



# BAKER INSTITUTE REPORT

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

## SHEIKHA MOZAH OF QATAR DISCUSSES WOMEN'S AND HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES IN MIDDLE EAST



*Her Highness Sheikha Mozah bint Nasser Al Missned delivers the keynote address on the need to “deframe” the debate on women’s issues in the Middle East and instead focus on how to guarantee human rights across the board.*

Her Highness Sheikha Mozah bint Nasser Al Missned of the State of Qatar delivered the keynote address at the Baker Institute on the eve of the inaugural conference of the Kelly Day Endowment on the Status of Women and Human Rights in the Middle East.

The event represented the first conference supported by the Kelly Day Endowment at the Baker Institute and the formal inauguration of this important research program. Support for the confer-

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## PROMINENT HISTORIAN BRINKLEY JOINS INSTITUTE

The Baker Institute welcomes Douglas Brinkley, the prominent presidential historian and editor of the recent best seller, “The Reagan Diaries,” as its newest fellow on July 1. Brinkley also will be joining the Rice University faculty this fall.

James A. Baker, III, honorary chair of the institute, said that Brinkley brings much to the table. “As one of the country’s foremost historians, Doug Brinkley possesses a remarkable ability to intelligently tackle a broad range of topics, from Ronald Reagan to Jack

Kerouac to Hurricane Katrina. He is a star among the historians from his generation. I am thankful and proud that he has agreed to join Rice University and the James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy. I have known Doug for a number of years and am certain that this association will benefit our school, our city, our state and our nation.”

In May, Brinkley met with members of the newly formed National War Powers Commission, co-chaired by former U.S. Secretaries of State James A. Baker, III, and

Warren Christopher, and provided testimony on the historian’s concept of war powers throughout history. He will continue his work as the official historian for CBS News.

While at the Baker Institute, Brinkley said, he plans to finish editing a three-volume box set of the diaries of President Ronald Reagan.

Brinkley has a joint appointment between the department of history and the Baker Institute. His particular area of expertise,

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## LETTER FROM THE DIRECTOR

After a very active academic year which concluded with the Baker Institute hosting President Bill Clinton at Rice University and engaging world energy leaders in Houston, Washington, D.C., and Dubai at conferences on the changing role of national oil companies, we are looking forward to our future programs.

The institute will organize several important events and conferences in Houston and abroad in the coming months, as it extends its public policy collaborations with other institutions, expands its research programs, and welcomes new fellows.

This summer, we will hold another session of our Israeli–Palestinian workshop in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv.

In September I will lead a Baker Institute delegation to Tokyo, Japan, where our energy and Asian studies fellows will hold an inaugural meeting at the Institute of Energy Economics, Japan (IEEJ), for a new study, “The Global Energy Market: Comprehensive Strategies to Meet Geopolitical and Financial Risks, the G8, Energy Security, and Global Climate Issues.” The Baker Institute–IEEJ study is the latest collaboration in an ongoing joint venture with prominent Japanese think tanks. It will analyze critical geopolitical and financial trends in world energy markets in a policy report to be released ahead of the 2008 G8 Summit in Hokkaido, Japan.

Later in September, the Baker Institute and the Shanghai Institute of International Relations (SIIS) will hold in Beijing the third annual research workshop on foreign policy and energy security relations of the United States, China, and the Middle East. James A. Baker, III, will deliver a keynote address. The institute will present the Energy Forum’s research results on national oil companies and implications for Sino–American–Middle East energy security. These workshops, which alternate between Beijing, Shanghai and Houston, have produced an exchange of research by fellows and scholars from Baker Institute programs, faculty from Rice, and scholars from other policy research institutes in China.

On September 25, the Baker Institute has invited Jeb Bush, the 43rd governor of Florida, to deliver the inaugural lecture of the Robert A. Mosbacher Global Issues Series. He will be addressing U.S.–Latin American trade issues.

The Baker Institute will host on October 4–7 the Americas Project Fellows Reunion, marking the 10th anniversary of this joint effort of the Organization of American States and the institute. The event, “Building Opportunities and Managing Challenges in the Americas,” will reunite past fellows and emphasize the constructive role for civil society in fostering democratic practices.

In its first program on this subject, the Baker Institute will host on November 9–11 a “Workshop on Current Nuclear Proliferation Issues.” The institute will assemble the world’s leading experts on nuclear proliferation to increase understanding of these complex and critical issues and work toward practical public policy recommendations.

I am happy to welcome two new fellows to the institute, Douglas Brinkley, the prominent historian, and José Antonio Ocampo, the former United Nations under-secretary-general for economic and social affairs. Douglas Brinkley commands a national audience and his views on public policy are widely sought. He will contribute to the work of the institute in important ways. José Antonio Ocampo brings to the institute expertise on international financial and monetary issues, economic development, international trade, and Colombian and Latin American economic history. He will be a valuable asset as the institute continues to expand its public policy initiatives involving Latin America.

In addition to these new appointments and programs, we are preparing to inaugurate our state-of-the-art conference center this year which will enhance the institute’s capabilities for our new communications and media outreach initiatives.

Edward P. Djerejian

# SPACE MEDICINE SUMMIT GATHERS WORLD EXPERTS FROM SPACE-FARING NATIONS

The inaugural and unprecedented International Space Medicine Summit was held at the Baker Institute May 4–6, 2007. Leading space biomedical scientists, physicians and researchers from the space-faring nations of the world gathered for high-level discussions on the medical and biomedical challenges astronauts and cosmonauts experience in long-duration space flight.

The primary goals of the participants were to foster increased communication, cooperation and collaboration among the world's top physicians and scientists in the space life sciences in order to facilitate successful human space exploration by promoting solutions that protect the health and wellbeing of the flight crews before, during, and after long-duration missions in space and to enhance life on earth by applying the resultant advances in human knowledge and technology acquired through living and working in space.

Invitations to the summit were extended to nations that have flown humans and/or conducted biomedical research in space. Astronauts, cosmonauts and leading experts from a variety of nations and organizations including Canada, Japan, the European Space Agency (representing 16 European countries), Russia, and the United States participated in the summit. The National Aeronautics and Space



*Summit organizers Bobby Alford, chancellor of Baylor College of Medicine (left) and George Abbey, Baker Institute senior fellow and former head of the Johnson Space Center (far right). Pictured with Patricia Reiff, professor and director of the Rice Space Institute (center).*

Administration, the Astronaut and Cosmonaut Corps, and the National Space Biomedical Research Institute were also well represented at the summit, which was jointly sponsored by the Baker Institute and Baylor College of Medicine.

In assessing the success of the summit, Inessa Kozlovskaya, one of the senior Russian representatives, expressed the sentiments of virtually all the participants when she stated, "The idea to provide a free and broad discussion of specialists on [an] international level was great, but to tell you truly, all of us doubted that it could be fulfilled and fulfilled so successfully. ... I hope that this event will lay a base for future international discussions on the way to make

preparations for exploratory space flights." The comments from a Canadian participant reinforced Kozlovskaya's observations: "To gather many of the world's leading experts has achieved a large step in promoting communication and fostering collaboration that will be vital to the fulfillment of future objectives for human space exploration."

A second summit is being planned for next year with the intention of ensuring the participation of China and India.

# BAKER INSTITUTE STUDIES RISING U.S. GAS PRICES

Energy Forum fellows Amy Myers Jaffe and Kenneth Medlock have launched a new public education series as part of their advisory role to the American Automobile Association (AAA) in which they are helping the motor club fashion a voice for the American motorist in the U.S. energy policy debate.

To help AAA in its efforts to become a more valuable resource to its members, Jaffe and Medlock are beginning the series – which will focus on the subject of U.S. energy policy – with an article titled, “You, Your Car and U.S. Energy Policy: What You Need To Know,” scheduled to run this autumn in AAA member publications, which reach 28 million households.

Jaffe and Medlock raise the question, “How can we reduce our dependence on imported oil?” and elaborate on key facts U.S. motorists should know in contemplating President Bush’s proposed solutions to what he has called Americans’ “addiction” and the remedies suggested by other presidential candidates, energy experts and local politicians.

“The issues surrounding gasoline supply, use patterns and reliability are actually quite complex,” noted Medlock, who is a key researcher on the study. “So chances are if an advocate or politician has an easy answer, there’s probably a catch.”

“President Bush has ... suggested that we need to reduce our

gasoline demand by 20 percent by 2017,” the article notes. “This will prove difficult given the fact that the government predicts that about 97 percent of the increase in American oil use between now and 2030 will come from the transportation sector.”

The direct influence that the price of gasoline has on household activities makes it the most widely covered petroleum product price in the American media.

Americans love their mobility. They own more than 242 million road vehicles, close to a vehicle for every person in the country. They travel more than 12,000 miles per vehicle per year, and virtually all vehicles are powered by oil-based fuels. Thus, to the extent that people are captive to automobiles for their transportation, they will have limited ability to switch away from gasoline use during periods of supply shortages and price spikes. In economics terms, this is called “price inelasticity,” that is, in the short term, gasoline demand is unresponsive to price changes.

The Baker Institute Energy Forum is studying factors that influence retail gasoline prices in the United States and investigating whether the supply situation could worsen with time. The study will cover the impact of the consistent rise in U.S. consumer demand on price stability and look at possible constructive and realistic policy interventions, should U.S. refinery expansions continue to fail to

## GASOLINE FAQs

*Is the United States still the largest market in the world for road vehicle use?*

Yes, there are about 250 million vehicles on the road in the United States, close to a vehicle for every person in the country.

