The Energy Issue
This is my last introductory letter in SIPA News. I will be stepping down as dean at the end of June. It has been a decade since I came into office. In that time, we have turned out the equivalent of 1.5 graduates a day—nearly 6,000 students earned degrees at SIPA in the last ten years. And there are other ways to quantify our undertakings during this period. We hired new faculty at a rate of one every two months, tripling the size of our full-time faculty. We developed new degree programs at a rate of one every 18 months—the EMPA, the MPA in Environmental Science and Policy, the PhD in Sustainable Development, and the dual degree programs with Sciences Po in Paris, the London School of Economics, Singapore’s Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, and New York’s own Jewish Theological Seminary. We refurbished and renovated the equivalent of four full floors of the International Affairs Building—about one square foot every two hours for ten years. And we raised more than two dollars a second, providing enhanced funding for faculty research, facilities upgrades, and student fellowships.

But, of course, I will not remember the numbers. In fact, the time flew by—I was having fun. I will think of the students who asked for (and got) a course on how to set up a refugee camp, the donor who signed the multimillion dollar gift agreement over lunch in Athens, the alumnus who made the case for greater funding at a reception by waving a piece of concrete that had broken off the staircase. I will remember the students who marveled in class that they would “have to think” about what we’d been discussing, and the reform group we called the Conceptual Foundations insurgency, which argued that there was still more about which we should think. I will recall the varied versions of myself in Follies. I will marvel at the remarkable accommodations we made to new information technologies in classrooms and in teaching—ten years ago the World Wide Web was five years old, there was no Google, and wireless referred to the radio. I will think of the debates among the faculty over the contributions of theory and practice to public policy education. I will remember staring south from the 15th floor of the International Affairs Building on September 11, 2001, and will continue to be awed by the generosity with which students, staff, and faculty alike organized in response to the devastation. I will remember the alumni who ensured that the Mexican elections were democratic, who reported on the war from Baghdad, who ran the Central Bank of Mongolia, who worked for the International Rescue Committee in Sudan, all of whom took a moment to write to let us know what they were doing and how much SIPA had prepared them to do it well.

This issue of SIPA News is devoted to energy, an increasingly vital policy arena around the world. I am proud to have contributed to bringing the Center for Energy, Marine Transportation and Public Policy to SIPA, as I am of all the work we have done over the last ten years to strengthen and enhance one of the most remarkable institutions in the world. It has been a privilege.

Lisa Anderson
James T. Shotwell Professor of International Relations
Dean, School of International and Public Affairs
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EMPOWERING WOMEN
A SIPA-UNDP WORKSHOP EXPLORES HOW ENERGY CAN
So Dionfolo Oualy and her ten-year-old daughter Kamissa had no choice but to put aside their other tasks and thrash at the chunks of millet with large wooden sticks. It was nearing four in the afternoon on a Friday in the mid-sized village of Bantantinty, Senegal—about 290 miles of potholed roads east of the capital, Dakar—where a team of students had traveled to examine access to energy services in rural Africa as part of a joint SIPA–United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) workshop. There were afternoon prayers to be said and meals to be prepared, but the grinding would have to come first, adding to the women’s already long workday.

by Rachel Makabi
with reporting by Jennifer Chang, Emily Firth, and Andres Franco
Like most women in the villages of West Africa, where electricity and motorized machines are scarce, the Oualy women work from dawn until dusk on all the basic tasks necessary for survival. They wake up at six in the morning to say prayers, draw water from the well, and prepare breakfast. In the afternoon, they prepare flour and gather wood for the midday meal. In the early evening, they grind, clean, and work on harvesting. They finish at ten at night and wake up at six the next morning, only to begin the process once again. There is little time for resting and raising children and even less time for attending school.

Things are different in the village when the machine works. Bantantinty is one of 40 villages in Senegal that has a diesel-run device called a “Multi-Function Platform,” which quickly performs tasks that would otherwise take the women hours to complete. The machine, which is financed by the village, local government, and the UNDP, mechanically grinds millet, dehusks rice and maize, and deshells nuts. Although some men use the platform for tasks such as welding, it is primarily used by women.

Even though the platform sometimes breaks down, as it had done on this day, nearly everyone in the village has seen a positive difference since the village acquired the platform four years ago. The residents reported that the machine not only saved time in grinding but also produced a greater volume of grain, creating a surplus that could be sold. Others in the village said the platform has created new jobs, as people had to be trained to maintain and repair it. The village doctor even reported that as a result of doing less manual labor, women were delivering their babies with fewer complications.

In a room adjacent to the platform, one woman demonstrated the village’s new manual sewing machine, while others made soap—two new enterprises that the women have started with their newly acquired free time. As a result of such activities, women’s incomes have grown considerably.

“Women have a vested interest in making this work, because they were the ones who would suffer before,” said Odile Balizet, a coordinator for the Multi-Function Platform program in the UNDP’s Senegal office. According to Balizet, before the arrival of the platform, women made 5,000 CFA ($10 US) a year. Now, they are making twice that amount each month.

These are just a few examples of the slow but steady changes in the lives of rural women in villages with access to mechanical energy. In many of these villages, such energy services are spurring on the process of poverty alleviation. Though access to energy services is not part of the United Nation’s eight Millennium Development Goals to reduce poverty, it permeates all of them.

For the women of Bantantinty, the platform is creating a clear generational shift. Traditionally, young girls have had difficulty attending school because they were expected to help their mothers with the hard labor of grinding. But since the implementation of the platform, girls’ school attendance has shot up, giving them many of the opportunities that their mothers never had.

“I had to work a lot in my life. It is pretty obvious my daughter has an easier time,” said Noné Signate, a member of the platform’s managing association.

Signate’s husband, who was formerly the chief of the village, helped bring the platform to Bantantinty. Their daughter is the first girl in several generations of their family to attend school. “I don’t want my daughter to have a hard life, the way I had,” Signate explained. “This is why I am sending her to school.”

Obtaining a platform requires a strong financial commitment from villages. Recipient villages have to pay between 20 and 60 percent of the $7,500 hardware costs of a machine. Even though this is a fraction of the total $17,000 cost of a platform, most of which is subsidized, it nevertheless makes some villages unwilling or reluctant to invest in the technology. In other cases, traditional cultural norms regarding gender roles can lead to opposition to the idea.

“A lot of times, when women complain about their workload, the men say, ‘That’s your problem. I don’t want to know about it,’” said Mamadou Fadé of the Agence Régionale de Développement. Fadé has four years of experience with the platform in Mauritania and is now applying his expertise in Senegal.

In villages that manage to overcome these concerns and request a platform, the UNDP
conducted a three-month feasibility study to determine whether the village meets population criteria for eligibility—villages must have between 500 and 2,000 residents—and to assess the willingness and ability of the village to pay for the platform.

Currently, the government has plans to establish another 400 machines by 2010 and an additional 600 by 2015. This planned expansion comes on the heels of similar, successful programs that have been under way in Mali for years.

Nevertheless, there are many obstacles. At the top of the list is the rising price of oil. Villages like Bantantinty invested in their platforms in 2002, when the price of diesel available to them was 56 cents a liter. But the surge in oil prices over the past few years—caused by soaring demand in China, instability in the Middle East, and decreased refining capability in the United States following Hurricane Katrina—hit the isolated village of Bantantinty hard. Now, the villagers are paying $1.12 a liter for their diesel fuel, double the amount they previously paid. This cost has decreased the village’s bottom line. As oil prices climbed, profits from platform-related enterprises fell by 90 percent.

In order to ease the financial burden caused by the surge in oil prices, the UNDP is currently looking into research and funding to integrate more biofuels into the platforms, according to Jem Porcaro (MIA ’04), a sustainable energy policy analyst with the UNDP. “Instead of shooting for the moon and promising everything, we are looking at the real challenges and opportunities of using biofuels,” Porcaro said.

There is also the difficulty of getting the platform to consistently perform its many functions. For example, the platform in Bantantinty should be able to charge batteries, in addition to grinding, deshelling, and churning butter. But two years ago, the battery charger broke—and has not worked since. Though people in the village are trained to fix some of the platform’s more common problems, they cannot fix all of them. When the village needs to call on trained technicians, it can take days or weeks for one to journey to the site to fix the machine.

For villages like Bantantinty—which are isolated from electricity grids and have to rely on manual labor to draw water—there is also an urgent need to try to add water pumping or electricity services to the many existing tasks of the platform, a need whose feasibility is currently being analyzed.

“We have been waiting and asking for electricity for ten years now,” said the village chief of Bantantinty. The chief had gathered with a group of about 50 people from the village, mostly women, to discuss the respective failures and successes of the platform. The village has a special meeting place for occasions such as this—the participants sat on smoothed wooden logs that served as benches, shaded overhead by a sprawling tree.

Bringing a mechanized water pump to the village would spare the women hours of drawing water from the well, and electricity would provide other health and social benefits. Without electricity, the village’s clinic—which also serves two neighboring villages—isn’t able to power a refrigerator for medications. For patients who come in at night, the clinic relies on candles and a few flashlights for illumination. Given the low population density of Senegal’s rural areas, the country’s main electric utility, Senelec, will not extend the electrical grid to places like Bantantinty any time soon, according to a Senelec representative interviewed by the students in the workshop. For now, Bantantinty must look elsewhere for its electricity needs.

Ultimately, improving the platform’s functionality hinges on building the capacity of local entrepreneurs and ensuring community ownership. For his part, Porcaro has observed a positive trend toward moving from small pilot programs to genuine policy integration. “It requires working hand in hand with governments and civil society to integrate energy considerations into national development strategies and policies,” he said.

Jennifer Chang (MIA ’07), Andres Franco (MPA ’07), and Rachel Makabi (MIA ’07) are concentrating in International Energy Management and Policy. Emily Firth is obtaining an MA from Columbia’s Climate and Society program.

By Justin Vogt

Energy is not directly addressed by any of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Why is that?

Energy is a means, not an end. The MDGs are stated in terms of direct measures of human welfare—income, health goals, education, gender equality, and productivity. If you tried to specify an energy goal, how would you do it? The short answer is that goals should be goals and means should be means. And appropriate means are subject to economics and social structures. Given the institutional biases of the time (at the UN), if they had specified energy goals they would have been in terms of renewable sources of energy. It would have been a disaster. Requiring specific technologies would have been inconsistent with the goal of self-sustaining emergence from poverty.

Does providing the energy required to achieve the MDGs conflict with environmental goals?

There are roughly 1.6 billion people in the world with no access to electricity and more than 2 billion people with no access to clean commercial fuels. My colleague in the Mechanical Engineering Department, Professor Vijay Modi, estimates that to sustain a reasonable, minimum standard of living for these people would require delivered energy services of roughly 2 million BTU per year, which is about 2 million barrels [of oil] per day. So the total amount of annual energy required to provide clean commercial fuels and energies to people who are currently deprived is about one-sixth of current U.S. automobile consumption. That's about one percent of total world consumption—a tiny number.

So we have to separate the problem of fixing energy poverty from the more general problem of dealing with environmental challenges, because they're essentially separate problems. And it would be unfair to suppose that we can lumber up the very poor with technologies that we are having a very difficult time adopting even in economies that are fully developed.

How does the SIPA-UNDP workshop address energy's role in achieving the MDGs?

Our workshop focuses on assessing the energy requirements and appropriate technologies implied by MDG achievement targets. That's something that can't be handled at the prescriptive, top-down level. It's a function of the density of economic and demographic activity. The technologies have to be chosen in light of the local conditions and needs, and you also have to consider what kind of business model can be self-supporting in the context of this level of demographic and social capacity.

The workshop contributes to assessing the appropriate technologies and their impacts, as well as the cost of implementation. The signal institutional success that has been achieved in the last three years by the Sustainable Energy Programme at the UNDP is recognition and institutionalization of the essential derived demand for energy services implied by MDG goals. There is now recognition that a development plan targeting MDG goals must specify the energy infrastructure and energy services provisions required. Energy system requirements are now being “mainstreamed” in the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP), the basic development planning framework agreed between the country, the multilateral agencies, the NGOs, and other stakeholders. Few recognized the importance of mainstreaming energy requirements three years ago, but it is now recognized and incorporated into the planning process. The research papers from our workshops have made a significant contribution to this development.

This year, the workshop focuses on tapping the potential of the so-called Multi-Function Platform (MFP) in Senegal. What is the MFP, and why is it a promising technology?

It’s a skid-mounted platform with a diesel motor. “Multi-function” means you can fit it out with a bunch of useful things for a specific village. It can drive rice husking, which is incredibly tedious by hand. It can drive tool sharpening or battery chargers. It can drive a pump. And when you provide the means for pumped water and agroprocessing, you free up women's time. And that has a huge impact on development potential. Do you know what the first thing is that women [in these communities] do with the extra time? They get more sleep. These are people who spend their whole lives getting five hours of sleep a night. Getting more sleep makes them healthier and more productive. Studies show that when women get control of increased income, they spend it in ways that are favorable to development—investing in the health and education of their children and in productive facilities.

But the program is not just about this groovy toy, which costs about $4,000, of which $2,000 is put up by a group of women who are organized to run a business. Another $8,000 worth of effort is put into what in “UN-speak” is called “capacity development.” That's the effort required to take this self-selected group of prenumerate and preliterate women and teach them how to create a business plan, price services, put money in the bank, and generally run a business.

How do you prepare your students to take part in a program like this?

SIPA attracts a rare kind of student. People come to SIPA to do good as well as to do well—to change things. Our energy concentration focuses on institutional development along with the business dimension of getting things done. The premise is that any act of energy business development is also an act of policy development and institution building. And we cue up this program with another course called “Energy Business and Economic Development,” where the core issues in economic development and energy requirements, technologies, and economics are developed. This prepares these students to take on a real professional assignment, in which they are acting as consultants to the UNDP to address real problems.
GAZPROM’S GRIP

THE WORLD’S LARGEST GAS COMPANY IS A CRUCIAL PLAYER IN PUTIN’S RUSSIA. SHOULD THE REST OF EURASIA BE WORRIED?

BY JACKIE CARPENTER

As with all powerful institutions, views of Gazprom, Russia’s natural gas giant, depend on where one sits. In Ukraine, Belarus, or Moldova, Gazprom is a tool the Russian state uses to keep former republics from leaving its sphere of influence. In the European Union, the company is viewed as an energy juggernaut that may or may not be able to deliver on its future energy promises. And in the United States, Gazprom has become the reincarnation of Russia’s erstwhile Soviet power in the form of energy instead of atomic weapons.

But in Russia, Gazprom looks like a savior. It has helped fuel eight straight years of GDP growth, supplied 8 percent of the federal budget, boosted per capita income, employed more than 330,000 people, and rescued Russia from geopo-
political irrelevance. It is a source of national pride. To Russians, those who question Gazprom’s business decisions are merely detractors who prefer the economic anarchy of a decade ago to the greater stability of contemporary Russia. They are, as Russian president Vladimir Putin calls them, “Russophobes.”

Over the last few years, Gazprom, the world’s largest gas company and holder of one-fifth of global gas reserves, has become the focus of intense debate. Most of the recent controversy began in January 2006, when Gazprom disrupted gas supplies to Ukraine, leaving their citizens and many “downstream” European customers briefly without heat in the winter. Ukraine’s government, in particular, complained that this disruption was a politically motivated maneuver aimed at undermining its new, Western-friendly government.

Whatever the true reason for the cutoff, Gazprom’s monopolistic grip on gas pipelines across the former Soviet Union has since left many in Central and Western Europe feeling themselves at the mercy of an unreliable supplier at best and a political weapon at worst. Furthermore, the Western press has accused President Putin of suppressing dissent and consolidating state control at home, thereby creating a disconcerting picture of Eurasia’s natural gas supply being held hostage by a barely democratic regime.

How accurate is this alarming portrait of Russia’s premier economic institution and Europe’s crucial energy source? What should the world expect from a company so firmly entrenched in the politics of the state?

First, Gazprom’s rise must be viewed in a historical context. Like all industry in the Soviet era, gas was under direct government control, and that influence endures today. In fact, it is not an exaggeration to say that the Kremlin exercises some control over every aspect of Russian business and finance—a fact that is not universally represented in Russia.

During the “free market” reforms of the early Yeltsin years, ordinary Russians watched as the government’s fire sale of Russian industry gave rise to a class of fabulously wealthy oligarchs, while the rest of the country was impoverished. As a result, many Russians support Putin’s ongoing consolidation of control in the business and industry sectors and do not mourn the fates of jailed and exiled oligarchs like Mikhail Khodorkovsky or Boris Berezovsky. They give Putin a whopping 80 percent approval rating, even though his strong-arm tactics alarm foreign investors.

Gazprom’s post-Soviet history illustrates this reassertion of government control, specifically in the energy sector. The energy giant was plundered during the privatization schemes of the early nineties, after 29 percent of its stock was sold at voucher auctions in 1994 for a mere pittance of its value. Within three years, the same stock was worth 160 times its initial price. Despite subsequent laws regulating foreign ownership, various investment schemes prevented the government from knowing the level of foreign ownership with any certainty. Putin moved quickly in his first term to reacquire a formal majority stake in Gazprom, putting an end to a system whereby the company’s managers were also acting as trustees for the government-owned shares. In 2003, the state acquired a formal 51 percent stake in the company. In Putin’s own words, he has sought to extend this “prominent control by national capital” in all corners of the energy sector during his second term in office in order to “bolster Russia’s independence and security.” These “sectors of strategic significance” include oil, gas, mineral deposits, and infrastructure monopolies.

Given this level of state control and interest in Gazprom, government influence on the company is hard to miss. Dmitri Medvedev, chairman of the board of Gazprom, also serves as Putin’s first deputy prime minister and has been a longtime member of Putin’s inner circle. Rumors abound that he and Putin will swap jobs at the end of the 2008 presidential term. Furthermore—and most controversially—Gazprom figures prominently in the geopolitics of the region, often giving Russia leverage in negotiations.

Yet these controversial tactics do not necessarily represent an abuse of energy power,
according to Albert Bressand, director of SIPA's Center for Energy, Marine Transportation and Public Policy.

"It is legitimate that the assets of a country be part of national debates," argues Bressand. "Since it is Russia's key passport to the future, it is to be expected that the government would take a political view of its energy sector as this is done in all nondiversified economies."

Other allegations leveled against Putin and Gazprom paint the gas company not only as a source of leverage but also as a political bludgeon in the hip pocket of Eurasia's most powerful politician. Yet Russia expert and Columbia political science professor Robert Legvold calls this view a "vast oversimplification" of a complex relationship.

"Gazprom follows its own set of institutional interests" Legvold explains, which result from its massive infrastructure and profit motives. In the notorious cases of Ukraine, for instance, Gazprom had its own business rationale for cutting off gas supplies. Pricing disputes had been brewing for many months as a result of proposed price increases of historically below-market rates. Gazprom claimed that Ukraine failed to honor negotiated terms regarding rate increases but continued to take gas supplies out of the pipeline anyway. Ultimately, this nonpolitical, business rationale for disrupting the gas supply did not receive nearly as much attention in the Western press as did theories about Putin's retaliation against wayward former republics. For Russia, this interpretation of events is especially frustrating, given that Europe has been pressuring Russia to raise rates domestically and externally to market level.

