

BAKER INSTITUTE REPORT

NOTES FROM THE JAMES A. BAKER III INSTITUTE FOR PUBLIC POLICY OF RICE UNIVERSITY

PANEL DISCUSSION FOCUSES ON ROLE OF NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER

Filling the gap between what the U.S. president knows and what he or she ought to know before making a decision is the biggest job faced by the national security adviser (NSA).

Walt Rostow, who served as NSA for presidents Kennedy and Johnson, expressed that opinion when he and five other former advisers met in Washington, D.C., April 12 at a forum to discuss the role of NSAs. Rice's James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy and the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars cosponsored the forum to define the NSA's involvement in the formulation, planning, conduct, and coordination of the nation's foreign and national security policies.

CNN anchor Wolf Blitzer moderated the panel discussion among Rostow and former NSAs Samuel Berger (Clinton), Zbigniew Brzezinski (Carter), Frank Carlucci (Reagan), An-



(From left) Lee Hamilton and Edward Djerejian lead a question-and-answer session with former national security advisers Samuel Berger, Zbigniew Brzezinski, Frank Carlucci, Andrew Goodpastor, Robert McFarlane, and Walt Rostow.

drew Goodpastor (Eisenhower), and Robert McFarlane (Reagan).

"It's not generally realized that the president steps off into the dark with almost every decision," Rostow stated. "Mobilizing" information to the president is the NSA's responsibility, and that entails being able to state the point

of view of each Cabinet member so the president hears all sides of an issue. "The president has to live with the consequences of his decisions, whatever the information on which he must act," Rostow said.

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"I think there is a healthy tension between the Department of Defense and the Department of State that, in many instances, the national security adviser has to mediate."

— Frank Carlucci

LETTER FROM THE DIRECTOR



Edward Djerejian

Underlying the crisis in Israeli-Palestinian relations and the prospects for negotiations are four basic factors that, if

not understood and dealt with, can lead not only to continued violence and confrontation, but also destroy any prospects for peace in the near future and foster instability in the region as a whole.

First, there is the delayed promise of the 1991 Madrid Peace Conference for a comprehensive peace between Israel and all of its Arab neighbors through direct, face-to-face negotiations based on the central United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 and the principle of land for peace. It is important that this framework not become chimerical. To many Palestinians, the “fruits of peace” are nonexistent, and they perceive no change in the difficult circumstances of their daily lives. For many Israelis, they have neither peace nor security, an essential equation in the Israeli context.

In the last negotiations at Camp David, neither Israelis nor Palestinians were able to move forward, in part, because the gaps on key issues such as Jerusalem and the right of return of Palestinian refugees had not been sufficiently narrowed to come to a final settlement. The failure of this summit deflated high expecta-

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tions and set the scene for the tragic theater of violence.

On the other negotiating fronts, the Israeli-Jordanian peace treaty in 1994 was a major achievement negotiated directly between the Israeli and Jordanian governments. However, on the Israeli-Syrian/Lebanese negotiations, there have been important missed opportunities since 1993, the most recent example being the failed summit in

Geneva between President Clinton and the late Syrian President Hafez al-Asad in March 2000. An agreement on this track would have had important strategic implications for the region as a whole and could have enhanced the prospects for a final status agreement between Israelis and Palestinians.

Second, for the first time since 1976 when they demonstrated over land confiscation issues, Israeli Arab citizens went to the streets again in October 2000, but this time in solidarity with the Palestinians in the Occupied Territories. This led to confrontations with the Israeli security forces, and 13 Israeli Arabs were killed. The Israeli Arabs represent up to 20 percent of Israel’s population; and therefore, these incidents had a sobering effect on Israeli public opinion where the threat to Israel is perceived by a growing number of Israeli Jews to be now both from within its borders and from outside.

Third is the political perception throughout the Arab world that Hizbullah, as a national resistance movement, has accomplished what Arab governments and armies have not—the evacuation of Israeli troops from occupied Arab territory. Hizbullah’s perceived victory in Lebanon has emboldened Palestinian groups, including Hamas, Palestinian Islamic Jihad, and even groups within Fatah, such as Tanzim, who see violence and confrontation as a necessary concomitant to

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TASK FORCE ISSUES RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ENERGY POLICY

Recurring energy-supply shortages could result in a nationwide crisis if an energy policy isn't developed soon, warns an independent task force report cosponsored by the Baker Institute and the Council on Foreign Relations.

The report cautions that there could be more Californias in America's future unless the U.S. government adopts a long-term, comprehensive energy policy now.

The task force released the report to the media at a news conference April 12 in Washington, D.C.

Given the capital-intensive nature of the energy industry, such energy woes could worsen before they get better, according to the study. Americans should therefore brace themselves for more California-style electricity problems and seasonal shortfalls of natural gas and heating fuels, as well as occasional spikes in regional gasoline prices. The experts note, however, that the situation is not a sign that the world is running out of energy resources. Rather, the situation finds its roots in chronic underinvestment and soaring energy use.

The report, signed by a bipartisan group of 51 experts with widely different backgrounds and perspectives on the problem, postulates that President Bush has an opportunity to begin educating the public about this reality and to start building a broad base of popular support for the



Amy Jaffe and Edward Morse headed the independent task force that issued a report titled "Strategic Energy Policy Challenges for the 21st Century."

hard policy choices ahead.

The report warns that the United States now faces the consequences of not having had an energy policy over the last several decades. The task force concludes that "there are no overnight solutions to the energy supply and infrastructure bottlenecks facing the nation and the world."

The task force, chaired by Edward L. Morse, a widely recognized authority on energy at Hess Energy, and assisted by Amy Jaffe, senior energy adviser at the Baker Institute, noted that both Democratic and Republican administrations have allowed energy policy to drift despite its central importance to the domestic economy and the nation's security. In particular, energy policy has underplayed energy efficiency and demand-management measures for two decades.

The report also notes that a spike in oil prices preceded every American recession since the late 1940s and that despite the obvious pattern, successive governments did nothing to craft a coherent and visionary national energy policy.

The task force warns that what lies ahead now are agonizing policy trade-offs between legitimate and competing interests. Among those trade-offs, the task force states, is whether Americans are willing to compromise their hunger for cheap energy to achieve their increasing demand for cleaner energy and a cleaner environment. The economic boom of recent years has only exacerbated the energy crisis. Strong growth in most countries and new demands for energy have led to the depletion of previously sustained surplus in hydrocarbon fuels.

As a result, the world is now precariously close to using all its available global oil-production capacity. If an accident or other disruption in production occurred—whether on the Alaskan oil pipeline, in the Mideast, or elsewhere—the world might be on the brink of the worst international oil crisis in three decades. The situation in oil markets is compounded by shortages of other forms of readily available clean energy in the U.S., including natural gas and electricity in certain localities.

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McALEESE SHARES VIEWS ON CONFLICT RESOLUTION

The president of Ireland said the Good Friday Agreement offers “tremendous hope” not just for the people of Ireland, but for people “in every part of our troubled world where lives have been hopelessly twisted and skewed by the atrocities of war.”

Speaking at the Baker Institute April 19, Mary McAleese, who was elected the eighth president of the Republic of Ireland in 1997, shared her views on conflict resolution and the lengthy efforts to reach the Good Friday Agreement.

That agreement was a peace settlement signed in 1998 by the British and Irish governments to end three decades of civil war in

“The negotiations did not shy away from the difficult and most divisive issues—human rights, policing, justice, the demilitarization of society, and the resolution of the question of arms held illegally.”

