

WORLD POLICY NEWS

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From the Director

Stephen Schlesinger

The World Policy Institute looks back at 2003 with immense pride on a number of singular accomplishments. First, we have just celebrated the 20th anniversary of our magazine, *The World Policy Journal*—a remarkable run for a publication on international affairs supported solely by an Institute rather than an endowment. Our latest issue, the Fall 2003 edition, includes a piece by a former editor of the *Journal*, Sherle Schwenninger, entitled “Revamping American Grand Strategy,” which is our first contribution so far to the grand debate over the direction of American foreign policy during the 2004 presidential election.

Our WPI programs are thriving. The Cuba Education Project just completed a conference in Miami in September keynoted by former Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev calling for a reexamination of our entire policy toward Cuba, which attracted considerable media attention. Meantime, Senior Fellow Mustapha Tlili has received a second round of grants from the MacArthur, Rockefeller and Carnegie foundations to hold conferences on Islamic-American relations in Amman, Jordan, next March 2004 and next summer in Malaysia. Finally Senior Fellow Nina Khrushcheva has gotten a renewal of her Carnegie grant for a study of Russia’s present political and social conditions.

Our other Senior Fellows over the last six months have contributed an extraordinary number of op-ed pieces, research studies, lectures and books influencing the debate on the American

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Project Updates

Cuba Education Project

Cuba Project Expands as Momentum Toward New Cuba Policy Grows

By Lissa Weinmann, Director

The World Policy Institute’s Cuba Education Project hosted former U.S.S.R. President Mikhail Gorbachev as the guest speaker at its second annual National Summit on Cuba, which was held in Miami on October 4, 2003. The Institute convened an array of the most prominent Cuban-American groups and leaders who increasingly back a new approach to Cuba that would begin with steps toward diplomatic and economic engagement with the island nation.

Harkening back to Ronald Reagan’s 1985 call for him to tear down the Berlin Wall, President Gorbachev called upon President Bush to “tear down the wall of embargo which stands between

the American and Cuban people.”

President Gorbachev joined an impressive roster of 28 speakers for the daylong conference at The Biltmore Hotel that examined the changing dynamics of US-Cuba policy and explored potential new policy approaches. A panel on “Perspectives from the New Generation of Cuban-Americans” provided a remarkable glimpse into the desire for change and difficulties of breaking with a painful past described by five Miami Cuban-American professionals in their 20s.

Supporters of the embargo staged their own conference at the same venue, bringing in Bush Assistant Secretary of State Roger Noriega to reiterate the Administration’s commitment to the 43-year unilateral economic and political embargo toward Cuba.

At a panel on national security, former NATO Supreme Allied Commander General Jack Sheehan

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Former U.S.S.R. President Mikhail Gorbachev

Dialogues: U.S. the West

Dialogues Began the Academic Year with a Vigorous Program of Activities.

On September 12, Dialogues, in cooperation with Americans for Informed Democracy (AID) hosted a town hall entitled “Hope Not Hate: Promoting American Security Through Global Understanding.” The event was part of a nationwide program in commemoration of September 11th; simultaneous forums were held at venues including George Washington University’s Elliot School of International Affairs in Washington D.C. The New York event presented a panel, moderated by Director Mustapha Tlili, consisting of Ambassador Javad Zarif of Iran, representing the 52 member state Organization of the Islamic Conference, former Ambassador William Luers, former Ambassador Richard Murphy, and Ms. Susan Sachs, reporter for *The New York Times*. “Hope Not Hate” drew a full house and enthusiastic participation from the audience, which expressed a positive attitude about finding common ground with the Islamic societies in the post-9/11 world.