This is not to say that Russia does not deserve some of the bad press it has received regarding its bullying tactics in the energy sector, especially with regard to oil. Soon after Lithuania's decision in May 2006 to sell an oil refinery to Poland instead of Russia, for instance, the branch of Russia's Druzhba pipeline that supplies the refinery was shut down for repairs. As of today, it has not been reopened. Lithuania fumes that this is direct retaliation for the sale of the refinery to Poland and has threatened to join Poland in vetoing the EU's talks with Russia this year if the government would take a political view of its energy sector as this is done in all nondiversified economies."

Europe's concerns about Gazprom ignore some objective realities, however, such as the fact that Europe receives 80 percent of Russia's gas exports, while Russia gets only 40 percent of Europe's imports. In other words, Europe is far more important to Gazprom's gas market than Gazprom is to Europe's energy needs, and

chances are slim that Gazprom would allow its most lucrative market to go unserviced for political reasons or supply issues.

Given all the factors and politics that abound in the Eurasian gas market, the best way to assess Gazprom as an energy supplier is through objective analysis that does not ignore the fact that it is a company that seeks to increase its bottom line. To be sure, Gazprom provides Russia with political leverage but usually when Russia's political interests dovetail with Gazprom's business interests.

For Bressand, the fears and speculation surrounding Russia's energy power "reflect the state of international politics, where distrust is now very high, and concerns are mounting about the rise of national energy companies." He believes

that energy security in Eurasia and elsewhere will ultimately depend more on the political conversations that develop around it than on the size of reserves. If Eurasia is to attain energy security, it needs to overcome divisive perceptions based on the past. As European Commission president José Manuel Barroso observed last year, "We must not allow energy to divide Russia and the EU as Communism once did."

"We must not allow energy to divide Russia and the EU as Communism once did."

—José Manuel Barroso

Jackie Carpenter (MIA '08) is concentrating in International Media and Communications and pursuing a regional certificate in former Soviet Union countries from the Harriman Institute.

A Gazprom installation some 200 km outside the Siberian town of Noyabrsk
Tattooed country-western singer Willie Nelson is famous for preaching the merits of a good woman and the redemptive power of whiskey. Truckers of massive diesel engine vehicles have long listened to the ponytailed music legend during their lonely nights on the road, so it should come as no surprise that when Nelson began a new business venture in 1996, he targeted his loyal following.

The surprise, however, is the venture itself: instead of a chain of restaurants or a line of cowboy boots, Nelson decided to invest in a renewable, eco-friendly alternative to the fuel that his truckers fed their hungry engines. Today, the company he co-owns, BioWillie, can barely keep up with the demand for its product, as consumers across the United States seek to reduce their dependence on foreign oil, help the environment, and—in some cases—their wallets.
The biodiesel business has slowly evolved from an eccentric cottage industry to a carefully watched player in the global renewable fuels market. In the past three years alone, the industry has tripled in size. But while producers scramble to fill our tanks with their brew, economists and environmentalists worry about the unintended side effects of our ecological eagerness. In our attempt to leave a lighter footprint on the earth, are we laying the foundation for a new set of woes?

According to the National Biodiesel Board (NBB), 250 million gallons of biodiesel were produced in 2006, up from 25 million in 2004. Across the United States, 1,100 retailers distribute some blend of the fuel.

“We predict that we can produce 5 percent of the nation’s on-road diesel fuel needs by 2015,” said the NBB’s Amber Thurlo-Pearson.

While biodiesel production may not represent even a small fraction of the 140 billion gallons of gasoline a year we consume domestically, its growing popularity speaks volumes about the nature of our times: the seemingly endless war in Iraq; $70 barrels of oil; mounting concern about climate change.

On May 16, 2005, in a speech at the Virginia BioDiesel Refinery, President Bush said, “Our dependence on foreign oil is like a foreign tax on the American Dream, and that tax is growing every year . . . Every time we use homegrown biodiesel, we support American farmers, not foreign oil producers.”

A year and a half later, in his 2007 State of the Union address, he called for 35 billion gallons of renewable and alternative fuel by 2017.

Not surprisingly, U.S. farmers have jumped to the challenge. Just look at the concentration of biodiesel retailers in this country. If it were a weather map, you would see strong storm patterns across the Midwest, with some light rain showers on each coast. And, indeed, a storm of biofuels is brewing. The cash-strapped farmers of our nation’s food belt have been praying for it for a long time, and here they are, standing in the middle of their fields with upstretched hands, thanking the benevolent gods of the biofuels market.

“We’re trying to prop ourselves as the ‘Saudi Arabia of renewable energy,’” says Brian Crowe, Coordinator of Iowa’s Clean Cities Program. “From an economic standpoint, this is wonderful for the state economy.”

Biodiesel is produced through a chemical reaction of alcohol and agricultural oil, fats, or greases. It can be made from a field of cotton in Georgia, a coconut tree in Jamaica, or the waste oil left over from a day of frying Big Macs at McDonald’s—whatever the local climate has to offer.

In the European Union, which has mandated that 5.75 percent of automotive fuels must come from plant sources, the most commonly used virgin oil sources are rapeseed (canola) and soybean. Palm oil, hemp, mustard, and jatropha are all used across the globe. Recent research has also shown that algae—an oil-rich crop that does not require farmland or fresh water—may be a feasible high-yield source of biodiesel.

Hawaii-based Pacific Biodiesel has another way of doing things. In its two plants on the Hawaiian islands of Maui and Oahu, the company utilizes used cooking grease that it has been collecting from restaurants and hotels for more than a decade. In so doing, it has taken a countywide grease waste problem and converted it into a clean-burning energy source.

But most of this country’s biodiesel producers do not simply cart away vats of used cooking oil from McDonald’s. Instead of Big Macs and french fries, the majority of biodiesel currently produced in the U.S. can trace its roots back to the humble soybean—grown on acres and acres of Midwestern soil.

“This is a great boon to farmers,” says Klaus Lackner, the Ewing-Worzel Professor of Geophysics at Columbia’s Earth Institute, “but my concern is that these farmers will go into production that doesn’t apply to people.”

Lackner echoes the concern of a growing group of environmentalists, economists, and sustainable development experts, who worry that in an effort to feed our growing hunger for biofuels, we will end up starving some of the world’s poor.

“In theory, using biomass makes perfect sense,” he says. “If you have the stuff anyway, why let it go to waste? Where it gets dangerous, though, is when you go past that. Once it becomes an industry in its own right, it’s displacing other crops.”

Brian Crowe agrees. Despite his enthusiasm for the environmental and economic benefits renewable fuels like biodiesel and ethanol are bringing to his state, Crowe worries about the havoc that the biofuels storm could wreck on food supply—especially if the fast-growing biodiesel industry is successful in its goal of “5 percent by 2015.”

“Today, 90 percent of soybean production is used for food,” he says. “Where will all that oil come from?”

“After oil is pressed out of soy, you’re left with cattle feed,” says Lackner. “So in a sense, biodiesel can be viewed as a byproduct of cattle feed. Only a small fraction of soy goes into making oil, and it’s more profitable than feed. In this sense, farmers come out ahead.”

But market dynamics, Lackner contends, will limit the ultimate growth of the biodiesel industry.

“If you’re driven from the diesel side of the equation, you’re going to saturate the cattle feed market. There’s going to be competition for land. The fuel market is much larger than the food market, and it needs all available land, so the strain on food production is quite large. We need to figure out if we have the land resources to do this right.”

“SUVs are a lot hungrier than people,” he says, “and they usually have owners who can pay for them. The people who suffer are the marginal poor.”

“The Midwest has been the food belt for the world for a long time,” agrees Crowe. “If all this is going towards renewable energy, then what about food? We need energy independence—but at what cost?”

Indeed, experts warn that worldwide production of animal fat and vegetable oil is not yet sufficient to completely replace petroleum-based fuel use. Environmental groups object to the enormous amount of farming and the resulting overfertilization, pesticide use, and land conversion that would be needed to produce the additional vegetable oil.

What’s more, the available supply of waste vegetable oil is significantly smaller than the amount of petrofuel that is burned for transportation and heating across the globe.

According to the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), restaurants across the U.S. produce about 300 million gallons of waste cooking oil annually. Even though it is profitable to use this oil for biodiesel production, it is even more profitable to convert it into other products, like soap. Therefore, most waste oil that is not dumped into landfills is used for these other purposes.

Animal fats are also limited in supply. Producing biodiesel with animal fat that would otherwise be discarded could replace only a small percentage of petrodiesel usage.
To date, the high cost of production remains one of the biggest obstacles to the growth of the biodiesel market.

In the U.S., a gallon of soybean oil costs approximately two to three times as much as a gallon of conventional petrodiesel. The feedstock for biodiesel on its own is more expensive than conventional diesel fuel. In Europe, where gasoline and diesel are heavily taxed, tax incentives artificially lower the price of biodiesel in order to make it competitive.

But just as Europe’s success has served as an inspiration to the U.S. biodiesel industry, its challenges serve as a reminder of the power of market forces.

The EU’s largest biodiesel producer, Germany, is currently facing a crisis of sorts at the pump—precisely because of its overwhelming success in converting customers to biodiesel through tax incentives. In August 2006, feeling the brunt of federal tax credit, which equates to a one penny per percent of biodiesel in a fuel blend made from agricultural products like vegetable oils, and one-half penny per percent for recycled oils. In March 2007, Senators Blanche Lincoln (D-Ark.) and Norm Coleman (R-Minn.) proposed a bill that would extend tax incentives to 2017.

In September 2005, Minnesota—the country’s biggest producer of biodiesel—became the first state to legislate that all diesel fuel sold in the state contain at least 2 percent biodiesel, known as B2. That mandate ran into trouble when the unregulated blends of fuel displayed performance problems—a fact that was inconvenient for consumers and embarrassing for the industry and its advocates.

“Minnesota’s mandate, and the subsequent problems it experienced with things like freezing, shows the challenge involved with blending and confidence and investment.

To the industry’s delight, consumers and investors are paying attention.

“We’ve seen and heard from the marketplace,” said Steve Oppenheimer, chief marketing officer at Trade Capture, a firm that specializes in trading and risk management software. “Biodiesel futures are already being traded. There’s great interest among existing and perspective customers looking for the necessary capabilities.”

Following the 2007 State of the Union address, commodity brokers like Odom & Frey advised their clients to invest in soybean futures.

“We had quite a run,” says Mike Smith, the president of TK Futures, another commodities trader, “but the market collapsed. There were eight million fewer acres of soybeans planted than we expected. Right now, I’m out 100 percent. Eventually, though, it’s going to be huge.”

“Diesel is the direction the U.S. market is headed,” said Thurlo-Pearson. “There’s going to be a much greater market share in the next decade or so. We’re seeing new introductions, as companies respond to demand.”

A biodiesel tax incentive exists in the form of a one penny per percent of biodiesel in a fuel blend made from agricultural products like vegetable oils, and one-half penny per percent for recycled oils. In March 2007, Senators Blanche Lincoln (D-Ark.) and Norm Coleman (R-Minn.) proposed a bill that would extend tax incentives to 2017.

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Still, even biodiesel’s staunchest proponents say that they do not expect it to completely replace conventional fuels.

“One renewable technology cannot be a silver bullet,” says Thurlo-Pearson. “We all need to work together to offer our technology and fuels on a wider scale, which will help make a bigger dent.”

“There’s no silver bullet,” says Crowe. “In 30 or 40 years it’s going to be a big combination—some biodiesel, natural gas, ethanol, and hybrid technologies. It’s a different way of thinking about transportation.”

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Recent media reports indicate that environmentalists are beginning to reconsider whether nuclear power can play a role in reducing our reliance on fossil fuels, a major source of the carbon dioxide emissions that cause global warming. “Not so many years ago,” noted a recent editorial in the New York Times, “nuclear energy was a hobgoblin to environmentalists.” But when former EPA administrator Christie Todd Whitman, former Greenpeace activist Patrick Moore, and prominent ecologist James Lovelock recently urged fellow environmentalists to take another look at nuclear power’s potential benefits, it made headlines. “Suddenly nuclear power is looking better,” wrote the Times.

In fact, the notion that nuclear power is an environmentally friendly option is not new. One of the first mainstream statements of this idea came from a July 2003 report authored by MIT professors John Deutch and Ernest Moniz titled “The Future of Nuclear Power.” According to the report, the nuclear option should be retained “precisely because it is an important carbon-free source of energy.” Deutch has stated that “taking nuclear power off the table as a viable alternative will prevent the global community from achieving long-term gains in the control of carbon dioxide emissions.”

It is true that climate change may be the defining environmental issue of our time. We must address what Al Gore has called this “inconvenient truth.” Yet I do not think that nuclear power is a feasible solution to the problem—especially here in the United States. Nuclear power poses three basic but intractable problems: it is dangerous, it is toxic, and—perhaps most important of all—siting new nuclear power plants is politically infeasible.

Let’s begin with dangerous. Set aside the problems experienced at Three Mile Island and Chernobyl. We have witnessed the horror wreaked by suicidal terrorism all over the world, including the grim spectacle of commercial jets being flown into skyscrapers. Do we really want to see what happens if a terrorist attacks a nuclear power plant? It is true that these plants are more difficult to destroy than skyscrapers, but are we so arrogant as to believe that such facilities are not tempting targets?

Nuclear advocates and engineers are convinced that nuclear power can be made very safe. This may be true, but, as the MIT study acknowledges, no power plant can be made risk free. Of course, all technology carries risks. When we drive on an interstate highway, we face the risk of a crash. Yet we accept the risk because it is relatively low and because the effect of the risk is localized. In contrast, an error in or attack on a nuclear power plant can cause long-standing, devastating damage to people and ecosystems. It is not a small, localized impact—just ask the people who survived Chernobyl. The risk may be low, but the potential impact is high.

Then there is the issue of toxicity. Even when power plants function normally, they create poisons. The waste products of nuclear power—spent fuel rods—remain toxic for thousands of years. We do not know how to detoxify these waste products, and despite 20 years of trying, we have not yet been able to site a repository anywhere in the United States to store them.

We have the resources to build a nuclear waste storage facility. Customers of nuclear-generated electricity pay a one-tenth-of-one-cent-per-kilowatt-hour charge on their electric bills. Utilities pass the fee into a federal account that has generated $24 billion since it began under the Nuclear Waste Power Act in 1983. As of February 2005, there was $16.3 billion sitting in this fund. The other $8 billion has been spent on a futile effort to site a civilian nuclear waste repository in Nevada. Despite assurances that the proposed repository at Yucca Mountain will remain secure longer than the waste remains toxic, uncertainty over the technology of waste storage and the risks of transportation has resulted in widespread political opposition in Nevada. Unsurprisingly, Nevada’s senators—neither of whom are by any means radical environmentalists—have continued to exercise a virtual political veto over siting a waste repository in their state. As a result, our nuclear waste currently remains in “spent fuel pools” at nuclear power plants like the one at Indian Point, just north of New York City.

That leads us to the problem of nuclear politics. Just as no one wants to host the nuclear waste repository, no one wants a nuclear power plant next door. This is not an issue of engineering or economics, but an issue of politics. In an increasingly crowded and interdependent world, people have become more sensitive about land-use and development issues. Indeed, in many parts of the United States, local politics have become dominated by such issues. In many cases, environmental justice has reached the political agenda mostly because rich people are better able to defend
solution or a 20th-century mistake?

By Steven Cohen

To have any real impact on carbon dioxide emissions, we would need to build hundreds of new nuclear plants in the United States. Although this may be technically and financially feasible, the politics are truly impossible in the United States. While France is largely dependent on nuclear power and China may very well become dependent on it, the political structures and cultures of those nations are very different from those of the U.S. Both have highly-centralized and strong central governments that have the power to muscle local concerns aside.

Yet even as a leading player in the global economy of the 21st century, the United States is still a federation of states that retain the vestiges of sovereignty. The late Tip O’Neill, the long-time Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives, was fond of saying that “all politics is local,” and he wasn’t kidding. In the U.S., localities retain a veto over development, and as our land fills up with more people and projects, that veto will be increasingly exercised. This local veto is protected by legislators at all levels of government, and of all ideological stripes. It is at the core of their power as elected officials—and it is not going away.

The local veto results from legal traditions and a political culture that emphasize individual property rights. Recently, the Supreme Court challenged this aspect of American political culture in its decision in *Kelo v. The City of New London*, in which the court held that the Connecticut city had the right to condemn private land as part of an urban renewal project. But look at what’s happened since then: a fierce nationwide backlash, with states rushing to protect property rights by legislating limits to their own powers of eminent domain. Elected officials know there are no votes in forcing development on a reluctant constituency.

These structural and cultural realities are the main factors that make nuclear power politically infeasible in the U.S. Nuclear advocates argue that, when the lights go out, people will accept nuclear power. Why wait to find out? Why waste time and effort on a solution to climate change that has no real chance of gaining political traction?

The problem of global climate change is real, and it is a crisis. I agree that the ultimate solution to reducing carbon dioxide emissions will require the development of new technology. I agree that this need for a technological fix is urgent. The American government should start a major research and development effort to create new power sources that are small in scale, decentralized, environmentally safe, and buildable in the political environment we have here in the United States in the first decade of the 21st century.

Despite what its advocates claimed, nuclear power never was “too cheap to meter.” The truth is that nuclear power is a discredited, mid-20th-century mistake. Attempting to repackage an old mistake as new solution is a distraction from the real work we need to undertake. Instead, we need to put our brainpower to work on a way to reduce carbon dioxide that can actually be implemented in the United States.

Steven Cohen is the director of the Master of Public Administration Program in Environmental Science and Policy at Columbia University’s School of International and Public Affairs and executive director of Columbia’s Earth Institute.
Chinese construction workers have become a ubiquitous part of the African development landscape, referred to by many as "Africa's road builders." Today, Chinese firms are making some of the most sizeable contributions to African infrastructure. They have built roads in Kenya, bridges in Rwanda, new train lines and airports in Angola, and satellites in Nigeria. Their impact can be seen in even the most dangerous parts of the continent, where other investors wouldn't dare to tread.

Chinese interest in Africa is not a new phenomenon. On average, Chinese trade with Africa has doubled each year since 1995, reaching $37 billion in 2006. And its closest business relationships are with some of Africa's pariah states—including countries with antagonistic relations with the United States.

It should be no surprise that American policymakers are taking note—and some are expressing concern.

But what is driving China's ambitions in Africa? And do they pose a substantial threat?

At their most basic level, these ambitions are fundamentally about oil. China's economy has averaged more than 9 percent growth in the past three decades, and its population now exceeds 1.3 billion. With that growth has come a voracious need for resources, not the least of which is oil. The U.S. Energy Information Administration reports that China accounts for 40 percent of the global growth in oil demand over the past four years. It is the second highest consumer of oil, placing it in direct competition with the number one consumer, the United States.

Yet it seems that, for the moment, this is a contest that China is eager to avoid. China is seeking new markets where it won't be chafing against the West, most notably, the United States.

There is no clearer example of this strategy of avoidance than Angola. China had almost no presence in the country until Shell divested itself of its Angolan holdings in 2004. That year, China purchased $2 billion in Angolan oil; in 2006, that figure stood at $10 billion. One measure of just how close Angolan-Chinese relations have become is the fact that 70 percent of all foreign business contracts in Angola involve Chinese corporations. A Chinese chamber of commerce was established there last year. And this year, Angola has surpassed Saudi Arabia to become the top exporter of oil to China.

