE OF MURDER, INTRIGUE—AND MICROBLOGGING IN GUATEMALA

Rodrigo Rosenberg Marzano
A lawyer has been murdered, shot dead while riding his bicycle through the streets of a Latin American capital. At the funeral, his family hands out copies of a video recorded four days earlier. The lawyer posthumously blames his country’s president for his death. Chaos and cover-ups ensue.

This isn’t Hollywood’s latest political thriller. Sadly, the story is real. Rodrigo Rosenberg Marzano was killed on May 10, 2009, in Guatemala City. His death came less than a month after the murder of two of his clients, a prominent businessman named Khalil Musa and Musa’s daughter, Marjorie. In the video, Rosenberg claims Musa was killed because he refused to participate in corruption surrounding Guatemala’s state-owned bank, Banrural. Rosenberg accuses Guatemalan president Álvaro Colom, Colom’s wife, and two of Colom’s associates of authorizing all three killings.

Violent crime is still common in the Central American country that only recently began recovering from a 36-year civil war. But Rosenberg’s death drew unprecedented attention not only because of the shocking indictment against the government, but also because the story was documented and driven by new technology.

“The use of [the] Internet was decisive, fast, and effective. It was a surprise because it had never been used before in such dimensions,” said Luis Figueroa, a member of the projustice organization Un Joven Más and author of the blog Carpe Diem.

Those who followed the summer elections in Iran may not be surprised that Guatemalan citizens turned to the Internet in the wake of the crisis. Reports on the Iranian “Twitter Revolution” dominated American mainstream media after the elections. Everyone from scholars and State Department officials to casual Facebook users discussed the Internet’s role in politics around the world.

But what happened in Guatemala is unique. According to the International Telecommunication Union, a United Nations agency, the Internet penetration rate in Iran is approximately 30 percent. This means that more than 20 million people have access to the Internet in some form or another. In Guatemala, that percentage is less than 15, and the total number of Internet users is less than 2 million. That the Internet has been such a significant tool in spreading news and organizing protests in a country with such a small online population is astounding.

Within 24 hours of Rosenberg’s death, the Guatemalan newspaper El Periódico had uploaded his video to YouTube, where it received nearly 200,000 views. News of Rosenberg’s accusations traveled through the microblogging site Twitter as well as Guatemalan blogs, and the Facebook group Guatemaltecos unidos pedimos la renuncia de Álvaro Colom (Guatemalans united call for the resignation of Álvaro Colom) attracted more than 40,000 members.

Protests in Guatemala City the week after Rosenberg’s death, many believe, were orga-
nized largely via Facebook, Hi5, and other social networks. They drew tens of thousands of people, who demanded Colom’s resignation and an end to political violence in Guatemala. Guatemalan news organizations streamed the protests live online, further publicizing the issue.

Almost immediately, Twitter users began using the tag #escandalogt (Guatemalan scandal) to mark posts related to the scandal. Ethan Zuckerman, who researches global media attention and global blogging at Harvard University’s Berkman Center for Internet & Society, began tracking the #escandalogt tag shortly after Rosenberg’s murder. In a blog post on the subject, he noted that in the weeks after Rosenberg’s death, the tag was one of the most discussed topics on Twitter.

The Guatemalan government quickly realized the Internet’s ability to empower opponents of the administration and responded by cracking down on social media sites. On May 12, Twitter user Jean Anleu posted a message urging Guatemalans to withdraw their money from Banrural, which he called “corrupt.” Two days later, police raided Anleu’s house, arrested him, and charged him with “inciting financial panic,” a crime punishable by up to 10 years in prison. Anleu, thought to be the first person in Central America to be arrested for posting a message on Twitter, was eventually fined $6,500 and sentenced to house arrest.

Bloggers also drew the attention of the government. In June, several Guatemalan Internet service providers temporarily blocked access to the blog hosting site WordPress and all the blogs it hosts. The block is largely considered to be an attempt to prevent Guatemalan Internet users from reading Chapintocables, an anonymous blog created after Rosenberg’s murder to speak out against violence and corruption in Guatemala. According to the OpenNet Initiative, which researches Internet filtering worldwide, this is the first documented instance of Internet censorship in the country.

Though the government’s attempt at blocking Chapintocables was clumsy—in doing so, it also blocked many moderate and pro-Colom blogs—Renata Avila, a human rights lawyer and online activist in Guatemala, worries that a precedent for censorship has been set. “By the end of 2008, [the government] did not have the software or training to implement Internet filtering, she said. “Now I am afraid that they are acquiring the equipment, training, and tools to do so.”

What happened in Guatemala proves that the Internet can be immensely powerful even when it is not widely present. In the country that a May 2009 Economist article called “as close as any in the Americas (Haiti apart) to a failed state,” online networks enabled news to spread, protests to occur, and society to mobilize.

“Even the Guatemalan newspapers know how to follow us and our trending [Twitter] topics,” said Rudy Girón, editor and photographer for Antigua Daily Photo. “We certainly have moved forward and past the old days when the government was able to silence the opposing views and commentary.”

To be sure, many of those calling for Colom’s resignation were part of Guatemala’s relative elite: the same young, well-educated members of the country’s middle class that are most likely to have access to technology. Counterprotests in support of Colom primarily drew poorer members of Guatemalan society.

This discrepancy has prompted questions about the significance of the Internet’s role in countries with low Internet usage. “Most of the people who use a social media network to voice their opinions are well-connected and tech-savvy bloggers and Twitterers from Guatemala,” said Girón. “Even though we are loud and well-networked, we are a tiny part of the population.”

The journalist believes Guatemalan society is changing despite this technological divide.

“How we Guatemalans are using the new means of communication to voice our opinions and thoughts is certainly new and has put the Guatemalan government in check,” he noted.
The Increased Importance of Science and Technology

Today's public policy requires an understanding of science and technology to be effective. Farming practices influence food safety, public health and water supplies, and even generate ethical issues that stem from cloning and genetic engineering. One cannot regulate those activities in the public interest if one does not understand the science and technology upon which they are based. How can one create policy on “how clean is clean” at a toxic waste site—how far clean-up must proceed before it is complete—without some understanding of the transport, toxicity, and latency of the individual and interacting chemicals?

Just as modern economic life is dominated by science and the development of new technologies, increasingly public policy issues are being shaped by scientific and technological developments. Understanding public policy requires increased levels of scientific literacy. Policy analysts a generation ago needed to add statistics and economics to their toolkit. Today they must incorporate an understanding of science and technology as well.

What Science Needs to Be Taught to Policy Students

Those who teach science to public policy students must understand that their students are not planning to become scientists. Policy students need to learn how to verify scientific findings and separate sound from unsound science. They need to serve as translators between the scientific community and policymakers who are untrained in science. The specific fields of scientific knowledge most important to policy students will vary by the areas of public policy that they work in. Science is not simply for environmental policy students:

- Students focusing on security policy will need to understand the engineering that is the basis of modern weapons systems and the science that provides an understanding of the impact of these weapons on people, ecosystems, and human structures.
- Students working in energy policy will need to understand the science of solar, wind, and geothermal energy as well as the science and engineering of carbon capture and storage. They will also need to understand a range of engineering issues related to the transport of energy in its various forms—from oil and gas to the transmission of electricity.
- Finance students working in carbon and sulfur dioxide markets will need to be familiar with the chemical properties of the materials they are trading.