*Is the number of cars in the United States continuing to rise?*

Yes, there were 138 million registered privately owned automobiles and trucks in 1975. By 2005, that number had risen to 247 million.

*What does the large number of U.S. cars mean in terms of fuel use?*

The United States’ road petroleum use represents 33 percent of all road petroleum use globally, twice as high in percentage terms as all of Europe where use represents 17 percent.

*Have the CAFE standards introduced in the Energy Policy and Conservation Act of 1975 been effective?*

CAFE standards have been phased in since 1978. They called for a standard of 18 miles per gallon (mpg) for passenger cars model year 1978, which was to rise to 27.5 mpg by the mid-1980s. Improvements in fuel efficiency, also catalyzed by demands for lighter vehicles, have resulted in considerable fuel savings. In fact, current U.S. gasoline consumption would have been about 33 percent higher than it is now absent those improvements, meaning efficiency has acted as a virtual source of supply.

For more answers, see page 25.

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# INSTITUTE DISCUSSES INTEGRATED TECHNOLOGY SOLUTIONS TO ADVANCE GLOBAL HEALTH

To address how science and technology can be used to transfer health technologies and cures to developing countries, the Science and Technology Policy Program, in conjunction with Rice University's Beyond Traditional Borders Initiative, sponsored the first annual Global Health Design Challenge Symposium titled "Integrated Technology Solutions to Advance Global Health," a two-day conference held April 17–18, 2007, at the Baker Institute. The goal of the event was to highlight the need for new, innovative technology that can be adapted in some of the poorest regions of the world to combat the growing epidemic of infectious disease.

"Every year, nearly 10 million children in developing countries die before they turn five; about

two-thirds of those deaths could be prevented with technologies that are feasible for low-income countries," said Rebecca Richards-Kortum, chair of the bioengineering department at Rice University and co-organizer of the event. "But transferring the benefits of research requires a new way of thinking – one that incorporates technology as well as public policy and management of health care delivery."

The research paradigm has always been to develop new health care technologies that can be marketed and sold to large hospitals at considerable profits. The symposium title "Integrated Technology Solutions to Advance Global Health" was chosen to highlight the need for technologies for developing countries where indi-

viduals are living on less than \$1 a day. Many infectious diseases that have preventions and treatments in the developed world, such as tuberculosis, malaria, and HIV/AIDS, are epidemics in areas where the individuals do not have access and cannot afford them.

The symposium convened more than 150 scientists, economists, policy scholars, and ethicists to discuss the challenges in global health and how technologies can address them. Discussions centered around six broad categories critical to all global health initiatives: ethics of research in developing countries, policy implications, international collaboration, impact of HIV/AIDS, development of new point-of-care diagnostics, and the potential of new drugs and vaccines in developing countries.

Roger Glass, director of the Fogarty International Center and associate director for International Research at the National Institutes of Health (NIH), gave the opening address. He discussed the political effects of improved global health, as well as the accomplishments of collaborative initiatives. Although much of his presentation covered these topics in the context of his past research on rotavirus, a type of virus that leads to gastrointestinal illness, Glass also discussed tuberculosis, HIV/AIDS and tobacco use.

While significantly more diffi-



*Roger Glass, director of the Fogarty International Center and associate director for International Research at the National Institutes of Health, discusses the political effects of improved global health, as well as the accomplishments of collaborative initiatives.*

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# INAUGURAL CONFERENCE STUDIES WOMEN IN THE MIDDLE EAST: A CONTEMPORARY ASSESSMENT

“Women in the Middle East: A Contemporary Assessment,” the inaugural conference of the Kelly Day Endowment on the Status of Women and Human Rights in the Middle East, was held May 21 at the Baker Institute. The conference explored the complex and often contentious issues surrounding the status of women in the Middle East, including women’s education, legal rights, health, and political participation. It brought together noted experts from academia, the media, the private sector, and governmental and nongovernmental institutions to address the issues in these areas that are most critical to undertaking fundamental policy change.

In his opening remarks, Ambassador Edward P. Djerejian referred to the themes laid out by Her Highness Sheikha Mozah bint Nasser Al Missned in her address the previous evening, calling for a “deframing of women’s issues” (see article, page 1). Djerejian discussed the daunting challenges facing not only women but all the people of the Middle East, and he stressed the need to address specific challenges: to identify women’s needs – “not what we want for them, but what they want”; to recognize that “Islam is a great and compassionate religion rich and resilient to encompass the equality of women”; and to seek common ground between modernizers and traditionalists.

“What we must avoid at all



*Members of the Advisory Board of the Endowment on the Status of Women and Human Rights in the Middle East listen to a panel discussion at the inaugural conference. From left to right: Paula Douglass, Ghada Irani, Kelly Day and Susan Baker.*

cost is casting the advancement of women as a struggle between Western values and Islam,” said Djerejian. “Such a conception is false as a matter of fact. It plays directly into the hands of demagogues. And it can do great damage to the cause of women in the Middle East.”

Laila Badawi-Moussa, special representative of the League of Arab States, also delivered opening remarks. She said the two most significant events in the Middle East were the achievement of independence from European powers and the construction of a post-colonial identity. Yet in this identity formation, the progress of Arab women was burdened by social and historical baggage. She explained that tension exists between tradition and modernity, since women’s liberation, in the

minds of many people, means Westernization, and thus, societies are suspicious of modernity’s relation to the empowerment of women.

Still, she concluded that in the 21st century, “No culture can remain discrete. ... We become interested in each other. ... The key to a peaceful existence is understanding beyond one’s own trajectory of thinking. ... When differences are respected, similarity is found.”

Kelly Day, in whose honor the endowment was named, described in an opening address the powerful feeling of commonality she felt in first experiencing the Middle East, noting, “We are all women, we are all mothers, we are all workers.” Day told the audience that the mission statement of the endowment supports women and

all humanity in the Middle East, and that she hopes this mission will guide others to respect the rights of people and to listen, educate, learn and stop stereotyping. “Until we talk, we cannot have peace,” she said, emphasizing that it was necessary to engage with each other and the rest of the world to achieve this goal.

The first two panels of the conference, on education and empowerment and government and legal reform, highlighted problems facing women in the region, recognizing the need for women to voice their demands. Isobel Coleman, senior fellow for U.S. foreign policy at the Council on Foreign Relations, discussed religion and women’s education in the Middle East. Eleanor Doumato, fellow at Brown University’s Watson Institute for International Studies, talked about women’s education and empowerment in Saudi Arabia, and Ruth

Halperin-Kaddari, a senior lecturer at the faculty of law of Bar-Ilan University, addressed religion’s impact on women’s rights in Israel and other Middle Eastern countries.

The last two panels, on politics and political activism and the political economy of marriage, sexuality and reproductive health, examined how women are organizing, and how women can demand change. Jean Said Makdisi, an independent writer and researcher, addressed problems in formulating a convincing Arab feminism. Shahla Haeri, professor of anthropology and director of women’s studies at Boston University, discussed religion, women and political agency in Iran, and Diane Singerman, associate professor of government at the American University’s school of public affairs, discussed the financial and political predicaments

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*James A. Baker, III, and Kavita Ramdas, president and CEO of the Global Fund for Women, who delivered the luncheon keynote address, at a reception honoring the speakers and panelists prior to the conference.*

KELLY DAY  
ENDOWMENT ON THE  
STATUS OF WOMEN  
AND HUMAN RIGHTS  
IN THE MIDDLE EAST

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*At the reception, from left to right: Elora Shehabuddin, conference chair and assistant professor of humanities and political science, Center for the Study of Women, Gender and Sexuality, Rice University; Jean Said Makdisi, independent writer and researcher; and Ussama Makdisi, Arab-American Educational Foundation Associate Professor of Arab Studies, history department, Rice.*



# INTERNATIONAL, EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL AFFAIRS PANEL DISCUSSES PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

A panel discussion on “International, Educational and Cultural Affairs” hosted by the Baker Institute April 5 offered perspectives from leaders of public policy, higher education, and the U.S. Government. The panel included President David Leebron of Rice University, Assistant Secretary of State Dina Powell, and Ambassador Edward P. Djerejian, director of the Baker Institute. Powell, as head of the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs (ECA) and deputy under secretary of state for public diplomacy and public affairs, has taken a leading role in international educational exchanges and public diplomacy issues.

Powell argued that exchange programs such as the Fulbright Scholarship Program are the most effective tools of diplomatic communication. Under Powell’s leadership, the ECA emphasized a major initiative to establish exchanges with institutes of higher education, including Rice. With the goal of inspiring a generation of “world citizens,” the ECA created the Edward R. Murrow Journalism Exchange and the State/Fortune International Women Leaders Mentoring Partnership. All three panelists stressed that these educational initiatives and scholarships help foster mutual understandings between Americans and the people of other countries.

The panel also discussed a 2003 report produced by a bipartisan



*Panelists President David Leebron of Rice University (left), Assistant Secretary of State Dina Powell (center), and Ambassador Edward P. Djerejian, director of the Baker Institute (right).*

commission chaired by Djerejian, who worked closely with Powell and Karen Hughes, a longtime advisor to President Bush – who is now under secretary of state for public diplomacy and public affairs – to make recommendations on the administration’s policies and public diplomacy toward the Muslim world. “The Public Diplomacy Commission Report 2003” reinstated public diplomacy as a national security priority and also inspired the Rapid Response Unit, a direct recommendation of the commission. The unit analyzes what is said about the United States worldwide in the media, with a heavy focus on the Middle East. It publishes “myths vs. facts” and a guide on how to effectively respond to foreign commentary

on U.S. policy. These reports are sent to every member of the U.S. government, and thus impact how the United States communicates as a nation.