This investment has come with a substantial amount of infrastructure development. Chinese construction companies have built a new airport in Luanda, the capital city, as well as new highways from the capital to prominent mining districts. While all of these projects are intended to grease the wheels for future Chinese oil exploration in Angola, from the current Angolan perspective, this hardly matters. For a country emerging from decades of civil war, functional roads are good in and of themselves.

Perhaps the best example of China's investment in Angola is the Benguela Railroad. Formerly running from the mineral rich Katanga province in the Congo through Angola to Zambia, it was part of a transcontinental railroad that ran all the way from Dar es Salaam to Johannesburg. Civil wars in Angola and the Congo, along with rampant poverty in Zambia, destroyed this vital regional lifeline.

"The Benguela Railroad was basically never going to come to life again in our lifetime," said Walter Kansteiner, former Assistant Secretary of State on African Affairs. "And lo and behold, the reports are that half of the line from the coast to the Angola-Congo border is now complete."

Somewhere between 10,000 and 40,000 Chinese laborers are responsible for this infrastructure that will reconnect that area of the continent.

Yet this kind of reciprocity between China and its African trading partners has in other cases born much more dubious fruit.

After Nigeria, Sudan is the second largest supplier of African oil to the world. Nevertheless, its vast supply has remained untapped by many Western nations, including the United States, which have forbidden their domestic oil industries from trading with Sudan, in an effort to punish its
government for the ongoing genocide in Darfur and other human rights abuses.

China has filled this gap, undermining the coercive impact of the American sanctions. Petrochina and Sinopec, two of China’s three major state oil companies, have made substantial investments in Sudan, and Sudan now supplies almost 5 percent of China’s annual oil supply.

In exchange, China has provided Sudan with much more than roads and rails. Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International, and Doctors Without Borders have all documented the use of Chinese military equipment in attacks on the people of Darfur. While the genocide continues, 4,000 Chinese troops guard the country’s valuable oil fields.

“In Africa, as elsewhere in the world, the Chinese government has shown that it is eager to embrace dangerous and/or unsavory regimes in order, among other things, to secure its access to oil,” notes Carolyn Bartholomew, vice chairman of a Congressional commission reviewing U.S.-China relations in terms of economic and security concerns. “This strategy gives Chinese state-owned energy companies a competitive advantage over U.S. and other foreign companies excluded from those markets by altogether justified sanctions against unreasonable governments.”

The official Chinese response to such criticism essentially amounts to, “Business is business, and we try to separate business from politics.” Yet political leverage in the international arena seems to be precisely what China can offer unstable regimes facing international pressure. In September 2004, China successfully diluted a U.S.-led resolution to impose international sanctions on Sudan, protecting their right to Sudanese oil and shielding the regime in Khartoum from the sting of international pressure.

Bartholomew has noted that China’s ability to position itself as a counterbalance to U.S. power has allowed it to corner many markets that more scrupulous governments consider “hands off.” She believes this means that it is not in China’s interests to confront the human rights abuses within its partners’ borders, given that “the longer these problems continue, the more [the Chinese] solidify their place in those markets.”

As a result, many states experiencing profound diplomatic isolation are turning to China as a means of circumventing international sanctions. Iran, Venezuela, and Zimbabwe are only a few countries whose leadership has found China to be a useful trading partner at times when they have few friends in the West.

Nowhere is this dynamic more evident than in Zimbabwe, where in 2005, Robert Mugabe announced his new “Look East” policy and his intention to seek trading partners in Asia as a way of defying the international and regional coalition allied against him. China has become Mugabe’s biggest supporter. In exchange for nearly unfettered access to Zimbabwe’s natural gas, copper, and tobacco, China delivered 12 FC-1 fighter jets and 100 other military vehicles to Zimbabwe’s army, undermining a Western arms embargo.

The extent of the economic benefits enjoyed by China’s African partners has been hotly debated. Critics argue that the impact is all “bricks and mortar,” leaving little else of substance. Profits from business with China aren’t finding their way to ordinary Africans but are instead frittered away by corrupt authoritarian regimes. Others point out that China’s insistence on importing its own laborers ensures that neither wages nor practical knowledge are passed on to the population at large—guaranteeing prolonged dependence on a foreign power. Meanwhile, markets that open themselves to trade with China are often flooded with Chinese manufactured imports, crowding out local products and bankrupting local industries.

Others counter that in Tanzania, Nigeria, Ethiopia, and Uganda, Chinese capital has produced tangible benefits in education and social programs.

In 2006, President Hu Jintao announced that China’s official policy is to “provide African countries with aid without any political strings.” The high degree of state control over Chinese firms is seen by many nervous client states as a guarantee that Chinese business and the Chinese government are working in concert.

And indeed, there is a sense that the Chinese are getting the job done where others can’t or won’t. More than 60 percent of Africans see the Chinese presence in their countries as positive, according to the Program on International Policy Attitudes. The fact that the U.S. and Europe fund an overwhelming majority of the humanitarian projects in Africa has done little to offset post-colonial concerns about Western expansionist tendencies.

China is not only building strong bilateral relationships but has also worked to establish support at the regional and international levels, a move that U.S. diplomacy has failed to emphasize to the same degree. In 2000, it established the China-Africa Cooperation Forum to promote trade and investment in more than 44 countries. Today, China has become the largest contributor of the P5 nations to UN peacekeeping missions, including those in Africa. And this winter, Beijing hosted the first annual Africa Conference, where Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak and DRC President Joseph Kabila were seen in the company of Hu Jintao.

In addition to investing in oil and infrastructure, China has invested in a variety of education and exchange programs that will help spread awareness of Chinese culture and society throughout Africa. According to the Carnegie Endowment for Peace, the number of African students in Chinese language programs in China has tripled over the last five years.

If China has taken the lead in Africa, perhaps it is because China’s African strategy is built on long-term contracts and generation-long relationships. It’s a strategy that balances political reality with a focus on partnership and integration—precisely the kind of delicate balance that the U.S. foreign policy currently seems unable to achieve.

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Big business and the environment have rarely been friends. In industries like manufacturing, mining, transportation, and energy, the focus on the bottom line has traditionally been linked to reckless environmental degradation. But Jeffrey Sachs, the head of Columbia's Earth Institute and a champion of sustainable development, wants us to know that business is not, in fact, the villain.

Indeed, judging from the discussions taking place through The Earth Institute’s Global Roundtable on Climate Change (GROCC), business seems to be in the vanguard, relatively speaking, of the struggle to contain dangerous emissions of carbon dioxide (CO₂) and other greenhouse gases.

“The arithmetic behind the threat is compelling,” says Sachs. “Global climate change is a threat that can no longer be ignored.” According to Sachs, it is the self-interested bottom line that is driving businesses to be proactive in dealing with increasingly pressing environmental issues.

The Roundtable, started with a grant from Columbia Trustee Gerry Lenfest, provides an open, nonjudgmental forum for large corporations from diverse industries to come together with NGOs, religious organizations, government representatives, and scientists. Since its inception in 2004, the group has met twice a year to air concerns, ask questions, debate, and, ultimately, come to a consensus on climate change.

On February 20, 2007, after more than two years of private discussions, GROCC participants—including corporate heavyweights such as General Electric, Alcoa, Air France, Bayer, Allianz, Citigroup, DuPont, FPL Group, and Volvo—released “The Path to Climate Sustainability: A Joint Statement by the Global Roundtable on Climate Change” at a press conference at Lerner Hall.

This statement was remarkable not so much for its content as for the diverse sectors and often competing agendas represented. Tellingly, they all agreed on this much: “Failing to act now would lead to far higher economic and environmental costs and greater risk of irreversible impacts.”

“Addressing climate change involves risks and costs,” said Alain Belda, chairman and chief executive officer of Alcoa, the world’s leading producer of aluminum. “But much greater is the risk of failing to act. I am convinced that we can build a global plan of action on climate change in ways that create more economic opportunities than risks. Actually, I believe there is no other option.”

GROCC members jointly acknowledge the scientific findings laid out by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) and
support the objectives of the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). Furthermore, the joint statement calls on participants to engage with governments to set targets for stabilizing carbon dioxide levels in order to prevent anthropogenic (human-caused) climate change and to encourage greater global consensus on climate policy.

More specifically, the document states: "Energy efficiency must play an important role in these strategies, but long-term success will require a concerted effort to decarbonize the global energy system. This means significantly increasing the use of non-fossil-fuel energy sources, significantly raising the energy efficiency of fossil-fuel power plants through advanced technologies, and developing and deploying technologies that trap and store the CO₂ produced by the fossil fuels that will remain in use."

"Those of us in the transportation industry, in particular, face major challenges," said Leif Johansson, chief executive officer of the Volvo Group. "We know that we are part of the problem, but we are also convinced that we are part of the solution. This involves everything from carbon dioxide-free automotive plants to advanced hybrid technology for heavy vehicles and engines that can burn a wide range of alternative fuels." Beyond continuing to develop the viability of alternative energy sources, GROCC points to technologies that prevent CO₂ build-up in the atmosphere.

The statement supports an option known as carbon capture and sequestration (CCS) as an additional approach to decarbonization. "CCS technologies that capture CO₂ emissions at the source (from a power plant, for example) and then sequester them beneath the earth’s surface have been proven technically but need to be demonstrated commercially and at the scale required to make a significant impact on efforts to decarbonize the global energy system," the statement concluded.

However, David Downie, director of GROCC, is careful to make clear that the joint statement is not a legally binding document requiring specific commitments from the signatories. "Our meetings are a private forum for the participants to freely ask questions and say, ‘I don’t understand or agree with this,’ without the threat of a public backlash," says Downie. "They’re trying to be leaders in their fields, and the point is not for roundtable discussions or documents to be used against them.”

As such, the content of the joint statement is "nothing that has not been said before," according to Kate Brash, manager of GROCC. "It’s all widely accepted fact, nothing on paper is contro-versial. But it is important in bringing more publicity to the companies and to the issue.” The overarching purpose of the GROCC collaboration is to build the momentum of global consensus necessary to capture the political will of policymakers. One point made repeatedly during the press conference was that the world already has the technology and resources needed to stem dangerous climate change. However, there still exists an urgent need to stimulate governments—who are trailing far behind businesses on this issue—to set in place policies to which organizations can adhere.

Essentially, the leaders of GROCC see the joint statement as a first step in "setting an agenda to influence the global policy debate on climate change," according to Steven Cohen, director of SIPA’s MPA Program in Environmental Science and Policy and executive director of the earth Institute. "And Jeff Sachs is great at setting policy agendas."

Among those agendas is a framework for "post-Kyoto policy.” The Kyoto Protocol—an amendment to the international treaty on climate change that assigns mandatory emission limits to signatory nations—ends in 2012, world leaders are already beginning to engage in negotiations for the next international accord.

According to Brash, the Kyoto targets have not been as effective as some signatories had hoped. Some GROCC participants wanted to call for lower parts-per-million targets for CO₂ emissions, and some even questioned the necessity of any specific targets. There were also debates on what constitutes a “dangerous rise in global temperature.”

Downie explains that policies and technologies affect business sectors differently, so there is often difficulty reaching a consensus on policy. As a result, GROCC has focused on areas where there is overwhelming agreement in order to leverage the momentum that its influential participants are capable of generating together, rather than becoming mired in disagreement.

One factor that may have allowed GROCC to achieve a relatively wide-ranging consensus is the conspicuous absence from its roster of one industry: big oil.

"For obvious reasons, and in spite of our best efforts, no oil companies joined GROCC," says Brash. "Their position is very tricky. They are very powerful and influential over policy nationally and internationally and have to be very careful of what to ask for.”

However, Brash remains hopeful. "Even Exxon no longer denies the existence of climate change,” she notes. "The public opinion aspect is of great importance to them and can be a strate-gy for working with them to combat climate change with the innovative use of fossil fuels. What they’re good at is technology. We need to work with them to develop techniques and technologies to make those resources usable.”

Another sensitive issue is the question of historical responsibility for carbon emissions. The U.S. is the number one emitter of CO₂ and greenhouse gases, and the developed world has been responsible for a majority of emissions. However, as developing countries begin to play industrial catch-up, and the developed world can afford to switch over to more innovative, environmentally-friendly technologies, there will be a change in this balance.

"Historical responsibility is a way of emphasizing that we’ve gotten to where we are largely based on our emissions," Brash explains. "Somehow in the allocation of emissions allowances that has to be acknowledged. What are we saying about developing countries’ rights to develop? You don’t have the right to the same level of development as we enjoy?"

During the February press conference, no developing countries received more attention than China and India, the world’s next industrial powerhouses: indeed, China is set to surpass the U.S. as the biggest CO₂ emitter in a matter of months. GROCC participants, however, remain firmly optimistic about these countries.

Sachs insists that “arithmetic and the global survival instinct will prevail” in China and India. He and the other panelists stress that these countries are very aware of climate issues and are taking steps to address these problems early in their developmental arc.

Furthermore, Sachs notes, “When China becomes the biggest emitter, the U.S. will say, ‘They’re wrecking our climate.’ Politics will change here when we’re number two.”

And what of the age-old issue of resistance from the business community? Is the situation now really as rosy as GROCC claims? According to Sachs, “There’s no concerted opposition anymore, no strong rear guard. We’ve passed that stage. There will be change.

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U.S. ENERGY SECURITY AND EU CLIMATE POLICY: The policy dialogue that could be

By Albert Bressand
Energy markets, like few others, are highly sensitive to policy influences, from OPEC production quotas to mandatory standards for consumer fuels. Two major influences in the present decade are the quest for “energy security” by the United States and the attempt by Europe to spearhead a global fight against harmful climate change. In many ways, both sets of policies are about the role and form of government intervention in energy matters. “Energy security,” however, is not a policy nor even a single, clearly definable objective, but rather a banner—one that is waved by supporters of very different approaches and that obscures the specific objectives being pursued. The same is true of climate policies, especially when pursued by a region that cannot hope to make much of an impact on global climate by itself.

Given this similarity, it should come as no surprise that policy choices faced by the U.S. on the “energy security” front resemble policy choices that the European Union addresses from the angle of climate change. And in both cases, emotions and pressure groups have sometimes stood in the way of rational cost-benefit analysis.

Until now, the fact that the U.S. and the EU have looked at the energy scene from these two very different angles has prevented them from entering into any meaningful dialogue. Paradoxically, their different experiences could be a source of mutual learning and of cross-fertilization. Constructive change requires the specification of goals followed by a careful examination of all of the available policy options, with a clear view of the tradeoffs among competing objectives and resources that they involve. Such explicit and dispassionate analysis is easier to conduct if one considers the two arenas simultaneously, focusing on the nature of the policy objectives and options.

The energy security policy patchwork

When policymakers use the term “security” beyond its traditional meaning denoting defense and military affairs, they usually wish to signal that the stakes go beyond those of the market-place and extend to major physical disruption or harm. Such rhetoric thus sets the stage for policy options that entail higher-than-usual costs and a more pronounced role for the visible hand of government than would be justified by market forces alone.

Clearly, new threats have materialized—witness the al-Qaeda attack near the Saudi terminal of Ras Tanura in February 2006. Risks such as these are on the mind of every country with a stake in the 17 million barrels of oil that pass daily through the Strait of Hormuz—of which 13 million barrels continue toward the pirate-infested Malacca Strait—and it is not a stretch to think...
of this as an “energy security” issue.

But the phrase “energy security” is also invoked to justify policies that depart from strictly market-determined resource allocation. Unfortunately, how well the policies actually serve net importers’ interests and what the effects are of their departure from market-driven responses are questions that often are answered vaguely, if at all. Not infrequently, the result is an inefficient patchwork of policies that derive from different motivations, develop through different logical pathways, and ultimately relate to no clear concept of what energy security is really about.

Independence, risk-capping, and interdependence

Before arriving at SIPA last year, I headed the Global Business Environment department at Royal Dutch Shell. In developing potential scenarios for the future of the global energy industry, we identified three ways that “energy security” can be understood and consequently pursued, each involving a different relationship between the visible hand of the state and the invisible hand of the market. Choices made between these three approaches reflect policymakers’ deeper views on the extent to which international mechanisms can be trusted and decisions left to institutional processes, as opposed to binding mandates. Trust, indeed, is a critical, even if invisible, determinant of policy choices.

In a world where trust is scare, policymakers will resort to the visible hand in order to achieve certain desired outcomes that they see as more compatible with security objectives than would happen from normal market mechanisms alone. This can be done in one of two ways. Policymakers can pursue an interventionist and coercive “energy independence” approach by deciding what the market share of a certain energy source should be. Or policymakers in a low-trust scenario can choose “risk-capping” policies, adopting a more market-based approach in which they act as “portfolio managers” who set limits for subordinate fund managers.

Meanwhile, in a more trustful world, policymakers’ efforts will go into the creation or strengthening of institutions supporting the achievement of their objectives in a decentralized and cooperative manner. The emphasis is on providing the framework in which market interactions can be seen as compatible with security objectives. Such policies can be referred to as “interdependence policies.”

These three sets of policies have distinct implications for energy costs. “Independence” policies look at security as an absolute, implying that a wholly distinct set of costs can be superimposed on market prices. “Risk-capping” policies are comparable to insurance, with clearly identified “risk premiums” to be paid, for instance, in the form of infrastructure redundancies and diversification away from high-risk options. “Interdependence” policies internalize costs into market prices and count on endogenous responses to mitigate impact.

Interestingly, this spectrum of policy options closely resembles those facing Europe as it takes the lead in promoting policies to fight harmful climate change (hereafter, “climate policies”). While the risks at stake differ, policymakers face questions similar to those for “energy security”: Can one put trust in institutions and incentives, or should coercion be brought to bear on market choices? In theory, the Kyoto Protocol has firmly grounded climate policies into the risk-capping categories. But looking at the cost structure of actual climate policies, one can detect an equivalent of “independence policies,” whereby a region will treat reduction of greenhouse gas emissions as an absolute and accept superimposing costs accordingly. True, “carbon independence” contradicts physical realities—but one could say the same of energy independence, at least for a sophisticated economy like that of the U.S.

Let us briefly review these three types of “energy security” policies, making explicit what they have in common with “climate policies.”

The absolutes of “energy independence” and “carbon independence”

Net energy importers can be so distrustful of the international system that they aspire to retreat into a sort of gated community. Energy independence is then valued to the point that domestic energy sources will be developed at costs that will matter little and, if possible, will not be measured. Similarly, countries and activists worried about climate change can be so distrustful of market incentives that they aspire to constrain behaviors and to manage their part of the world as a green island irrespective of oceanic tides. The danger in both cases is that the suspension of economic judgment exacts a very high cost directly and in the form of pervasive inefficiencies.

The U.S., for instance, seems ready to mandate the use of more ethanol than it can produce while keeping in place prohibitive trade barriers against more efficient ethanol producers—this at a time when experts and the mass media make no mystery of the limited net energy-value of domestic corn-based ethanol. Similarly, on the
In a world where trust is scarce, policymakers will resort to the visible hand in order to achieve certain desired outcomes that they see as more compatible with security objectives than would happen from normal market mechanisms.

Making interdependence work: the institutional agenda

Of the three ways in which governments can make their influence felt, the most promising one from an efficiency perspective is interdependence.

To mitigate the risks of their energy suppliers turning against them, buyer countries can increase the level of interdependence by finding additional ways to engage with producers, notably to accelerate the diversification of their economies. Such is the attempt of the EU as it engages Russia, not very successfully at this stage, in discussions about the adoption of common principles summarized in an Energy Charter. Such is also the approach of Saudi Arabia as it hosts and supports—so far with more limited impact than could be envisioned—the International Energy Forum. Companies and NGOs are key players in developing international regimes that can sustain trust and interdependence and can be involved in the development of new institutions such as various transparency initiatives.