Communication

Within this notion of “translating science to non-scientists” lies one of the fundamental purposes of science and policy interaction. The world of policy is one of tough deadlines, swift decision-making, and short attention spans. The best policy analysts must also be excellent communicators. Public policy professionals must be conversant in relevant scientific systems and able to transfer information from the scientific realm to the political, decision-making sphere.

The Case of Environmental Science in SIPA’s Environmental Policy Programs

At SIPA, most of our experience in bringing science education to our policy students is in the field of environmental policy. SIPA’s original Environmental Policy concentration and the Department of Earth and Environmental Sciences have worked together since the inception of the program in 1987 to develop science curricula specifically for environmental policy students. The groundbreaking Environmental Science for Decision-Makers, taught by Professor Jim Simpson for a number of years. Professor Simpson also worked closely with Barnard professor Stephanie Pfirman and with Steven Cohen to design the science curriculum for the MPA in Environmental Science and Policy program (MPA ESP). Last year, Simpson’s original course was replaced with Science for Sustainable Development, a course primarily designed for the PhD in Sustainable Development and the Environmental Policy concentration. As Simpson noted in the syllabus for his version of the course in 2003, many environmental problems are inherently international and they all may have some impact on public policy. . . . Although you can expect to learn some specific factual information about several subjects in environmental science during this course, probably the most important result of participation should be to gain confidence in analyzing the dynamics of the natural world on your own, especially through simple, order of magnitude calculations.

With only a single three-credit course to work with, the goals of the original environmental policy program at SIPA were by necessity focused and modest. In designing the science curriculum for the MPA ESP, we allocated 12 points of the 18 required in the program’s first semester to science courses. This “summer of science” allows for the teaching of specific scientific information of importance to policymaking, along with the mode of inquiry mentioned by Simpson.

The Science Curriculum in SIPA’s MPA in Environmental Science and Policy

The program’s science component is designed to enable students to understand enough science to manage and translate the work of science experts. However, we do not expect MPAs to produce scientific research. The focus of the environmental science taught in the program is on understanding the environmental processes that directly affect human health and well-being. Required science courses such as Environmental Chemistry, Toxicology, Climatology, Hydrology, and Ecology are designed to support both global and local environmental decision-making and management. The policy and management issues our graduates are being trained to address include the broad challenges of global warming but more frequently focus on safe drinking water, environmentally-sound sewage treatment and disposal, solid and toxic waste management, and the control of local sources of air pollution.
Another key component of the MPA in Environmental Science and Policy is the program’s three-semester integrative workshop. In this course students combine science and policy analysis through an interdisciplinary problem-solving exercise. Projects vary from analyzing payments for ecosystem services, to calculating the carbon footprint of an organization, to analyzing energy policies, or the potential effects of climate change on national parks.

The MPA in Environmental Science and Policy program is now in its ninth year, and, as one might expect, we have learned a great deal about how best to teach these subjects to our students. Our science faculty has learned that it requires constant work to connect the science they are teaching to specific and relevant policy issues. Even students with a science background (about half of the program’s students) demand that the focus of these courses be on “policy-relevant” science. Another trend is an increased emphasis on how to communicate science to policymakers, and our summer workshop course focuses on the development of this skill.

In 2009, a three-course specialization in applied science was added to SIPA’s curriculum, allowing students to enroll simultaneously in these courses and a five-course policy concentration. Initially, the specialization will be primarily composed of courses taught in departments and schools other than SIPA. However, just as SIPA’s curriculum, mainly composed of courses in traditional social science departments throughout the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, was gradually expanded to include school-specific social science courses, over time we expect the evolution of a growing number of SIPA-specific natural science courses as well.

Conclusions
Although the use of physical and natural sciences in public policy and administration curricula will likely continue to grow in this century, it has not taken root in many educational institutions at this point. It is possible that the very distinct disciplinary traditions of the sciences and public policy may result in the continued “dual degree” approach. Schools of sustainability and environmental studies, rather than public administration or business schools, may end up as the home for programs that bridge science, policy, and management. That would be a loss for the policy schools, since the increasingly complex and technological nature of our economy and public policy require a deeper understanding of science than that present in current curricula.

Teaching science to public policy and administration students is not a simple task. In our MPA in Environmental Science and Policy program it is made more difficult because, by design, half of our students have a background in science and the other half do not. We have developed a set of courses that is challenging to nonscientists but still holds the interest of students with science backgrounds. We accomplish this through an emphasis on group work and encouragement of students with science backgrounds to work on their science communication skills by helping the nonscientists learn the basic concepts. SIPA offers more science instruction in its curriculum than any other public policy school in the United States. We believe that other schools will soon follow and will continue to encourage our colleagues to follow our lead.

Steven Cohen is the executive director of Columbia University’s Earth Institute and also director of SIPA’s MPA in Environmental Science and Policy program and its Energy and Environment Concentration.

Nathalie Chalmers is a 2009 graduate of SIPA’s MPA in Environmental Science and Policy and Columbia University’s Earth Institute.

Excerpted from the 2009 NASPAA Conference, October 15–17, 2009, Crystal City, Virginia.

Columbia Senate Approves New SIPA Dual Degree in Brazil

As part of SIPA’s goal to become the leading public policy school in the world, the School is expanding its network of global partners, by establishing a new dual degree in Brazil and developing additional exchange opportunities around the globe. In November, Columbia’s University Senate approved SIPA’s establishment of a dual degree in São Paulo, Brazil, with the Fundação Getulio Vargas Escola de Administração de Empresas de São Paulo (FGV). Pending approval from the state of New York, SIPA and FGV plan to enroll the first class in the fall of 2010.

SIPA and FGV have designed a unified two-year curriculum, drawing on each school’s strengths, cultures, and traditions. During their first year of study, students will complete the core curriculum in public policy in New York or São Paulo, developing analytical skills in economics, statistics, and political systems and gaining an overview of public and nonprofit management. Students spend their second year at the partner school, where they can choose from a wide array of public policy and business fields to develop a specialization, and graduate with a degree from both institutions. SIPA already offers dual degrees in partnership with Sciences Po Paris, the London School of Economics and Political Science, Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy at the National University of Singapore, and Hertie School of Governance in Berlin.

SIPA is also in the process of developing exchange programs in Moscow, Cairo, and Mexico City, and with INSEAD, one of the world’s leading and largest graduate business schools, with campuses in France, Singapore, and Abu Dhabi. These partnerships will complement SIPA’s existing exchange programs with Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas (CIDE) in Mexico City, the University of Tokyo Graduate School of Public Policy, and the School of Finance at Renmin University in China. The exchange programs allow students to transfer credits toward their degree at SIPA.