Northern Ireland.

“Although more than 3,000 people died, and tens of thousands were injured, these grim and appalling statistics do not even begin to show the enormous human cost of the tragedy and its devastating effect on people’s lives,” McAleese said.

“As a people that have known the devastating consequences of conflict and division, the Irish have always, as a nation, maintained a deep commitment not just to achieving peace in our own island, but to promoting the ideals of peace and conflict resolution throughout the rest of the world,” McAleese said.

“This is part of our national identity, a part of which we are deeply proud.”

Describing the peace process that led to the Good Friday Agreement as “long and painstaking,” McAleese said it was not initiated by any single overwhelming incident or turning point. “It was instead born out of the vision of those who looked at the grinding, ongoing demoralization and destruction caused by a seemingly endless, senseless cycle of violence and knew that it simply could not be allowed to go on.”

Communication from all sides of the conflict was critical. “Through the process of negotiation, and often for the first time, parties on all sides sat down together and at least tried to develop a better understanding of each other’s positions,” McAleese said. “The negotiations did not shy away from the difficult and most divisive issues—human rights, policing, justice, the demilitarization of society, and the resolution of the question of arms held illegally. The talks recognized the importance of these issues and how failure to successfully address them had long



Mary McAleese meets with Malcolm Gillis (left) and James A. Baker, III, prior to her speech at the Baker Institute.

Mary McAleese (seated at right), accompanied by members of her staff, holds a discussion with Rice students at the Baker Institute.



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CHAVANNE LECTURE SERIES PUTS SPOTLIGHT ON RELIGION AND PUBLIC POLICY

The complex interactions between religion and politics served as the focus of three programs in the Harry and Hazel Chavanne Lecture Series on Religion and American Public Policy, held at the Baker Institute during the spring. The well-attended panel discussions attracted key political activists and prominent analysts, resulting in a series of informative and lively exchanges.

The first program, "Reflections on the Elections," held February 1, focused on the impact of religious belief and affiliation on voting behavior in the November 2000 presidential elections. Participants included A. James Reichley, a noted political scientist long associated with the Brookings Institute and Georgetown University; John C. Green, director of the Ray C. Bliss Institute of Applied Politics at the University of Akron; Clyde Wilcox, professor of political science at Georgetown University; Robert M. Stein, the Fox Professor of Political Science and dean of the School of Social Sciences at Rice; and William Martin, the Harry and Hazel Chavanne Professor of Religion and Public Policy and professor of sociology



The Harry and Hazel Chavanne Lecture Series on Religion and American Public Policy was well attended at the Baker Institute. All three programs in the spring series were organized by Rice professor William Martin (pictured at lectern).

at Rice and senior scholar at the Baker Institute. Reichley, Green, and Wilcox provided a nuanced examination of past and current political alignments among major religious aggregates in America.

They noted that conservative white Protestants have become a major force in the Republican Party, while black Protestants and Jews remain strongly loyal to the Democrats. Catholics, overwhelm-

ingly Democratic until the 1970s, are now about evenly divided between the parties, with the most religiously observant most likely to vote Republican. Mainline Protestants, particularly at the leadership levels, have typically stood with Democrats on issues of social justice, but have backed away from the more radical solutions they favored in earlier decades. Secular Americans are divided between the major parties, but a majority voted for Al Gore in 2000. Green and Wilcox noted that, despite reports of disarray within the ranks of the Religious Right, conservative Christian activists played a significant role in the GOP primaries, helping to deliver the presidential nomination to

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BAKER INSTITUTE FELLOW FACILITATES WHITE HOUSE TRANSITION

The White House is no place for on-the-job training, but traditionally a number of presidential appointees have had to learn their jobs with few or no guidelines or instructions, according to Terry Sullivan, the Thomas Cooke and Mary Elizabeth Edwards Fellow in American Government and Democracy at the Baker Institute.

As associate director of the White House 2001 Project, Sullivan spent two years trying to change that. Through the White House Interview Program, he and Martha Joynt Kumar of Towson University interviewed more than 80 current or former White House staff members from the last six administrations to find out how they did their jobs and what they wish they had known before “Day One.” The White House 2001 Project team produced seven notebooks, each containing approximately 600 pages, of information to assist the new administration.

“Many of those we interviewed told us they had to start their jobs without any organizational charts, descriptions of their responsibilities, or ‘how-to’ instructions,” Sullivan said.

“Unlike corporations, a White House begins without a record compiled by its previous occupants,” Sullivan said. “The goal of the White House Interview Program was to smooth the path to power by furnishing incoming staff with substantive information about the operation of seven White House offices critical to an effective beginning.”

The program focused on the offices of the chief of staff, staff secretary, press, communications, counsel to the president, manage-

ment and administration, and presidential personnel. The role of each office was defined, and supportive tools, such as telephone contacts, were gathered for the newcomers. The interviewees were asked about how to do—and how not to do—their jobs so their successors could benefit from lessons they learned from experience.

“Many of those we interviewed told us they had to start their jobs without any organizational charts, descriptions of their responsibilities, or ‘how-to’ instructions,” Sullivan said. “From these interviews, we were able to compile such essential information for the incoming administration.”

The White House 2001 Project should also help smooth the way for those outside the White House office as well, Sullivan observed.

He noted that more than 6,700 jobs in the executive branch of the federal government are filled by appointees, and only about 285 of these are in the executive office of the president.



Terry Sullivan (right), associate director of the White House 2001 Project, participated in a January 31 panel discussion at the Baker Institute about the presidential transition. Other panelists were (from left) Martha Kumar, director of the White House 2001 Project; John Burke, professor of political science at the University of Vermont; and William Seale, historian and author.

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BAKER INSTITUTE HOSTS SEMINAR ON MICRO-NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY

U.S. and Japanese nuclear scientists, government officials, senior industry officials, representatives of antinuclear political action groups, public policy experts, and energy economists gathered for a conclave on the future of nuclear energy titled “New Energy Technologies: A Policy Framework for Micro-Nuclear Technology.” The forum at the Baker Institute March 19-20 took a look at future designs for nuclear power stations and discussed the policy framework that would have to be developed to deploy new, safe, and cost-effective nuclear technologies both in the U.S. and abroad.

The seminar was cosponsored by the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory and the Petroleum Energy Center of Japan and funded by a grant from the Center For International Political Economy. Participants included representatives from the U.S. Department of Energy; Japan Ministry for Economics, Trade, and Industry; Westinghouse Electric; Exelon Corp.; U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission; and Japan Atomic Power Co. Ltd.

Baker Institute senior fellow Neal Lane, who is the former assistant to the president of the United States for science and technology, addressed the group, discussing the difficult climate for funding new research in nuclear energy. Other presentations were made by specialists from Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Princeton University, University of California at Berkeley, and Stanford University.



The Baker Institute's energy forum on micro-nuclear technology involved U.S. and Japanese nuclear scientists, government officials, senior industry officials, representatives of antinuclear political action groups, public policy experts, and energy economists.

The first 50 years of the nuclear era has seen the establishment of large nuclear reactors on a global basis—about 450 power plants worldwide. However, despite their huge contribution to energy supply in major industrial countries such as the U.S. (where nuclear provides 20 percent of all electricity supply), France, Japan, and Brazil, the use of large-scale reactors has proved problematic, with regulatory, waste, and operating burdens impeding economic competitiveness, and attendant social and political challenges and concerns over safety, nuclear waste, and nonproliferation blocking further development of nuclear power.