Equivalent steps are more difficult to articulate for climate policies, since the very creation of markets for carbon-emission rights can be perceived as a government intervention. But the U.S. has played a pioneering role in setting up such markets for domestic pollutants, is engaged with China and India in joint technology initiatives that could be made more significant, and could catalyze the much-needed transformation of Kyoto into a genuine, market-driven risk management tool.

How to restore the trust needed for such policies to succeed could be a central topic in a revitalized U.S.-EU dialogue embracing both energy security and climate change. The U.S. could help the EU avoid the pitfalls of policies that could end up looking like the pursuit of “carbon independence.” Meanwhile, U.S. multilateralism in setting up new institutions such as various transparency initiatives could then give way to a joint search for the institutions that today’s interdependence is still lacking.

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Will Chavez’s brand of populism push Venezuela to the brink?

The intended message of President Bush’s March trip to Latin America could not have been simpler: We care. “The trip is to remind people that we care,” Bush remarked upon leaving. “We care about your plight.”

The trip was also designed to send another message. After years of witnessing an explosion of anti-American sentiment in Latin America and the burgeoning influence of Venezuela’s Hugo Chavez, the Bush administration decided it was time for a public relations offensive in the region to counter Chavez’s socialist populism with a call for more free market capitalism and democratic governance.

Chavez, for his part, was unimpressed. “It is an offensive destined to the abyss of failure,” he said.

It is no secret that Chavez and President Bush have been at odds for years—a fact made clear during Chavez’s September 2006 speech at the UN, when he referred to Bush as “the Devil.”

Yet Chavez’s disdain for Bush has not prevented him from reaching out to the American people, through low-cost shipments of Venezuelan oil and other services targeted to the poor.

Analysts argue that providing cheap oil to low-income Americans is another one of Chavez’s attempts to embarrass the Bush administration. But whether they are acts of charity or political jabs, Americans are benefiting from the transactions.

In the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina, Chavez offered to send discounted oil to victims through a surviving Citgo refinery in Louisiana, aid workers to the beleaguered Gulf Coast, and free eye surgery to Americans without health care.

In November 2005, Venezuela signed an agreement with the state of Massachusetts to sell heating oil at 40 percent below market value. A year later, it expanded the distribution to other states in the northeast, including Maine, Rhode Island, New York, Pennsylvania, and Delaware.

Receiving aid from Venezuela puts places like these in unexpected company. Chavez has used his country’s massive oil profits to fund social welfare...
initiatives for Venezuela’s Latin American neighbors. His desire to inherit the symbolic leadership of Latin American revolutionary socialism from Fidel Castro has prompted particular generosity toward Cuba. Venezuelan oil money provides free tuition, room, and board to the 10,000 students at Cuba’s Latin American School of Medical Science. Graduating doctors are then sent to work in Venezuela, Bolivia, Ecuador, Nicaragua and Pakistan. Cuba also receives approximately 100,000 barrels of oil per day from Venezuela practically free of charge.

Since Chavez’s reelection to the Venezuelan presidency in December 2006, government spending on social programs—funded by the country’s rich oil and gas industry—has continued to rise. Yet these attempts to ease the burden on the Venezuelan poor are beginning to show signs of strain on the market. Over the past several years, the government has slapped price caps on nearly 400 staple items, including milk, sugar, meat, and cooking oil. Despite government subsidies to food suppliers, a rash of shortages has hit the nation. Meat must be sold below cost and has become scarce in many supermarkets. On February 7, 2007, authorities discovered seven tons of sugar in a warehouse in Caracas that vendors had been hoarding. They “were unwilling to market the sugar at the official price,” reports Natalie Pearson of the Associated Press. The black market for food items is growing, contributing to a high inflation rate as the gap between the official price and the real market price widens. In February, Chavez issued a stern warning to grocery store owners who were flouting federal price controls.

“If they remain committed to violating the interests of the people, the constitution, the laws, I’m going to take the food storage units, corner stores, supermarkets and nationalize them,” Chavez warned during a TV broadcast. “So prepare yourselves!”

In February, Condoleezza Rice told the media that “Chavez is destroying his country.” Overspending and falling oil prices will make it increasingly difficult for Chavez to meet the public’s expectations at home and to follow through on the foreign aid he has promised to countries such as Ecuador and Nicaragua. The Venezuelan president directly controls an increasingly large amount of money built up through diverted oil revenues and funds from the central bank’s reserve.

Venezuela’s annual inflation rate became the highest in Latin America this January, reaching 18.4 percent and exceeding the official target by almost eight percentage points. If inflation continues to grow at this rate, it will reach 27 percent by January 2008. Public spending has more than doubled since the beginning of 2004 on projects for bridges, highways, trains, subways, museums, and soccer stadiums.

“The experience of Latin America shows that these kinds of populist experiments which lack transparency and accountability are not sustainable,” said Thomas Trebat, executive director of SIPA’s Institute of Latin American Studies. While the economy is stable at present (dollar reserves at the central bank total more than $35 billion), it will not last long if the funds are not handled more responsibly.

“They’re wasting the greatest bonanza in the history of the country,” Trebat added.

Chavez is now looking to take over the investments of foreign oil companies in Venezuela’s Orinoco Belt, including Chevron, Exxon Mobil, Conoco Phillips, and BP. He also wants to buy at least a 60 percent stake in four other projects that convert the heavy, tarry crude into synthetic oil. In January 2007, the International Energy Agency said that nationalizing could seriously impact foreign investment interests in Venezuela and thwart its efforts to increase oil production. For now, the road ahead—is still unsure.

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IRAQ’S OIL POLITICS

Amid the violence and uncertainty, a fierce struggle is under way for control of the country’s vast energy resources. By Justin Vogt
One year after graduating from SIPA in 2005, Christine Weydig found herself in a place unlike any she had ever seen, a place she never dreamed she would wind up in: Baghdad.

After a year spent working as a Presidential Management Fellow in the U.S. Department of Energy, Weydig took an opportunity to become an energy officer in the economic section of the U.S. Embassy in Baghdad. In this role, she became a key member of a team of Americans working with the Iraqi government on a project that will have major implications for the future of Iraq—drafting a new hydrocarbon law to regulate the country’s oil and gas industry.

At SIPA, Weydig had concentrated in International Energy Management and Policy (IEMP). “The energy concentration was really robust and I enjoyed it,” Weydig recalled during a recent phone interview from her office in Baghdad. “But Iraq is a conflict zone, and I don’t know that any program could have prepared me for this.”

Even within the relatively secure International Zone anchored by the massive U.S. Embassy, the environment that greeted Weydig in Baghdad was a far cry from Washington.

“I live in a trailer, and we’re all on top of one another,” she explained. “There’s concertina wire and concrete T-walls everywhere. You really can’t leave the International Zone unless you’re with a personal security detail. And there are bombs going off every day. Even if they’re not that close to you, it doesn’t make you feel particularly safe.”

Weydig described an environment that hardly seems conducive to effective diplomacy. “When you go to see Iraqi ministry officials, you go in a convoy of armored vehicles with guys with big guns,” she explained. These intense security precautions, though surely justified, “make it really difficult to interact with your counterparts.”

Such difficult interactions were at the heart of American efforts to persuade the various regional and sectarian blocs that constitute Iraq’s governing coalition to agree on a new hydrocarbon law. The law—which was approved by Iraq’s Council of Ministers in February and now faces the Council of Representatives—will not only determine how revenues from Iraq’s oil and gas sectors will be collected and distributed but will also regulate the role of foreign investors and international oil companies in Iraq.

While the Bush administration has hailed the new law as a sign of increasing political unity, critics have pointed out that on a number of crucial issues, the law is extremely ambiguous, creating the potential for future clashes over regulatory and fiscal authority. Others have complained that the law offers international oil companies
and foreign investors too much influence over Iraq’s energy policies.

In this way, the hydrocarbon law taps into two themes that loom large in the history of Iraq: the struggle to maintain central authority and the ever-present specter of foreign domination. With a vote in Parliament expected at the end of May, it seems that the debate over the law may inflame the very divisions its supporters hope it will eventually quell.

Sometimes it seems that even for the war’s fiercest critics and firmest supporters, the issue of oil—once a lightning rod in the debate over Iraq—has been lost amid the vast ocean of discarded illusions and false promises that have come to define the American invasion and occupation. Consider the Congressional testimony given just one week after the invasion began by then Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz. With a naïve confidence that would seem almost poignant were it not for its tragic implications, Wolfowitz patiently explained that thanks to the massive oil revenues that would soon pour in, post-Saddam Iraq would be “a country that can really finance its own reconstruction, and relatively soon.”

Of course, things didn’t quite work out that way. Like everything else in the country, the oil sector soon fell victim to the rapid deterioration of security in Iraq.

Before the first Gulf War in 1991, Iraq was capable of consistently producing and exporting more than 3 million barrels of oil per day. Output declined during the sanctions regime imposed between the 1991 war and the 2003 invasion, peaking at 2.5 million barrels per day. Today, the country generally produces just 2.1 million barrels per day. Output has dipped further in recent years, temporarily declining to about 1.5 million barrels per day.

The seemingly insurmountable challenge of rebuilding the energy sector in a country wracked by violence did not prevent the United States from pressuring the Iraqi government to establish a new law governing hydrocarbons. From the moment Iraq’s first democratically-elected government took office in 2005, the U.S. insisted that passage of a new hydrocarbon law become one of its chief priorities.

“The reason the law came out when it did and how it did was that there was a lot of pressure from the U.S. side, specifically from [former U.S. Ambassador to Iraq] Zalmay Khalilzad,” explained Saad Rahim, an analyst at PFC Energy. For the Bush administration, a new hydrocarbon law is essential for preventing the disintegration of Iraq along regional and sectarian lines. Achieving that goal depends on the ability of the central government to control oil and gas revenues but at the same time distribute them in a manner acceptable to political leaders in the regions where Iraq’s main reserves are primarily located. In the north, Kurdish leaders hope to preserve as much of their current autonomy as possible. In the south, Shia factions—particularly Abdul Aziz Hakim’s SCIRI party—are wary of empowering any central authority, even one in

Most observers believe the law will win passage, but doubts linger about its long-term feasibility.

which Shia factions have a major stake.

“This issue wasn’t really determined by the necessities of the energy sector as much as by the political necessities of the Americans and the Iraqis,” said Rahim. “It came down to persuading the Kurds and SCIRI to compromise.”

But important economic factors were at play. The Bush administration had long promised that foreign investment would pour into post-Saddam Iraq, a promise made not only to the Iraqis but also to international energy companies eager to see Iraq’s lucrative oil fields opened up for exploration and production—and perhaps even outright ownership. After meeting with senior executives from U.S. oil companies, Energy Secretary Samuel Bodman traveled to Baghdad last summer to relay a message to the Iraqis.

At a press conference, Bodman shared what U.S. oil executives had told him: “There are a lot of reserves there, but we cannot think about investing. We want a more secure environment and the establishment of a hydrocarbon law. Both

are required. Both are necessary.” In other words, as far as U.S. oil companies and their allies in the Bush administration were concerned, the passage of a new law could not wait for an improvement in the security situation.

After months of intense negotiations, the Iraqi Council of Ministers approved a draft of the law on February 26 and announced that the Council of Representatives (sometimes called the Parliament) would be required to vote on it by the end of May. Among other things, the draft law stipulates that the federal government will collect all oil revenues and distribute them to the regions on the basis of population.

The Bush administration seized on this aspect of the law. White House spokesman Tony Snow called the law a “key linchpin” in Iraq’s recovery. In a statement, Ambassador Tony Snow said that by approving the draft law, “Iraq’s communities have demonstrated that they can pull together to resolve difficult issues of vital national importance.”

Indeed, most analysts agree that the redistribution element does represent a significant development.

“Six months or a year ago, in earlier versions of the law, they were talking about much more regional control,” says Greg Priddy, an energy analyst with Eurasia Group. According to Priddy, the shift to more central authority represents a “huge change.”

For Christine Weydig and her colleagues at the U.S. Embassy, the draft law represents the culmination of their efforts to help a fractious Iraqi governing coalition come together on an issue of major importance.

“It was a very difficult series of negotiations,” says Weydig. “The breakthrough was that the sides were able to reach a political agreement.”

Yet, as the Bush administration calls attention to the redistribution mechanisms created by the law, other aspects have drawn fire.

One of the main problems is that the Iraqi government has not made an official version of the draft law available, in either Arabic or English. A number of documents appeared on the Internet before and after the announcement, but it was almost impossible to verify their authenticity or accuracy. Key terms and language varied from one “leaked” version to another, adding to the confusion regarding the law’s contents. Eventually, almost two weeks after the initial approval by the Council of Ministers, the Kurdistan Regional Government posted what it described as an “authorized version” of the law on its Web site.

To ABC News correspondent Miguel
Marquez (MIA ’98), who has reported from Baghdad on numerous assignments, this situation was all too familiar. “It’s very hard to tell what’s truth and reality in Iraq,” says Marquez. “Sometimes the government claims there has been a vote, then they shut off the cameras and no one is ever really sure if there was a vote or not. I was there when the constitution was drafted, and as I remember there were numerous drafts of it and we could never quite figure out which was the official draft.”

Despite this degree of uncertainty regarding the law’s contents, what is clear is that the new law would create an energy sector in Iraq starkly different from those in most of its Persian Gulf neighbors, in which oil contracts and revenues are typically controlled by a nationalized oil company, such as Saudi Aramco or the Kuwait Oil Company. What’s more, the law contains a number of controversial provisions regarding who will have authority over contracts to develop new oil and gas fields.

Under the new law, the Iraqi National Oil Company (INOC) would continue to control all of Iraq’s existing oil and gas fields. Also, all revenue from oil sales—whether generated by existing fields or new fields—would go into a single national account controlled by the Oil Ministry. However, regional governments (such as the Kurdistan region) would be allowed to sign contracts with foreign companies (or Iraqi oil companies other than INOC) for the exploration and development of new fields.

But the law does not specify what type of contracts the regional governments or oil companies would be permitted to sign. This leaves open the possibility that contracts on new fields could take the form of production-sharing agreements. In a production-sharing agreement, a foreign company can maintain an ownership stake in the oil or gas itself, while it is still underground. The company is then able to count this oil or gas as an owned asset, a practice known as “booking reserves.”

“Most of the largest reserve holders are off limits to foreign equity ownership—they’re not under production-sharing contracts where companies can put reserves on them,” explains energy analyst Greg Priddy. “The Iraqi law would offer them the opportunity to do that. So it’s very attractive to them, much more attractive than most other Persian Gulf countries where opportunities are more limited.”

Adding to the ambiguity about future contracts, the law creates a new authority known as the Federal Council on Oil and Gas, which will be required to draft “model contracts” at some future date. The Council will then review all proposed contracts on new developments to make sure they are in compliance with the as-yet unwritten model contracts, relying on the advice of a panel of independent advisors made up of oil and gas experts. The law allows these experts to be “Iraqis or foreigners,” leading some critics to charge that it would give non-Iraqis too much influence over contracts.

Similar concerns have been raised regarding the composition of the Council itself, which in addition to members of the central and regional governments will include an unspecified number of “Chief Executives of important related petroleum companies,” as well as “a representative from each Producing Governorate not included in a Region.” The term “important related petroleum companies” seems highly ambiguous, and some critics contend that a broad interpretation of this clause will allow representatives from international oil companies to have a role in reviewing the contracts, which would create conflicts of interest and the appearance of undue foreign influence.

Also contentious is the term “Producing Governorate,” which is defined as “any Iraqi Governorate that produces Crude Oil and natural gas continually on rates [sic] more than one hundred and fifty thousand (150,000) barrels a day.” Raed Jarra, an Iraqi analyst at the liberal think tank Foreign Policy in Focus, argues that this excludes a majority of Iraq’s governorates, most of which have few substantial oil or gas reserves.

“This means someone from the Diwaniya, or Diyala, or Anbar will not have anyone representing him or her on the Council,” says Jarra, who also believes the law would allow executives from foreign oil companies to sit on the Council. “If I am in one of those places, I will not have a say about who should get a contract or where the money should go, but someone who goes representing Shell or ExxonMobil will have a say.”

If a perception develops that the law favors some regions or groups over others, or that it offers non-Iraqis a high degree of influence over energy policy, it could face public opposition that might make it harder to win passage in the Council of Representatives in May. Most observers believe the law will win passage, but doubts linger about its long-term feasibility.

“It’s going to meet opposition, but I think it will pass Parliament,” says Saad Rahim of PFC Energy. “But that’s not the real issue. The real hurdle will be the implementation. Getting this implemented is going to be a nightmare, frankly.”

According to Rahim, the law’s strategic ambig-
A PIPELINE THROUGH THE BALKANS?

One family’s quest to send oil through the “tinderbox” of Europe

By Andrew Monahan
An oil pipeline through the war-torn Balkans sounds at first like a very bad idea. Macedonian-American Gligor Tashkovich certainly thought so when his father, Vuko Tashkovich, proposed just that in 1994. But Gligor soon came around to his father’s idea. This would eventually make him an important player in the contentious sphere of international energy politics. It would also make him heir to a long-held family dream.

The chain of connections catalyzed by his father’s seemingly outlandish business venture linked him more directly than he could have imagined to the struggle of his grandfather and namesake, a Macedonian senator who led the Democratic Agrarian Party and fought for a democratic, capitalist Balkans. It would bring the Pong Ridge, New York—raised Gligor back to the land his grandfather and father had fled, where he would become minister for foreign investment in a youthful, forward-looking government bent on bringing entrepreneurs like the Tashkoviches back home.

That home was shattered first by World War II and then by the descent of the Iron Curtain. After the war, the elder Gligor escaped to America with the help of the International Rescue Committee, which was assisting democratic leaders in the Balkans who faced political persecution. Once in New York, he remarried. Through a fortuitous connection of his wife’s family, he was able to convince Eleanor Roosevelt, then the American spokesperson at the United Nations, to write to Yugoslav leader Josip Broz Tito, asking him to reunite families reestablished in America with relatives who were left behind in Yugoslavia. Through this circuitous turn of events, Vuko was reunited with his father Gligor in New York in 1958.

Vuko established himself as a successful architect and builder and became an active member of the Macedonian community in America. A supporter of a pluralistic, peaceful Balkans, he was deeply shaken by the war in Bosnia in the early 1990s. Macedonia was a multiethnic country just like Bosnia had been, and he feared that violent civil conflict could also seize his homeland and split it apart. He began looking for a project that would promote Macedonian security and hit upon the idea of a southern Balkans oil pipeline running through Bulgaria, Macedonia, and Albania. In this project, he saw a reason for America to care about the territorial integrity of Macedonia. “It sounds very cynical, I’ll be the first to admit,” his son said recently, “but it happens to have worked.”

In 1994, Vuko established AMBO PPL, the Albanian-Macedonian-Bulgarian Oil Company that would build the pipeline. Two years later, Vuko died of cancer. “He made me promise on his deathbed that I should only build the project if it was meant to be,” Gligor said, “and not to do it for him, for his memory.”

By this time, Gligor and his mother Stefanie, who became chief executive officer of AMBO upon inheriting her husband’s shares in the company, were fully committed to the project. They had come to see that cash-backed demand in the global marketplace has a way of trumping apparent incongruity—even the incongruity of an oil pipeline running through one of the world’s most volatile regions. They also understood that increasing oil output in the greater Caspian Sea region made a trans-Balkan pipeline an economic and geographic inevitability.