Since 2006, SIPA has participated in the Global Public Policy Network (GPPN), a partnership between Columbia University, Sciences Po Paris, the London School of Economics and Political Science, and the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy at the National University of Singapore. The mission of the GPPN is to address the most pressing public policy challenges of the 21st century. It aims to impact policy, influence public policy education, and be innovative in teaching and research through dual degree programs, student and faculty exchanges, and collaborative research and publications.
“Technology for Development”: A Challenge for Workshop Teams

By Eugenia McGill

For decades, technology has been a key driver of national and local development, spurring remarkable advances in agricultural productivity, life-saving vaccines and medical treatments, time-saving appliances, improved water supply and sanitation, and greater connectivity. But the role of technology in international development has also been contested. Even beneficial applications of technology can have unintended negative consequences, such as some of the environmental impacts of intensified agricultural practices under the Green Revolution.

“Modern” technologies can also crowd out valuable forms of indigenous knowledge and expertise—for example, local knowledge of medicinal plant varieties and uses. Successful innovations developed in one setting—such as software programs to manage microloan portfolios—can be transplanted to other settings without adequate attention to differences in the local context and local capacities. Innovations can also be introduced without sufficient input from users and local institutions and without sufficient attention to their capacities and constraints—such as small-scale irrigation systems that require skilled maintenance and frequent repairs. The introduction of new technologies inevitably raises questions about power and resources: Who controls the technology? Who has access to it? Who ultimately benefits from it? These issues frequently emerge in debates around “technology transfer” and the “digital divide” in access to information and communication technologies (ICTs).

For more than a decade, SIPA students have been grappling with these “technology for development” (T4D) issues through the “Workshop in Development Practice,” a capstone course offered to second-year students in the Economic and Political Development concentration and selected students from other concentrations. A number of these workshops have directly involved ICTs, including a study for the NGO FilmAid on its use of videos to support humanitarian assistance in Kenyan refugee camps, and a workshop team I advised in 2004–2005 that developed a rudimentary GIS map for the World Bank to track the incidence of violence around bus stations and bus stops in El Salvador.

Just last year, a SIPA team working with UNICEF won an award from the U.S. Agency for International Development for piloting the use of text-messaging to improve the surveillance of children’s nutrition levels in rural Malawi. As in many “ICT4D” projects, the team found that developing a new ICT application was a relatively “easy” part of the assignment. Far more challenging were some of the nontechnical or “software” issues that emerged, including the need for health ministry staff to analyze and use the improved data that local health workers could collect and transmit by employing mobile phones. The team began by assessing the weaknesses in the existing paper-based system for monitoring nutrition levels, the pluses and minuses of different mobile technologies, and the willingness of local health workers to use mobile phones. The team then developed a two-way text messaging program for the Malawian health workers. Providing “instant” feedback motivated the health workers to make nutrition information available regularly and helped them identify cases of malnutrition in “real time.” The pilot study showed notable improvements in the quality of nutrition data being collected, and UNICEF is now working with the Ministry of Health to extend the pilot to additional districts. UNICEF and other partners are further expanding the use of RapidSMS, the open-source platform that was tested in Malawi and in several other countries, and for a variety of other uses.

Workshop teams have also dealt with the risks associated with technological advancements, especially in extractive industries in developing countries. A team working with Oxfam America in 2001–2002 analyzed the potential benefits and risks of oil extraction in Guinea-Bissau and Senegal, including possible environmental, social, and governance impacts. Increasingly, the extractive industries themselves have adopted strategies to minimize these risks and monitor their own “social performance.” In 2008–2009, another workshop team collaborated with Instituto Observatório Social in Brazil to explore opportunities to promote social dialogue around the bauxite mines in the state of Pará, including local communities, local governments, mine workers, and other stakeholders.

Several recent workshop projects have also focused on appropriate technologies to improve development outcomes. Last year, a SIPA team worked with the Millennium Cities Initiative (MCI) of The Earth Institute at Columbia to develop a business plan for a venture to build bikes using sustainably harvested bamboo in Kenya. During their fieldwork, the team consulted with local stakeholders in Kenya.
including possible buyers; the prototype bike they brought with them generated considerable buzz. The team’s business plan made a compelling case for the venture, estimating positive benefits in terms of financial viability, affordability and higher quality (compared to most imported bikes), local employment opportunities, and environmental sustainability. Earth Institute engineers are still working to identify the best bamboo varieties and assembly processes for the local climate and road conditions in Kenya, but the project has already generated interest among potential investors and other partners. In 2007–2008, another team studied innovative recycling and composting practices in South Africa in order to recommend some of these practices for adaptation in Ruiru, Kenya, a municipality where earlier workshop teams had discovered serious waste management issues. In each of these projects, the teams found they needed to consider a range of nontechnical as well as technical challenges linked to the new technologies, confirming again the importance of addressing “software” issues to maximize the positive impact of technology.

Other workshop projects have addressed these “software” issues more directly, including issues related to community participation, training and capacity development, and greater social inclusion. Last year, a team working with the Dutch volunteer organization SNV analyzed vocational training needs and opportunities along the oilseed production chain in Uganda. A few years earlier, a team worked with the Pamoja Trust in India to assess its community-driven approach to slum upgrading, which actively involves slum residents in the design of improved housing settlements, training in construction skills, and use of locally appropriate techniques and materials to build new houses. Other teams have advised the World Bank on involving women in rural electrification and renewable energy projects and worked with local NGOs in El Salvador to strengthen the technical assistance they provide to small farmers.

Through the “Workshop in Development Practice,” SIPA students have had unique opportunities to contribute to innovations in national and local development, working with both “old” and “new” technologies. In this year’s workshop, student teams are continuing to explore the use of new technologies, including GIS mapping, mobile phones, and interactive Web sites, to improve humanitarian and development outcomes in several developing countries. The students gain a more tangible appreciation of both the benefits and limitations of technology and learn the importance of involving local users in selecting and adapting appropriate technologies to meet the development challenges they face.

Eugenia McGill is a lecturer in International and Public Affairs at SIPA, where she directs the Workshop in Development Practice and is assistant director of the Economic and Political Development concentration.

### SIPA and The Earth Institute Launch New MPA in Development Practice

**By Urania Mylonas**

How do you train development professionals to better understand issues related to urgent global problems like climate change, water scarcity, extreme poverty, and hunger? An exciting new degree program, the Master of Public Administration in Development Practice, was launched this summer at Columbia’s School of International and Public Affairs, in partnership with The Earth Institute and with the generous support of the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation. It is helping to prepare the next generation of sustainable development practitioners find solutions to these interconnected crises.

By combining SIPA and The Earth Institute’s world-class faculties with hands-on field research, the MPA in Development Practice is the first degree of its kind in the world. It links the social, natural, health, and management sciences and emphasizes the formation and nurturing of the critical knowledge, skills, and attributes needed to be an effective professional in developing societies.

In partnership with the MacArthur Foundation, The Earth Institute gathered experts and practitioners from around the world to be part of an International Commission on Education for Sustainable Development to share ideas and make recommendations for new initiatives in sustainable development education.