In Washington, D.C., in June, a farewell reception was held for Powell, who was leaving the State Department for the private sector. Hughes invited Djerejian to speak following remarks by Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice. Djerejian complimented this team of “three influential women in the administration” on translating 80 percent of the Public Diplomacy Commission’s report into government action. “While the challenge remains great, what they’ve succeeded in doing is to make much more effective our organizational and institutional capabilities in public diplomacy,” Djerejian said.



# NATIONAL WAR POWERS COMMISSION TO PRODUCE BIPARTISAN REPORT

The Baker Institute is one of five partnering institutions for the newly formed National War Powers Commission. Professor Allen Matusow, associate director of academic affairs at the Baker Institute, represented the institute at the commission. The commission first convened in early 2007 and is co-chaired by former U.S. Secretaries of State James A. Baker, III, and Warren Christopher. The Miller Center of Public Affairs at the University of Virginia organized and sponsors the commission, which receives no taxpayer money and is not dependent on federal appropriations.

The principal goal of the commission is to produce a bipartisan report making recommendations to the office of the U.S. president and the Congress. It is comprised of 10 members with vast experience in academia, government, military affairs, and the judiciary. They will examine how the U.S. Constitution allocates the powers of beginning, conducting and ending war. The “how” and “when” to commit troops to combat is one of the government’s most important decisions. However, presidents, members of Congress, and proponents of each branch of the government’s respective powers often

disagree about the process of war. David Leebron, president of Rice University, serves as an ex-officio member of the commission.

The commission’s aim is for the report to make a positive contribution to the public debate on the proper exercise of war powers, to educate the public about these crucially important issues, and to promote greater agreement and a more productive working relationship among the branches of government. The report will be made public to members of government, scholars and the media.

# TRIAL NEEDLE EXCHANGE PROGRAM SIGNED INTO TEXAS LAW

With the help of William Martin, Chavanne Senior Fellow for Religion and Public Policy at the Baker Institute, legislation that could pave the way to legalize needle exchange programs (NEPs) in Texas – which has the fourth-highest rate of HIV/AIDS in the country – was signed into law by Texas Gov. Rick Perry in June. The legislation allows for a trial program to be conducted in San Antonio, where there is a significant population of injecting drug users and most officials strongly favor NEPs. Since most needle exchange programs have consistently shown positive results

in terms of reducing the spread of blood-borne diseases, Martin, who oversees the institute’s drug policy program, is hopeful the San Antonio experiment will pave the way for full legalization in the 2009 legislative session.

Despite the high rate of HIV/AIDS, costing hundreds of millions of dollars in Medicaid funds alone, Texas has been the lone holdout in refusing to legalize NEPs, although undercover efforts, usually known to and approved of by local officials, exist in several of the state’s largest cities. One such underground program is the Bexar Harm

Reduction Coalition, which was recently legitimized by the Texas Legislature. In 2003, Bill Day co-founded the program with Curt Harrell, the co-chair of the HIV Prevention Community Planning Group for South Texas. He credits Martin with helping generate more interest in NEPs.

To draw attention to the need for legalization, Martin helped organize a conference in April 2002 at the Baker Institute, “Moving Beyond the War on Drugs.” Tracey Hayes, director of the American Civil Liberties Union Access Project, had just

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# GREGORIAN: ISLAM IS A MOSAIC, NOT A MONOLITH

Vartan Gregorian, the distinguished academic and president of the Carnegie Corporation of New York, urged U.S. policymakers to recognize the indispensable roles that culture, religion and nationalism play in foreign policy, particularly as they relate to the Middle East.

Gregorian, who was born in Tabriz, Iran, and is of Armenian descent, engaged in a dialogue with Baker Institute Director Edward P. Djerejian on “Islam is a Mosaic, Not a Monolith” as part of the Shell Distinguished Lecture Series on April 26. Gregorian commented on a variety of timely issues, ranging from the growing influence of Iran in regional politics to the struggle between nationalism and religion.

Challenging the conventional wisdom of “realpolitik,” which defines international actors as chess pieces who operate with the same strategies and assumptions regardless of their position, Gregorian emphasized the limitations of this model: “Nobody writes about the table on which you play chess. And that is the most important thing. The table is religion, history, nationalism, biases, tribal values, all kinds of values.”

Gregorian encouraged the United States to change its attitude toward other countries and proactively recognize the pride and dignity of all parties involved. “Face saving is the most important thing in foreign policy when you deal with other cultures,” he said. “If you defeat someone, you don’t

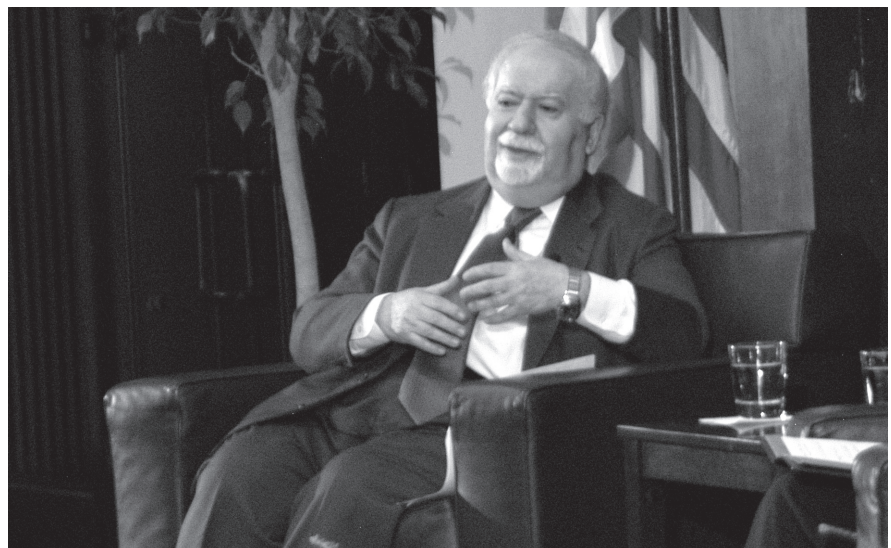
have to advertise.” Gregorian noted that parading another group’s defeat only incites vengeance in the defeated party.

Djerejian referred to the current concerns in the Middle East that Iran’s greatest threat is its influence over Shiite populations in the region, particularly in Iraq and Lebanon, and the possibility of a Shiite axis confronting a Sunni axis under the leadership of Saudi Arabia and Egypt. Gregorian responded by articulating the commonly overlooked importance of nationalism: “Nationalists can trump over religion. We see that all over. ... Religion throughout history has been important, but I have found that in the 19th century and later, nationalism has been *the* force.” Regarding the specific case of the Middle East, he added, “If you start a sectarian war, it will not be contained. It will be a Spain for the region – what Spain was in the

1930s; people will fight proxy wars there.”

Commenting on the current U.S.–Iran conflict over the development of an Iranian nuclear program, Gregorian emphasized “the issue is not peaceful uses of nuclear energy for medical and other purposes. It is whether certain elements of the Iranian government would take the next step and enable and unleash a nuclear weapons program. Our aim is to prevent that possibility.” So long as Iran remains committed to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and its provisions, he said, the United States should welcome a uranium lending and oversight program.

Gregorian concluded by stressing that the United States must foster cultural, historical and social understanding in its population from a young age if the country is to “fulfill its historical responsibility as a superpower.”



*Vartan Gregorian, president of the Carnegie Corporation, discusses issues regarding U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East.*

# PANEL EXAMINES U.S. SEARCH FOR ENERGY SECURITY

The Baker Institute Energy Forum and the American Jewish Committee co-sponsored a May 14 panel discussion, "Searching for Energy Security," to analyze the policies under debate in the United States. Amy Myers Jaffe, Wallace S. Wilson Fellow in Energy Studies at the institute, emphasized that the United States currently consumes roughly 25 percent of global daily energy consumption while our population represents only five percent of the world's citizens. In the past, the country successfully relied on allies and market mechanisms to maintain steady oil prices. Jaffe argued, however, that it is unrealistic to base the provision of adequate energy on entities outside the United States considering factors including uncertainty about future OPEC production increases, environmental concerns and political instability in oil-rich developing nations.

The panelists discussed the complexity of the energy security problem. Richard Sears, vice president of exploration and deepwater technical evaluation at Royal Dutch Shell, stressed the need to be attuned to environmental considerations. Sears stated that infrastructure problems, while they take time to adjust, would ultimately be overcome with technological ingenuity. It is the not-quite-right corn ethanol and hybrid car today that paves the way for future efficient models, he concluded.

Gal Luft, executive director at the Institute for the Analysis of

Global Security, discussed policy options. Luft argued legislators do not understand the different forms of energy and the distinctions among which fuels are used to generate electricity and which fuels are burned for transportation. Since transportation energy is primarily derived from oil, but electricity is powered by many different sources, solutions to the electricity problem are not necessarily solutions to the petroleum problem. Steps to be taken, Luft argued, include encouraging the development of alternative fuel types that are affordable and competitive with gasoline.