In heading west to Europe and the United States, much of the oil from the greater Caspian Sea region—southern Russia, Kazakhstan, and Azerbaijan—now passes first by pipeline or rail through the Caucasus to the Black Sea, where it is loaded onto chartered oil tankers. To reach the Mediterranean Sea and the Atlantic Ocean, these tankers must cross the Black Sea and then pass through Istanbul and the narrow Bosporus Strait, which cuts through Istanbul. Turkish environmental concerns raise questions about the long-term viability of high-volume tanker traffic through the crucial Bosporus link.

“The Turks will not allow more shipments through the Bosporus—one accident is one too many for them, understandably,” said Dr. Stephen Blank, an expert on the region at the Strategic Studies Institute of the U.S. Army War College, in a recent telephone interview. A trans-Balkan pipeline connecting the Black Sea to the Adriatic would bypass the problem of delays in the congested Bosporus, saving oil companies an estimated $1 billion a year on shipping costs.

The AMBO pipeline would begin at the Bulgarian Black Sea port of Burgas and cross west through Bulgaria, Macedonia, and Albania before terminating at the Albanian Adriatic Sea port of Vlore. A rival Russia-backed project, the Burgas Alexandroupolis pipeline, would also start at Burgas but would carry oil south through Bulgaria and Greece to the Greek Aegean Sea port of Alexandroupolis.

The third trans-Balkan proposal is a northern route known as the Pan-European Oil Pipeline (PEOP), a refinery supply pipeline that would carry oil from the Romanian Black Sea port of Constanta to Trieste, Italy. Since it would not be an export pipeline like AMBO or Burgas-Alexandroupolis, PEOP is not considered a direct competitor. The real race is between AMBO and Burgas-Alexandroupolis.

Gligor Tashkovich, 41, holds an MBA from Cornell and previously served as an AMBO executive. He was appointed minister for foreign investment for the Republic of Macedonia after Prime Minister Nikola Gruevski of the center-right VMRO-DPMNE came to power in July 2006. Although he speaks regularly with his mother and shares her interest in seeing AMBO succeed, Tashkovich claims that they no longer speak in detail about the project, so as to avoid accusations of a conflict of interest.

In his former role as AMBO executive and current position as a Macedonian minister, Tashkovich has stressed the cheaper tariffs and shorter overall transport time to the EU and U.S. markets expected on the AMBO pipeline. But AMBO has yet to secure the $400 million equity investment needed to begin construction.

By contrast, the Burgas-Alexandroupolis project enjoys the financial support of cash-flush Russian energy company Gazprom and pipeline company Transneft. Russian president Vladimir Putin visited Greece in March to give his official blessing to the project.

The United States does not officially endorse any of the trans-Balkan pipeline projects, taking the position that the market should decide which gets built. According to Dr. Blank, from a strategic standpoint the United States would “like to see all those pipelines operating.” Nonetheless, in the strategic calculus of great power politics, the United States implicitly endorses AMBO, not Burgas-Alexandroupolis. This implicit endorsement is, after all, the glue that makes Vuko Tashkovich’s security bulwark idea stick.

U.S. endorsement, whether explicit or implicit, has proven crucial in other oil pipeline projects. The Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan (BTC) pipeline, which began transporting oil in May 2006, connects the southern Caspian port of Baku, in Azerbaijan, with the Mediterranean port of Ceyhan in Turkey.

Shirley Neff, president and CEO of the Washington, D.C.–based Association of Oil Pipe
Lines and an adjunct lecturer at SIPA, said in a recent interview that “the only reason that the BTC pipeline exists is that the United States supported it.”

But although it may be necessary, U.S. support is not sufficient. Investors require security assurances that host countries can protect the sabotage-prone pipelines into which their assets must flow before any oil does. In a recent interview, Balkans expert Gordon Bardos of Columbia University’s Harriman Institute said that “many scholars see Macedonia moving in the direction of a federal binational state and are pessimistic about its future.” This is due largely to political conflict within Macedonia between ethnic Albanians and ethnic Macedonians. Bardos related a joke about the Macedonian government controlling “the capital and the road to the airport and that’s about it.”

Asked about such views during a recent trip to New York, Tashkovich replied: “I’d advise these scholars to come visit Macedonia. It’s changed a lot in the last six months, this new government has changed a lot of things.”

Much hinges on the sustainability of these changes. Bardos is a friend of Tashkovich and has helped to build strong ties between the Harriman Institute and Macedonia’s top government officials, many of whom have spoken at SIPA. But the enthusiasm Bardos has for the upbeat new leadership is tempered by his “concern over whether the structural situation Macedonia is confronting is going to overwhelm its best laid plans.”

This situation is fraught with domestic complexities like the positioning of ethnic Albanian parties, and will be greatly affected by the outcome of the independence movement of the Albanian population in neighboring Kosovo. But if Tashkovich and the new government succeed, one thing is certain. Increased stability would help Macedonia move beyond its troubled past and would facilitate cross-border projects like AMBO that could further solidify the country’s sovereignty. For Tashkovich, these changes promise to help quell regional conflict, establish peace, and vindicate his grandfather’s claim that the Balkans needed more democracy and free markets. “He was a little early with his ideas,” Tashkovich said, “but now his grandson is seeing them through.”

Andrew Monahan (MIA ’07) is concentrating in International Security Policy and International Media and Communications.
A Legacy to Be Proud Of  

By Rob Garris

In 1996, there were 21 full-time faculty members at the School of International and Public Affairs. Twenty-five years had passed since the last classroom renovations. Students chained their bicycles to stairway banisters in the lobby. There was no admissions office; the Office of Career Services occupied two small rooms on the 14th floor. Two degree programs, the Master of International Affairs and the Master of Public Administration, operated almost completely independently of one another, with no faculty or student interaction.

The following year Lisa Anderson was appointed dean, and with fearless determination and an always-present sense of humor, she transformed the School. SIPA now offers six degree programs in a much-improved, though very crowded, building. A large and distinguished department with more than 60 faculty members is actively involved in governance, research, and teaching at the School, and a very busy admissions office handles thousands of applications each year for coveted spots in each incoming class.

Lisa Anderson came to the deanship at SIPA with considerable experience at Columbia and extensive connections in the academic and policy worlds outside Morningside Heights. She earned her PhD in political science at Columbia in 1981, writing a dissertation on state formation in North Africa. She ventured north after graduation, teaching at Harvard for five years before returning to Columbia in 1986 as an associate professor. She sharpened her skills as a leader at Columbia by serving as the director of the Middle East Institute and as chair of the political science department, but neither of those roles presented challenges or rewards comparable to leading SIPA. Anderson says, “I learned more in my ten years at SIPA than in my entire time as a graduate student. It’s like going to school every day.”

Her fans would say that she learned well, strengthening the School in ways that have prepared it for the challenges of the 21st century. Among her many accomplishments was the creation of the Global Public Policy Network (GPPN), which connects some of the most prestigious graduate public policy schools around the world. “In a decade or so, the creation of the GPPN will be viewed as a transformative event in SIPA’s coming of age on the world scene—and it will be properly credited to Lisa’s deft blending of visionary leadership with determined diplomacy,” says Kenneth Prewitt, chair of the Department of International and Public Affairs at Columbia.

That transformation is already under way. Professor Rodolfo de la Garza, who was an exchange professor this spring at SIPA’s partner school in Paris, Sciences Po, had to adapt his teaching on immigration policy for a European student body. Anna della Valle, who teaches one of SIPA’s core economics courses, is reworking her assignments in preparation for this summer, when she will teach the economics unit in a mid-career training program for Chinese government officials, offered jointly in Beijing by GPPN partners—the London School of Economics and Political Science, Sciences Po, and SIPA. “As faculty teach and conduct research at our partner...
schools in Europe, Asia, and Latin America, they bring new perspectives to their work at SIPA,” said Anderson. “The GPPN is more than a collection of student study abroad programs; it’s an international effort to define a global curriculum and research agenda for public policymakers,” says Anderson. The experience of launching and administering the GPPN inspired Anderson to write her latest book, Pursuing Truth, Exercising Power (Columbia University Press, 2003), which explores the interactions between policymakers and social science scholars and the influence of U.S. social science throughout the world.

Dean Anderson showed similar foresight in 2000, when she collaborated with a group of interested donors to create the Center for Energy, Marine Transportation and Public Policy. In six short years, the Center has developed one of the most rigorous and popular concentrations at SIPA, International Energy Management and Policy. It has rapidly become a center for important dialogue on energy policy issues, hosting key leaders such as Lee R. Raymond, former chairman and CEO of Exxon Mobil Corporation; and Fatih Birol, chief economist of the International Energy Agency. Energy is now at the center of public policy debates around the world, and thanks to Anderson’s foresight, SIPA is represented by a vigorous energy policy program.

Throughout her tenure as dean, Anderson has also proven to be an able negotiator, dealing with donors who demanded results from their philanthropy. Former SIPA dean Harvey Picker expressed interest in funding a center for executive education at SIPA but insisted that it quickly meet a market test by becoming self-sustaining. Confident that SIPA’s style of education would appeal to working professionals, Dean Anderson accepted the challenge. Under the leadership of William Eimicke, whom she appointed to run the Picker Center, an executive MPA degree and several nondegree executive training programs have flourished.

Recognizing that with better funding, the outstanding faculty of the Institute of War and Peace Studies could undertake a much more ambitious program of research and outreach, Anderson persuaded Arnold A. Saltzman, CC ’36, a longtime friend of SIPA, to endow the Institute in 2003.

“Ambassador Saltzman is a sharp and demanding donor,” said Professor Richard Betts, the director of the Saltzman Institute of War and Peace Studies. “Dean Anderson’s straightforward but skillful reasoning convinced him to provide the venerable but threadbare Institute of War and Peace Studies with an endowment 50 years after its founding.”

Other initiatives undertaken by the dean addressed a number of critical physical needs of the School. Year after year, she tackled major space and structural problems in the building—sometimes seeming to shake the building to its foundations. Each of these projects was a significant undertaking, requiring the engagement of faculty, students, University administrators, and donors to update a building badly in need of renovation. In 2000, together with University Trustee Patricia Cloherty (MIA ’68), Anderson had fourth-floor classrooms renovated and wired with modern teaching technologies. Insisting that a graduate professional school required a professional and accessible admissions operation, in the summer of 1997, she carved out space on the ground floor for an office suite. Similarly, she moved the Offices of Career Services and Student Affairs out of cramped and inaccessible offices on the 14th floor into modern suites welcoming to students and visitors alike. Alumni who returned to the School for the 60th anniversary celebrations last fall raved about the changes, barely recognizing the building where they had studied decades ago.

Students, faculty, and staff admire her hands-on approach to running the School. She serves as a reader on the School’s admissions committee, reviewing scores of applications each year. Having worked closely with Jeffrey Sachs of Columbia’s Earth Institute to create SIPA’s PhD Program in Sustainable Development, she now teaches one of the program’s core courses, “The Politics of Sustainable Development.” Whether volunteering at student fund-raising events, enjoying the students’ annual Follies, where she is often unmercifully satirized, hosting new faculty for dinners at her home, or attending baby showers for staff, she is actively involved in the day-to-day life of the School.

In her ten years as dean, Lisa Anderson has developed a reputation as someone with the courage to confront difficult, complicated, and controversial problems. When faced with a vocal student insurrection about the Western biases of the School’s core curriculum, Anderson spent months working directly with student leaders, and at the 2005 graduation that year exhorted them to “never be satisfied, to be both tolerant of what is and impatient for what might be better.”

She has hosted human rights activists who had been imprisoned in their home countries and heads of state who have been criticized by Human Rights Watch, where she served as a board member for more than a decade. Anderson has used her position as dean to encourage students and faculty to engage in critical dialogue with all parties in global public policy debates, bringing to SIPA speakers and visiting faculty including Egyptian political activist Saad Eddin Ibrahim, the first delegation of Libyan academics to visit the United States in 25 years, and former president of Ireland Mary Robinson, among many others.

“We all need to be exposed to people who think about the world from a completely different perspective,” said Anderson. “People in positions of authority have to be able to talk about right and wrong, truth and falsehood, the global and local responsibilities of citizenship—and if doing so provokes controversy, then so be it.”

Anderson will step down as dean this summer and return to teaching at SIPA as well as in the Political Science department. Students in her classes should come prepared for high-energy discussion, demanding work, and—without a doubt—a little debate.

Rob Garris is executive director of external relations and communications at SIPA.
Guillermo Calvo has come full circle. For more than 30 years, the Argentine-born economist has straddled the worlds of theory and policy, making major contributions to each during a career spent at influential institutions all over the world. That career began in 1973, when Calvo took a position as a lecturer in the Department of Economics at Columbia. And it is at Columbia that Calvo now has opportunity to draw upon his full range of interests and talents. In January, Calvo was appointed as the new director of SIPA's Program in Economic Policy Management (PEPM).

“I’m a different guy now,” explains Calvo. “But even after all this time away, if you ask me where my hometown is, I’ll tell you New York City and Columbia. I feel at home here, and I’m very happy to return.”

Calvo’s interest in his current field developed when, as a junior employee at Argentina’s Central Bank, he found himself reviewing basic economics texts. Soon thereafter, Calvo headed for Yale, where he earned a PhD in mathematical economics. The experience offered him a “sense of peace and structure,” he recalls, providing him with a new perspective on the economic and political turmoil that was roiling Argentina at the time.

Early in his academic career—first at Columbia and later at the University of Pennsylvania—Calvo established himself as an economic theorist to be reckoned with. His work on the so-called “time inconsistency problem” and the concept of price rigidity are considered “torchbearer papers” by many in the field, according to Dr. Arvind Panagariya, the Jagdish Bhagwati Professor of Indian Political Economy at SIPA.

“Professor Calvo is a superb addition to SIPA’s faculty,” says Panagariya, who worked with Calvo at the University of Maryland and helped recruit him to PEPM. “His arrival here is a real feather in SIPA’s cap.”

In 1988, Calvo joined the research department of the International Monetary Fund. This represented a fundamental break from pure theory and marked the beginning of the second chapter of Calvo’s career.

“I joined the IMF as the Berlin Wall was about to come down,” says Calvo. It was a pivotal historical moment for those interested in understanding how economic theory can help elucidate the major role that markets play in influencing how societies respond to change. Calvo’s experience at the IMF had a major impact on his approach to topics about which he was already internationally recognized as an expert.

“My career started to switch to a policy focus,” Calvo recalls. “I became a different kind of economist. I became less interested in the purely academic realm and more interested in adding elements from the policy arena to the world of theory.”

According to Panagariya, this kind of approach makes Calvo a perfect fit for SIPA. The PEPM curriculum focuses on real-world economic policy successes and failures, with the goal of preparing students to manage economic policy in market economies, especially in developing and transition al ones.

“Guillermo is a leader in emerging market economics,” says Panagariya. “He is a crisis specialist who has not only anticipated and prevented economic downturns in different countries, but has helped to remedy them, as well.”

Calvo also earned the praise of Arvid Lukauskas, the acting director of PEPM and director of the EMPA concentration in International Economic Policy and Management. “Guillermo Calvo is one of those rare scholars who combines the ability to do influential, cutting-edge research with a vast expertise in contemporary economic policy issues,” says Lukauskas. “He is a welcome addition to SIPA’s faculty and will help our graduates to have a lasting impact on economic policymaking in their home countries.”

After leaving the IMF, Calvo became chief economist at the Inter-American Development Bank and director of the University of Maryland’s Center for International Economics. Following his stints in these positions, he joined the SIPA faculty.

Calvo has high hopes for PEPM. “SIPA is full of potential,” he says. “I want to do my part to make PEPM more visible, especially by improving upon the program’s relationships with other entities in the economic arena.

“We are already in serious conversations with the Bank of England about the possibility of having it organize a three-day seminar on inflation targeting,” he says. “Another project that I would like to explore is inviting World Bank and IMF staff for two- or three-day stays to lecture on their specialities and interact with students and faculty.”

Other relationships with prominent economists and organizations are also possible, he adds.

As a Columbia-trained economist who will also join the SIPA faculty this fall.

“Guillermo is a calm, friendly, and warm person,” says Panagariya. “He’s really a terrific guy.”

Personal accolades aside, Calvo’s unique ability to meld theory and practice will make him a valuable addition to the SIPA faculty.

“PEPM is expanding,” Calvo explains. “The interest in global economic issues will continue and with it the constant need to understand policy in a disciplined manner.”

Dan McSweeney (MIA ’07) is concentrating in International Security Policy.
In the fall of 1998, Edward Morse, then the publisher of *Petroleum Intelligence Weekly*, an occasional SIPA adjunct faculty member, and one of the world’s leading analysts of the international oil and gas business, suggested a meeting. Several of his industry contacts, he said, were interested in finding a place that could foster dispassionate research, education, and public debate about the production and distribution of energy. Within weeks, Michael Tusiani, head of Poten and Partners, a global shipping and commodity brokerage and consulting firm, and Lucius Noto, then chair of the Mobil Corporation, were at SIPA to discuss what would eventually become the Center for Energy, Marine Transportation and Public Policy.

But not before a lot more people got into the act. The Alexander S. Onassis Public Benefit Foundation, well known for its philanthropic support of the study of Greek culture and history, provided much of the original funding in recognition of the Center’s unusual focus on the distribution of energy resources, particularly ocean transportation. Its president, Anthony Papadimitrou, has been an active member of the Center’s advisory board from the outset. Hurst Groves, a lawyer who had spent his career in the energy industry, retired from ExxonMobil to serve as the founding director and professor of practice at SIPA in 2000. The Earth Institute at Columbia provided advice and assistance in shaping a program that emphasized environmental as well as business and policy issues. Shortly after he arrived at Columbia in 2001, Professor Klaus Lackner of The Fu Foundation School of Engineering and Applied Sciences, who works on environmentally acceptable technologies for the use of fossil fuels, joined the Center’s Advisory Board.

In its first six years, under Hurst Groves’ deft and imaginative leadership, the Center recruited economist David Nissen, who developed SIPA’s innovative and rigorous concentration in International Energy Management and Policy, which offers an integrated treatment of the structure and issues of both energy business development and energy policy development. Energy concentrators not only took courses like Nissen’s “International Energy Structures and Business Systems” but also participated in workshops with clients like the United Nations Development Programme, GE Commercial Finance, and the New York City Economic Development Corporation.

The Center also developed outreach lectures, workshops, and seminars with SIPA’s programs in environmental policy, international economic policy, and human rights, among others, to focus on environmental trade, energy, human rights, and sustainable development issues. Programs with the regional institutes looked at issues as varied as China’s energy needs, biofuels in Brazil, and Russian gas production. These kinds of activities supported an active agenda of research and writing, as Adjunct Professor Roy Nersesian alone published not only a comprehensive primer, *Energy in the 21st Century: A Comprehensive Guide to Conventional and Alternative Sources* (M. E. Sharpe, 2006), but also a paper on the economics of shipping Venezuelan crude to China that drew considerable attention in light of Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez’s increasingly bellicose stance toward the United States.