Nuclear research is in the process of developing a new generation of reactor designs that are small, innovative reactors that enable the use of sealed, long-life cores and do not require on-site refueling. These new designs are intended to create inherent safety features, semiautonomous opera-

tion, and portability while protecting against proliferation of nuclear fuel and reducing or eliminating waste. Advocates suggest this new generation of designs could help the U.S. maintain a leadership position in nuclear energy and ensure that new designs meet social and safety goals.

The presenters discussed the social and regulatory hurdles that might stand in the way of development and deployment of new nuclear energy technologies and what design specifications would be needed to allay safety and proliferation concerns among the public and political leaders in the U.S. and Japan. Energy shortages and global environmental concerns are once again raising interest in nuclear energy after more than a decade of dormancy.

A final report on the subject of new innovative nuclear energy designs and public policy will be completed and released to the public this summer.

THE GEOGRAPHY BEHIND GEOPOLITICS

Geography is often thought of as the drawing of maps, but there is much more to it than that. The study of geography can make an important contribution to humans' understanding of the world in many different ways. This point was clearly illustrated in the March 6 panel discussion, "The Geography Behind Geopolitics."

James A. Baker, III, the honorary chair of the Baker Institute, began the panel by noting that as secretary of state, he was forced to become a student of geopolitics. Geography and geopolitics remain important factors in conducting foreign policy, although the role of these factors has changed for some issues. In terms of political, economic, and military relations, the importance of geography has declined because of changes in transportation and communications technology. For example, these changes, along with the end of the Cold War and the rise of the United States as the only superpower, have reduced the importance of physical distance on relations among countries.

But geography and geopolitics are still significant factors for other countries. These factors have a critical impact on small, land-locked countries. They also play a significant role in how a country views itself and others.

Baker concluded his remarks by cautioning the audience to avoid geographic determinism. Geography plays an important role in today's world, but the complexity with which it exercises an influence needs to be recognized.

Gilbert Grosvenor, chairman of the board of the National Geographic Society, discussed the lack of geographic knowledge of the American electorate and how this translates into a failure to understand or appreciate important relationships in the world.

Grosvenor stressed that the study of geography is crucial to understanding the relationship between conservation and development. With the proper knowledge, policy in this arena does not have to be a trade-off. It can actually advance both goals simultaneously.

Grosvenor sounded a positive

note about the future. Through the efforts of geographers and others, geography has been restored to the high school curriculum. Forty states now require at least one course in geography from all of their students. The future electorate will be more knowledgeable about geography and the role it plays in the world, which will result in support for more intelligent policy choices.

Harm de Blij, a geographer and distinguished professor at Michigan State University, described geography as "the science and art of where," as opposed to history, which he defined as "the science and art of when." He discussed several examples of how geography revealed important (and unnoticed) insights about the world, whether about the spread of cholera in 1854 in London, England; the relationship between the shape of the continents and their common resources and features; or the current debate about environmental change.

He also made four predictions about important issues in this century, based on the study of geography: the growth of China will be a major problem for international relations, the major environmental challenge will be global cooling, the spread of Muslim fundamentalism will have a major impact on both domestic and international politics, and the need for the world to make a major effort to aid Africa will increase.

The final panelist was Jan Nijman, a geographer at the University of Miami's School of Inter-



Panelists for the discussion of the geography behind geopolitics were (from left) Harm de Blij; James A. Baker, III; Gilbert Grosvenor; and Jan Nijman.

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FORUM LOOKS AT NORTH KOREA'S ECONOMY AND FUTURE

The Baker Institute hosted a North Korea Forum February 19 titled "North Korea: Economic Status and Future Plans." The event featured a delegation consisting of prominent North Koreans, including the ambassador of Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) to the United Nations, Hyong-Chul Li, and the vice-chairman of the Overseas Aid Committee, Yong-Gun Jon.

Among the speakers from Rice were Edward Djerejian, Baker Institute director; Malcolm Gillis, president; and Suchan Chae, professor of economics.

Events following the North-South Korea Summit last year indicate there is a possibility that the Cold War on the Korean Peninsula may be finally nearing an end, Djerejian said during his welcoming remarks. He noted that the Baker Institute has cosponsored two North Korea Workshops within the past two years. The first workshop was held in December 1998 and the second in March 2000. In these workshops, international experts (practitioners from international agencies and governments as well as academics from universities and research institutes) gathered to discuss the socioeconomic development of North Korea. The workshop was a pioneering effort because up until the North-South Korea summit, the focus of policies toward North Korea had been primarily related to strategic matters.

Gillis noted that last June, North Korean leader Kim Jong-il and South Korean President Kim Dae-



A forum titled "North Korea: Economic Status and Future Plans" Feb. 19 at the Baker Institute featured remarks about the economy by Rice University president Malcolm Gillis and a question-and-answer session with Korean visitors to the Rice campus. Pictured, from left, are John Myung, chairman of the Korean American Culture and Athletic Promotional Association; Yong-Gun Jon, vice chairman of The North Korean Economic Development Committee; Hyong-Chul Li, North Korean ambassador to the United Nations; Gillis; Okjuo Myung, wife of John Myung; and Suchan Chae, Rice professor of economics.

jung conducted the first summit between the two countries since Korea was divided. At its conclusion, they issued a joint statement supporting economic cooperation and eventual reunification of North and South. The United States announced four days later that it was easing some of the trade restrictions that had been in place with North Korea since 1950. And in October, two important diplomatic visits were made between the U.S. and Korea: Vice Marshall Jo Myong-rok—one of the most senior officials in North Korea—made an unprecedented trip to Washington, and Secretary of State Madeleine Albright traveled to Pyongyang—the highest-ranking American diplomat to make an official visit to North Korea. These political developments

are most encouraging, representing the first steps in meeting the challenges that face not only the Korean peninsula but also other economies worldwide.

Chae stated that North Korean leader Kim Jong-il has recently remarked that there should be "new thinking" in his country. This is a clear signal that North Korea intends to change, and therefore outsiders also should respond with "new thinking" for North Korea. If North Korea affirms its will to change by further body signals and some concrete actions, outsiders should find ways to assist North Koreans by providing valuable resources, intellectual or otherwise.

"We have seen many countries in transition fail in their efforts to

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TRANSNATIONAL CHINA PROJECT ACTIVITIES FOR SPRING 2001

Technology is intimately tied to culture. The new media technologies of marketing and advertising are allowing the formation of distinctly transnational middle-class and local urban identities in Chinese societies, particularly among younger generations, with long-term implications for consumerism, nationalism, national economic development, international cooperation, and conflict resolution. At the same time, new technologies of communication are breaking down geographic and institutional barriers to the collective study of Chinese culture by scholars and students. These are the conclusions of the distinguished researchers and experts who participated in the spring 2001 series of research conferences, public lectures, and website curriculum development projects organized by the Transnational China Project (TCP) of the Baker Institute. The project examines how the circulation of people, ideas, values, and technologies among Chinese societies affects contemporary Chinese culture.