On October 2, Dialogues sponsored a panel discussion on the topic, “Can the United Nations Survive?” Again moderated by Dialogues Director Mustapha Tlili, the panel included Michael J. Glennon, Professor of International Law, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University; Ambassador Kishore Mahbubani,

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From left to right, Swedish UN Envoy, Pierre Schori, Professor Michael Glennon, Mustapha Tlili, Singapore UN Envoy Kishore Mahbubani, and UN Official Edward Mortimer

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political scene. In early November Senior Fellow David Rieff wrote a cover story for the *New York Times Magazine* on Iraq called "Blueprint for a Mess." In late October, Senior Fellow Ian Bremmer penned a column for the *Financial Times* entitled "Democracy is Not Putin's Priority." I did a commentary for the *LA Times* in September titled "More Than Ever, We Need the U.N." Senior Fellow Michelle Wucker did one on immigration for the *American Prospect*, which appeared last summer. Senior Fellow Bill Hartung, who runs our Arms Trade Project, had several pieces this year in the *Nation Magazine* on arms related topics. And Jeff Madrick continues his regular monthly column in the business section of the *New York Times* entitled "Economic Scene." This is, in addition, to the nine books published by our Senior Fellows or staff members of the

WPI over the past 12 months, including my own book, *Act of Creation: The Founding of the United Nations*, which came out in September, 2003.

Meantime our panel discussions are growing by leaps and bounds. This Fall the turnouts for our forums have averaged almost 200 people – an exceptional number by New School standards. We have attracted high-level speakers, ranging from former White House aide Sidney Blumenthal to Harper's Editor, Lewis Lapham, to the UN Ambassador from Singapore, Kishore Mahbubani (mentioned as a possible successor to Kofi Annan), author Walter Russell Mead, and Lawrence Korb, a former Reagan defense official turned Pentagon skeptic, and many others.

All in all this has been an excellent year for the World Policy Institute.

World Policy Institute Panel Discussions, Winter/Spring 2004

February 12

Will Foreign Policy Matter in the November Election?

February 19

Will the U.S. Embargo on Cuba Ever End?

March 4

Is Africa in Decline or in Revival?

March 11

Does Religion Influence Globalization?

March 25

The Conundrum of North Korea

April 8

Terrorism Forever?

April 15

A Grand Strategy for America in the World

April 29

Russia's Present Condition

All panel discussions will be held from 6:00 to 7:30 p.m. in Swayduck Auditorium, ground floor of 65 Fifth Avenue (corner of 14th Street).

Admission is free. Visit www.dialnsa.edu for live webcasts.

RSVP 212-229-5808, ext. 101 to reserve seating or **E-mail: dover@newschool.edu**. If you need special accommodations, please call at least five days in advance.

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Permanent Representative of Singapore to the United Nations; Ambassador Pierre Schori, Permanent Representative of Sweden to the United Nations; and Edward Mortimer, Director of Communications and Head of Speech-writing Unit, Executive Office of the Secretary-General of the United Nations. As at our town hall, the audience more than filled New School University's Swayduck Auditorium. Participants eagerly debated what impact America's unprecedented power status and the war in Iraq would have on the UN and, in particular, the Security Council.

Dialogues is also pleased to announce the launch of our website at www.islamuswest.org. The site features information about our program, its objectives, and its activities, (including the full text of the report of last fall's conference in Granada) as well as biographical information on all of our Advisory Board members and staff. We encourage you to visit us online.

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warned of political manipulation of national security in reference to the reiteration of allegations by the Bush Administration that Cuba had the means to produce biological weapons. Former Assistant Secretary of State William Rogers described US aid to Cuban political dissidents as a 'poison chalice' that has ultimately destroyed their credibility and effectiveness.

Elected officials and other leaders from the state of Florida discussed their views on how a change in policy could impact their state. Hillsborough County Commissioner, from the Tampa area, Pat Frank, described the economic boom she could foresee that renewed trade with Cuba could entail for her constituents. Florida has been the number one beneficiary since food cash sales to Cuba were allowed by Congress in 2000. To date, \$500 million in such sales have occurred nationwide.

Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International also both presented findings as to how they believe more US engagement with Cuba, starting with opening up US travel to the island, could work to spur needed political reforms and

New Fellow

Dr. Alan Wolfe, former Dean of the Graduate Faculty at the New School from 1991-1993, has been appointed as the latest Senior Fellow at the World Policy Institute. Dr. Wolfe is professor of political science and Director for the Boisi Center For Religion and American Public Life at Boston College. His background and experience brings a perspective currently missing to the WPI, namely, the analysis of international affairs from the theological point of view. In addition, he brings extensive connections with Europe, where he lectures regularly. He has written widely on global affairs - most recently contributing an essay to the book published by the Council on Foreign Relations, "How Did This Happen? Terrorism and the New War," edited by *Foreign Affairs Magazine* editor, James Hoge. Finally, he is a well-known commentator, often quoted in the *New York Times*. He is currently a contributing editor to *The New Republic* and the *Wilson Quarterly*. He has also written or edited 13 books.

openness on the island.

Summit media coverage was substantial, including the ABC evening news broadcasts, many regional papers, all Florida papers, The Associated Press and Reuters news services. The National Summit sparked lively debate on Spanish language radio in Miami, providing an open discussion for the local Cuban-Americans dissatisfied with current policy. Gorbachev made waves with an op-ed entitled "The Last Wall" that ran same day as the Summit (Oct. 4) in *The Washington Post*, which placed the US - Cuba conflict in the "unfinished business" of the Cold War.

Two weeks after the Summit, the US Senate voted to repeal restrictions on American's ability to travel to Cuba as part of a \$90 billion Treasury and Transportation Appropriations bill which at press time the Administration has vowed to veto.

The Cuba Project is producing a short video and a Compendium of Commentary on the Florida Summit which will be available on the WPI website. The Project will likely lead to a third National Summit on Cuba in 2004, this time to take place in New York.

Let legal immigrants vote in city

By Ron Hayduk and Michele Wucker

The City Council is set to hold hearings next month on a minority report from the Charter Revision Commission recommending that the city's nearly 1 million adult legal immigrants be allowed to vote in municipal elections even though they are not yet citizens. Noncitizen voting in local elections is not just an idea whose time has come; it is one whose time has returned.

"Whoever intends to live in a country must wish that country well, and has a natural right of assisting in the preservation of it," Thomas Jefferson wrote in 1776. America's Founding Fathers rightly believed that allowing newcomers to vote while awaiting citizenship was a natural way to encourage them to build a stake in our democracy.

The practice affirmed the hallowed principle of the American Revolution: no taxation without representation.

For the first 150 years of U.S. history, noncitizens voted and held public office: alderman, coroner, school board member. Yet this sensible pol-

icy fell casualty to the anti-immigrant backlash and wartime hysteria of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. To limit the power of a rapidly growing working-class electorate, politicians devised literacy tests and poll taxes and ended noncitizens' right to vote.

These restrictive measures helped lead to today's dismal voter participation rates. The civil rights movement did away with poll taxes and literacy tests, yet left part of its work undone. An alarmingly large part of the population remains disenfranchised.

Today, some 12 million legal permanent residents in America work, pay taxes, send their children to school, serve in the military and even die defending this country.

In New York alone, legal immigrants contribute 15.5% of the state's tax income, according to the Urban Institute. Yet most cannot vote on issues that they fund, that affect their daily lives.

Because of government red tape and a long backlog, immigrants must wait an average of 10 years (up from eight years in 1960) to become citizens. The result is that new generations of immigrants are growing up without ever seeing their parents vote - and are learning by example.

The Constitution ensures that local

noncitizen voting is not a substitute for citizenship; immigrants must naturalize before they can hold federal jobs or elect the President. Allowing legal immigrants the local vote is, however, an ideal way to prepare them for the responsibilities of citizenship.

Since the early 1990s, several communities in Maryland and Massachusetts have embraced noncitizen voting. Similar initiatives have sprung up in Los Angeles, San Francisco and the District of Columbia.