In 2006, Hurst Groves was succeeded as director by Albert Bressand, who came from London,
where he had headed the Global Business Environment department in Royal Dutch Shell’s global headquarters, as well as serving as special advisor to the EU Commissioner in charge of energy in Brussels. When he arrived, he found a flourishing academic program, selected as a concentration by more than 30 students a year, and a vigorous student association that contributed conferences and seminars on everything from renewable electricity and ethanol to liquefied natural gas (LNG) and nuclear power. Center faculty and affiliates were working on projects as varied as developing efficient cooking fuels in villages in Africa to assessing the siting of LNG terminals in North America.

And Bressand has still more ambitious plans. As oil prices exhibit increasing volatility, the Libyan oil industry reopens to U.S. investors, the prospects for Iraqi production remain uncertain, Russia explores a natural gas-producers cartel, China and India’s consumption skyrocket, Brazil develops biofuels, the United States begins to take climate change and carbon emissions problems more seriously, producers weigh the economics of ocean shipping and pipelines . . . there is plenty for the Center on Energy, Marine Transportation and Public Policy to do.

Programs with the regional institutes looked at issues as varied as China’s energy needs, biofuels in Brazil, and Russian gas production.

Profile: Albert Bressand

Albert Bressand arrived at SIPA in the fall of 2006 and brought to his new role as director of the Center for Marine Transportation, Energy and Public Policy a long list of ideas, along with the enormous energy to implement them. He draws on his extensive experience in the energy field encompassing the public, nonprofit, and private sectors. Immediately before coming to SIPA, Bressand headed the Global Business Environment program at Royal Dutch Shell’s global headquarters in London, where he developed innovative methodologies for risk and opportunity assessments. Bressand is also a special advisor to the European Union Commissioner in charge of energy in Brussels, a pro bono advisory position that he still holds.

In 1986, he co-founded Prométhée, a nonprofit, Paris-based think tank specializing in the emerging global networked economy and its implications for corporate strategies, capital markets, and international economic relations. He served as managing director of the organization until 2002. With his prior experience in the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the World Economic Forum at Davos, and the World Bank, it is easy to see why SIPA selected Bressand to lead the Energy Center.

“Bressand brings to SIPA the capacity to build bridges between the academy and the world of practice, one of the hallmarks of this school and its faculty,” said Dean Lisa Anderson. “We are delighted to have on board someone who can build on the early successes of the Energy Center and make it into a focal point for global discussions of energy policy.”

Bressand has already begun work on his plans to expand the research capacity of the Center. “Energy is a political-economic subject,” he said, “and being at SIPA gives us an edge in connecting the dots between market forces, technological advances, institutional change, and the strategic interests of key international players.”

When asked what kinds of projects he is undertaking at the Center, Bressand said, “Fresh perspectives on key issues, such as the role of cities in promoting innovative energy solutions and the significance of infrastructure and marine transportation for the transformation of the energy system, will be part of our contributions to the major current policy debates.”
Training Program on Genocide Prevention

The Center for International Conflict Resolution (CICR) has successfully launched a new executive training program on genocide prevention. The first group of diplomats and intelligence and military officers convened at SIPA in January 2007, bringing participants from Bangladesh, Burundi, Canada, Chile, Germany, Haiti, Mozambique, Nigeria, Poland, Sweden, and Uganda. The program will continue to bring together emerging leaders from an influential and diverse group of countries to impart and foster exchange of knowledge about the warning signs of genocide and the possibility and practice of prevention. Andrea Bartoli, the director of the Center for International Conflict Resolution, who spearheaded the initiative, believes that the prevention of genocide is possible. “It is imperative that centers of higher education play a role by convening parties, sharpening understanding, evaluating strategies, and supporting collective commitment to prevention,” said Bartoli. The first session was enthusiastically reviewed by the participants, and an independent evaluation gave very high marks to the initiative. New sessions are scheduled for fall 2007, and the program is now seeking funding to fulfill its objective of training representatives of all UN member states in the next five years.

New York Lt. Governor David Paterson Teaches Equitable Urban Development

New York State Lt. Governor David Paterson returned to SIPA this spring to teach his course “Urban Planning and the Challenges of Equitable Development” for the fifth time. The course addresses issues of power, money, and racism in the development of affordable housing in cities, with a particular focus on New York City. Paterson, a Columbia alumnus, first taught the course while representing Harlem in the New York State Senate. He is part of a distinguished group of New York City practitioners and politicians teaching on urban issues at SIPA, including former mayor David Dinkins; Ester Fuchs, who served as special advisor to Mayor Michael Bloomberg; Lou Riccio, a former commissioner of the NYC Department of Transportation; and Steven Levine, deputy director of the New York City Office of Management and Budget, among many others.

Sclar Receives Grant to Address Urban Challenges in the Developing World

SIPA faculty member Elliott Sclar has received a Rockefeller Foundation grant to launch an urban summit, with The Earth Institute, to address global urban challenges. As a partner with the Rockefeller Foundation for the Urban Summit, the Center for Sustainable Urban Development, which Sclar directs, will collaborate with the foundation to identify organizations and individuals who are pioneering innovative solutions to the problems of cities in developing countries. In addition, there will be a series of separate conferences specifically focused on urban regions in the United States and a meeting of urban researchers from the developing world and the United States. These concurrent meetings will be held at the Rockefeller Foundation’s international conference and study center in Bellagio, Italy.

William Eimicke Awarded the 2006 Best Article Prize by the American Society for Public Administration

William Eimicke, director of SIPA’s Picker Center for Executive Education, has been awarded the 2006 best article prize by the American Society for Public Administration for his article “Eliot Spitzer: The People’s Lawyer.” The article appeared in the fall 2005 issue of the journal Public Integrity.

Stepan Speaks to Alumni on Islam and Democracy

On February 21, Professor Al Stepan spoke to an audience of SIPA alumni at the Columbia Club in midtown Manhattan. He addressed recent findings in his research on Islam and democratization. Initial findings suggest that there are significant differences in measures of democratization across Muslim countries, with non-Arab Muslim countries demonstrating a much higher capacity to hold regular, free, and fair elections than is typical of Arab countries or of other countries at similar levels of economic development. His findings also suggest that in non-Arab Muslim countries, survey respondents who self-identify as being religiously observant also hold favorable opinions of democracy. Stepan’s groundbreaking research was presented as part of a regular series of policy breakfasts sponsored by SIPA alumna Dr. Susan Gitelson, MIA ’66. His speech is available online in SIPA’s growing multimedia archive at http://www.sipa.columbia.edu/multimedia.

Deputy Mayor Edward Skyler Speaks on “Emergency Preparedness after 9/11 and Katrina”

It was not a typical PowerPoint slideshow displayed over the shoulder of Deputy Mayor Edward Skyler. Skyler, deputy mayor for administration, gave the M. Moran Weston II Distinguished Lecture in Public Policy at SIPA on February 21, and instead of showing graphs, charts, and bullet points, he punctuated his talk with slides of buildings on fire, flooded Manhattan streets after a hypothetical hurricane, and first responders in hazmat suits. The presentation highlighted many of the city’s efforts to rethink emergency planning and response in the light of lessons learned by the collapse of the World Trade Center and during Hurricane Katrina’s devastating landfall near New Orleans. Skyler noted that new plans draw on increased cooperation within the various parts of the city’s administration, as well as strengthened planning with local governments in the metro area, New York businesses, and the federal government. Tough questions reflecting a number of different perspectives came from an audience comprising students from SIPA, the Business School, Columbia College, Urban Planning, and other parts of the University, as well as members of the New York City Fire Department who have participated in training programs at SIPA’s Picker Center for Executive Education. Skyler’s speech is online as part of SIPA’s multimedia archive at http://www.sipa.columbia.edu/multimedia.
A Fond Farewell to Robin Lewis  By JoAnn Crawford

After more than 22 years, Associate Dean Robin Lewis is leaving the School of International and Public Affairs. In keeping with the spirit of SIPA, Dean Lewis will be putting his skills to use on the other side of the globe. Based in Beijing, he will be the chief representative in China of one of the world’s oldest and largest hedge funds, Fairfield Greenwich Group (FGG).

“I cannot imagine SIPA without Dean Lewis!” said Ann Putnam, MIA ’03, development officer, International Rescue Committee. She is not alone. For the scores of students he has mentored over the years—as well as the faculty and staff who have worked with him—Robin Lewis has been an integral part of the SIPA experience.

Appointed by Dean Alfred C. Stepan in January 1985, he was tasked with creating the Student Affairs Office, which did not exist at the time. Under his leadership, the staff was expanded and a whole range of services was offered—from regular advising and office hours to town hall meetings and support for student programs.

“Robin was the approachable face of the SIPA bureaucracy,” said freelance writer Ian Driscoll, MIA ’01. Students realized that he was interested in more than the nuts and bolts of administration. Lewis had a genuine belief in the value of international policy education and the possibilities it offered—an interdisciplinary curriculum, a diverse student body, and alumni placed in responsible positions in every sector and region of the world.

“His passion for learning about the culture, history, politics, and global issues in Asia was very inspiring to me,” Putnam recalls.

Since his days as a doctoral student in literature and history at Columbia, Lewis was interested in global themes, especially the cultural interplay between West and East. His publications include *E. M. Forster’s Passages to India* and the four-volume *Encyclopedia of Asian History*, of which he was the executive editor.

Lewis brought that perspective to his role as associate dean, developing international programs and recruiting students from around the world. He headed the Zuckerman Fellows Program from 1989 to 1994, the first program to offer students from the former Soviet Union—as well as from Asia, the Middle East, Europe, and the U.S.—full scholarships to pursue master’s degrees at a major American university.

During his tenure at SIPA, Lewis worked on joint projects or consultancies with the Department of State, the United Nations Department of Public Information, the Open Society Institute, the Ford Foundation, the American Council of Learned Societies, and the American Councils for International Education. He coordinated projects with a variety of institutions, including the Institute of International Relations (Hanoi), the Moscow State Institute of International Relations, the Hertie School of Governance (Berlin), the Universidad Nova de Lisboa (Lisbon), the Asian Institute of Technology (Bangkok), and Renmin University (Beijing).

From 2000 to 2005, he implemented and co-directed the Southeast Asia Fellows Development Training Programme, which brought more than 50 mid-career development professionals from Thailand, Burma, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, and China’s Yunnan Province to the U.S. for training in management, advocacy, and fund-raising.

In September 2005, when SIPA launched the Global Public Policy Network (GPPN) along with Sciences Po Paris and the London School of Economics and Political Science, Lewis was the natural choice to serve as executive director. The network, an association of leading international graduate institutions, aims to expand global public policy dialogue and improve graduate-level public policy education. Dean Lewis will continue his involvement with several GPPN projects, such as the Global Public Policy Dialogues in Beijing and the October 2007 GPPN Asia Regional Conference in Singapore.

Lewis has also maintained ties with SIPA’s extensive alumni network. During his recruiting trips, he met with alumni individually and hosted receptions for them in Paris, London, Moscow, Tokyo, Bangkok, Beijing, and other locales where SIPA graduates now live and work.

Colum Murphy, MIA ’04, deputy editor of the *Far Eastern Economic Review* in Hong Kong describes a classic Robin Lewis anecdote. “I had been hesitating about giving up a good job to go to SIPA,” Murphy remembers. “But when I met Dean Lewis by coincidence at Narita Airport in Japan, I took this as a sign that going to SIPA was the right thing for me. Were it not for this chance encounter, I might be regretting that I never took the plunge to go to Columbia and change my career. But thanks to his gentle encouragement as we boarded the same plane to Bangkok, that is exactly what I decided to do. It was one of the best decisions of my life. This encounter also showed me that no matter where he is, Dean Lewis always has the interests of SIPA at heart.”

“I have known Robin Lewis for nearly 40 years and worked with him for more than 20,” said Dean Lisa Anderson. “He has always been deeply committed to international exchange and has a vast circle of loyal friends and admirers around the world—students he shepherded through SIPA, colleagues whose research he supported, educational administrators whom he advised—and although SIPA will miss him, we are proud, and fortunate, to be a part of his global network.”

“Robin has been a tremendous mentor and promoter of the best of Columbia’s ideals and SIPA’s resources to help make the world a better place,” said David Claussenius, MIA ’86, Asia director of Save the Children U.S., based in Bangkok. “He will always be considered by many, many SIPA alumni as a great friend, and we wish him all the best in his next endeavor.”

Those of us still at SIPA couldn’t agree more.

JoAnn Crawford, managing editor of SIPA News, is director of publications and special events at SIPA.
It was no surprise that the Third Annual Energy Symposium, themed “Evolution of Energy Markets,” drew a large crowd to Lerner Auditorium on March 23, 2007. “There is an understanding right now of how dynamic this field is and how energy interacts with the many different topics people are studying here,” said Teddy Kott (MIA ’08), co-founder and president of the SIPA Energy Association.

Co-sponsored by the Energy Club at Columbia Business School, the SIPA Energy Association, and SIPA’s Center for Energy, Marine Transportation and Public Policy, the event began with a warm welcome from Professor Geoffrey Heal. Brian Ward, managing director and chief risk officer for GE Energy Financial Services, then took the floor and introduced the event’s four panel topics: liquefied natural gas, nuclear power, renewable electricity, and biofuels.

Panelists hailed from financial services firms, utility and oil companies, hedge funds, research and strategy firms, international institutions, and energy policy think tanks. SIPA faculty were also featured prominently at the conference. Panel moderators included SIPA Professor Albert Bressand, director of the Center for Energy, Marine Transportation and Public Policy (CEMTPP), and Professor David Nissen, director of the Program in International Energy Management and Policy at the CEMTPP, as well as Jonathan Schrag from The Earth Institute.

On the topic of nuclear energy, Ward pointed out that in the last year there had been an 18 percent increase in energy derived from nuclear sources. However, questions remain where new nuclear plants will be built, given the stigma associated with them.

Keynote speaker Luiz Antonio Costa Pereira, executive director for natural gas marketing and commercialization of Petrobras of Brazil, spoke about the ascent of biofuels in the global energy market, noting that investment in new energy technologies is rising in response to changing economic, political, environmental, and social realities. “There are many reasons to use biofuels,” Pereira explained. “They are in line with a global outlook and offer strategic environmental and social opportunities.” Over the next five years, Petrobras is planning on investing $22.1 billion in biofuels, including ethanol.

Pereira went on to outline Petrobras’s recent “adjustment” of corporate strategy, which includes putting “increasing focus on biofuels and the development of the natural gas industry and on improvements in energy efficiency linked to climate change mitigation.”

The symposium was one of many activities supported by the SIPA Energy Association. Founded this year, the group educates students about career options and complements the energy curriculum through company and site visits. The club has more than 70 members and is eager to build connections with SIPA alumni working in the field. Interested alumni are encouraged to contact Teddy Kott at ECK2114@columbia.edu.

Casey Albert (MIA/MBA ’07) is a dual degree student at Columbia Business School and SIPA.
Although SIPA’s location is surely one of its greatest assets, it can also present something of a challenge to concentrators in International Security Policy (ISP). Often drawn to SIPA by the appeal of spending two years studying in New York City, many ISPers find that when it comes time to look for a job that will make use of their newly-acquired expertise, the overwhelming majority of opportunities are to be found in a certain city about 230 miles south of here.

It should come as no surprise that the industries toward which ISP students tend to gravitate—the intelligence community, homeland security, the defense industry, and foreign-policy think tanks—are decidedly Washington, D.C.-centric. Nevertheless, it’s a reality that Professor Richard K. Betts, who directs the ISP concentration, makes sure his students recognize right from the start.

“I’m sure every ISP concentrator can remember his or her first day at SIPA, when Dr. Betts makes his big speech and tells everybody—only somewhat in jest—that if you don’t want to work in D.C., you might want to choose another concentration,” said ISP alumna Alexsandra Lloyd (MIA ’04), now a research manager at the New York office of Eurasia Group, a global political risk consulting firm.

Luckily for ISP students, alumni, and the entire SIPA community, Lloyd—along with Francesco Mancini (MIA ’03)—has found a way to help current ISP students overcome this problem and create opportunities for ISP alumni to stay connected to one another and to the field of security studies. The ISP Alumni Network in New York, now in its third year, hosts a series of cocktail receptions and dinners that feature panel discussions or presentations on security-related themes by scholars and specialists in the field.

Eight such events have been held so far, including a 2005 cocktail reception/book presentation by Nancy Soderberg, former U.S. ambassador to the United Nations and author of The Superpower Myth: The Use and Misuse of American Might, and a 2006 dinner talk with Dr. Adam Segal, senior fellow in China studies at the Council on Foreign Relations, titled “The Emergence of China: Security and Political Challenges for Asia and the U.S.” The most recent event was particularly well received and attended: a February 2007 cocktail reception and panel moderated by Peter Maass of the New York Times and titled “The U.S. Military in Iraq: Past, Present, Future,” during which guests heard from ISP alumni who have served with the U.S. military in Iraq.

Mancini, who is now an associate at the International Peace Academy, came up with the idea to create the network during his second year at SIPA, as he sought to put together a network of New York–based contacts to aid his job search. “I discovered there actually is a market of people, so to speak, who are interested in staying connected around security-related topics,” he recalled.

For his part, Professor Betts is pleased that his former students have found a way to reach out to their co-concentrators. “I’m grateful that the local alumni took the initiative to develop and nurture this network, since it’s so hard to find careers in this business in New York,” he said.

Along with a steering committee that includes Bill Rigler (MIA ’03), Sharon Roling (MIA ’04), Rick Fernandez (MIA ’00), and Reginald King (MIA ’04), Mancini and Lloyd encourage ISP alumni not only to get involved with the group but also to actively participate by proposing and organizing future events. They also invite all SIPA alumni, regardless of concentration, to attend the ISP Alumni Network’s events.

To be added to the network’s mailing list and to find out more about the group and its upcoming events, contact Francesco Mancini at FM2009@columbia.edu.
EMP A Forum By Casey Albert

The third annual EMPA Forum homecoming event took place on Wednesday, March 7, at the Columbia Club of New York in midtown. Hosted by the EMPA Forum, a group of former and current SIPA and EMPA students, the event drew more than 90 alumni, despite the frigid weather.

The Executive Master of Public Policy and Administration (EMPA) program was created in 2001 for individuals who cannot or do not want to attend a master’s program full time. Instead, classes meet on the weekends and, in the summer, on weeknights. The program is administered by Columbia’s Picker Center for Executive Education.

Students and faculty had something to celebrate at this homecoming. This year, the program will confer its 250th degree. The program admitted its first 28 students in 2001, with enrollment rising more than five-fold to the current level of 155 students.

As former classmates filled the ballroom of the Columbia Club, speakers took the floor. Kirsten Frivol, ’03, co-chair of the EMPA Forum’s board, welcomed her fellow alumni and introduced the founding director of the Picker Center, Dr. William Eimicke.

Eimicke said that, in his 30 years of teaching, the EMPA program represented the “most exciting classroom I’ve been in, where everyone truly learns from everyone else.” The richness of the classroom experience, he explained, comes from its diversity. The students are evenly split: one-third from government, one-third from nonprofit, and one-third from the private sector. Adding to this diversity, 25 percent of the students are international.

Dean Lisa Anderson then took the floor, describing the EMPA program as “one of the most important legacies” of her time at Columbia. “You represent,” she said to the ballroom full of alumni, “what the future of education will be . . . as well as successes in your own right.”

Speeches finished, EMPA alumni turned their attention to the bar and to catching up with old friends. Former students had positive things to say about the program. Paul Goebel, ’04, credited the degree in part with his ascent from director to senior vice president at St. Vincent Catholic Medical Center.