A core recommendation of the Commission was the development of the Global Master’s in Development Practice Secretariat, to be based at The Earth Institute and serve as the umbrella organization overseeing all Master’s in Development Practice programs and activities globally. The Columbia program is the first of these initiatives.

Led by SIPA professor Glenn Denning, formerly of the Millennium Villages project, where he was a founding director of the Millennium Development Goals Centre East, the 22-month MPA in Development Practice features several faculty members who have critical field experience, embody SIPA’s commitment to “educating professionals who make a difference in the world,” and who will work side by side with students during their research projects and beyond.

Students from a wide range of backgrounds arrived at SIPA this past summer, prior to their first fall term, for an intensive two-week refresher course that included physics, chemistry, biology, economics, math, and statistics. “We had a very global and diverse application pool, from candidates who were coming from a computer engineering background to public health professionals,” said Louise Rosen, director of The Earth Institute’s Office of Academic and Research Programs. “What connected them was that they all had very strong quantitative skills and a deep commitment to addressing issues of absolute poverty and inequity in the developing world.”

The MPA in Development Practice degree at SIPA is setting a new standard for other universities that are keen to develop their own Master’s in Development Practice programs. Thanks to the ongoing commitment of the MacArthur Foundation, which has earmarked $16 million to seed the creation of such master’s programs at up to 20 universities worldwide over the next three years, the Global Network of Master’s in Development Practice programs will be truly global in its scale and reach.

Urania Mylonas is stewardship manager/writer at The Earth Institute.
During the fall of 2009, SIPA’s Global Mayors Forum hosted mayors from New York, London, and Karachi. The Global Mayors Forum seeks to enrich public understanding of the policy challenges and opportunities that are particular to cities in both the developed and developing world.

Mayor Michael Bloomberg of New York and Mayor Boris Johnson of London headlined the September conference, “THINKING BIG, New York and London: Heading Back to the Top,” co-sponsored by SIPA and Columbia’s World Leaders Forum. The two discussed public policies intended to boost the economies and quality of life in their cities and offered their views about each other’s plan. Both agreed that fiscal discipline is essential during an economic crisis, but they also noted that it’s just as important to move ahead on big infrastructure projects that generate jobs and revenue, such as construction of affordable housing and updating city subway systems. “Building now will put winning cards in the city’s hands when the national economy rebounds,” said Bloomberg.

In a policy discussion that followed, each mayor commented on the other city’s competitive advantages and disadvantages. Bloomberg said London benefited from an expanding European market, whereas Johnson contended that geography worked in New York’s favor, making the city “the unrivaled financial center of a massive single market, North America.” Johnson also said that New York benefited from a growing perception that it is safer than in the recent past.

In November, SIPA hosted Mayor Syed Mustafa Kamal of Karachi, Pakistan. Karachi is one of the largest cities in the world—18 million people—and a gateway to Central Asia. During his presentation, entitled “Urban Policy, Global Challenges,” Kamal addressed the challenge of improving services for such a large city by a mayor with limited power—the federal government controls the police force, for example. Kamal also discussed the opportunities and threats facing Karachi and its role in Pakistan. “Pakistan can only be destabilized by destabilizing Karachi,” he said. “Karachi is the backbone of the Pakistani economy. It is the revenue engine for Pakistan. Karachi is the revenue engine and supply line for the whole region.”

Ester Fuchs, professor of public affairs and political science and a former policy adviser to Bloomberg, directs the Global Mayors Forum. “When these mayors come to Columbia and are willing to engage in a dialogue with the Columbia community, our students can better understand both the challenges and solutions to the most pressing issues we confront in the 21st century,” she said.

Dean John H. Coatsworth noted the immediate impact mayors can have on the lives of residents by supporting the police, firefighters, transport and sanitation systems, parks, libraries, and schools. “By engaging these leaders in our Global Mayors Forum,” he said, “we will benefit from their thoughts about the role that cities play in the generation of new policy ideas and their experiences in trying to improve urban life.”

Alex Burnett is communications officer at SIPA. John Uhl is Web content manager at Columbia’s Office of Communications and Public Affairs.
SIPA Students to Benefit from $400 Million Gift from John Kluge

By Alex Burnett

Recognizing the importance of SIPA’s mission to Columbia University and the importance of a vibrant, diverse, and global student body to SIPA, the University’s greatest benefactor, John Kluge (CC ’37), has agreed to allow the University to designate $30 million of his $400 million bequest intention to build the financial aid endowment at SIPA.

To leverage fully the Kluge gift and inspire other donors, SIPA will use $25 million of Mr. Kluge’s gift to establish the SIPA Challenge program. All gifts of $100,000 or more for financial aid endowment at SIPA will be matched 1:1. The remaining $5 million of Mr. Kluge’s gift will be used to create Kluge fellowships. In the interim before the pledge arrives, SIPA will use its existing fellowship funds to name four Kluge Fellows per year. After the pledge is fulfilled, the number of Fellows selected per year will increase. Selection will be based on Mr. Kluge’s interest in supporting students who need financial assistance and whose backgrounds and future interests support SIPA’s mission for public service.

Mr. Kluge graduated from Columbia College in 1937 and is Columbia’s greatest benefactor. In addition to pledging $400 million to Columbia University in 2007 for the purpose of endowed financial aid, he previously donated more than $110 million to the University through the Kluge Scholars program, the Kluge Presidential Scholars, the Kluge Faculty Endowment, and other programs benefiting students in Columbia College. Mr. Kluge is also the founder and past chair of Columbia’s International Advisory Council. In 1988, the University awarded Mr. Kluge an honorary doctor of laws, and in 1991 the Columbia College Alumni Association honored him with the Alexander Hamilton Medal for distinguished service and accomplishment.

SIPA Discount to World Policy Journal

Michelle Wucker, MIA ’93, executive director of the World Policy Institute (WPI), has arranged for a special SIPA discount to WPI’s highly respected and widely cited quarterly magazine, World Policy Journal.

The World Policy Institute (www.worldpolicy.org) seeks to identify crucial emerging policy challenges and possible solutions, to nurture a new generation of global writers and thinkers, and to broaden U.S. policy debates from the idea that the world is “foreign” to an appreciation of shared interests in an interdependent world. Foreign Policy magazine has ranked it among the top 20 U.S. think tanks.

WPI and SIPA will be deepening their collaborative relationship on joint events and policy projects, building on a strong contingent of SIPA alumni at WPI.

WPI senior fellows Silvana Paternostro, MIA ’92, Kavitha Rajagopalan, MIA ’03, and Lissa Weinmann, MIA ’92 are SIPA alumnae. WPI’s board of directors also includes two SIPA alumni, Peter Marber, MIA ’87, and Raymond Lustig, CERT ’78. Several SIPA students, among them Caroline Stauffer, MIA ’10, Vilas Pathikonda, MIA ’09, Almudena Fernández, MPA ’08, and Khaledon Khalil, MIA ’09 have recently been interns at the World Policy Institute. SIPA alumna Priscilla Hayner, MIA ’93 now at the International Center for Transitional Justice, wrote her book Unspeakable Truths: Confronting State Terror and Atrocity (Routledge, 2001) while at the World Policy Institute.