Pioneering Research: The New Media of Consumerism in Chinese and Asian Societies, and Transnational Law in China

How are the technologies of consumption changing Chinese societies? To answer this question, the TCP sponsored a con-

ference of media, marketing, and cultural studies scholars from the United States, China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Australia at the Center for the Study of Globalization and Culture at Hong Kong University in March. Participants at this pioneering conference, "Advertising Culture and the Formation of Transnational and Local Identities in Asia," concluded that advanced, more interactive advertising and survey research technologies are changing popular attitudes toward nation, locality, and economic class throughout Chinese societies. In conjunction with similar themes presented in the traditional media of civil society—literature, film, art—these new

media of consumerism create powerful new images of distinctly transnational and local middle-class lifestyles. More and more consumers and citizens in these societies are being told by corporations and municipal governments to identify less with nation and more with Chinese overseas and with other residents of the great cities of Asia: Beijing, Shanghai, Taipei, and Hong Kong. These media of consumerism are likely to be especially in-

fluent with the younger generations of Chinese who are often the target of these sophisticated marketing campaigns created by transnational and local advertising firms and governments.

The conference has already produced one publication, Steven Lewis's "What Can I Do for Shanghai? Selling Spiritual Civilization in China" in *Media in*



This billboard outside a subway station in Shanghai is part of the Chinese government's attempt to promote socialist spiritual civilization by appealing to pride in Shanghai as a modern, cosmopolitan place to live.

China: Consumption, Content and Crisis (Stephanie Hemelryk Donald, et. al., ed., Curzon Press, 2001). Other reports and research papers from the conference will be made available on the TCP website, www.ruf.rice.edu/~tnchina. Future research on the new media of consumerism in Asian societies by the TCP will draw upon the research and support of individuals from across Rice University, notably the offices of the

president and the provost, School of Architecture, Jesse H. Jones Graduate School of Management, School of Humanities, Asian Studies Program, and Center for the Study of Cultures. Finally, as China calls on foreigners to play a greater role in its economic development, how will it resolve disputes between foreign and domestic investors, corporations, and governments? Will it develop traditional Chinese or foreign models of domestic legal institutions, or will it utilize more “transnational” institutions for economic dispute resolution, including nongovernmental arbitration committees based in China or overseas? The TCP is working with the Baker Institute’s Energy Program and the China Institute for International Studies, Beijing’s premier foreign policy think tank, to plan research workshops on the role of transnational law in the development of China’s crucial energy infrastructure.

Curriculum Support: Web Technologies and 21st-Century Classrooms

Transnational China Project scholars are at the forefront of using Rice’s considerable resources in classroom technologies to advance the study of Chinese culture. Working with Megan Wilde and Lisa Spiro of Fondren Library’s Electronic Text Center and GIS/Data Center, TCP codirector Richard Smith has created an internet-based interactive map of the world as seen through the eyes of 18th-century Chinese cartographers. This unique map is now

used as a resource in classrooms around the world and can be accessed at <http://www.rice.edu/Fondren/ETC/jingban/>. The TCP is also using Web technologies to create experimental “transnational classrooms.”

One project will allow students from Rice and TCP-network universities in the United States, China, Hong Kong, and Australia to form research groups to interpret and analyze the new media of consumerism in Asian societies from many different disciplinary viewpoints and cultural backgrounds. The core of this project is a Web-based archive of nearly 2,000 images of consumer advertisements collected by the TCP from subways in Beijing, Hong Kong, Kaohsiung, Seoul, Shanghai, Singapore, Taipei, and Tokyo. The TCP is working with Shisha van Horn of Rice’s Classroom and Technology Services to develop this unique archive and make it accessible to students and scholars from around the world. Finally, the TCP continues to serve as a gateway to Chinese-language Web-based resources in Asia. Professor Ping-Hui Liao of Taiwan’s National Tsinghua University has recently created a list of dozens of important Taiwanese cultural studies links for the TCP’s award-winning bilingual website.

Expert Analysis and Commentary: Financial Crisis, National Culture, the Globalization of Chinese Film

The TCP continues to draw on the expertise of scholars at Rice and its network of academic institutions around the world to

explore the many factors shaping Chinese societies and the media of Chinese culture. Rice University president Malcolm Gillis, an economist recently honored by the Korean government for helping it cope with economic problems, has contributed to the TCP’s website an article exploring the origins of the East Asian financial crisis, “Financial Crisis in East Asia: Underlying and Precipitating Factors.” Gillis argues that a combination of domestic and international forces, including the use of a flawed Japanese model of finance and other long-term, underlying sociopolitical and economic factors, caused the problems that continue to plague East Asia’s fundamentally strong economies. The TCP website also contains a collection of articles from *Dushu (Reader)* reflecting some of the most topical debates among Mainland Chinese and foreign intellectuals on nationalism and national culture. *Dushu* has been China’s most prestigious and visible forum for intellectual debate, much like that of the *New York Review of Books* or the *Times Literary Supplement*. Wang Hui, editor of *Dushu*, selected these Chinese-language articles and introduces them. Future commentaries on the website will include the transcript of a roundtable on the globalization of Chinese film, “Contemporary Chinese Cinema in China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong: A Collective Force in the Global Market,” led by Peggy Chiao of the Taiwan Film Center and held at The University of Texas.

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WORKSHOP RECALLS VIOLENCE IN MIDDLE EAST

Today, as the Middle East peace process has all but disintegrated, themes of memory and violence in the region are especially pertinent.

Ussama Makdisi, Rice assistant professor of history, presented that observation at a workshop at Rice March 23–25 that brought together both junior and senior scholars from North America, Europe, and the Middle East for an intensive discussion of this issue and related questions. Makdisi organized the workshop, which marked a collaborative effort between Rice’s School of Humanities and the Baker Institute, cosponsors of the event.

Structured around three interrelated historical themes—World War I and colonialism, civil wars, and the Arab-Israeli conflict—the workshop aimed to question the role of memory in the enactment and resolution of conflict by state actors and subaltern groups in the Middle East and North Africa. The first two days of the workshop consisted of discussions of precirculated papers in five separate panels. Each panel was chaired by or included Rice faculty members from the departments of history, French studies, anthropology, or religious studies. The final day featured a presentation by Edward Djerejian, director of the Baker Institute, who spoke about the possibilities of peace in the Middle East. His remarks were followed by a response from a panelist.

Among the questions raised by the participants: How have memo-

ries of past violence underwritten and how do they continue to underwrite both the enactment and understanding of contemporary conflict? What has been, what should be, and what might be an alternative to the role of the state

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.....

in containing and combating divisive memories?

While no definitive answers were provided, three key points arose that merit further consideration:

(1) To date, state-sponsored attempts at truth and reconciliation in Israel, Lebanon, and Morocco are deeply flawed and are clearly

coercive attempts to fabricate state-sponsored truths at the expense of their victims—be they Palestinians, Lebanese, or Moroccan citizens.

(2) In civil wars, as opposed to state-sponsored terrorism, the modalities of truth and reconciliation would necessarily have to take into account very different forms of accountability. Dealing with the legacy of state terror by unmasking state officials who have tortured citizens is one thing; dealing with a civil war where the state has collapsed, such as in Lebanon, requires a different approach to the question of truth and reconciliation.

(3) In spite of a vast literature on the social construction of memory, discussions have tended to privilege sectarian and communal memory of violence as somehow more “real” than state-sponsored efforts at fostering “national” memory. How can people approach such conflicting truths while nonetheless recognizing the palpable violence enacted against particular social agents? What is the relationship of academic work to other modalities of communal/national history making (hagiography, archaeology, conspiracy theory, etc.), and what is or should be its role in ongoing processes of commemoration and reconciliation?

SCHOOL CHOICE PUTS PARENTS IN THE DRIVER'S SEAT

As parents are given more ability to choose among schools, increasingly affecting enrollments and budgets, schools will be forced to be more responsive. In fact, American parents will become more sophisticated consumers when they have more school choice and more information on which to base their choices, said Carolyn M. Hoxby, one of the nation's preeminent authorities on school choice.