Anwer Adil, a husband and father of two, is graduating this year. Working full time in IT, he sees this degree as a stepping stone to management. “I’ll miss it,” he said. “It was a very enriching experience, where I learned a lot from the diversity of courses and the different perspectives of my classmates.”

For Sergio H. Boniche, ’02, who also pursued a joint master degree with Carnegie Mellon, the EMPA paid off immediately. He was promoted to manager within a month of graduating. Currently a professor of HR and Operations Management at Macy’s College in New York and program manager of payroll at IBM, Boniche says he “always goes back to what he learned in the EMPA program.” When asked for advice, Boniche assured current students, “You will use what you learn.”

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SIPA Develops Alumni Council

SIPA’s 60th anniversary year marked one of the most significant moments in the history of the School’s alumni community. An estimated 1,400 alumni from nearly 155 countries attended at least one of the series of special celebrations held around the world, demonstrating an unprecedented level of engagement between alumni and SIPA.

In an effort to build upon the renewed and strengthened connections engendered through these events, the Office of Alumni Relations partnered with a group of dedicated SIPA alumni in February 2007 to embark on a new initiative aimed at institutionalizing alumni leadership at SIPA through the development of an alumni council. The Alumni Council Working Group, which includes Bill Rigler (MIA ’03), Allison Kellogg (MIA ’72, IF ’73), George Hollendorfer (MIA ’01), Roger Baumann (MIA ’85), John Grammer (MIA ’63), Barbara Reguero (MIA ’86), and John McGrath (MIA ’80, MPHIL ’82), has been preparing proposals for the mission and structure of the council.

The goals of the Alumni Council at SIPA are to:
• Build and foster a strong relationship between the School and its alumni, which includes both personal involvement and attracting financial support
• Encourage interaction among alumni
• Further the recognition of SIPA as a leading global school of public policy

The Council will serve in an advisory capacity for the dean of the School and the director of Alumni Relations to determine and prioritize the needs of all members of SIPA’s alumni community and will take active responsibility for the implementation of initiatives. In its first year, membership to the Advisory Council will be appointed by the dean and subsequently will be selected with input from the alumni community at large.

The SIPA Alumni Community is very excited about this new development. “Dean Anderson and the entire SIPA administration have been especially vocal on the importance of engaging young alumni early and often, so I’m especially pleased that the Working Group has been so supportive in recognizing the special needs of this important constituency,” said Bill Rigler.

The inaugural meeting of the Alumni Council is scheduled for June. For more information about the new Alumni Council, please contact SIPA’s Office of Alumni Relations at 212-854-8671 or sipaalum@columbia.edu.
Donor Profiles: Jim (MIA ’77) and Sandra (MIA ’76) Leitner

Jim (MIA ’77) and Sandra (MIA ’76) Leitner have been advocates for interdisciplinary, international education ever since they met as students at the then School of International Affairs. As students, both shared interests in Soviet history—Sandra because of her experience studying in Armenia during her junior year of college, Jim because of a brilliant professor who engaged his interest in Russia when he was an undergraduate at Yale. As alumni, they share a commitment to philanthropy.

Both came to SIPA for the strong regional studies that the Harriman Institute offered. Sandra’s experience in Armenia encouraged her to learn about the Soviet system in depth, while Jim studied international finance in addition to Russian history and politics. “Finance was a natural in New York with its concentration of banks and brokerage houses,” he said. By his second year, Jim had a part-time job, which led to a full-time job when he graduated. He has been working in international finance ever since.

“Finance to me is the ultimate applied liberal art,” said Jim. “Here all interdisciplinary studies come together—economics, politics, history, psychology. There is virtually no knowledge which does not come in handy when making decisions about markets.” Jim has specialized in what he calls “macro investing,” which looks at investments from the top down, first choosing themes or regions that seem promising, rather than working from the bottom up, searching for companies that look cheap.

“The interdisciplinary nature of a SIPA education is absolutely on target to assist in this decision making process,” he added. Jim currently heads up his own fund, where he has managed absolute return portfolios since 1991.

Sandra’s career in public relations and human resources has also benefited greatly from her education at SIPA. “Studying closed systems and the behavior of organizations in an information vacuum,” she explained.

Of their philanthropy, Jim said, “I have been fortunate to fall into a career which is very lucrative. Of course, this has allowed Sandra and me to become more involved philanthropically than we might have been otherwise. But I think it is important to be involved at any level, with all one’s talents, not merely financially. And I would also stress that becoming involved earlier rather than later is important. Being engaged makes the donor’s life more fulfilling, so why wait?”

“SIPA’s focus on international and public service makes it a natural place for us to give, both as alumni to ‘pay forward’ what we received and to enable future graduates to make a difference to the lives of many people in many places in the world,” Jim said.

For Sandra, “philanthropy and service were never a conscious decision but rather a way of life that we each learned from our parents and grandparents. My grandparents had escaped the genocide of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire and were always cognizant of the sufferings of others. Implied in that awareness was the obligation to alleviate want and contribute to the betterment of mankind.”

Jim and Sandra’s financial support of SIPA and Columbia has been substantial over the years. In 2001, they created the Dr. John N. Hazard Fellowship Fund to provide funding for first-year students in honor of their former professor Dr. John N. Hazard, an academic specialist in Russian legal history and professor of law. The Leitners also have provided funding to the Institute of Latin American Studies and the Institute of African Studies specifically to support students pursuing summer internships abroad. They have also been consistent contributors to SIPA’s Annual Fund. And last year, Jim served on SIPA’s 60th Anniversary Committee.

This past fall, Jim and Sandra created the Leitner Family Fellowship Fund to provide funding for graduate students enrolled at SIPA. In addition, to further support their belief in regional area studies, they funded a professorship in African Studies that will help strengthen the Institute of African Studies and benefit instruction throughout the University.

“Education and human rights are two main themes of our philanthropy. We believe in encouraging students to study and work outside of their home nations to encourage human understanding and tolerance. Regional area studies meet these criteria [and] provide the foundation to apply theoretical knowledge. Imagine thinking about economic development in a vacuum. What makes it real is application.”

We are extremely grateful for the generous support the Leitners have demonstrated to SIPA’s regional institutes and students over the years. We are proud to have Jim and Sandra among our alumni and hope they will continue to be closely involved with SIPA and the regional institutes for a long time to come.
In Memoriam

John Reed Rolfes, MPA ’89, of Manhattan passed away in Paris on March 23. A witty, gregarious, and generous man, John had a passion for travel and fine food, spoke four languages fluently, and felt comfortable on any continent. Those fortunate enough to have been a part of his life are forever changed by him, and he will be remembered and celebrated every day by the loved ones he has left behind. After studying history at the University of Florida, John earned his graduate degree in Public Policy from SIPA and spent his entire business career as an international banker at Deutsche Bank, most recently as a managing director in the Asset Management division. Friends and family are welcome to visit http://johnrolfes.blogspot.com/ to see pictures and read memories of this rare and extraordinary person and to contact his niece Kristen Hall at kristenhall@comcast.net.

SIPA Alumni Win Prestigious Awards

Mei Fong, MIA ’01, a correspondent in the Beijing bureau of the Wall Street Journal, shared the Pulitzer Prize for international reporting with her bureau colleagues for their “sharply edged reports on the diverse impact of China’s booming capitalism on conditions ranging from inequality to pollution.” Mei Fong’s December 23 story, “So Much Work, So Little Time,” can be read at: http://online.wsj.com/public/page/2_0323.html.

Q (Kyujiro) Sakamaki, MIA ’01, has been awarded first prize in the People in the News Stories category in the 2007 World Press Photo competition for his photo essay “Sri Lanka. War Without End.” Sakamaki, who concentrated in human rights and conflict resolution at SIPA, has specialized in covering the human costs of conflict in wars around the world, including Afghanistan, Iraq, Liberia, Palestine, and Sri Lanka. He has also published books of photos and political commentary in Japan. He received his award at the World Press Photo awards ceremony in Amsterdam on April 22, 2007. His photos are available at http://qsakamaki.com/main.php.

Michele Wucker, MIA ’93, has been awarded a 2007 Guggenheim Fellowship to pursue research and writing on the topic “Evoking views of citizenship, belonging, and exclusion.” Guggenheim fellows are appointed on the basis of distinguished achievement in the past and exceptional promise for future accomplishment. Ms. Wucker is a senior fellow at the World Policy Institute and research fellow at the Immigration Policy Center. The paperback edition of her most recent book, Lockout: Why America Keeps Getting Immigration Wrong When Our Prosperity Depends on Getting It Right (PublicAffairs Press, 2006), will be published in September 2007. Her first book, Why the Cocks Fight: Dominicans, Haitians, and the Struggle for Hispaniola (Hill & Wang, 1999/2000), is based partly on research carried out while on a Tinker summer research grant as a SIPA student.

1953

Arlette Laurent, MIA
After graduating from SIPA in 1953, Arlette married a fellow Belgium citizen and moved back to Brussels in 1957. The timing was perfect as it enabled her to join, almost at its inception, the Commission of the European Communities in the General Directorate of External Affairs. There were only six Member States then and the work at the Commission was extremely varied, for a long period she was involved with trade issues: common agricultural policies and their impact on developing countries. She later served as desk officer for Australia and New Zealand and political counselor and chargé d'affaires at the EU Delegation to the UN. She is grateful to SIPA for having been a springboard to a very fulfilling career and would be delighted to hear from her classmates in the New York area.

1957

Peter D. Ehrenhaft, MIA, JD
After retiring from Miller & Chevalier Chartered on December 31, 2006, Peter joined the Washington office of Harkins Cunningham, LLP, as Senior Counsel. In January he presented a program at Washington’s Cosmos Club about legal disputes between the EU and United States, which featured SIPA Professor Merit Janow. During SIPA’s annual Career Conference in Washington, he also met with current SIPA students interested in pursuing a career in both law and international affairs.

1963

Joel Davidow, IFP
Joel is working on the third edition of his book, Antitrust Guide for International Business Activities, while also practicing antitrust and patent litigation law in D.C. and teaching antitrust courses at GMU Law School.

1957

Wesley B. Truitt, IFP
Wes earned his PhD at Columbia in 1968, taught college political science courses for a few years, and then joined Northrop Corporation in Los Angeles, where he remained for 26 years holding a variety of planning, marketing, and government relations positions. He took early retirement from Northrop Grumman in 1995, ending his career as vice president—Europe. Since then he has consulted with RAND Corporation and taught MBA and Executive MBA students at UCLA’s Anderson School, Loyola Marymount University, and at Claremont Graduate University. He has published business cases, articles, and three books: Business Planning (Quorum Books, 2002), What Entrepreneurs Need to Know about Government (Praeger, 2004), and The Corporation (Greenwood Press, 2006). Currently, he is series editor of an 11-book series titled the Greenwood Guides to Business and Economics. He and his wife, Marianne, reside in Marina del Rey, California.
1966

Gordon Adams, IFP, Cert
Gordon taught at SIPA from 1969 to 1972. In the 1980s, he created and directed the Defense Budget Project in Washington, D.C. (now the Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessment). From 1993 to 1997, he was Associate Director for National Security and International Affairs in the Clinton White House Office of Management and Budget. After spending 18 months as deputy director of the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London, he returned to be a Professor and Director of the Security Studies Program at the Elliott School of International Affairs, George Washington University. This year he is a fellow at the Woodrow Wilson Center, where he is writing a book on national security budgeting. Gordon plans to teach at another institution in Washington, D.C., next fall.

Frank Taylor, IFP
fctaylor41@msn.com
Frank retired as a program director from the W. K. Kellogg Foundation on March 31. After graduating from Columbia (EdD from Teachers College 1970 and MS in Journalism 1978), Frank, one of the first Peace Corps Volunteers (Peru, 1962–1963), worked in Brazil for 15 years at the USAID, the Inter-American Development Bank and as Latin American bureau chief for Business Week magazine. He is author of the biography Alberta Hunter: A Celebration in Blues. In retirement he plans to ride his Harley around the country and seeks short-term volunteer assignments in the U.S. and abroad.

1968

Edmund Beard, MIA, PhD
Upon leaving Morningside Heights in 1971, Ed moved to the Brookings Institution in Washington, D.C., for two years and then, in 1973, joined the University of Massachusetts, where he has remained ever since. For the past three years, Ed served as Dean of the newly created John W. McCormack Graduate School of Policy Studies, and in September 2006 he became senior advisor for Academic and Student Affairs and International Relations, Office of the President, University of Massachusetts.

1969

Dan Strasser, MIA
The intellectual stimulation of SIPA’s 60th Anniversary Reunion inspired Dan to begin two new personal projects related to his current position as a political analyst at U.S. Joint Forces Command (JFCOM), Norfolk, Va. He submitted a draft paper for an annual symposium on Information Age Command and Control (to be held this July at the Naval War College in Newport, RI) and launched an initiative to bring Latin American countries into preexisting defense transformation programs at JFCOM.

1972

Judith Edstrom, MIA
judithedstrom@yahoo.com
Judith joined the staff of RTI International and moved to Jakarta, Indonesia in July 2006 to take up a position as Director of a USAID-funded project Local Governance Support Program. With 230 staff and offices in seven provinces of Indonesia, the project aims to strengthen the accountability of local government by working with local administrations, councils, and civil society groups.

1974

Gregg Rubinstein, MIA
GARLIBIN@aol.com
After twelve years in the Foreign Service focused mostly on Japan, Gregg left government to work in the aerospace industry. He is now a government and industry consultant on Asia-Pacific security issues living in Washington, D.C.
1976
David A. G. Johnson Jr., MIA, IFP
David has been selected to co-lead the Korea Society’s Project Bridge Program, which enables eight New York City Youth Ambassadors to visit Korea.

1977
Allan I. Grafman, MIA
Allan recently joined Mercury Capital Partners, a private equity firm focused on media and communications.

1978
Robert Kingsley (Kayo) Hull, MIA
Robert will serve as the 2007/2008 Chair of the Labor and Employment Law Section of the New York State Bar Association. Kayo has spent the last fifteen years working as a full-time arbitrator and mediator in labor, employment, and commercial disputes throughout the northeastern United States. A former Wall Street lawyer, he has lived in Penn Yan, a village in the beautiful Finger Lakes region of western New York, since 1982.

1979
Ben Mollov, MIA
Ben is a faculty member at Bar-Ilan University, Israel, where he specializes in political science and intercultural approaches to conflict management. In December 2005, he appeared as the sole Israeli speaker at a global peace forum held in Malaysia under the sponsorship of the Perdana Leadership Foundation, which is headed by former Malaysian Prime Minister Mohammed Mahathir. At the forum he addressed both approaches to and the impact of Israeli-Palestinian dialogue.

1981
Lynn Lurie, MIA
Luriekoenl@aol.com
Lynn has won the Juniper Award for Fiction. Her first novel, Corner of the Dead, set in Peru during the 1980s, will be published by the University of Massachusetts Press in the spring of 2008. “Corner of the Dead has the indelible feeling of a dream you can’t shake, a terror made beautiful. It moves by sensation, association, with great fluidity and urgency,” commented one of the judges. The novel has also won the First Chapter Prize awarded by the Bronx Council of the Arts.

1982
Giulio Gallarotti, MIA
Giulio is a member of the faculty in the Government Department and a Tutor in the College of Social Studies at Wesleyan University in Middletown, Connecticut. He teaches and conducts research in international relations, specializing in money, trade, international organizations, politics of business, and theories of power. Giulio has published extensively in journals in economics, political science, business and law. He lives in Higganum, Connecticut, with his wife Gemma and two children, Alessio and Giulio.

1984
Aubrey A. Carlson, MIA
carlsonsatlarge@hotmail.com
Aubrey has worked for 20 years in the U.S. Foreign Service. In addition to tours in Beijing, Hong Kong, and Kiev, from 1989 to 1992, she served in Moscow, where she witnessed and reported on the fall of the Soviet Union. This summer she will refresh her Chinese during a second tour in Beijing as minister-counselor for political affairs at the U.S. Embassy.
moved to London in the fall of 2006. Chris is currently an Associate in the London office of Cadwalader, Wickersham & Taft LLP, where he focuses primarily on structured finance transactions. In January he began coursework in the Executive MBA Program at London Business School. Chris and Susan are expecting their first child in September. He looks forward to hearing from fellow classmates.

**1985**

Richard Reiter, MIA
ReiterRT@state.gov
Richard is a Foreign Service Officer with the U.S. Department of State. He has returned from a six-month posting to a Provincial Reconstruction Team in southern Afghanistan and is now responsible for Netherlands and Luxembourg issues in the State Department’s Bureau of European Affairs.

**1986**

Mark Baker, MIA
markre@hotmaill.com
Mark lives in Prague and is working as a freelance travel writer after leaving a full-time job in 2005 as Deputy Managing Editor at Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty. He recently completed a project on Romania for the National Geographic Society, and writes regularly for National Geographic Traveler magazine, the Wall Street Journal Europe, and other publications.

David Claussenius, MIA
dclausse@savechildren.or.th
Based in Bangkok, David is currently the Asia Area Director for Save the Children U.S. He would love to hear from alumni of his generation, specifically those who are in Bangkok.

**1987**

Blaine D. Pope, MIA, MPA
For the past two years, Blaine has been an adjunct professor at SIPA. This is in addition to working as an internal consultant at the New York City Department of Health & Mental Hygiene and finishing his PhD dissertation at Fielding Graduate University on the socio-economic impact of petroleum depletion. From the late 1980s through the late 1990s, he worked extensively in Africa and the Middle East. He now hopes to enter academia more fully and also maintain his connection to various issues in international affairs.

Ben Wacksman, MPA
Ben is the founder, president, and CEO of Capital Realty Investors, LLC. The real estate investment fund, based in Tampa, Florida, has completed more than $120 million in transactions over the past five years. Wacksman, a former Hillsborough County Commissioner, is also the chairman of the Florida Riverwalk Exchange, a statewide venture that aims to open Florida’s waterfront to the public. He and his wife Emi recently celebrated their 17th wedding anniversary and are the proud parents of Aiden, who turns three in June.

Lance Wylie, MIA
q-spice@ebglobal.net

**1988**

Joseph Coleman, MIA
After graduating from SIPA with a specialization in Latin American studies, Joseph went to work as a reporter, first for United Press International in Panama and Colombia, and then with the Associated Press in Kansas City. Since then, he has held postings in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, the international desk in New York, and the Tokyo and Paris bureaus. He is currently AP bureau chief in Tokyo, where he lives with his wife Kyoko and their two children, Ema and Sean.

**1989**

Scott Otteman, MIA
scott@gringogazette.com

**1990**

Anuj C. Desai, MIA
anujdesai@gmail.com
Anuj enjoys his work as a professor at the University of Wisconsin Law School.

**1991**

Cary Alan Johnson, MIA
Diaspora@al.com
Cary is a Senior Specialist for Africa at the International Gay and Lesbian Human Rights Commission. Cary spends about half of his time in New York and the rest in Africa working with LGBT groups, sexual rights activists, opinion leaders, and governments in Africa. He recently authored a report, “Off the Map: How HIV/AIDS Programs are Failing Same-Sex Practicing People in Africa.”

Mark C. Miller, MIA
mmiller@bpdbank.com
Mark spent most of the 1990s living in Chile, where, among other things, he worked in finance and banking and played a lot of soccer. Since June 2003 he has been with BPD Bank in Manhattan, where he is currently Vice President, Country Risk Manager. In July 2005, he married Ann Pryor, they divide their time between Manhattan and Connecticut.