To subscribe to World Policy Journal, please visit http://www.mitpressjournals.org/wopj/ and enter discount code ZWPJX09B to receive 35 percent off the regular subscription price (50 percent off of the newsstand price).
Alumni News By Daniela Coleman

The SIPA Office of Alumni Relations is committed to providing you with needed resources for professional development and opportunities for social networking. Over the past year, SIPA Alumni Relations has increased its presence globally to encourage our alumni to meet and network with each other. Moreover, the SIPA Alumni Council has made alumni career services programming a priority for the 2009–2010 academic year.

A number of events with notable guest speakers have brought our alumni together. On June 15, for example, the Columbia University Club of South Florida welcomed SIPA Dean John H. Coatsworth, who discussed the importance of Latin America to the Obama administration’s “new” foreign policy. SIPA Professor Joseph Stiglitz lectured and met CU/SIPA alumni in Madrid (July 19), London (July 27), Sydney (August 31), and in Istanbul (October 4), where SIPA Professor Sharyn O’Halloran provided closing remarks. On October 20, Dean Coatsworth met with SIPA and CU alumni in Paris, where he spoke about Columbia University’s newly launched Global Centers in Amman, Jordan, and Beijing, China. He used this event to highlight a new European Global Center that will open in Paris in the spring. (Details of this Global Center are forthcoming.)

The Columbia University Clubs’ presence around the world provides a framework for alumni to exchange cultural, professional, and social experiences. Through the dedication of club leaders, not only were the previously mentioned events possible, but varied, frequent, and interesting programming continues. The DC SIPA Steering Committee, formalized in September 2009, is a prime example of SIPA alumni volunteers committed to increasing opportunities for alumni to interact outside NYC. Under the leadership of SIPA Council member Neal Parry (MPA ’06) and, working where possible to complement the activities of the CU Club of DC, the group’s activities will include policy forums with SIPA faculty, regular networking drinks events, and cultural excursions. The first DC Policy Forum was organized with Professor Austin Long on November 18 on “Complacency Kills: Observations from the Field on Counterinsurgency and the Future of Iraq.”

Committed to our alumni’s changing needs, the SIPA Office of Alumni Relations hosted a number of career information sessions on campus. Sessions included presentations from the U.S. Department of State, the Central Intelligence Agency, and the U.S. Department of Energy. Where possible, we have videotaped these sessions so that alumni around the world can view them. (“A Candid Conversation about the U.S. Foreign Service” with Robert William Dry, Diplomat-in-Residence, U.S. Department of State, including an interview on the oral assessment process of the U.S. foreign service examination, can be accessed from our Web site: www.sipa.columbia.edu.)

The SIPA Alumni Council is also committed to helping current students network with alumni to discuss career paths. In the fall of 2009, under the guidance and support of SIPA Council members John Grammer (MIA ’63) and Aaron Singer (MPA ’04), the Council launched a pilot mentoring program, which placed 18 current SIPA students and 17 SIPA alumni mentors together. The goal of the pilot program is to help students transition into the work force by pairing alumni with expertise in certain industries with students interested in those industries. Mentors donate their time and share their professional experiences and knowledge with students. Building on the success of the program, SIPA Alumni Relations will invite alumni to participate in the program in the spring. Be sure to watch out for our broadcast e-mails.

Going forward, SIPA Alumni Relations encourages you to be engaged with your alumni community. We continue to be a resource for you as you embark on your postgraduate school careers. We welcome your suggestions (e-mail: sipaalum@columbia) and look forward to seeing you at either the SIPA Alumni Day on Saturday, May 1, 2010, or at an upcoming SIPA/CU event in your area.

Daniela Coleman is director of SIPA’s Office of Alumni Relations.

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SIPA ALUMNI WEEKEND
SAVE THE DATES

Thursday, April 29, 2010
Tenth Annual Global Leadership Awards Dinner
Mandarin Oriental, New York
Honoring
Fareed Zakaria, Editor, Newsweek International
Ngozi O-Iweara, Managing Director, The World Bank

Friday, April 30, 2010
International Fellows Program
50th Anniversary Reception

and

Saturday, May 1, 2010
SIPA Alumni Day
Come and Join Fellow Classmates for This Annual Event on the Columbia University Campus

More information on both events will be available at www.sipa.columbia.edu
1973
Thomas Hull, MIA
Thomas Hull was recently awarded his second Presidential Meritorious Service Award, this time by President Barack Obama, for his accomplishments as U.S. ambassador to Sierra Leone from 2004 to 2007. The award is given to past and present State Department officials for leadership and advancement of U.S. foreign policy. While serving as ambassador to Sierra Leone, Hull worked on ensuring that its presidential election was free and fair. He also helped to resume visa services at the embassy, which had been terminated during the country’s civil war. Hull also advocated for the return of the Peace Corps to Sierra Leone, led the completion of a new $65 million U.S. embassy in Freetown, and directed fund-raising for the rehabilitation of the John F. Kennedy Building at the University of Sierra Leone. His 31-year diplomatic career has included assignments in South Africa, Nigeria, and Somalia. In addition, he founded the Fulbright Commission for Educational Exchange.

1985
Walter Judge, MIA, IF
Walter E. Judge Jr., director at Downs Rachlin Martin PLLC, has been recognized in the recently published Chambers USA: America’s Leading Business Lawyers 2009. Selection for inclusion in the prestigious legal directory is based on Chambers’ extensive research, including peer and client evaluations. Currently, Judge is also an adjunct professor at Vermont Law School, where he teaches the trade secrets section in an introduction to intellectual property course, and where he chairs the Vermont Bar Association Insurance Law Committee.

1986
Malika Dutt, MIA
Malika Dutt was honored by the Asian American Justice Center (AAJC) with the American Courage Award on October 1. Created in 1997 by the AAJC, one of the nation’s leading civil rights organizations, the American Courage Award is bestowed upon an individual, company, or organization that has shown extraordinary courage or commitment to the cause of civil rights. The award ceremony took place at the National Press Club in Washington, D.C., with Congressman John Lewis (D-Ga.) providing opening remarks. Malika, who is the executive director and founder of Breakthrough Building Human Rights Culture, testified before the House Subcommittee on International Organizations, Human Rights, and Oversight, along with actress Nicole Kidman, UNIFEM Goodwill Ambassador (see: www.breakthrough.tv/). Their testimony was to encourage passage of the International Violence Against Women Act (I-VAWA), which seeks to ensure that the fundamental right to live a life free from violence can become a reality for the world’s women.

1994
Sokunthea Fite, MIA
Sokunthea Fite writes, “Geoffrey Fite (GSAS ’94), Sokunthea Oum, and the rest of the Fite clan have moved to Singapore. His job with Moody’s had been taking him to this region, so the family followed him here. I would love to catch up with classmates who are living in the area.”