Hoxby, the Morris Kahn Associate Professor of Economics at Harvard University, shared her views in a speech, "Options for School Reform," March 29 at the Baker Institute. A Harvard summa cum laude graduate in economics, Hoxby holds a doctorate in economics from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and has won more than 14 major fellowships and grants.

According to her analysis, there is a crisis in K-12 education in U.S. schools, with per-pupil spending going up, achievement remaining flat, and productivity falling. While the United States spends more per pupil on education, performance remains "pretty mediocre," she noted.

Most educational reform in the United States today is focused on standardized-based accountability, such as the TAAS test administered in Texas. Throughout the nation, most legislatures support

standards for students, albeit "a little less for teachers," according to Hoxby.

Although originally skeptical of standardized testing, Hoxby has since been converted because she has observed that "states that have been doing standardized testing have actually improved faster than states that have not been doing it." What's more, she added, standardized testing is "by far the least expensive school reform in the United States."

But standardized testing is not without fault, she believes, noting that the proficiency of students in American schools "is very low on many things that we might think are basic skills."

Charter schools and school vouchers are providing parents with even more educational choices for their children, although many parents are confused about what the new choices actu-

ally entail, said Hoxby. Oftentimes, charter schools are at a disadvantage when it comes to educating students.

"In many districts, charter schools aren't allowed to compete effectively with public school districts because the district is the grantor of the charter. So a charter school that competes too effectively isn't very popular," Hoxby added.

Certain questions arise, observed Hoxby. One is whether public schools can compete effectively in light of the competition from charter schools and publicly funded vouchers, which typically are geared toward failing schools. Another is whether charter schools and vouchers will take the best students, leaving the remaining public schools with a population of students who have academic troubles and "very unmotivated families."

In the long term, Hoxby predicts, "the metropolitan areas in which public schools have to compete more with one another will have higher achievement and lower per-pupil spending once you control for income of the community and the racial composition of the metropolitan area.

"This suggests that public schools really can respond positively to competition and can have productivity," she concluded.

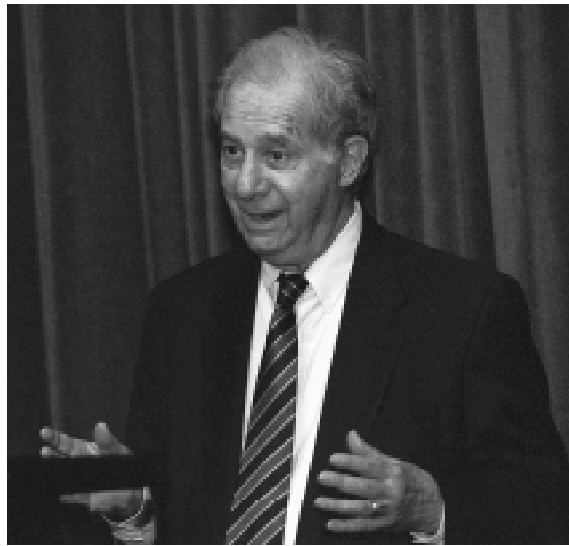


Carolyn Hoxby speaks with Michael Hammond, dean of the Shepherd School of Music and the Elma Schneider Professor of Music at Rice. In the background are (from left) Malcolm Gillis, Rice University president, and Edward Djerejian, director of the Baker Institute.

WEIDENBAUM DISCUSSES U.S. TRADE POLICY DEADLOCK

Trade policy in the U.S. is at a standstill, Murray Weidenbaum told the Baker Institute Roundtable and selected guests May 2.

Speaking on “Breaking the Deadlock in U.S. Trade Policy,” Weidenbaum reviewed how the current deadlock was reached and offered some suggestions for how to bridge the gap between free trade proponents and



Murray Weidenbaum discusses U.S. trade policy.

opponents. Weidenbaum is the Ken Lay-Vinson and Elkins Visiting Scholar in the Jesse H. Jones Graduate School of Management of Rice. He also holds the Mallinckrodt Distinguished University Professorship at Washington University in St. Louis. Besides his distinguished academic record, Weidenbaum has held a number of key policy-making positions in the government, including serving as the chair of President Ronald Reagan’s Council of Economic Advisers.

The unraveling of the post-World War II consensus on free trade has come about through the joint efforts of organized labor and the environmental movement, Weidenbaum explained. Although these groups failed to defeat the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), this issue did forge the alliance between the two groups, and they have had some successes since then; for example, they were a critical factor in denying President

Clinton “fast track” authority. The gap between proponents and opponents of free trade has widened so much that it was not possible for the U.S. Trade Deficit Review Commission (a blue-ribbon commission established by Congress) to write a single unified report.

Weidenbaum reviewed the major criticisms of U.S. trade policy by the new wave of protectionists. He emphasized that in most cases the criticisms are incorrect, exaggerated, or that negative impacts can be reduced or ameliorated.

Weidenbaum presented proposals that he believes can help bridge the gap between the major antagonists in international trade policy making. He offered practical and specific actions in two general areas: ways to increase the benefits of trade policy and ways to reduce the costs of trade policy.

The benefits of trade policy could be increased if the U.S.:

- Adopted a tougher position on trade issues
- Strengthened its efforts to moni-

tor and enforce trade agreements

- Worked harder to get nations to fully enforce current trade agreements
- Reduced its self-inflicted wounds caused by its own export efforts
- Modernized its own trade protection legislation

The costs of trade policy could be reduced if the U.S.:

- Responded more fully to the concerns of people hurt by globalization
- Did a better job of educating and training Americans to become more productive and higher wage members of the nation’s workforce
- Specifically dealt with the challenges of older workers hurt by trade
- Took the lead in developing alternative responses to the demands to directly link labor standards with trade agreements
- Supported trading rules that are environmentally friendly without trying to convert the World Trade Organization into an environmental organization

Weidenbaum said he does not have hopes for a quick breakthrough in U.S. policy on international trade but hopes that some of his suggestions would be adopted to facilitate a feeling of trust or at least a common understanding between proponents and opponents of open trade.

SECURITY ADVISER

continued from page 1

While the NSA serves as a gatherer of facts, “that doesn’t mean you don’t express your own view,” Berger added. “I think the national security adviser has to be the one often who says the president’s wrong. I always felt it was my particular obligation and responsibility to give the president the downsides of a particular step he was about to take.”

Brzezinski noted, however, there’s a time and place for sharing such opinions.

“The president’s always right in public,” he said. “Whenever there’s a group, he’s right, because the national security adviser is helping him.” Brzezinski recalled an incident in which he disagreed with the president’s point of view on an issue but supported it anyway at the National Security Council. “In private, you have the obligation to tell him that he’s wrong,” Brzezinski said.

He said the president *wants* advice and noted that a synergistic relationship develops with the NSA.

According to Berger, the NSA’s principal role is assuring that the president is “well-served in his decision making, that his decisions are executed by the government in some kind of coherent way.”



Wolf Blitzer from CNN moderates the panel discussion on the role of the national security adviser.

Berger pointed out that the NSA is often in a position to facilitate decision making. For example, if the adviser knows the president’s thinking on a particular issue before the president has made a formal decision, and the adviser feels that the president is headed in the right direction, the NSA “can try to tee up a decision for him in a way that does not put him in a box,” said Berger. “You can try to bring the secretary of defense, the secretary of state, and others to what I used to call ‘the highest common denominator.’ If there was not a consensus at a fairly high level, it was better to bring the president

two starkly different points of view.”