New York, home of the Statue of Liberty and Ellis Island, symbolizes America's past, present and future as an immigrant nation. How appropriate it would be to affirm this leadership role by restoring noncitizen voting in municipal elections, a policy that would reinforce our founding principles and update our democracy for global times.

Hayduk teaches political science at Borough of Manhattan Community College and Wucker is a senior fellow at the World Policy Institute.

[Published on September 22, 2003 in the *New York Daily News*]

Book News



WPI Director Stephen Schlesinger's book, *Act of the Creation: The Founding of the United Nations*, was published by Westview Press

in September 2003. It is the first account of the dramatic unfolding of how, against seemingly hopeless odds at the end of World War II, the most important international organization in the world, the United Nations, came into being.



Bill Hartung's forthcoming book, *How Much Are You Making on the War Daddy? — A Quick and Dirty Guide to War Profiteering in the*

Bush Administration will be published by Nation Books/Avalon group, January 2004.

WPI in the News

Eric Alterman was named a senior nonresident fellow of the Center for American Progress. He will publish *The Book on Bush: How George W (Mis)Leads America* (Viking) in January 2004 with co-author, Mark Green, and *When Presidents Lie: Deception and Its Consequences* (Viking) in September. In addition to his Nation media column, "Stop the Presses," and his MSNBC.com weblog, "Altercation," (www.altercation.msnb.com), Eric is teaching opinion writing at the Columbia School of Journalism as an adjunct professor Fall, 2003.

Ian Bremmer published "The Art of the Bluff," *The National Interest*, Issue 73, Fall 2003. He wrote "Politics (Not Business) As Usual In Russia,"

Financial Time, October 29, 2003 and "A Pakistani Model for Iraq," *Asian Wall Street Journal*, August 19 2003. He made regular appearances on CNBC CNN and FOX News.

Belinda Cooper wrote "Women and Security in Central Asia," *World Policy Journal*, Spring 2003 and "The Stray Cats of Tbilisi," *L.A. Weekly*, August 2003. She reviewed Peter Balakian's *The Burning Tigris: The Armenian Genocide and America's Response* in the October 19, 2003 issue of the *New York Times Book Review*.

Claudia Dreifus is teaching "Magazine Writing With An International Datelines" at Columbia University's School of International and Public Policy," this spring. Her book, *Scientific*

Conversations: Interviews from the New York Times, has gone into a second printing. She was also named "Contributing Editor," to the largest mass circulation magazine in the world, *AARP—The Magazine*.

Mira Kamdar wrote "A Move to the Right? The Shifting Sands of South Asian American Politics," *The Subcontinental*, Summer 2003, Vol. 1, Issue 2. She lectured on "India and the New American Hegemony," at the University of Connecticut Law School for a symposium on "The New American Hegemony," October 13, 2003.

Silvana Paternostro wrote about Cuba for *Marie Claire*, about Colombia for *Slate*, about Garcia Marquez for *The Paris Review* and about Latinos and language for

Newsweek. She is currently working on a book about the war in Colombia for Holt.

Michele Wucker debated the topic of "Naturalized Citizens and U.S. Politics," with Arianna Huffington, Victor Hanson, William Frey, and David Ayon on Public Radio International's "To the Point" on September 12, 2003. She co-wrote with Ron Hayduk, "Let Legal Immigrants Vote in City," in the *New York Daily News*, September 22, 2003. Wucker spoke on "Investigating Dictators and Strongmen" at Trinity College, Washington, DC, September 2003.

What's On in World Policy Journal

WINTER 2003/04

Sumit Ganguly: "India's New Foreign Policy"

Robert M. Hathaway: "North Korea: Supping with the Devil"

John F. Stacks: "American Media and Foreign News"

Ian Bremmer: "Vladimir Putin and the Survival of Russian Democracy"

Colin Dueck: "Hegemony on the Cheap"

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