1995
Lisa Balter-Saacks, MIA
Lisa Balter-Saacks recently accepted a position at Second-Market, located in New York City, as VP, Strategic Partnerships. Lisa was previously employed at The Deal as VP, publisher. “After many years in the financial media world, I shifted back into finance with an up-and-coming firm, SecondMarket. Our company brings together buyers and sellers in the largest centralized, independent marketplace and auction platform for illiquid assets. I’m in charge of developing strategic partnerships. I would enjoy getting in touch with those in the industry and reconnecting with alumni.”

1997
Katherine Metres, MIA, IF
Katherine Metres has founded a company since leaving New York, where she was pursuing an acting career. “I moved to Chicago this summer and started a teaching and tutoring business, while acting on the side. My clients include high school students preparing for the SAT and ACT, professionals learning French and English business expressions, a young girl struggling with dyslexia, and two classes of students in China I teach via Webcam. I’d love to tutor alumni or their kids anywhere in the world this way!”

Timothy S. Sommer, MPA
Timothy S. Sommer has become the managing partner for Tomahawk Partners LLP, a Los Angeles–based private equity firm. Timothy started his career in 1997 providing financial reporting and IT project management (PM) for Hon. Rudolph Giuliani in the NYC Mayor’s Office of Management and Budget (NYCOMB). His main accomplishments there included helping to guide the NYC Welfare to Work initiative and the 9-11 Disaster Recovery Project. After NYCOMB, he moved to London in early 2002, where he provided financial reporting and PM consulting for a boutique financial consulting firm, with clients LIBS Warburg and NatWest Bank. In 2004, he became a business consultant with IBM’s Global Business Consulting team. In 2006, Timothy started his own private equity advisory (PE) team, Sommer and Associates, where he provided PE advisory to mid-market and small business firms in Southern California and NYC. He currently resides in Marina Del Rey, California, with his wife Lynn and 8-month-old son Finnegan Patrick Sommer. In fall 2010, he plans to attend UCLA School of Law, focusing on transaction law, while working full time as the managing partner.
**2000**

**Mary Angelini, MIA**

Mary Angelini writes, “After a brief stint consulting in the private sector, I’ve returned to the NGO world as the VP of Community and Humanitarian Assistance Programs at Counterpart International. Counterpart is a Virginia-based NGO with programs in about 25 countries. As VP, I’m managing a commodities delivery and humanitarian assistance portfolio with field staff in nine countries of the former Soviet Union and Sudan. I’m also taking the lead in evaluating our current program and identifying areas for strategic expansion, ideally drawing on the types of projects I managed for the Peace Corps. I look forward to reconnecting with some of my friends and former colleagues in the humanitarian assistance field as this effort takes shape.”

**Michael Lerner, JD, MIA**

Michael Lerner recently moved to Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, to take up a position as chief technical advisor for the International Labour Organization, directing a project on improving labor law compliance. Prior to moving, Michael had lived in Phnom Penh, Cambodia, since 2002, where he worked on a range of issues relating to human rights, labor law, alternative dispute resolution, and antihuman trafficking.

**Joshua Levine, IF ’99, MIA**

Joshua Levine was recently named one of Institutional Investor News’ 2009 Rising Stars of Hedge Funds. The awards program recognizes up-and-coming professionals from across the hedge fund community who have achieved a demonstrable level of success in their careers to date, having shown a commitment to continued growth and contributions to the industry, and are poised to evolve into leaders in their fields.” Since 2007, Josh has worked at Permal Group, where his responsibilities include managing the institutional team, maintaining relations with consultants, executing investment mandates, and ensuring that strategies continue to meet clients’ needs. Since graduating from SIPA, Josh has worked at Merrill Lynch and BlackRock, covering pension funds, sovereign wealth funds, central banks, and other institutional clients around the world.

**2001**

**Jennifer Birmingham, MPA**

Jennifer Birmingham moved her project management skills from research and evaluation to the film industry. She is now a manager at Pixar Animation Studios. Her first production experience was as the art manager for Pixar’s feature film Up, which was released in May 2009. She currently manages several production departments for Cars Toons—short films that are broadcast on the Disney Channel. She lives in Berkeley, California, with her husband, Douglas Sims, and three children. Nkii, Aidan, and Miles.

**2002**

**Katharine Nawaal Gratwick, MIA**

Katharine Gratwick, founder of Monasib Clothing, invites you to www.monasibclothing.com. Monasib was launched at the Cape Town, South Africa, promenade on May 10, 2009, on Mother’s Day. Monasib seeks to offer modest, active wear to women around the world. Presently, all clothing is designed and stitched in Cape Town. Questions? Please contact info@monasibclothing.com.

**2003**

**Sophie Barthès, MIA**

Sophie Barthès writes, “I have directed my first feature film, Cold Souls, with Paul Giamatti, David Strathairn, and Emily Watson (see www.coldsoulsthemovie.com). Cold Souls opened in New York and Los Angeles on August 7, 2009. In the surreal comedy, Paul Giamatti, playing an actor named Paul Giamatti, stumbles upon an article in The New Yorker about a high-tech company that extracts, deep-freezes, and stores people’s souls. Paul very well might have found the key to the happiness for which he’s been searching. Balancing a tightrope between deadpan humor and pathos, reality and fantasy. Cold Souls is a true soul searching comedy.”

**Jessica Juarez, MIA**

Jessica Juarez recently received her law degree from UC Hastings College of the Law in San Francisco. Jessica specialized in the field of public interest law, working last summer as a fellow for the Center for Constitutional Rights in New York. Currently, she is looking for work in a civil liberties/employment law firm in the Bay area. Though one day she will be back in New York, she has made San Francisco her home...for now.

**Maria Sanchez, MIA**

Maria Sanchez writes that she left New York after 15 years. “Time to do something new using my banking experience. Very glad about this international/Latin American experience.”

**2004**

**Alison (Leavitt) Khalaf, MPA**

Alison Leavitt married George Khalaf, a graduate of the Georgetown School of Foreign Service, on June 20. The wedding took place at Fitchcock Presbyterian Church in Scarsdale, New York, with a reception following at the Scarsdale Woman’s Club. The couple had another religious ceremony and reception in Beirut, Lebanon, at the Al Bustan Hotel, on August 22.

**2005**

**Diallo Hall, MIA**

Diallo Hall writes, “Since graduating from SIPA, I have been working with a host of Ethiopian musicians and film directors in order to help them develop an online presence and gain greater distribution of their work through AddiTunes.com. (In the Ethiopian language, Amharic, ‘Addis’ means new and is the moniker for the capital—Addis Ababa.) There is a large diaspora community that is passionate about retaining its cultural links to Ethiopia, and we believe that music and film are the linchpins. Furthermore, through AddiTunes.com artists gain greater control over their work—as they retain all ownership rights. We like to think of ourselves as the iTunes for Africa.”
2006

Agustin Torres Ibarrola, MPA

Agustin Torres-Ibarrola became a member of the Mexican Federal Congress in September 2009. He has been placed eighth in the national list of party representation, a system designed to balance political forces in the Lower House. Agustin returned to Mexico following graduation from SIPA and worked for Felipe Calderón during his presidential campaign. Agustin later became a public servant in charge of improving the quality of high impact governmental services. These included services related to providing medical consultation in public hospitals, the issuing of passports, and customs operations. You can reach Agustin by e-mail at 2226@columbia.edu.