Carlucci said, “I think there is a healthy tension between the Department of Defense and the Department of State that, in many instances, the national security adviser has to mediate.”

Goodpaster cited the importance of anticipating problems that might arise and preparing solutions, often using the National Security Council for studies and counsel. “Many times, things came up that had not been anticipated,” Goodpaster said, “and you were likely to receive the ire of Dwight D.

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“I think the national security adviser has to be the one often who says the president’s wrong. I always felt it was my particular obligation and responsibility to give the president the downsides of a particular step he was about to take.”

— Samuel Berger

SECURITY ADVISER

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Eisenhower if he thought they should have been. But he wanted these things thought through.”

McFarlane stressed that neither the NSA nor the National Security Council should become involved in operations; instead, they should restrict themselves to an advisory capacity.

“What the security adviser must guard against,” McFarlane said, “is the frustration a president can experience as someone who is there for four years to get something done, to be able to demonstrate leadership in X or Y area, and the frustration of not seeing that the Department of State or others in his administration are apparently moving in that direction. But that cannot lead the National Security Council or the adviser to go beyond the line and take on an operational role. You simply don’t have the resources, and you don’t have the mandate in law to do that.”

McFarlane said the NSA plays more of a counselor or adviser role “when you’re trying to take

the country in a fundamentally new direction, where you may have concerns or the president may have concerns about a very novel idea being undermined if it is bureaucratized to the point of preemptive destruction.”

The NSA, in effect, serves as the president’s foreign policy chief of staff, Berger said. But Berger added that only under unusual circumstances should the NSA be the principal negotiator or diplomat for foreign matters.

Goodpaster said President Eisenhower wanted the secretary of state to have the major role as the spokesperson for foreign policy, and that tradition has continued.

“I think that it is important for the secretary of state to be the definitive and principal spokesperson below the president,” Berger added. “The breadth of the media tends to pull the national security adviser out more as part of a team of people who goes out, but always with the secretary of state at the lead.”

The six former NSAs agreed that the position of national security adviser should not have

Cabinet status nor have to be confirmed by the U.S. Senate, because the NSA would be obligated to testify before congressional committees, and that would take up a great deal of his or her time. That role of responding to Congress should be left to the Cabinet secretaries and their departments.

“The schedule demands on you are so enormous already that that would be an additional burden,” Brzezinski said.

Carlucci elaborated on that point, recalling his days as secretary of defense when he spent weeks testifying practically every day, morning and afternoon. “If you make the national security adviser subject to Senate confirmation, you’re going to degrade the process significantly,” he said. “I think the president would simply name another staff person to do what the national security adviser does and let this confirmed official run around on the Hill.

Ivo Daalder, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution, served as rapporteur for the forum. Edward Djerejian, director of the Baker Institute, and Lee Hamilton, director of the Wilson Center, led a question-and-answer session between the NSAs and the audience during the second half of the forum.

A two-and-a-half-hour video recording of the forum is posted on the Baker Institute’s website, www.bakerinstitute.org.

“President Eisenhower wanted the secretary of state to have the major role as the spokesperson for foreign policy, and that tradition has continued.”

— Andrew Goodpaster

LETTER

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negotiations. Indeed, a major issue between Israelis and Palestinians is the question, Who has the right to be violent? Between occupier and occupied, the Palestinians claim a legitimate right to resort to resistance to end the occupation. The Israelis posit the sovereign right of a state to protect its security and interests by the use of force by the military and police when deemed necessary.

At the same time, Pan-Arab nationalism as a united front against Israel, which was decisively set back by the Desert Storm coalition following Iraq's invasion of Kuwait and the Madrid Peace Conference, is again gaining ground. It is being exploited by Saddam Hussein in an attempt to exacerbate growing anti-United States sentiment in the Arab world to end UN sanctions against Iraq and to pursue his own political ends, including the development of weapons of mass destruction.

Fourth, the desperate economic plight of the Palestinians only worsens the political situation and encourages extremism. The lack of employment, food, water, and basic services is fueling anger and resentment against Israel and the Palestinian Authority itself, which has to contend with pressures from within the Palestinian community for more transparency and

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It is clear at the time of this writing that the immediate task of the Arabs, the Israelis, and the international community on the Israeli-Palestinian front is to reopen the channels of dialogue on security issues, obtain a sustainable cease-fire, reinstate the political dialogue, and restore the prospects for negotiations.

.....

the rooting out of corruption.

These underlying factors should be recognized by decision makers on all sides to help formulate policies that can enhance the success of negotiations. It is clear at the time of this writing that the immediate task of the Arabs, the Israelis, and the international community on the Israeli-Palestinian front is to reopen the channels of dialogue on security issues, obtain a sustainable cease-fire, reinstate the political dialogue, and restore the prospects for negotiations. Further, efforts should be made to reopen the political channels to rekindle negotiations on all tracks. The principled approach of the Madrid Peace Conference should be adhered to as the basic framework of the Arab-Israeli peace process, with reengage-

ment of the multilateral track committees on refugees, water, regional security, environment, and economic development. Had these committees been fully engaged since 1991, they could have had a beneficial impact on the recent bilateral negotiations on key issues such as Palestinian refugees.

The tragic question remains: How many more lives have to be lost and injured before the parties inevitably find their way back to the negotiating table? In the last analysis, as Secretary of State Colin Powell has stated, there is no military solution to this conflict, only a political one.



James A. Baker, III (center left), honorary chair of the Baker Institute, and Time magazine contributor Hugh Sidey share a moment with Rice student ambassadors (from left) Jay Bodas, Jenny Lee, Anna Miller, and Stephen Huey. Baker and Sidey spoke at the Baker Institute January 17 in conjunction with the "Time and the Presidency" traveling photo exhibit that was on display here.

ENERGY POLICY

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"The situation is, by analogy, like traveling in a car with broken shock absorbers at very high speeds, such as 90 miles per hour," the report says. "As long as the pavement on the highway is perfectly smooth, no injury to the driver will result from the poor decision of not spending the money to fix the car. But if the car confronts a large bump or pothole, the injury to the driver could be quite severe." Oil field production capacity limitations today in the Middle East mean that the U.S. can no longer assume that the oil-producing states will provide more oil at will. Moreover, it is not politically desirable for the U.S. to increase its dependence on a few foreign sources.

The task force states that the Bush administration, while not responsible for the current problems, needs to make some hard policy choices to secure the energy future of the United States. A comprehensive energy policy that combines supply/demand restraint and environmental objectives is required, the report concludes.

The Baker Institute/Council on Foreign Relations task force report was promulgated on the eve of the final deliberations of the administration's energy task force headed by Vice President Cheney.

Any viable energy policy will need to cope with the following important and often conflicting foreign policy issues:

- U.S. policy in the Middle East
- U.S. policy toward the

former Soviet Union and China

- The fight against international terrorism
- Environmental policy
- International trade policy, including the U.S. position on the European Union energy charter
- NAFTA
- Foreign aid and credits

In describing the nation's policy choices in creating a national energy policy, the task force report emphasizes a tough bottom line: When it comes to energy, the American people cannot achieve both a painless present and a secure future. The report states that if the current administration "tells it like it is" to the American people, the U.S. would be taking the first step in years toward achieving a much-needed national energy policy.

McALEESE

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undermined efforts at peaceful resolution.”