Terry Hallmark, director of political risk and policy assessment at IHS, an oil and gas consulting firm, discussed complications the industry faces in global locations. U.S. energy security now hinges on international relations and alternative energy sources. Geopolitical issues outside U.S. control apply pressure on the energy system. Hallmark recommended we diversify the U.S. fuel supply, establish multinational efforts aimed at energy security and improve diplomacy.

The panel concluded there is optimism for the adoption of U.S. energy policies to reduce the country's dependence on foreign oil by diversifying energy supplies through alternative fuels and by conserving energy. However, the public must understand the scope of the problem and that the transition phase will be lengthy.

## ARTICLE PUBLISHED

Amy Myers Jaffe, Wilson Fellow in Energy Studies, and Matthew Chen, research associate, have co-authored "Energy Security: Meeting the Growing Challenge of National Oil Companies," scheduled to appear as the keynote article in the Summer/Fall 2007 issue on "Energy, Markets and Security" of *The Whitehead Journal of Diplomacy and International Relations*, published by Seton Hall University's Whitehead School of Diplomacy.

Jaffe and Chen raise concerns that national oil companies (NOCs) will increasingly pose a strategic challenge to the United States and the global trading system, and that political instability could adversely affect production stability, resulting in a scarcity of energy supplies. They conclude that the United States should tap multinational trade agreements to make NOCs more accountable to global rules and standards while at the same time recognizing that "future oil resources might simply not materialize in the volumes we expect and need." They suggest the United States engage in a broad-based effort to adopt "more efficient transportation technologies or [shift] to non-oil fuels," which would result in "limiting the monopoly power of any imaginable alliance of NOCs but also in ensuring that any shortfall of oil ... can be countered."



## D.C. LEADERSHIP PROGRAM SUPPORTS NINE RICE STUDENTS IN PUBLIC POLICY INTERNSHIPS

This summer, the Baker Institute's Jesse Jones Leadership Center Summer in D.C. Policy Research Internship Program is supporting nine Rice University students as they undertake internships in critical fields in the nation's capital.

The program, now in its fourth year, provides returning undergraduates with financial aid while they work as research interns in a government agency, nongovernmental organization (NGO) or think tank of their choosing, and allows them to participate in a seminar discussing classic and contemporary public policy texts. The students return to Rice to give a presentation and write a report on their research. In addition, this year's program participants will collectively organize a public policy education outreach seminar on campus in the fall semester to encourage more Rice students to enter public service and engage in public policy research work.

A committee of Baker Institute researchers and Rice faculty selected the following participants for summer 2007. To apply for the program, participants had to prepare a cover letter, resume, statement of interest, and have a letter of recommendation from a faculty member. It was the students' responsibility to secure their own internships.

Ashley Allen, a rising senior philosophy major from Arlington, Texas, is conducting research on women's health and reproductive



*This year's interns, from left to right: Mithun Mansinghani, Bhavika Kaul, Sanna Ronkainen, Payton Odom, Emery Gullickson, Apoorva Shah, Ashley Allen, John Kehoe, and Casey Langwith.*

rights at Planned Parenthood. George Sher, professor in the philosophy department, recommended her.

Emery Gullickson is working with Interfaith Drug Policy Initiative, conducting survey research on the views of Washington, D.C.-area clergy regarding needle exchange programs. A rising senior English and sociology major from Houston, Gullickson was recommended by Bridget Gorman, associate professor and undergraduate advisor in the sociology department.

Bhavika Kaul is a rising junior biochemistry and policy studies major from Katy, Texas. She is doing research on the "brain drain" phenomenon in health care and global AIDS policy with

Vishal Patel, a global AIDS fellow at the American Medical Student Association. Neal Lane, senior fellow in science and technology policy at the institute, recommended Kaul, who has done research for that program.

John Kehoe is doing research on U.S. foreign policy toward the Middle East at the Middle East Institute. Gregory Eow, a Ph.D. student in the history department, recommended Kehoe. A rising senior economics major from Austin, Texas, Kehoe has done research on U.S. foreign policy with Joe Barnes, the Bonner Means Baker Fellow at the institute.

Casey Langwith is a rising junior history and sociology major from

*continued on page 23*

# BAKER INSTITUTE STUDENT FORUM SPRING EVENTS

During the spring semester, the Baker Institute Student Forum (BISF) hosted events for Rice University students, faculty and the community that addressed topics including international child health care and nutrition, the current situation in Iraq, freedom of speech, and growing regionalism and polarization of American politics. As BISF planned, organized, and carried out these events, a key aim was to encourage student involvement in public policy by gearing them to address the questions and interests of the Rice student body.

In early April, members of Rice University and the Houston community gathered at the Baker Institute for a panel discussion, "Child Health and Nutrition in the Developing World." This event promoted dialogue on issues of international health policy, children's health and nutrition, and local initiatives involving

medical teams from the Texas Medical Center in Houston. By inviting physicians and public health experts, the BISF strove to increase community dialogue and the understanding of leading causes of worldwide infant mortality.

During Owl Weekend, organized for prospective students, BISF provided future Rice students with a glimpse of the global scope of events and discussions at the Baker Institute by hosting an interactive event, "Iraq Today: Conversations with an Insider." The program allowed for an open dialogue between members of the audience and the keynote speaker, Subhi Khudairi, vice president of the Khudairi Group. The Khudairi Group is focused on many facets of reconstruction in Iraq, including medical infrastructure, power generation, and construction. Khudairi is a former BISF member and graduate of the Jesse H. Jones

Graduate School of Management.

During the semester BISF also facilitated an informal policy discussion concerning whether freedom of speech protects offensive speech in high schools. Additionally, BISF took advantage of the groundbreaking research that occurs on the Rice University campus and invited Earl Black, a professor of political science at Rice, to speak about his new book, "Divided America: The Ferocious Power Struggle in American Politics." Black spoke eloquently to students and community members about the national electoral landscape and the increasingly polarized nature of politics. Black's research focuses on the growing importance of regions in American politics, and he has identified the Midwest as the key battleground region for upcoming elections.

## COLONIAL WILLIAMSBURG'S JEFFERSON AND HENRY DEBATE AT THE INSTITUTE

The Baker Institute hosted a presentation, "Constitutional Principles: Difference in Opinions, Jefferson and Henry," on March 20 that featured two interpreters from the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. The actors, who assumed the roles of Thomas Jefferson and Patrick Henry, both former governors of the Commonwealth of Virginia, discussed the American Revolution. Steven L. Miller, a Baker Institute Advisory Board member and a trustee on the Rice University Board of Trustees, provided welcoming remarks while Colin Campbell, the president of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, introduced the event. Miller, who is a generous supporter of the foundation, helped make the event at the Baker Institute possible.

In the debate, Bill Barker, as Jefferson, and Richard Schumann, as Henry, both of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, discussed their support of the principles on which the Revolution was fought and argued how the American people should engage them. The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation is a nonprofit educational institution that preserves and operates the restored 18th century Revolutionary capital of Virginia as a town-sized living history museum, telling the inspirational stories of the nation's founding men and women.



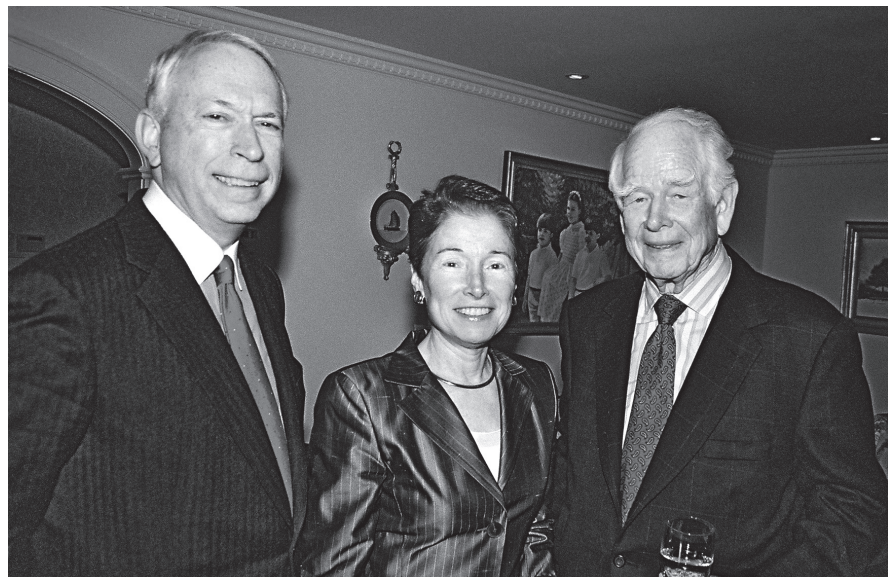
# GREENWICH FORUM EVENT ON THE IRAQ STUDY GROUP: AN INSIDER'S VIEW

The Baker Institute held its spring Greenwich Forum event April 19, 2007. Ambassador Edward P. Djerejian was the keynote speaker for the forum's sixth major discussion. Titled "The Iraq Study Group: An Insider's View," Djerejian's presentation focused on his experience as a senior policy advisor to the Iraq Study Group. He commented on key elements of "The Iraq Study Group Report" that are being adopted as policy by the Bush administration. He emphasized that the report provides the one single bipartisan consensus in our country on the way forward in Iraq and expressed hope that it would be adopted in its major aspects. The audience included prominent decision makers from the public and private sector, as well as members of the Greenwich community interested in the work of the Baker Institute. Established in 2005, the forum is part of a broader initiative to

help increase public awareness of the institute's research initiatives around the nation and the world.