Scott Richman, MIA
scott.richman@informaecon.com
Scott was recently promoted to Senior Vice President and Commercial Consulting Lead at Informa Economics, Inc., which provides commodity market analyses, risk management advisory services, and management consulting services to agribusinesses and renewable fuels companies. As part of his responsibilities, he directs the ethanol and agricultural biotechnology practice areas. Scott lives in Memphis with his wife, Elizabeth, and children, Jack and Megan, and encourages friends from the class of ’91 to contact him.
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COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

Howard Shatz, MIA
howard.shatz@yahoo.com

Howard joined the RAND Corporation in August 2006 as an economist and is working in RAND’s Washington, D.C., office.

1992

John Matthew Trott, MPA
jtrott@coxcastle.com

John was elected to the partnership of Cox, Castle & Nicholson LLP, where he specializes in commercial real estate law.

1993

Joe Federman, MIA
joe.federman@gmail.com

Joe has been named News Editor of the Jerusalem bureau of the Associated Press, responsible for directing daily news coverage out of Israel, the West Bank, and Gaza Strip.

Farhad Karim, MIA
fkarim@stblaw.com

Farhad resides in London where he is a partner at Simpson Thacher & Bartlett LLP. He works on a variety of legal matters throughout Europe as well as in India and Japan.

1994

Maria Dreyfus-Ulvert, MIA
maria_dreyfus@hotmail.com

After graduation Maria worked in New York for nine years at different places: Morgan Stanley, Nicaragua’s Permanent Mission to the UN and the United Nations Development Program. She married Alexandre Ulvert and moved to Miami in 2001. They are happy to announce the birth of their 13-month-old baby boy Alejandro. In Miami, Maria worked for over four years at the Nicaraguan Consulate as a commercial attaché and in February 2007 joined Miami Dade County as a trade development specialist covering Latin America, Europe, and the Middle East.

Naokatsu Hikotani, MIA
naokatsu.hikotani@gmail.com

Naokatsu is working as a mid-level senior government official within Japan’s Ministry of Finance, where he is working to promote tax reform.

1995

Ellen Psychas, MIA
Ellen is living on Capitol Hill in Washington, D.C., where she has been working as an administrator for the PhD Program at SAIS Johns Hopkins since 2004. She is also writing her doctoral dissertation at SAIS on the problem of attracting private capital to postconflict economies with East Timor as her principle case study. Ellen is engaged to marry Bing Yee, an attorney at the Department of Homeland Security.

Jeff Puterman, MPA
Jeff and his family are relocating to Seattle for Gilead Sciences, where he will lead the marketing research work for aztreonam lysine, a new molecule for cystic fibrosis. He would be interested in meeting any SIPA alumni in the region.

1996

Babken Babajanian, MIA
bkb1@columbia.edu

Babken recently completed his PhD in social policy at the London School of Economics, where he currently teaches courses on international and comparative social policy. He has been involved in research and policy work in the Caucasus and Central Asian regions and has consulted extensively for the World Bank and the UK Department of International Development.

Caroline Baudinet-Stumpf, MIA
carolinebaudinet@hotmail.com

Caroline is currently the Loan Team Manager for International Credit at Wells Fargo Bank in San Francisco. Both Caroline and her husband William have been in San Francisco since 2000 and love the West Coast lifestyle, even though life can be hectic with their three little girls, Isabella (4), Alexandra (2) and Emma (7 months). They would love to hear from SIPA alums in the Bay Area.

Glenn Danielson, MIA
gdb1@columbia.edu

Glenn fondly remembers springtime in New York and taking the 1-9 subway up to the Bronx to catch a Yankees game. But now he enjoys the cherry blossoms in D.C. and going to Nationals games. He is currently pursuing a PhD in Public Policy at George Mason University, and welcomes trips to lunch with other alumni in the Capital.

1997

Aaron Frank, MIA
aaron.frank@mac.com

Aaron has been working in finance and telecom, in the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Luxembourg since graduation. He is currently working on new product development for a telecom company in Holland and the United States, and would enjoy hearing from other alumni in the Benelux area.

Annik Hoysater Asserson, MIA

Annik has been living in her native Oslo since she graduated and manages a Scandinavian IT company, www.creuna.no, for those who speak Norwegian. She married in 2000 and has a daughter who was born in 2001.
Monica Mitrani, MIA
monica_mitrani@yahoo.com
Monica married Robert Abad (MIA/MBA ’98) three years ago. They now have a baby girl, Sofia Isabella, who is almost a year old, and they live in Pasadena, California.

Sharyn Tenn, MIA
Sharyn Tenn just completed her first year as the director of international affairs at the American College of Cardiology in Washington, D.C. Heart disease is the world’s number one killer, and Sharyn works with a global community of cardiologists to facilitate knowledge exchange aimed at improving cardiovascular health worldwide.

1998
Kevin Baumert, MIA
baumertka@gmail.com
After eight years at the World Resources Institute in Washington, D.C., Kevin has joined the U.S. Department of State. He currently works as an Attorney-Adviser in the Office of the Legal Adviser for Human Rights and Refugees.

David Birnbaum, MIA
David was married in early June last year to Carmit Delman, with whom he spent the summer trekking the Indian Himalayas. After returning to New York, he began a new role at the Bank of New York as VP, Office of Innovation. At the Bank of New York he manages new projects and venture transactions, most of which are located in China, India, Japan, and New York.

Thomas Fay, MIA
Lyn Gramza, MPA (2002)
Thomas and Lyn were married on October 8, 2003, and welcomed the birth of their daughter, Margot Beatrice Fay, on November 4, 2006. They live in Manhattan.

Ramon A. (Chico) Negron, MIA
Ramon, his wife Debby and two daughters, Alisa (7) and Rebeca (4), are living in Havana, Cuba and are doing just fine. He currently serves as the Political/Economic Officer at the U.S. Interests Section in Havana. Although there are many restrictions on U.S. diplomats, their experience in Havana has been quite fascinating, during very historic times. He will be living and working in Cuba for two more years.

David M. Nidus, MPA
david_nidus@yahoo.com
Since 2001 David has been with the Fortune Society, an organization that serves the formerly incarcerated, first as the agency’s senior director of career development and now as the associate vice president of programs. This past November, he married Stacey A. Katzen, in a Washington, D.C., ceremony attended by fellow MPA graduate Michael Hummel. Stacey and David live on the Upper West Side, where they occasionally see Jodi Erlandsen, a fellow MPA alum.

Drew Porter, MIA
Drew is working in the Washington, D.C., law offices of Morgan, Lewis & Bockius representing tax-exempt organizations in a variety of matters. He and his wife Liz are expecting their third child this fall. They live in Arlington, Virginia.

1999
Chelsea Emery, MIA
Chelsea and her husband Stephen just welcomed their second daughter, Lilah, into their family. She is taking a year off from her duties as an apparel and consumer products reporter at Reuters to care for their two daughters. A very different pace from covering New York’s Fashion Week, but rewarding in a totally different way!

Susana Garcia-Robles, MIA
SUSANAR0@sadb.org
Susana has been working for the Multilateral Investment Fund (MIF) in Washington, D.C., since 1999. The MIF is part of the Private Sector Group of the Inter-American Development Bank. She is a Senior Investment Officer in charge of Venture Capital Activities for Latin America and the Caribbean, along with microfinance projects in Brazil, Uruguay and Argentina. Susana’s job usually takes her all over Latin America. In 2001, she married Daniel Q. Kelley, with whom she lives in Washington, D.C.

Angela Jimenez, MPA
John Leahy, MPA
Angela and John got married on February 9 in Bogotá, Colombia. The couple met at SIPA, enjoying a wonderful friendship for almost 10 years. They plan to live in Cropseyville, New York, where John works and lives.

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To learn more about SIPA’s other degree programs:
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Elizabeth Leff, MPA
elizabethleff@yahoo.com
Elizabeth is back living in New York City for the first time since graduation. After consulting in D.C. and working in Brussels, India, and Cairo, she spent nearly a year in Bangkok working for UNDP on a regional tsunami project looking at the private sector's contributions to tsunami relief and recovery efforts. She will be continuing work for UNDP in NY and is always looking for opportunities to build public-private partnerships. She would love to hear from friends in the area.

Apeksha Marphatia, MIA
am553@hotmail.com
Apeksha lives in the San Francisco bay area with her husband and mother. She works at IBM, where she specializes in international project management, often traveling to South Asia.

Lieutenant Colonel Charlie Miller, MIA
charles.r.miller@iraq.centcom.mil
Charlie is currently serving as the deputy director of the Commander's Initiatives Group, Multi-National Force-Iraq. This is his second year-long tour in Iraq after a brief respite with the Joint Staff J-5 in Washington.

Chris Allieri, MIA
Chris recently joined Accenture in New York as the Media Lead for the Strategy Consulting Practice. In his new position, Chris manages media relations for Accenture's Strategy Practice worldwide. He also recently taught a section of SIPA's Professional Development course, which was designed for students interested in media and communications careers.

Kenny Blackman, MIA/MBA
Karen Lee Blackman, MBA ('00)
Kenny and Karen have an 18-month-old son, Drew Kaiyang Blackman, and have been living in Stamford, Connecticut, for more than three years. They work at different GE Capital businesses, following stints in banking in NYC postgraduation. Both certainly miss life in the City, but have grown comfortable with the suburbs and appreciate the extra space.

Carl Johan Casserberg, MIA
casserberg@gmail.com
Carl Johan recently accepted the position as Head of International Affairs for "The Moderates"—the liberal conservative political party of Sweden. Previously, Carl Johan held various positions within international banking and finance with CSFB and EBRD in London and the Swedish Export Credit Corporation in Stockholm and Moscow.

Pongphisoot (Paul) Busbarat, MIA
p.busbarat@gmail.com
After graduating from SIPA, Paul worked for Thailand's National Security Council as a policy analyst, where he helped shape Thailand's policy to combat transnational crime and terrorism. The experience was a great opportunity for him to gain insight and experience in real-world policymaking, and to travel to many places where he often met SIPA alumni. He is currently pursuing a PhD at Australian National University, focusing on Thailand's leadership in Southeast Asia's regional cooperation.

Edward Gometz, MIA
Edward and Shannon were married on January 13, 2007, in Chicago, where they currently live. Edward is attending the University of Chicago's Pritzker School of Medicine, and Shannon serves as a senior policy advisor for the governor of Illinois.

Ivan Small, MIA
ivs2@cornell.edu
Ivan is currently in Saigon conducting dissertation research on
the social dynamics of returning diaspora and remittance economies in Vietnam. Ivan is a PhD candidate in cultural anthropology at Cornell University and presently a Fulbright-Hays research fellow at Vietnam National University, Ho Chi Minh City.

2002

Jason Anderson, MIA
Jason is currently serving with USAID as a field program officer in Afghanistan. He is based in Kunar province—in the east bordering Pakistan—and along with military leadership, he assists the Provincial Reconstruction Team (PRT) in designing and monitoring USAID-funded projects for the province.

David Garten, MPA
Anita Datar Garten, MPA ('03)
David and Anita were married in August 2003 and are currently living in Washington, D.C. Since graduating from SIPA, David has worked with the Government Accountability Officer, served as Appropriations Projects Director for Senator Frank Lautenberg, and lobbied on behalf of the Elizabeth Glaser Pediatric AIDS Foundation. Recently, David returned to Capitol Hill to work for Senator Hillary Clinton, advising on Appropriations and working on Homeland Security issues. After completing her course work in December 2002, Anita moved to Washington, D.C., to work with RAND Corporation. After one and a half years with RAND’s Center for Domestic and International Health Security and RAND Health, Anita joined the Futures Group to pursue international public health. Over time, David and Anita have become Washingtonians and recently moved to a small row house on Capitol Hill. They live their quite happily with their dog, Lola.

Joseph Loy, MPA
jl2006@columbia.edu
After three years at Kirkland & Ellis LLP, Joseph recently accepted a position as a law clerk to the Honorable Judge Matsumoto of the Eastern District of New York (Brooklyn).

Bremley Lyngdoh, MIA
bl365@columbia.edu
Bremley is still working on his PhD at the London School of Economics and Political Science, while also working part time with The Converging World in Bristol to plant wind turbines in the state of Tamil Nadu in South India in order to generate clean energy for the poor villages that were hit by the tsunami. He regularly participates in Columbia University Club of London events, believing that it is a great way to fly the Columbia flag in the United Kingdom.

Juan Felipe Munoz, MIA
jmunoz@otungroup.com
Juan founded Otun Group, an international consultancy, which provides political risk, financial, and strategic advice to corporations, investment professionals and individuals with operations and investments in Latin America. In the last two years, along with Cesar Gaviria, he has helped clients to identify opportunities, arrange transactions, and resolve troubled investment situations.

Arun Rana, MIA
arun_rana@yahoo.com
After leaving New York, Arun moved back to Nepal, where she initially worked for Nepal’s Investment Bank in Kathmandu. For the last year, she has been working for the German Technical Cooperation. She is married with a daughter, Violet, and would love to hear from her classmates and other SIPA folks. Those interested in reaching her in Kathmandu can either e-mail her or call (+977 9851087339).

Isfandyar Zaman Khan, PEPM
izk11@yahoo.com
After SIPA Isfandyar joined the World Bank. He currently works as a specialist covering financial sector and private sector development issues, with a regional focus on South Asia. His work has enabled him to see parts of the world he hadn’t had much exposure to before, such as Peru, Tanzania, and Egypt. He misses the old SIPA days.

2003

Galina I. Duckworth, MIA
gala@fia.or.kr
Galina has been living in Seoul, South Korea, for the past two years. Currently, she is the Executive Director of the Foreign Institutional Investors Association of Korea (FIIA), a nonprofit organization established by the Small and Medium Business Administration of Korea. She travels extensively and will be glad to meet other SIPA alumni residing in this part of the world or coming to Asia for business or pleasure.

Laura Limonic, MIA
ll2018@columbia.edu
Laura was recently married to Francesco Brindisi (CU PhD, Economics) in Buenos Aires, Argentina. They were fortunate to have many SIPA classmates at the wedding. Laura is currently a political affairs officer at the United Nations Counter-Terrorism Executive Directorate, in New York. She is also pursuing a PhD in Sociology at CUNY. The couple lives in Park Slope, Brooklyn.

Angelo Mancino, EMPA
angelomancino@optonline.net
Angelo has been working in the mortgage division of JPMorgan Chase Bank as a loan officer and is training for his first triathlon. Recently named lieutenant as a volunteer member of the Larchmont Fire Department, he is enjoying life in Larchmont, NY with his wife and two young boys. He hopes everyone is well and looks forward to seeing everybody one day soon.

Rebecca Morgenstern Brenner, MPA
Rebecca and Jake Brenner happily announce the birth of their son, Morgan Forest Brenner, on May 14, 2006. They live in Tucson, Arizona.

Will Schlickenmaier, MIA
schlickw@georgetown.edu
Will is currently slogging through course work for his PhD in international relations at Georgetown. He just started in the fall, but the administration was generous enough to give him a year’s worth of advanced standing based on his SIPA course work. He will be taking his doctoral comps in the fall, and hopes to write his dissertation on great power threat perceptions and social constructivism. He welcomes hearing from old SIPA colleagues.

Anna Segur, MIA
ars29@columbia.edu
Anna lives in El Salvador and works as a consultant for enterprise development and water sanitation projects in Central America. When she’s not assist-
2004

Roger Fisk, MPA
Spouse Michele and daughter Hannah Sophia, now already two-and-a-half years old, joined with proud father and rejoiced at the arrival of Samuel Michael into the world on November 16, 2006.

Tamie Nakayama, MIA
Tamie is currently a Human Resources Manager for GE Money, a consumer finance business arm of General Electric (GE). After graduating from SIPA, Tamie joined GE’s two-year executive Human Resources Leadership Program in 2004, assuming her current role in January 2006. Based in Tokyo, Japan, Tamie travels across Asia for various M&A initiatives taking place in the region. Her future aspiration is to help develop the next generation of talented global leaders.

2005

Sofia Calltorp, MIA
calltorp@yahoo.com
Sofia is currently on maternity leave with her and her spouse Andrea’s son Hugo, who was born on November 10, 2006. In the fall of 2007, she will return to her post as human rights officer at the Swedish mission to the UN in Geneva, working with the newly established Human Rights Council.

Eric Cantor, MIA
eric.cantor@gmail.com
Eric is currently working at Acumen Fund, a social investment fund, based in Nairobi, Kenya, helping ramp up the organization’s East Africa presence, as well as providing technology support to the businesses in which it invests.

Chloe Oudiz, MIA
cso2101@columbia.edu
Chloe moved to Washington the day she graduated, where she found a job at the World Bank, as a JPA. After working for a little over a year in D.C., she was transferred to the Morroco office, where she has been ever since. When her contract with the Bank ends in May, she will be moving to London to work in the international development sector.

Shaheen Rassoul, MIA
shaheenrassoul@gmail.com
Shaheen joined Global Rights in March 2006 as country director for Afghanistan. In addition to operational, administrative, and financial oversight in Kabul, Shaheen manages the development and implementation of Global Rights’ justice and human rights programs: a transitional justice initiative, legal training programs for paralegals and social workers, both Young Legal Professionals programs, and the Women’s Rights Reporting and Parliamentary Caucus programs. He is also joined by his fiancée, Molly Howitt, director of new programs at the Turquoise Mountain Foundation.

José Xavier, MIA
José and his wife Bindhu have moved to London from New York, where he has been working since his graduation. He now works with Jefferies and Company in the Transportation, Oil Service and Infrastructure Investment Banking group and will be based in the company’s international offices in London for the next two years to support Jefferies’ efforts in the biofuels sector in addition to the transportation and oil services sector.

Karl Brown, MIA
kwb2106@columbia.edu
Karl is working with the Rockefeller Foundation as associate director of applied technology. He and his wife Martine have been blessed with two beautiful daughters, Mirabelle (15 months) and Anais (1 month).

Adam Cherson, MPA
adc@eutopianow.org
Adam is the editor of Eutopia, a multidisciplinary index of global environmental news and research from the fields of policy, science, law, and business. He recently set up a solar array for his apartment and dove to 660 meters in a homemade submersible. He enjoyed Rachael Garrett’s (MPA ’05) birthday fête hosted by Karma Ekmeckij (MPA ’05), which was attended by many cherished friends.

Katherine Haver, MIA
katherine.haver@nyu.edu
Katherine works as a researcher on humanitarian issues at New York University’s Center on International Cooperation.

Jonathan Jacoby, MIA
jtj2101@columbia.edu
After wrapping up some wonderful years at SIPA and Columbia Business School last spring, Jonathan has been working as the associate director for international economic policy at the Center for American Progress, a dynamic think tank in Washington, D.C. He is excited to be promoting progressive ideas into the policy debate, and sends a big hello to everyone beyond the Beltway and around the world.

Chloe Oudiz, MIA
cso21001@columbia.edu
Chloe works at the Center for American Progress, a dynamic think tank in Washington, D.C. She is excited to be promoting progressive ideas into the policy debate, and sends a big hello to everyone beyond the Beltway and around the world.

Daniel Shaw, MIA
drs33@columbia.edu
Daniel works at the City University of New York as an adjunct professor teaching ethnic studies classes at John Jay College and York College. He also does violence prevention with at-risk high school and middle school students.
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