2008

Abhinav Bahl, MIA

Abhinav Bahl writes, “After working on numerous freelance projects since graduating, I have finally landed myself a job at the Commonwealth Secretariat in London. I will be working as a research officer on ICT and development issues within the Secretariat’s Governance and Institutional Development Division. I am really pleased at the prospect of working in an international organization on development issues, especially given my private sector background.”

Karen Clark, MIA

Karen Clark recently accepted a position at the State Department in Washington, D.C., as regional affairs officer for East Asia and the Pacific. “After graduating from SIPA in 2008, I studied the Indonesian language at the Foreign Service Institute and was assigned to work as a regional affairs officer in the Office of Regional and Security Policy of the East Asia and Pacific Affairs Bureau. I am currently working on U.S.-ASEAN cooperation as well as various multilateral issues. I work extensively with the various desk officers to accomplish Bureau-wide goals in addition to interacting with other government agencies.”

Aaron Ernst, MIA

Aaron Ernst writes, “Since graduation, I have been working as an associate producer on PBS’s Frontline, creating multimedia features for PBS’s Wide Angle which was created in 2001 as a response to the lack of in-depth international news coverage in the United States. A recent story I produced focused on the annual American Druze Society convention, a week-long affair in Washington, D.C. where over 500 Druze from across America and as far away as Lebanon gather to worship, study, and, more importantly, to socialize. See http://www.pbs.org/wnet/wideangle/episodes/contestant-no-2/staying-druze-in-america/5322/”

Francisco Miranda Hamburger, MPA

Francisco Miranda Hamburger writes, “I work as the opinion-editorial adjunct deputy editor-in-chief of Casa Editorial El Tiempo in Bogotá, Colombia. I am in charge of the coordination of the El Tiempo newspaper Editorial Board and as Cambio magazine editorial advisor.”

2007

Lauren Kesner-O’Brien, MIA

Lauren Kesner-O’Brien writes, “I have recently co-produced, edited and shot a short documentary called Raise the Last Glass, about the bankruptcy and closing of the historic Waterford Crystal factory in Ireland. The documentary is available online through Wide Angle, the Emmy award-winning international current affairs series from PBS. For more information, see http://www.pbs.org/wnet/wideangle/episodes/raise-the-last-glass/videos/4956.”

Roshanak Taghavi, MIA

SIPA alumna Roshanak Taghavi has been at the forefront of the unfolding news in Iran. For more than a year, Taghavi wrote for Dow Jones Newswires and the Wall Street Journal, reporting from Tehran. This includes reporting on Iran’s energy sector, economy, and the June presidential election and postelection turmoil. You can read Taghavi’s story in the Wall Street Journal on the inauguration of Mahmoud Ahmadinejad and the accompanying protests. See http://online.wsj.com/article/SB124945140626507157.html

2009

Ashley Cotton, MPA

Ashley Cotton was named to City Hall magazine’s Rising Stars 40 Under 40 List. Cotton is vice president for Government and Community Relations with the New York City Economic Development Corporation. She says she took the job on the advice of a Columbia professor, “who told her it was the perfect place to work in the midst of an economic crisis.”

Sasha McDowell, MPA, MSW

Sasha McDowell writes, “I recently began my new position as the director of the New York office for The Posse Foundation. In this role, I am overseeing the New York team, focusing on student retention, and managing the relationships between Posse New York and 12 partner colleges and universities. The Posse Foundation identifies public high school students with extraordinary academic and leadership potential, who may be overlooked by traditional college selection methods. Posse graduates ultimately assume leadership positions in the workforce, as one of Posse’s primary goals is for leadership to reflect the demographics of the cities we live in.”

Raymond Short, MIA

Raymond Short is currently working in Islamabad, Pakistan, with DAI (Development Alternatives, Inc.) as its director of ICT development for its legislative strengthening program. The USAID program is focused on increasing the transparency, accountability, and responsiveness of Pakistan’s National Parliament and four Provincial Assemblies. Ray’s focus includes comprehensive assessments of the governance sector to identify opportunities for employing information and communication technologies to improve political cooperation and constituent outreach.

Mohini Datt, MIA ’10, is concentrating in International Economic Policy
### Donor List

**July 1, 2008, to June 30, 2009**

This list does not include donors to the regional institutes, The Earth Institute, or other collaborating Columbia entities that are not managed by SIPA.

“CERT” followed by year = graduate with certificate from a Regional Institute

“IF” followed by year = graduate of the International Fellows Program

“MIA” followed by year = graduate with a Master in International Affairs

“MPA” followed by year = graduate with a Master in Public Administration

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<td>Melinda Wolle</td>
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Rada Eng, MIA '00
Dayna English, MIA '81
A selection of the past year’s events includes:

Kofi Annan, former United Nations Secretary-General and SIPA Global Fellow on “Climate Change: The Leadership Challenge of Our Age.” The SIPA Gabriel Silver Lecture delivered at Columbia’s World Leaders Forum

Syed Musarfa Kemal, Mayor of Karachi, Pakistan on “Urban Policy, Global Challenges,” SIPA Global Mayors Forum

Bernard Kouchner, French Minister for Foreign and European Affairs and co-founder of Médecins Sans Frontières, on “Europe’s Power in the 21st Century: Overcoming the Challenges of Globalization and Geopolitics”

Connie Hedegaard, Minister for Climate and Energy, Kingdom of Denmark, on “Prospects for a Global Climate Treaty in Copenhagen: Will the U.S. Join the Struggle for the 21st Century?”


Martti Ahtisaari, former President of Finland and Nobel Laureate in conversation with Alvaro de Soto on “Peacemaking in the Post-Cold War Era”

Nancy Biberman, President, Women’s Housing and Economic Development Corporation, on “Breaking the Green Ceiling—Affordable Housing Meets Environmentalism”

A conversation with Lord Nicholas Stern, author of “The Economics of Climate Change: The Stern Review” and Patel Professor of Economics and Government at the London School of Economics and Political Science

Margot Wallström, Vice-president of the European Commission, on “Women, Peace and Security: Challenges Ahead”