The event was hosted at the home of Michael and Anne Castine. Mr. Castine is a former White House associate of Secretary James A. Baker, III, and an active member in the Greenwich Forum project. Supporters in attendance included Anne and Richard Adler,

Beth and Peter Barhydt, Nancy and Duncan Burke, Bim and Donald Kendall, Ines and John Kingsley, and Debbie Lash and James Lash, the First Selectman of Greenwich. Other attendees included James Barry, James Boutelle, Doug Cliggott, Ted Fine, Kitty and Beck Gilbert, and Rob Searle.



*Clockwise from top right: from left, James Lash, Debbie Lash and Donald Kendall; from left, Duncan and Nancy Burke, and the event's hosts, Michael and Anne Castine; new member Richard Adler engages in the question and answer session.*





## ETHICS, POLITICS, & SOCIETY LECTURE SERIES

Moral philosopher Samuel Scheffler delivered a lecture, “Immigration and the Significance of Culture,” on how immigration inevitably affects both immigrants and the host country. Scheffler’s April 12 talk was part of the Rice University Lecture Series on Ethics, Politics, and Society (EPS) and co-sponsored by the department of philosophy and the dean of humanities, along with the Baker Institute.

Scheffler discussed his own family’s immigrant experiences as fuel for the debate surrounding immigration as a possible threat to a nation’s identity. He also discussed the implications of assimilation or avoiding cultural change, and the

benefits generated from discussing how societies should accommodate new members.

Scheffler described the moral and political conflicts that emerge due to the nature of immigration. “Immigration always involves change,” he stated. “It changes the immigrants and it changes the host country. This means that it cannot be the aim of a reasonable immigration policy to insulate either the host country or the new immigrants against cultural change. To think that we must choose between preserving the national culture of the host country [and] preserving the imported culture of the immigrants is to accept a false dilemma.”

Scheffler discussed the inadequacies in thinking of each individual as having a single, determinant culture, the implication being that immigrant rights cannot be based on such a factor. “Culture is a descriptive, ethnographic category, not a normative one,” he concluded.

Scheffler is a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and professor of philosophy and law at University of California at Berkeley. His first book, “The Rejection of Consequentialism,” was quickly recognized as a fundamental contribution to moral theory.

## HEALTH ECONOMICS: THE COSTS AND VALUE OF NEW MEDICAL TECHNOLOGIES

Vivian Ho, James A. Baker III Institute Chair in Health Economics, spoke May 25 at the San Francisco Federal Reserve Bank’s conference, “The Costs and Value of New Medical Technologies,” on her research regarding learning-by-doing and its impact on the medical field. Sponsored by the bank’s Center for the Study of Innovation and Productivity, four academic experts were invited to discuss the role new medical technologies play in improving health status and how these technologies are related to rising health care costs. The Federal Reserve Bank and

the center recognize that innovation and productivity are important drivers of the U.S. economy. Researchers at the bank, as well as policymakers and researchers from the West Coast, attended the conference.

Ho’s role was to introduce conference attendees to research that has been conducted on learning-by-doing and medical technologies. “There has been a large body of evidence that indicates that hospitals and surgeons that perform complex surgery with greater frequency have lower mortality rates,” she said. “Providers may improve as they perform more operations,

but skeptics claim that associating higher procedure volume and better outcomes merely reflects the ability of high-quality providers to attract more patients.” Ho’s research and that of others shows that in many cases, learning-by-doing is indeed important. Research on learning-by-doing also suggests that higher-volume providers will have lower costs. Ho explained, “Medicare administrators may want to consider lowering their reimbursement for some procedures, which could lead low-volume, low-quality providers to exit the market and raise quality

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# WORKSHOP ON SCIENCE DIPLOMACY, DIGITAL COMMUNICATIONS AND NORTH KOREA

Christopher Bronk, fellow in technology, society and public policy, participated in a workshop to address potential for sharing scientific research using generally accepted methodology between U.S. and North Korean universities. Conducted by the U.S. Civilian Research & Development Foundation (CRDF), the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS), and Syracuse University (SU), the workshop addressed scientific academic collaboration opportunities with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK). Bronk contributed his knowledge on computing policy in discussions regarding the possibility for greater information

exchange with North Korea under the highly restrictive sanctions enacted following the country's nuclear test in October 2006. Citizens of the DPRK have no legal access to media beyond that produced by the country's ministry of information.

Funded by the Richard Lounsbery Foundation, the workshop took place May 22 in Arlington, Virginia. The 50 attendees included representatives from nine U.S. universities, foundations, U.S. government agencies, congressional staff, and nongovernmental organizations. The workshop provided a brief overview of existing U.S.-DPRK scientific cooperation, a summary of current

legal issues associated with scientific cooperation, and a discussion on funding potential future collaborations. It is hoped that with a thawing of relations with the DPRK, academic exchanges may begin, in turn, to foster a greater atmosphere of political and economic openness in that country. Participation in the workshop positions Rice University to eventually host small groups of North Korean academics as visiting scholars.

There exists considerable interest among the DPRK's academic institutions for greater knowledge regarding digital libraries, a topic extensively covered at the Rice University De Lange Conference,

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# STUDENT RESEARCH ON INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY

Two of Baker Institute fellow Christopher Bronk's undergraduate student research assistants received funding to conduct their own projects this summer regarding the role of information technology in addressing policy issues faced by the City of Houston. The projects are sponsored by Rice University's Center for Civic Engagement, which is designed to team up Rice students and faculty with Houston community partners who are both leaders in their area of expertise and committed to enhancing the quality of life in the Houston area. This partnership

allows Rice students to fuse academic knowledge with real-world, problem-solving experience.

Susan Wu, a sophomore economics major from Jones College, will join her community partner, Marc Silverstein, chairman for public health at Methodist Hospital and Bronk, her faculty advisor and the Baker fellow in technology, society and public policy, in investigating the reluctance of private physicians to switch from paper-based medical records to electronic records. Wu was deeply influenced by President Bill Clinton's remarks at Rice this spring regarding the

administrative inefficiency of the U.S. health care system in moving patient data where it is needed and when. Wu will work with Methodist Hospital to survey Houston's small medical practices on the issues they face in migrating from paper to computerized records, from cost to technical complexity and privacy concerns.

Addressing the issue of a "digital divide" regarding Internet connectivity, Kirsten Jones, a junior anthropology major from Sid Richardson college, will work with her community partner,

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# SHEIKHA MOZAH

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ence was also generously provided by the Ghada Irani Discretionary Fund, Baker Botts L.L.P. and ConocoPhillips.

In introducing Her Highness, James A. Baker, III, the 61st Secretary of State, remarked that Sheikha Mozah has played a decisive role in Qatar's reform efforts, spearheading her nation's goals to improve education, to strengthen families, and to protect children. Baker also remarked on her influence beyond Qatar as a UNESCO special envoy and a member of the Alliance of Civilizations.

"In short, ladies and gentlemen, our speaker is a recognized international leader in educational and social development, and she is an acknowledged expert on finding common crucial ground between modern and traditional conceptions of women's roles in the family and in the community."

Speaking on "The 'Woman's Issue' in Context: Deframing the Discourse on Middle Eastern Women," Her Highness urged that the debate no longer be characterized as a battle between secularism and radicalism, and that it be put "in context where the discussion focuses on how we can guarantee human rights across the board."

Her Highness, who is chairperson of the Qatar Foundation for Education, Science and Community Development, a private nonprofit organization founded in 1995, effectively established the framework for discussion at the Baker Institute's May 22 conference, "Women in

the Middle East: A Contemporary Assessment" (see article, page 6). The conference convened leading experts on the advancement of women and human rights to discuss the challenges facing women in the Middle East – and related public policy issues.

"Gross human rights violations are being carried out in the name of security and democracy," Sheikha Mozah said. "So, any discussion about human rights violations in the Middle East needs to start here. And it is within this context that we can discuss women as members of a large

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*"The truth is there is  
nothing in our religion  
to prevent women's  
political participation.*

*Women are excluded for  
the same reasons men  
are excluded."*

– H.H. Sheikha Mozah

---

er community, undergoing tremendous violations of their rights, both by their governments and foreign occupiers, their rights to education, to economic opportunities, to political participation."

In her address, Her Highness explained the urgent need not to reframe but rather "deframe" the context in which women's issues are examined and made the following major point:

"I am appealing to you to con-

textualize the women's issue in the Middle East, by considering new research approaches to the past and present. In order to do this we have to discard the old frames we have used to define the issues. These very frames have been the cause of oppressive misinformation."

In the context of education, Sheikha Mozah noted the misconceived conclusions reached by the most recent Arab Human Development Report. It concluded that the gender gap in education is the result of "discrimination" against women in the region, despite a regional survey reporting that 98.8 percent of men and women agree that women have the same right to education as men.

"We should not merely accept the stereotype that this gap is because of timeless patriarchal traditions, especially when the voices of our people and similar trends in other regions claim this is not so," Sheikha Mozah said. She called for future studies that analyze the real reasons behind gender gaps in education and also highlight deeper issues.

"How can we talk seriously about literacy rate in a region much of which is ravaged by war, corruption and poverty? A region where the education of its citizens is secondary to the protection of its oilfields?"