The core of the Good Friday Agreement, McAleese noted, was the recognition of the multifaceted nature of identity and the vital importance of complex sets of relationships: those within Northern Ireland, within the island of Ireland, and between both islands. The negotiations would not permit changes in the constitutional position of Northern Ireland unless the people clearly wished for such changes.

Today, various institutions are in place to address the needs of the people. In Northern Ireland, for example, nationalists and unionists are working together on an equal basis in the Northern Ireland Executive and Assembly to serve all the people of Northern Ireland. And government ministers from Ireland, north and south, are working together in the North-South Ministerial Council to develop cooperation in areas of practical importance, such as cross-border trade.

McAleese acknowledged that a “one-size-fits-all” template for conflict resolution does not exist because no two conflicts are the same. But the successful resolution of conflict elsewhere can inspire hope for peace.

“Indeed, the European Union, itself built from the ruins of post-war Europe, is one of the greatest examples of how it is possible for old, bitter enemies to come together and forge new relationships built on mutual trust and respect,” she said.

“Our experience has taught us a lot about humankind’s capacity for perpetuating hatred and destruction, bigotry, and revenge, generation after generation in a seemingly endless cycle of tit for tat,” McAleese said. “Because of our experience, we attach a very high value to conflict resolution and to peace, and I congratulate James Baker and his colleagues

are making progress toward peace, step by step.

“We are more conscious than ever of the need to promote and encourage the reconciliation, mutual understanding, and respect, which are so essential to consolidating peace,” McAleese said. “There is no greater prize, no more difficult task, and no greater satisfaction than to begin

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*“Just as we in Ireland owe much to the
patient and ever-present support of the
United States in assisting our peace process, we
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.....

here on the important work you are doing in this area.

“Just as we in Ireland owe much to the patient and ever-present support of the United States in assisting our peace process, we in turn are aware of our own role and responsibility in sowing the seeds of peace elsewhere in the world where ethnic conflict prevails,” McAleese said.

All parties involved in the Good Friday Agreement continue to work to ensure its implementation. Sometimes the parties disagree on interpretation and points of emphasis, but they

to heal the wounds of history and the scars of intolerance.”

Rice president Malcolm Gillis presented welcoming remarks to the audience of approximately 400 Rice students, faculty, staff and other guests of the Baker Institute attending the lecture by McAleese, who was introduced by the 61st secretary of state and Baker Institute honorary chair, James A. Baker, III.

RELIGION

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George W. Bush. In Tennessee and Arkansas, states won by Bill Clinton in 1996, conservative Christians were crucial to Bush's victory; had Gore won either state, he would have won the election.

Martin reported that for two years prior to the elections, American Muslim leaders had urged their fellow religionists to participate actively in electoral politics and to vote as a bloc for the candidate endorsed by the American Muslim Political Coordinating Council. Bush eventually received that endorsement. Available evidence indicates that Muslims gave Bush at least a 20,000-vote majority of their votes in Florida—far more than enough to put the state in the Republican column.

While acknowledging that the view of America as "two nations" involved in a "culture war" has some validity, several speakers noted that Americans are not as deeply divided as these terms imply. Wilcox observed that Christian conservatives may see more of their agenda if the Bush administration is able to reshape the judiciary along more conservative lines, and Reichley suggested that Bush has "a real chance to assemble a durable majority and usher in an extended period of national reunion."

The second program, held March 1 and titled "Religion in the Political Realm: What Is the Appropriate Role?" featured Conant (Connie) Marshner, a key figure in the political mobilization of conservative Christians; Tony Campolo, professor of sociology at

Eastern College and noted evangelical speaker; and the Rev. Barry Lynn, executive director of Americans United for the Separation of Church and State.

Marshner stressed that the founding fathers clearly believed that a free and self-governing people must be virtuous and that religion is an indispensable support for virtue. She pointed to scores of public initiatives for social improvement that have received widespread and sustained support from people working from religious conviction. She also cited voluminous social science literature documenting observable benefits of religious belief and practice and decried a political climate in which religion is an "ally that dares not speak its name." Given the demonstrable benefits of religion, Marshner concluded, it is unconscionable to deny it a role in the formation of public policy.

Campolo agreed that religion produces many positive benefits but cautioned against overlooking its potential for harm. "Religion is a mixed bag," he said. "There is no question but that religion has contributed mightily to good works, to social reform, to social progress, to a host of wonderful causes. We would also have to admit that religion has been allied on the other side of those causes." Campolo contended that religion functions most effectively when it is free of entanglement with government, that it will accomplish more good when it speaks not with power but with an authority derived from treating people with sacrificial love.

.....

Campolo agreed that religion produces many positive benefits but cautioned against overlooking its potential for harm. "Religion is a mixed bag," he said. "There is no question but that religion has contributed mightily to good works, to social reform, to social progress, to a host of wonderful causes. We would also have to admit that religion has been allied on the other side of those causes."

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RELIGION

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Lynn, a ubiquitous advocate for church-state separation, offered 10 civil commandments to guide the interaction of religion and politics. Among the commandments were the following: As required by the Constitution, there should be no religious test for public office; politicians should not seek to help citizens be religious; politicians need reasons beyond scripture and religious conviction as a basis for public policy; churches should refrain from advocacy on behalf of political candidates; and churches should not accept government funding for their ministries.

The third program, “Faith-based Organizations and the Provision of Social Services,” was held April 3 and featured Marvin Olasky, professor of journalism at The University of Texas at Austin, senior fellow of the Acton Institute, and a leading advocate of cooperation between government and faith-based organizations; Mark Pelavin, associate director of the Religious Action Center of Reform Judaism; and Samantha Smoot, executive director of The Texas Freedom Network. Olasky, a leading proponent of “compassionate conservatism,” contended that government can legitimately aid religious organizations without violating the Constitution, but he warned that government oversight that may accompany funding can undercut the essential mission of such organizations and vitiate their ability to perform even the explicitly secular aspects of their operations. He spoke in favor of tax credits for money donated directly to groups

that help the poor and said government function could be limited to eligibility certification and assessment of effectiveness using objective criteria. Olasky stressed that reputable organizations of all faiths, not just Jewish or Christian, should be eligible for such assistance.

Pelavin also stressed the dangers of government oversight and warned that religious organizations could easily succumb to the temptation to alter the direction of their programs to attract government funding. He noted that having religious groups compete for available funding could lead to “sectarian wrangling” that could destroy the peaceful atmosphere long fostered by nongovernmental interference with religion.

Smoot, whose organization has monitored organizations funded under federal and state “charitable choice” provisions, bolstered the concerns voiced by Pelavin and noted that in Texas, few faith-based organizations have actually sought government funding, precisely because they do not wish to be subject to governmental interference with their programs. She also noted that exempting faith-based organizations from the kinds of regulations placed on other social service providers would be risky, given the kinds of abuse and neglect charges that have been lodged repeatedly against such institutions as the Roloff Homes for children and the lack of professional qualifications and procedures in drug treatment programs such as Teen Challenge. Such problems, she concluded, cannot be eliminated: “You can’t take care of taxpayers’ money and guarantee the rights

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and autonomy of church groups at the same time.”

These programs in the Harry and Hazel Chavanne Lecture Series on Religion and American Public Policy are available as a webcast on the Baker Institute website, www.bakerinstitute.org. The text of the presentations and discussion will eventually be made available. Harry Chavanne is a former Rice trustee who was instrumental in building the Department of Religious Studies at Rice.