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Jon Groteboer, MIA ’08
George Grunberg, MIA ’79
Stephanie Haile, MIA ’04
Brigid Haeckel, MPA ’90
Michele Haberland, MPA ’04
Viktoria Haberstoch, MPA ’98
Laura Gump, MPA ’90
Carole Grunberg, MIA ’78
George Gruen, CERT ’59
Jon Groteboer, MIA ’08
John Gregory, MPA ’93
Richard Greenwald, MPA ’93
Francis Grahlfs, CERT ’55
Allan Grafman, IF ’77, MIA ’77/Allmedia Ventures, Inc.
Smriti Goyal, MPA ’07
Rodney Gould, IF ’68
Wallace Gossett, IF ’69
Stanislaw Goray
Judith Goldstein, MIA ’79
Lisa Goldschmidt, MPA ’04
MIA ’83
Nadine Levy, MIA ’70
Joshua Levine, IF ’99, MIA ’00
Daedre Levine, MPA ’03
Ryan Lester, MIA ’01
Sandra Lennon, MIA ’95
Amanda Leness, MIA ’93
Philip Lemanski, MPA ’86
Bogdan Leja, MIA ’91
Elizabeth Leitman, MIA ’95
Seung-Yeon Lee, MIA ’03
Lynn Lee, MIA ’57
Catherine Lee, MIA ’96
Nelson Ledsky, MIA ’53
Marina Ledkovsky
Lily Leavitt, MIA ’96
Claudia Laviada, MIA ’00
Mel Laytner, MIA ’72
Lily Leavitt, MIA ’96
Marina Ledkovsky
Nelson Ledsky, MIA ’53
Catherine Lee, MIA ’96
Hansang Lee, MPA ’01
Lynne Lee, MIA ’57
Seung-Yeon Lee, MIA ’03
Denis Legault, MIA ’97
Elizabeth Leitman, MIA ’95
Bogdan Leja, MIA ’91
Philip Lemanski, MPA ’86
Amanda Leness, MIA ’93
John Lenkiewicz
Sandra Lennon, MIA ’95
Ryan Lester, MIA ’01
Daedre Levine, MPA ’03
Joshua Levine, IF ’99, MIA ’00
Nadine Levy, MIA ’70
James Lewellyn, MIA ’04
Arthur Liebere, MIA ’04
John Lipponath, MIA ’49
Megan Lipton, MIA ’01
Alexandre Lira, MPA ’08
John Liss, CERT ’96, IF ’96, MIA ’96
Clifford McDaidney, MPA ’06
Eugena McColl, MIA ’00
James Lewellyn, MIA ’04
Arthur Liebere, MIA ’04
John Lipponath, MIA ’49
Megan Lipton, MIA ’01
Alexandre Lira, MPA ’08
John Liss, CERT ’96, IF ’96, MIA ’96
Clifford McDaidney, MPA ’06
Eugena McColl, MIA ’00
Fred McGoldrick, MIA '66
James McGraw, MIA '53
John McGuire, MIA '63
Albert Mcintyre
Sarah McLaughlin, MPA '98
Joseph Mehlan
Laila Mehdi, MIA '86
Neelu Mehra, MIA '79
Claire Meier, MIA '04
Joslyn Meier, MIA '07
Jack Mendelsohn, CERT '77
Stephen Mercado, CERT '88, MIA '88
Stuart Meredith, MIA '84
Michael Merrin, CERT '84, IF '84, MIA '84
Alexandra Merle-Huet, MIA '04
Samuel Merrill, IF '99, MIA '99
Stephen Messinger, IF '99, MIA '99
Katherine Metres, IF '97, MIA '97
Jeffrey Metzler, MIA '99
Calvin Mew, IF '72
Brian Meyers, MPA '06
Frank Michel, MIA '92
Anika Michalowska-Esman, MIA '69
Thomas Michelson, MIA '74
Pearl Miles, MPA '00
Harlan Miller, MIA '95/Accenture Foundation, Inc.
Charles Miller, CERT '99, MIA '99
Thomas Milligan, CERT '85, IF '85, MIA '85/Community Foundation of Shelby County
DeborahMillman, MIA '98
Joel Millman, MIA '70, CERT '78
George Milner, MIA '49
Jan Solomon, CERT '75
Stephen Sokol, MIA '01
Richard Soghoian, IF '65
Elaine Soffer, MPA '83
Andrew Snyder, MPA '08
Scott Smith, MIA '98
Joseph Small, IF '68
Vicki Sittenfeld, MPA '82
Stuart Simon, MIA '78
Karen Sorensen, MIA '91
Laurens Sorensen, MIA '05
Amelia Shachoy, MPA '88
Katayoun Shahrokhi, MIA '08
Beth Shaar, MIA '94
Jennifer Shaoed, MPA '90
Paul Shapira, MIA '79
Howard Shatz, MIA '91
Angela SHERMAN-Peter, MIA '04
Elsabeth Sherwood, MIA '95
Betsy Shumberg, MPA '97
Sungsoo Shin, MIA '99
Yumi Shindo, MPA '05
Rekha Shukla, MIA '92
Karen Shulman
Marc SIEgelman, MIA '80
Marc Sievers, CERT '80, IF '80, MIA '80
Kathryn Sikkink, CERT '84
Michael Sioiva, MIA '79
Melvyn Simonburg, IF '71, MIA '71
George Simmonds, CERT '52
Stuart Simon, MIA '78
Kuldip Singh, MIA '77
Vicks Sintsefield, MPA '82
Joseph Small, IF '68
Scott Smith, MIA '98
Andrew Snyder, MPA '08
Roberto Socola, MIA '85
Michael Soffier, MPA '81
Richard Soghian, IF '65
Stephen Sokol, MIA '01
Debra Soled, MIA '82, CERT '83
Jan Solomon, CERT '75
Frances Sonkin, MIA '75
Christian Sonne, CERT '62, MIA '62
Mark Sabel, MIA '82
Melvin Sakazaki, MIA '95
Anne Salinas, CERT '96, MIA '96
Jill Salmon, MIA '05
Joseph Saltarelli, MIA '83
Judith Salwen, MPA '92
Fernando Sanchez, MIA '90
Michael Sanchez, MIA '83
Rocio Sanchez, MIA '02
Tania Sanchez-Andrade, MIA '00
Zarina Sanghani, MPA '08
Charles SANTANGELO, MIA '83
Nadine Satyamurthy, MIA '06
Herbert Schechter, MIA '58
Carl Schieren, MIA '67
Daniel Schilf, CERT '65
Scott Schless, MIA '87
Allison Schwade, MIA '85
Matthew Schumann, MIA '07
David Schuman, IF '68
Morton Schwartz, MIA '54, CERT '55
Frederick Seaton, IF '62, MIA '66
Lynn Seinup, MIA '80
Kaoru Seki, IF '93, MIA '93
Albert Seglmann, MIA '49
Irwin Schneid, CERT '78
Marc Selvendran, MIA '92
Steven Semenuk, MPA '90
Nina Serafino, MIA '76
Karen Serota
Laurens Sorensen, MIA '05
Amelia Shachoy, MPA '88
Katayoun Shahrokhi, MIA '08
Beth Shaar, MIA '94
Jennifer Shaoed, MPA '90
Paul Shapira, MIA '79
Howard Shatz, MIA '91
Angela SHERMAN-Peter, MIA '04
Elsabeth Sherwood, MIA '95
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Yumi Shindo, MPA '05
Rekha Shukla, MIA '92
Karen Shulman
Marc SIEgelman, MIA '80
Marc Sievers, CERT '80, IF '80, MIA '80
Kathryn Sikkink, CERT '84
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Frances Sonkin, MIA '75
Christian Sonne, CERT '62, MIA '62