There are similar misconceptions regarding economic participation. Sheikha Mozah referred to the Middle East's long tradition of female entrepreneurs. While there has been a 19 percent increase in women's share in economic activity since 1990, there are still gender

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# BRINKLEY

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U.S. presidential history, will be the topic of one of the three courses he will teach at Rice, along with a course about the civil rights movement. The third course will be a graduate seminar about the conservationist movement and President Theodore Roosevelt's guiding role.

Brinkley was invited to join the Baker Institute following his departure from New Orleans, where he was professor of history at Tulane University and director of the Theodore Roosevelt Center for American Civilization. Prior to that, he taught history at the University of New Orleans and was director of the Eisenhower Center for American Studies. Brinkley was initially introduced to Rice by President David Leebron, who offered him a workspace in Rice's Fondren Library after he and his family were evacuated to Houston from their home in New Orleans because of Hurricane Katrina.

"David Leebron offered me a place to work and supplied me with computers, recorders and full use of the library," Brinkley said. "It is where I began writing 'The Great Deluge' starting with the recording of the oral histories of Katrina evacuees."

Brinkley explained why Rice and the Baker Institute were a good fit for him, noting the beauty of the Rice campus, the university's top academic ranking, and the Baker Institute's world class scholars in the areas of energy, Middle East studies,



*Douglas Brinkley, the presidential historian and the institute's newest fellow, speaks at the institute in October 2006 about "The Reagan Diaries" prior to its publication.*

economics and public policy. His joint appointment enables him to work in history and public policy, two areas of profound interest to him, while allowing him to stay firmly ensconced in the Gulf Coast region.

Brinkley, a prolific writer, has written or edited more than 30 books and is best known for four biographies: "Dean Acheson: The Cold War Years" (1992); "Driven Patriot: The Life and Times of James Forrestal," with Townsend Hoopes (1992); "The Unfinished Presidency: Jimmy Carter's Journey Beyond the White House" (1998); and "Wheels for the World: Henry Ford, His Company and Century of Progress" (2003). He has two recent additions to that list published in 2006 and 2007: "The Reagan Diaries," which was listed as number one

on *The New York Times* best sellers list for nonfiction, and "The Great Deluge: Hurricane Katrina, New Orleans and the Mississippi Gulf Coast," which won the 2007 Robert F. Kennedy Book Award. Brinkley said that award has special meaning for him because Robert F. Kennedy was a childhood hero of his, and the award is based on works that shed light on human rights and justice.

Brinkley's current projects include writing a book about the conservationist movement and President Theodore Roosevelt, writing a biography of Walter Cronkite, and editing the third volume of letters of journalist Hunter S. Thompson.

# TAX POLICY PROGRAM REPRESENTED IN SWITZERLAND AND U.K.

John Diamond, the Edward A. and Hermena Hancock Kelly Fellow in Tax Policy at the Baker Institute, took part in a weeklong conference for young leaders sponsored by the American–Swiss Foundation. Diamond was one of 25 Americans – along with 25 Swiss – invited to participate in the event, which was held May 19–26 in Switzerland. Participants are nominated by senior leaders from their own country and are between their late 20s and early

40s in age.

The program was launched in 1990 and designed to “serve the long-term interests of the U.S.–Swiss relationship and friendship and create an enduring basis for understanding.” It has brought together more than 700 participants since its inception. Selection of U.S. participants is overseen by former U.S. Ambassador to Switzerland Faith Whittlesey, in consultation with other U.S. leaders.

Separately, George Zodrow, Baker Institute Rice Scholar and a principal contributor to the Tax and Expenditure Policy Program, attended the inaugural conference of the Centre for Business Taxation at Oxford University, June 25–29, addressing issues related to “Corporation Tax: Battling with the Boundaries.” Zodrow was recently appointed international research fellow at the Centre for Business Taxation.

## HEALTH

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cult to prevent and treat than rotavirus, another disease of particular interest at the conference was HIV/AIDS. Anurita Bains, international consultant for HIV/AIDS in Africa, discussed its impact. “When you lose people ... as you do with HIV/AIDS, you start to see the unraveling of society. Life expectancy is 47 years in sub-Saharan Africa when it could have been 64 years without HIV/AIDS,” Bains said. She focused on the disproportionate effect that HIV/AIDS has had on women in Africa. Many of these women’s “vulnerability stems from their pervasive disempowerment. They are unable to say no to sex or negotiate condom use in their relationships,” Bains said. However, a recently conducted study showed that the financial empowerment of women can significantly increase their social status, making them less

vulnerable to domestic violence and HIV/AIDS, and Bains urged a united front to continue advocating gender equality in sub-Saharan Africa.

Following Bains was Mark Kline, president of the Baylor International Pediatric AIDS Initiative. Kline’s presentation focused on barriers to HIV/AIDS treatment and the future of pediatric AIDS treatment programs in Africa.

“The only way to impact these debilitating diseases is to break down barriers that impede collaboration and cooperation between scientists,” said Kirstin Matthews, program manager for the Baker Institute’s Science and Technology Policy Program, who organized the conference with Richards-Kortum and Yvette Mirabel, director of the Beyond Traditional Borders Initiative. “Only by promoting discussions between scientists, ethicists, policymakers and economists can the world move

forward to reach the Millennium Development Goals.”

There are eight Millennium Development Goals, each of which addresses an issue critical to alleviating the problems associated with poorer nations. Many of the goals involve advancements in medical care and public health, both of which are essential for progress in the developing world.

Isaac Adewole, professor of obstetrics and gynecology at the College of Medicine at the University of Ibadan, Nigeria, discussed how biotechnological innovations can be used to combat disease in Nigeria. “There is lack of significant progress of diagnosis and treatment of disease such as TB and communicable diseases worldwide,” Adewole said. “For diseases such as HIV/AIDS, there is limited access to affordable anti-retrovirals, high costs of tests, and lack of vaccines.” Adewole empha-

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# GAS PRICES

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keep pace with demand, increasing American reliance on costly gasoline imports.

The study will also demonstrate what kind of retail gasoline prices to expect at changing levels of crude oil prices based on historical relationships. Initial surveys of historical trends show that a crude oil price of \$100 per barrel would translate to a retail gasoline price of about \$3.60 per gallon. Today's average retail prices of \$2.98 per gallon are in line with historical crude prices of about \$79 per barrel, but as of June 28, crude oil was only trading at around \$70 per barrel. Thus, the current gasoline price is above its historical norm with crude oil. However, analysis shows that departures from the long-run relationship between crude oil and retail gasoline prices take place when there are sudden surges in demand or unexpected disruptions in either domestic production or the ability to import gasoline. In addition, periods of high prices are likely to become more frequent, absent expansions in refinery capacity, as the U.S. market relies increasingly on imports to meet seasonal swings in demand.

"Indications that market prices are already feeling such pressures are here," Medlock said. "In the past few years, neither refinery nor inventory capacity has increased substantially, yet demand has. Thus, the U.S. market has had to increasingly rely on imports, especially during peak summer driving

periods, to serve the buffer supply role that has historically been satisfied by seasonal buildups in inventory and excess refining capacity."

This year, the ability to import gasoline has been severely hampered by a number of refinery problems around the globe. Medlock suggested that another surge in gasoline prices is possible later this summer, especially if supplies are curtailed by the effects of a hurricane, or some other disruptive event.

To bring gasoline markets back into a better supply balance, policymakers have been suggesting ways to either increase supply through bio-based alternatives or to lower demand through conservation, public transportation, or improved automotive technology. "Ultimately the price of gasoline is influenced not only by public policy but also by consumer behavior," Medlock noted.

In this context, the Energy Forum is doing research on determinants of vehicle usage.

A preliminary version of the Baker Institute research paper titled "Vehicle Ownership and Use: Congestion, Transportation Options, and the Demand for Motor Fuel" was presented at the annual meetings of the Mexican Association of Mathematical Economics and Econometrics in Chetumal, Mexico, May 21–25, by Rice professor Ronald Soligo. The paper was co-authored by Medlock and Soligo.

Preliminary results indicate that usage is very responsive to increases in personal income: a 10 percent increase in income

results in an 8.5 percent increase in usage. The research also found that vehicle usage is not very responsive to fuel prices in the short run but is in the long run when owners have had time to adapt by purchasing more fuel-efficient vehicles and altering driving patterns. Finally, usage was found to be highly and negatively correlated with population density, indicating that congestion and the availability of alternative public transport options are important factors determining vehicle use.

Previous work by Medlock and Soligo has shown that energy demand in the transport sector increases proportionately with per capita income. The current project supports that finding and offers some explanation as to the underlying factors. Growth in per capita income affects oil usage both by increasing the number of vehicles on the road and the amount each vehicle is utilized. From a policy perspective, the sensitivity of vehicle usage to fuel prices suggests that growth in world oil demand can be curtailed by modest increases in the price of fuel through taxes as well as by offering alternative transport options.

In addition to the research on vehicle efficiency and usage, John Diamond, the institute's Kelly Fellow in Tax Policy, and Medlock are beginning work on a project that would examine the short- and long-run distributional effects of gasoline taxes.

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# WOMEN

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surrounding youth, marriage, and gendered anxieties in Egypt.