This series will resume in the fall, presenting programs dealing with issues pertaining to religion and education, evolution and creationism, and the influence of Christian conservatives on American policy in the Middle East.

WHITE HOUSE

continued from page 6

Most appointees have to answer background-check questionnaires from various divisions of government, and often the same questions show up. To eliminate the inconvenience of providing duplicate information on multiple forms, the White House 2001 Project also developed software for nomination forms that can be filled out online.

"This should help avoid wasting time, make the information more easily accessible, and speed up the review process for new appointees," Sullivan said.

Because of the large number of positions that have to be filled, the new presidential administration is not likely to be fully staffed until the middle of its second year of office, according to Sullivan. But with the information the project has compiled, at least

many of those new workers will know what to expect of their jobs and be better prepared to take on their new responsibilities.

"Our interviewees said it would have been nice to read about how to do their jobs before the actual job responsibility hit them," Sullivan said. "Without the introductory material and job guidelines, it was like trying to sip water from a fire hose."

In the days between the November election and the inauguration on January 20, a new president needs to form a White House team, designate 14 Cabinet secretaries, prepare the inaugural address and an agenda for the nation, and send to Congress a budget exceeding \$1 trillion. Because of the delay in determining the new president this past election, George W. Bush lost a significant portion of the standard transition time.

Sullivan hopes the information

from the White House 2001 Project will help minimize the impact of that lost time.

"Early planning is associated with an effective first year in office," he said. "In a setting where those coming into office can anticipate vacant offices and empty desk drawers, their planning must be completed and their decision-making processes must be in place well before they enter the White House."

The White House 2001 Project was funded by a grant from the Pew Charitable Trusts and support from the Baker Institute of Rice. George Edwards III from Texas A&M University and James Pfiffner from George Mason University assisted Sullivan and Kumar, who was project director.

For more information about the project, visit the website at <http://whitehouse2001.org>.

GEOPOLITICS

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national Studies. He stressed the importance of "geographic imagination." Geographic visions of the world vary from country to country, and these visions play a critical role in what people say and do. Unfortunately, the role of geography in understanding the world has only now recovered from the stigma attached to it by the geopolitical scholars of Nazi Germany. Their misuse of geography caused many scholars to turn away from it as a way of understanding important regional and global problems. To illustrate the importance of geography, Nijman presented three

challenges to the U.S. geographic imagination in the post-Cold War world.

The first is the question of where Europe ends. From 1919 to 1939, Western Europe was next to Central Europe, which in turn was next to the Soviet Union. In 1946, Central Europe "evaporated," and Europe was viewed as Eastern Europe and Western Europe. But since the 1990s, the former Central Europe has been considered part of Western Europe.

The second challenge comes from the new American way of war, which places a premium on high-tech war from the skies. Although this has made some military operations easier, if the goal is

to protect or defend territory, can this be done from the air or does it still require a presence on the ground?

Finally, the debate on national missile defense, which plays out in terms of technological questions and costs, raises other important challenges for the U.S. Does it mark the resurgence of isolationism in the United States? Should any plan for missile defense be extended to include America's allies?

The full webcast of this panel is available on the Baker Institute website, www.bakerinstitute.org. This program was underwritten by The Shell Oil Company Foundation.

KOREA

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change because they failed to recognize the importance and difficulty of institution building,” Chae said. Abolishing an old system is not the same thing as establishing a new system. In fact, abolishing an old system without a viable alternative can lead to a prolonged period of deterioration of the social and economic conditions. North Korea has a great potential for development, especially with a tradition of emphasizing education and hard work. “I wish North Korea would proceed with full steam to realize this potential,” Chae said.

Commenting on the economic status of North Korea, Li noted the

DPRK had to overcome many difficulties recently. It has been difficult because there have been negative changes in foreign relations and natural disasters. The fall of Communism in the former Soviet Union and other eastern European nations has resulted in the disappearance of a socialist market. Since 1995, every year has brought a drought or flooding, causing a shortage of food and other economic difficulties. “We are proud of having overcome these challenges and having opened up a bright future for further development,” Li said. “The main secret is the wise leadership of Kim Jung-il and the heroic struggle of the people united closely under his leadership.” Li

predicted that the DPRK will emerge as a strong nation with strong economic, political, and military power.

Regarding the unification of North and South Korea, Li said the June 15, 2000, summit opened up a new phase not seen in the Korean history since the country’s division. At present, the first and foremost task is to work closely together in carrying out the June 15th joint declaration. North and South Koreans and Koreans living abroad should be closely united. It is necessary to seek U.S. help in ushering in the unification, but Korea should not rely on outside forces, according to Li.

CHINA PROJECT

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Public Lectures and Community Outreach: The Asian American Diaspora, Film, Dance, and U.S.–China Relations

The Transnational China Project also continues to serve as a highly visible pathway between academia and community, introducing the public to the study of Chinese culture. The TCP sponsored “Writing and Filmmaking in the Asian American Diaspora,” a roundtable discussion at the Baker Institute about identity, writing, and filmmaking in the Asian American diaspora, with Russell Leong, poet, writer, and filmmaker from UCLA; Greg Pak, independent filmmaker from New York; and Chiu-Mi Lai

from the Rice Center for the Study of Languages. Participants presented their own works and discussed with the audience the many ways that poetry, literature, and film define individual and group identity in diasporic ethnic communities. The TCP also continued to sponsor the very popular “Dance Salad,” a distinctly transnational collection of dancers from Asia, the Americas, and Europe. This year’s performance at the Wortham Center in Houston featured a solo dance by Xing Liang of the Guangdong Modern Dance Company. Finally, the TCP cosponsored a lecture on U.S.–China relations with the Asia Society of Texas, “An Update: Issues Confronting the Bush Administration,” by Douglas Paal, president of the Asia Pacific Policy Center.

Reports, transcripts, audio

files, and extensive image archives from workshops and public lectures can be found on the project’s bilingual website, <http://www.ruf.rice.edu/~tnchina>. The website continues to receive awards and acclaim and was recently listed as an important resource in Chinese cultural studies by the Asia Society, Middlebury College’s Center for Education Technology, and the Australian government’s Educational Network of Australia.

The Transnational China Project is generously supported by Ford Motor Co. and Price-waterhouseCoopers, and it is directed by Steven Lewis, senior researcher at the Baker Institute; Benjamin Lee, professor of anthropology; and Richard Smith, the George and Nancy Rupp Professor of Humanities and professor of history.

CAVANAUGH DISCUSSES U.S. POLICY TOWARD CASPIAN REGION

U.S. Ambassador Carey Cavanaugh, special negotiator Nagorno-Karabakh and new independent states regional conflicts, visited the Baker Institute February 28 to discuss conflict resolution in the Caucasus, the region between the Black and Caspian seas, with industry guests and Rice University researchers.

Cavanaugh told the group that progress has been made to bring together Armenia and Azerbaijan for discussions about a settlement to the prolonged territorial dispute between the two countries. The U.S. has been heartened in its mission to promote peaceful resolution of the conflict by recent Russian government initiatives to cooperate in the process.

Conflict resolution in the Caucasus has recently received high-level attention in Washington, D.C., because of the promise for concrete movement and compromise between involved parties. Despite the obstacles, Cavanaugh expressed guarded optimism that progress could be made in the coming months.

Resolution of the conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan is also considered important to promote the economies and political stability in the region as well as to ensure the free flow of oil and gas from the Caucasus and Central Asia. The Baker Institute has been involved in conflict resolution work on this issue.

Baker Institute Report

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