The luncheon keynote address, “Equal to What? A Global Challenge,” was given by Kavita Ramdas, president and chief executive officer of the Global Fund for Women. The speech was also

part of Baker Botts’ “Enterprising Women’s Series.” Ramdas thanked Kelly Day for “pioneering a new kind of leadership in women’s philanthropy.” She said the title of her talk did not simply reflect the struggle for women’s human rights; it reflected concern that just as equality for women cannot be viewed outside of the broader context of the societies

they are part of, it is not enough for women to simply aspire to having the same rights as those that have dominated in traditional leadership roles. Instead of simply demanding a seat at the table of power, be it the UN Security Council or the IMF, she urged emerging leadership in such developing countries as Chile, Liberia and China to have the courage to suggest a new way of organizing the economy and political systems in the world.

“This is also where I believe the lessons from the global women’s movement have so much to offer us,” she said. “Around the globe, women are asking themselves as the Sheikha put it last night, ‘How can we create a world where our femininity is celebrated and not suppressed,’ where our contributions ... are valued and respected? I believe that for the great debates of our time to reach any meaningful conclusions, they must include women’s voices, women’s perspectives.”

Elora Shehabuddin, assistant professor of humanities and political science at Rice University, was the conference chair and responsible for organizing the substantive panels and program.

The conference was generously sponsored by the Kelly Day Endowment, the Ghada Irani Discretionary Fund, Baker Botts L.L.P., and ConocoPhillips.

*Right: speakers on the panel on politics and political activism included, from left to right, Yesim Arat, Bogazici University; Janine Clark, University of Guelph; and Shahla Haeri, Boston University. Below left: speakers Frances Hasso, Oberlin College, and Mary Ann Tétreault, Trinity University. Below right: speakers Afamia Kaddour, Harvard School of Public Health, and Rasha Al-Saeed, Baker Botts L.L.P.*



*Left: the education and empowerment panel, from left to right, included moderator Carol Quillen, vice provost for academic affairs, Rice University; Nadereh Chamlou, the World Bank; Isobel Coleman, Council on Foreign Relations; Eleanor Doumato, Brown University; and Valentine Moghadam, Purdue University.*

## NEEDLES

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started working in syringe access and said she was impressed by the program and inspired by Martin. "Once the Access Project started working and we started creating change in legislation, it became really apparent that Bill Martin was someone we should be working with," Hayes said.

To help the push for NEPs from the legislative side, Martin wrote a paper, "Needle Exchange Programs: Sending the Right Message," in 2005 while the Texas Legislature was in session and testified in support of a bill. The bill failed, but when similar legislation was presented in the 2007 session, Martin wrote "The Damage Done," published in the April issue of

*Texas Monthly*, to bring attention to the measure. The magazine delivered copies to every senator prior to the hearing before the public health committee. Texas media outlets were also alerted to a video briefing of key issues available on the Baker Institute Web site. This time, the bill was approved, and it subsequently passed in the Senate. Though a number of well-qualified scientific and medical personnel, AIDS activists, public health experts, and legislators provided strong support, Martin's *Texas Monthly* articles and his connection with the Baker Institute were repeatedly cited in hearings and floor debates designating him as an authoritative resource. While the bill encountered oppositional politics in the House and was not brought to a vote, the Legislature

did amend the Medicaid reform bill (SB 10), allowing the San Antonio trial program.

Gov. Perry signed the bill into law June 14, 2007, and the program is set to begin September 1, 2007. Day stated that legislative approval of his NEP would benefit the organization, specifically volunteers. "People who volunteered before had medical licenses and they were afraid [they] would get revoked ... they couldn't risk their livelihood," Day said. He believes the trial program will allow those who were previously hesitant to volunteer. Hayes also feels this is a large step forward for NEPs. "We were able to create enough support for syringe access in constituencies in Texas that senators felt confident in making the choice," she said.

## MEDICAL

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for all patients."

Ho also provided data that suggests patient outcomes improve over time due to learning spillovers between providers and advances in medical technologies

that evolve from frequent performance of procedures. During her visit, Ho also had the opportunity to discuss her views about medical decision making with Janet Yellen, president and chief executive officer of the San Francisco Federal Reserve Bank. "We discussed the problems that can result from

physicians making a diagnosis for complex diseases too early without considering all of the facts, and the consequences that can have for patient outcomes."

Ho's paper, "Regionalization Versus Competition in Complex Cancer Surgeries," can be accessed from the Baker Institute Web site.

## SHEIKHA MOZAH

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gaps in economic participation, with education attainments outpacing their economic participation. This problem, however, is not unique to the Gulf or Arab region.

"Again scholars need to stop blaming the economic gender gap in the region on Islam and conduct

both regional and international comparative analyses," Sheikha Mozah said.

"And again we need to learn our own lessons and not measure women's societal contribution only by her workplace participation."

Similarly, Sheikha Mozah said women's political participation must be discussed in the context of the political realities of the region,

where basic political rights are either nonexistent or newly born.

"How can we, in all sincerity, talk about women's political participation in parliaments that are farcical?" she asked.

A webcast and transcript of Her Highness' address can be found on the Baker Institute Web site at <http://bakerinstitute.org/women.cfm>.

## D.C. INTERNS

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Omaha, Nebraska. She is doing research at the Jacobs Institute for Women's Health at George Washington University on women's health, poverty, preconception health care and health insurance. Bridget Gorman, associate professor and undergraduate advisor in the sociology department, recommended Langwith.

Mithun Mansinghani is doing research on U.S. social welfare policy with Douglas Besharov, scholar in social welfare studies at the American Enterprise Institute. Paul Brace, professor and chair of legal studies in the political science department, recommended Mansinghani. A rising senior political science and policy studies major from McAllen, Texas, Mansinghani has done research for the Baker Institute's Transnational China Project.

Payton Odom is a rising junior mathematical economics and political science major from McKinney, Texas. He is doing research on economic development policy with a focus on Latin America at the Inter-American Foundation. Odom, who has done research for the institute's tax policy program, was recommended by John Diamond, the institute's Edward A. and Hermena Hancock Fellow in Tax Policy.

Sanna Ronkainen is a rising senior biochemistry and cell biology major from Annandale, Virginia. Rachel Winer, adjunct professor in the psychology department, recommended her. She is doing research on diabetes and Medicare policy at the American Diabetes Association.

Apoorva Shah is doing research on private sector international and community development, with a focus on Latin America, with Mauro de Lorenzo, resident fellow at the American Enterprise

Institute. A rising senior Hispanic studies and policy studies major from Sugar Land, Texas, he was recommended by Kellie Sims-Butler from Rice's Office of Scholarships and Fellowships.

Applications for the summer in D.C. internship program are due at the end of each January. The program is led by Steven Lewis, fellow in Asian studies at the institute, and professor of the practice in humanities at Rice. It is sponsored by a grant from the Houston Endowment, Inc. Additional support has been provided by the Honorable Anne L. Armstrong and Mr. Tobin Armstrong; the Eason-Weinmann Foundation; the Honorable Kenneth Franzheim, II; the Honorable Roy M. Huffington; the Mattel Foundation; Mr. and Mrs. Steven L. Miller; the Honorable Edward N. Ney; and the Honorable Peter F. Secchia.

## SCIENCE

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"Emerging Libraries," earlier this year. Currently no significant connection exists to the Internet in North Korea. Regarding U.S. concerns over the potential danger of scientific exchanges with North Korea, Norman Neureiter, director of the AAAS Center for Science, Technology, and Security Policy in Washington, D.C., and one of the first U.S. science attachés to Eastern Europe, said, "Repressive governments characteristically try to prevent their people from hav-

ing contacts with Americans, but those contacts are to our advantage because the contagion of freedom and democracy is dangerous for totalitarian societies, not the other way around."

A report was distributed from the proceeds of the CRDF meeting in June, and CRDF and AAAS staff will be briefing the North Korean Mission to the United Nations, the State Department and Congress. Although the Six-Party Talks regarding North Korea's nuclear arms may most optimistically be summarized, in the words of one high-level congressional

staffer, as "two steps forward, one step back," there exists optimism replicating engagement conducted with academics in the Soviet elite as the USSR broadened its dialogue to the West in the 1970s. In a recent speech at the Heritage Foundation, Jay Lefkowitz, special envoy for human rights in North Korea, offered a note of hope regarding the possibility regarding exchanges, stating, "Today's exchange participants, even if they come from the ranks of the elite, may well serve as tomorrow's reformers."



## STUDENTS

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Technology for All, and her faculty advisor, Chris Kelty, assistant professor of anthropology, to examine how free Internet access impacts the lives of residents in the east Houston neighborhood of Pecan Park. Established by a group of Rice electrical and computer engineers in 2002, the Rice University

- Technology for All wireless mesh computer network provides Internet connectivity to low-income neighborhoods in southeast Houston. Conceived as a technical research project in low-cost wireless networking spearheaded by Edward Knightly, a Rice professor of electrical and computer engineering, the program has evolved to attract interest of social scientists assessing the impact of no-user-cost Internet

connectivity in a predominantly Hispanic neighborhood with a high school dropout rate in excess of 50 percent. Jones' report will be submitted to Mayor Bill White, who directs a project to deliver wireless broadband Internet connectivity across Houston.

Both students will produce research papers that will be posted for public review via the Internet.

## HEALTH

*continued from page 19*

sized the need for technology that is "simple, rapid and relatively inexpensive."

The importance of collaboration was emphasized by Gerald McElvy, deputy manager of public affairs for Exxon Mobil Corporation and president of the ExxonMobil Foundation, who delivered the keynote address.

The ExxonMobil Foundation donates more than \$130 million dollars to charitable causes every year, of which nearly \$60 million is directed internationally. The foundation has set up initiatives to combat malaria and HIV/AIDS, the biggest health crises facing sub-Saharan Africa today, and which together claim in excess of 3 million lives annually. "No one government or institution can solve the project alone.

Partnerships are key to breaking the disease," McElvy said.

The conference and the Beyond Traditional Borders Initiative were made possible by a grant to Rice University from the Howard Hughes Medical Institute through the undergraduate Science Education Program.

## CHINESE UNIVERSITIES SEND DELEGATION TO RICE

A delegation of presidents and other senior administrators representing more than 20 Chinese universities met with Baker Institute Director Edward P. Djerejian and Secretary James A. Baker, III, honorary chair of the institute, to discuss how a think tank fits within a larger university structure and how fundraising works for such an institution.

Djerejian emphasized to the delegation that the cornerstone of managing a respected think tank is maintaining the intellectual

integrity of the organization. He stated it is essential to produce research that is honest and to remain committed to unbiased analysis, and he reiterated that there is no circumstance in which the organization should alter its conclusions to satisfy the particular interests of a donor, a government or another party.

The meeting was part of a larger, two-week visit to Rice University, during which the Chinese delegation discussed with various Rice leaders the intricacies

of their respective positions and how they contribute to the university. The delegation sought to understand how a small institution such as Rice could "rise through the ranks" and become one of the country's top 20 universities, according to the university's office of the president. They noted that the Baker Institute is one unique piece to that puzzle because it allows students to gain early exposure to the world's leading policymakers and better understand the dynamics of public policy.

# GAS FAQs

*continued from page 4*

*What are the current CAFE standards?*

Current U.S. CAFE standards were aimed to have all new passenger cars get an average of 27.5 mpg and new light trucks (including sport utility vehicles or SUVs) get an average of 22.2 mpg for model year 2007. The standard for new light trucks has only recently been increased from 20.7 mpg, while the standard for passenger cars has been constant since 1990. Compliance by manufacturers is based on a sales-weighted average of all fuel economies in a given manufacturer's fleet of vehicles.

*What is the actual fuel efficiency of vehicles on the road, and why is it different?*

According to the Federal Highway Administration, U.S. on-road efficiency is only 17.3 mpg, with passenger cars averaging 22.6 mpg and SUVs, pickups and vans averaging 16.8 mpg. The disparities between the CAFE mandates and the actual on-road efficiencies arise for several reasons. One, CAFE standards apply to new vehicles with older vehicles produced under a different set of mandates. It takes, on average, about eight to 10 years before a motor vehicle is retired from use, meaning many older, less fuel-efficient vehicles are still on the road. Also, consumer driving habits can create differences between actual fuel efficiency and the EPA reported ("window sticker") fuel efficiency. Importantly, the lower standard for SUVs coupled with relatively low gasoline

prices through the 1990s resulted in an explosion of SUVs in the on-road vehicle fleet, rising from only 15 percent of all passenger vehicles on the road in 1975 to roughly 40 percent today. This has actually led to a slight decline in the overall on-road fuel efficiency for passenger vehicles in the United States.

*How much oil could we save by tightening the existing U.S. CAFE standards?*

The average U.S. on-road efficiency for all vehicles in 2006 was 17.3 mpg. Improving this by 1 additional mpg per vehicle would save close to 600,000 barrels a day in American crude oil imports. Additional efficiency gains per gallon would save even more oil, but the savings diminish as better mileage performance tends to promote increases in driving distance.

*Given the fact that people don't buy a new car every year, how long would it take before higher CAFE standards translate into a higher average U.S. on-road efficiency?*

Fuel savings from improved mileage standards is a slow process because vehicle turnover is slow, with 75 percent of all cars remaining in circulation at least 10 years. Thus, it will take over a decade before higher standards become a reality in terms of the total U.S. car fleet.

*Can we achieve U.S. energy independence through tighter CAFE standards?*

U.S. crude oil imports were more than 12 million barrels per day last year. Given that we consumed just under this amount in 2005 for road transportation, it would be impos-

sible to raise efficiency enough to eliminate oil imports through car mileage standards alone.

*Is achieving U.S. energy independence plausible?*

Eliminating 12 million barrels a day of oil imports from our daily lives is not plausible. In fact, talk of energy independence is ridiculous and may not even be a worthwhile goal. For example, if achieving energy independence means relying on very high-cost forms of energy when suitable low-cost sources of supply are available internationally, then economic well-being and consumer welfare could be compromised by favoring self-sufficiency over free trade.

*What about achieving U.S. energy independence through an aggressive ethanol program?*

This is highly unlikely. The amount of motor fuel that would have to be produced to eliminate imports in the United States is considerably higher than what is currently produced. U.S. ethanol production was 316,000 barrels a day in 2006, up from 255,000 barrels a day in 2005. To achieve "overnight" oil independence by replacing gasoline with ethanol, we would need to produce approximately 10 times the amount of biofuels being produced worldwide today.

To get the answers to even more questions, please visit the Baker Institute Web site.

# BAKER INSTITUTE IN THE NEWS

*Compiled using Dateline Rice, these are highlighted interviews given by the Baker Institute fellows between March 9, 2007 and June 13, 2007.*

## Edward Djerejian

- May 30, 2007: Interviewed by NPR regarding recent bilateral discussions between U.S. and Iranian diplomats.
- May 30, 2007: Quoted in the *Houston Chronicle* about Arab reaction to talks between Washington and Iran over the situation in Iraq. (This story also ran in *Forbes*, *Guardian Unlimited*, *International Herald Tribune*, *Jerusalem Post* and other publications.)
- May 22, 2007: Interviewed by Al-Jazeera TV about the Bush administration's response to the recommendations of the Iraq Study Group.
- May 16, 2007: Interviewed by Al-Jazeera TV about prospects for peace negotiations in the Middle East.
- April 9, 2007: Interviewed by *Harper's Magazine* about Syria.

## George Abbey

- May 1, 2007: Quoted by *New Scientist* in a story on reports that NASA snubbed a proposal from Russia to conduct joint moon activities.

## Douglas Brinkley, Ph.D.

- May 30, 2007: Described the process of editing Ronald Reagan's White House diaries

from five handwritten volumes to a one-volume book during an interview from the Ronald Reagan Presidential Library, available at BookTV.org.

## Erika de la Garza

- May 8, 2007: Quoted by the *Effingham Daily News* in a story about economics in Mexico.

## Vivian Ho, Ph.D.

- May 4, 2007: Quoted by *Scientific American* in a story on a survey of existing studies on the outcomes of various medical procedures in both the United States and Canada.

## Amy Myers Jaffe

- May 29, 2007: Quoted by *The Washington Post* in a story about Iran's economic problems. (This story also ran in *Business Week*, *Newsday*, *Houston Chronicle*, *Cleveland Plain Dealer* and other publications.)
- May 18, 2007: Quoted by *Business Week* in a story regarding Exxon Mobil's risk-averse stock-buyback strategy.
- May 14, 2007: Research mentioned in a *New York Times* story about Iraq's oil law.
- May 1, 2007: Quoted by *The Wall Street Journal* in a story on how Hugo Chavez moves to reshape oil ties.
- March 15, 2007: Quoted by *Time Magazine* in a story on Halliburton's corporate move to Dubai.

- March 9, 2007: Quoted by *The New York Times* in a story on the difficulty Pemex is having keeping up with the rising demand for energy in Mexico.

## Neal Lane, Ph.D.

- April 23, 2007: Quoted by the *Star Tribune* in a story about the United States losing its lead in high-energy physics.
- April 20, 2007: Gave a lecture titled "Confessions of a President's Science Adviser – No Good Deed Goes Unpunished" at Pennsylvania State University.

## William Martin, Ph.D.

- May 16, 2007: Quoted in *The New York Times* and the *Chicago Tribune* about the legacy of Jerry Falwell.
- March 19, 2007: Quoted in *The Boston Globe* in a story about the Christian right.

## Ken Medlock, Ph.D.

- March 19, 2007: Quoted by *Arab Finance* in a story about Halliburton moving its corporate headquarters to Dubai.



# BAKER INSTITUTE FELLOWS, SCHOLARS, AND PROGRAM PERSONNEL

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# NEW PUBLICATIONS

*To download the complete text of these publications and others, please visit our Web site at <http://bakerinstitute.org> and look under Publications.*

**“Remarks by James A. Baker, III,  
at the University of Pennsylvania  
Commencement”**

Transcript  
May 2007

**“The ‘Women’s Issue’ in Context:  
Deframing the Discourse on  
Middle Eastern Women”**

Transcript  
May 2007  
HH Sheikha Mozah bint Nasser Al  
Missned (The State of Qatar)

**“Social Capital, Barriers to  
Production and Capital Shares;  
Implications for the Importance  
of Parameter Heterogeneity  
from a Nonstationary Panel  
Approach”**

Research Paper  
May 2007  
Peter Pedroni, Ph.D. (Baker  
Institute)

**“Innovation by Policy: A Study of  
the Electronic Passport”**

Research Paper  
May 2007  
Christopher Bronk, Ph.D. (Baker  
Institute)

**“Consumption-Based Direct Taxes:  
A Guided Tour of  
the Amusement Park”**

Research Paper  
July 2007  
Charles E. McClure, Jr., Ph.D.  
(Stanford Universtiy) and  
George Zodrow, Ph.D. (Baker  
Institute/Rice University)



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